

PARAMETERS OF PARENTING IN NATIVE
AMERICAN FAMILIES

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2005

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
July, 2008

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NATIVE AMERICAN FAMILIES

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Several individuals should be acknowledged for their contribution to and guidance throughout this project. First, I would like to thank my major advisor, Dr. Maureen Sullivan, for her supervision, encouragement, support, and mentorship throughout my undergraduate and graduate career. I have learned so much from her about clinical work, research, and mentoring, as well as the importance of balancing my personal and professional lives. Maureen has supported me through many trials and joyous moments and for this I am most grateful. I would also like to thank the other members of my dissertation committee, Dr. John Chaney, Dr. Thad Leffingwell, Dr. Cynthia Hartung, and Dr. Laura Hubbs-Tait, for their invaluable advice and support during this project.

I would also like to express my profound appreciation for the Native American communities and families whose consultation on this project was invaluable. Further, I am also eternally grateful to the parents and caregivers who generously gave of their time to participate in this project. Without their interest and commitment, this project would have never come to fruition.

I would like to acknowledge my friends and family for always challenging me to reach my goals and continually encouraging me to set new ones. To my grandmother, who sacrificed tremendously to see that I would be in the position I am today and because of her enduring love and commitment, I dedicate this manuscript to her memory.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband, Darrell, and my son, Fisher, for the love and support they have provided me in my life. I am so grateful to Darrell for comforting me through difficult and trying times as well as for sharing my joys and successes with me. His pride in my accomplishments helped me to strive for greatness. Fisher has provided me with unconditional love and an outlet for relieving stress after hard days. I love you both very much.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There is a general concept within society about what comprises positive parenting, including specific parenting styles and strategies that are more beneficial than others. However, the extent to which the strategies actually differ between families is an issue largely overlooked. The specific ways in which individuals are socialized to parent are influenced by various factors, such as culture, religion, family history, social support, and geographic location. In fact, research suggests that beliefs about childrearing are adopted from one's culture of origin and are often resistant to change (Sigel & Kim, 1996). Childrearing practices, potentially a source of tradition, are often based on shared beliefs within a culture about the proper way to raise children. The importance of studying parenting interactions is obvious, as parents' childrearing decisions affect children's development. The roots of Native American childrearing practices, interpersonal relationships, and family dynamics are deeply entwined in history as they have been passed down from generation to generation. However, there is minimal research that has focused on Native American parenting and family characteristics. Thus, the primary purpose of this study was to address the shortcomings of the parenting literature by examining and reporting on parenting in the Native American culture.

Before a specific examination of the characteristics of Native American families can be conducted, it is necessary to become familiar with the general characteristics of the culture and understand how they differ from the majority culture. A thorough

discussion of relevant population and cultural characteristics is presented to provide a foundation of understanding for this specific research project. This discussion includes recognition of the diversity within Native Americans as well as several other important factors somewhat unique to their cultures. Next, specific problems facing Native Americans are discussed, supporting the view that this population is in need of intervention. In particular, alcohol and drug abuse, health, child maltreatment, intelligence and education, and acculturation are discussed. Given the rate of these problems in Native Americans, it is imperative that the existing knowledge base of the Native American culture be broadened, specifically in regard to parenting styles and strategies.

The overarching purpose of the proposed study was to investigate Native American family and parenting characteristics. Information about parenting and family characteristics in the Native American culture is extremely limited indicating that there is a wealth of information to be gained regarding parenting styles and strategies in this culture. Due to this limited information, it is important that both descriptive and quantitative research approaches are used when studying this special population. By using both descriptive and quantitative approaches, a more thorough appreciation and understanding can be obtained of the Native American culture. Obviously, this project cannot answer all there is to know about parenting in Native American families, but hopefully the information gained from this study will serve as a guide for what needs to be done, what can be done, and specifically where to go from here.

Specifically, the goals of this project were: 1) provide descriptive information about parenting beliefs, values, specific parenting practices, changes in parenting styles

between two generations, and rates of child problem behavior in a Native American sample in which acculturation and basic demographic information were assessed, 2) examine responses on the standardized measures used in this study to determine if these measures are appropriate to use with a Native American population, 3) examine the relation between parenting strategies and problem behaviors, 4) examine the relation between perceived social support and level of acculturation, 5) examine the relation between parenting strategies and perceived social support, 6) examine the relation between parents' sense of competence and specific parenting strategies (specifically looking at (a) the relation between parental involvement in teaching life skills and parents' sense of competence and (b) the relation between the use of noninterference and parents' sense of competence) , and 7) examine the influence acculturation had on the following: the relation between parenting strategies and problem behaviors, the relation between parental involvement in teaching life skills to a child and parents' sense of competence, and the relation between the use of noninterference and parents' sense of competence.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

General Information about Native Americans

Population Characteristics

There are many monikers by which the Native American population has been referred. Specifically, American Indian, the people, indigenous peoples, and first nations peoples are all terms that are commonly used, while use of one term over another may imply a particular political position (Pritzker, 2000). For the purposes of this manuscript, the term Native American will be used as it has gained widespread acceptance among both scholars and the people to whom it refers. According to the US Census (United States Bureau of the Census, 2000), Native Americans make up approximately 1.5% [4.1million] of the American population. This number includes 2.5 million people, or 0.9%, who reported only Native American and Alaska Native, in addition to 1.6 million people, or 0.6%, who reported Native American and Alaska Native and one or more other races. The US Census describes Native Americans as first being enumerated as a separate group in the 1860 census, and the 1890 census was the first to count Native Americans throughout the country. The US Census reports that prior to 1890, enumeration of Native Americans was limited to those living in the general population of the various states; Native Americans in Native American Territory and on Native American reservations were not included. According to the US Census, 43% of Native Americans live in the West, 31% live in the South, 17% live in the Midwest, and 9% live in the Northeast, with

approximately 34 percent of the Native American and Alaska Native population residing in AIA's or American Indian areas (includes American Indian reservations and/or off-reservation trust lands (federal), Oklahoma tribal statistical areas, tribal designated statistical areas, American Indian reservations (state), and state designated American Indian statistical areas). The ten states with the largest Native American populations in 2000, in order, were California, Oklahoma, Arizona, Texas, New Mexico, New York, Washington, North Carolina, Michigan, and Alaska. The median age of Native Americans according to the US Census is 28 years of age. The US Census also reports that approximately 26% of Native Americans are living in poverty.

There are currently more than 560 federally recognized tribes in the United States, including 233 Alaskan village groups (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 2005; Fleming, 2003). Fleming (2003) reported that a tribe can be defined as "a body of Indians of the same or similar race, united in a community under one leadership or government, and inhabiting a particular though sometimes ill-defined territory" (p. 6). Tribes also have the authority to determine who are or are not members by setting up specific criteria for tribal membership. Although some tribes require a specific blood quantum to be considered a member, others only require that a member be able to trace their ancestry to an ancestor who appears on the Dawes Rolls. The US Census, however, simply requires an individual to self-identify as Native American to be recognized in that category. Although Native Americans are described collectively in the US Census, the extent of variation found within the cultures and traditions of the more than 560 tribes presently recognized by the federal government clearly indicates that they cannot be observed or understood as such

(Pevar, 2002). Each tribe possesses unique characteristics that clearly differentiate it from other tribes.

There are believed to be 10 unique tribal cultural areas in North America: Arctic, Subarctic, Plateau, Northwest Coast, California, Great Basin, Southwest, Plains, Northeast, and Southeast (Fleming, 2003; Pritzker, 2000). The Arctic culture area is the largest, encompassing over 5,000 miles, and is home to the Eskimo and the Aleut (Fleming, 2003). The Subarctic, extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Rocky Mountains and Alaskan shore, is home to many different tribes, most speaking either Algonquin or Athapascan (Pritzker, 2000).

The Plateau, located between the Cascade and Rocky Mountains, is home to the Flathead, Kalispel, Nez Perce, Klamath, and Yakima tribes (Fleming, 2003). Pritzker (2000) reported that the Northwest Coast, which stretches from southwest Alaska to the Oregon-California border, was originally populated by approximately 165,000 Native Americans living in independent villages with beliefs influenced by their family and village. Tribes specific to the Northwest Coast include the Tlingit, Kwakiutls and Chinook among others (Fleming, 2003). According to Fleming (2003) the Great Basin, which lies between the Sierra Nevada and Rocky Mountains, is home to numerous tribes, including the Washo, Paiute, Shoshone, Bannock, and Ute.

The California Indians spoke over 300 different dialects of approximately 100 languages, with the three major language families being the Hokan, Penutian, and Uto-Aztekan (Pritzker, 2000). The Southwest, consisting of parts of California, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico, was home to perhaps the oldest peoples of North America: the Hopi (Fleming, 2003). The Southwest was also home to the Navajo,

Apache, Pueblo, Pima, and Papago/Tohono O'odham among others (Fleming, 2003).

Pritzker (2000) reported that the Plains, stretching from southern Canada to the panhandle region of Texas, was home to a great number of tribes including the Plains Apache, Blackfeet, Cheyenne, Commanche, Crow, Lakota, Osage, Pawnee, and Wichita tribes.

The Northeast, consisting of New England, the Atlantic states, Ohio Valley, Great Lakes, and Canadian territory, is home to many tribes, although best known are the Iroquois (i.e., Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk tribes) (Fleming, 2003). The Southeast, extending from the Mississippi valley to the coast of the Atlantic and from the Ohio valley to the Gulf of Mexico, is home to the "Five Civilized Tribes," specifically known as the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, Muscogee Creek, and the Seminole (Fleming, 2003).

Due to the diversity in geographic location, language, and numerous other variables, Native American tribes have very different and unique cultures and histories. A thorough discussion of these differences is far beyond the scope of this manuscript. However, it is important to recognize that these differences exist and understand that even within the same tribe, there are variations in specific beliefs and practices. Even though Native American people have similar strengths and encounter similar struggles, there are also many differences among them. Every reservation contains one or more tribes, each having a distinct culture, language, set of traditions, and spiritual customs. Additionally, significant differences in acculturation exist both within and between tribes (Barlow & Walkup, 1998).

The diversity found within Native American tribes and individuals may play a role in preventing group cohesion. The historical battles among tribes as well as the numerous different lifestyles and philosophies present among Native Americans today, can negatively affect group involvement, and may occasionally contribute to feelings of divisiveness (Edwards & Edwards, 1980). Even though there are problems with group cohesion and feelings of divisiveness, Native American families and their tribes generally see themselves as a collective group rather than as individuals. Although each tribe possesses unique characteristics that clearly differentiate it from other tribes, there are certain features that are common among the Native American culture as a whole. Several studies have shown that Native Americans observe the world in quantifiably different ways than their dominant culture counterparts (Jones, Kephart, Langley, Parker, Shenoy, & Weeks, 2001; Yates, 1987; Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990). However, for the purpose of this discussion, only those cultural features that most commonly pertain to the Native American population and that differentiate it from the majority population are considered. The next section is a discussion of those particular cultural features.

Cultural Characteristics

Cultural characteristics are those features that are common among individuals of a particular culture and that differentiate them from the majority culture. This section overviews the differences that may be found among Native American tribes, and then overviews three specific cultural characteristics that differentiate the Native American population from the majority culture.

Collectivity versus Individuality. Native American families may be described as a collective, cooperative, social system that is dynamic and systemic, involving the mother and father union, the extended family, and finally the community and tribe (Harrison et al., 1990). Familial social roles can be considered flexible in definition, responsibility, and performance. Parenting of younger siblings by older siblings, sharing of the wage earner role among adults, and alternative family arrangements have been found to be more common than in majority communities (Harrison et al., 1990).

Family is at the core of the Native American culture, for each tribe is just a collection of families in which each person has responsibilities and obligations to different people (Wilkinson, 1980). Native American family values most often demand cross-group relational behavior, instead of autonomy and independence, and extended family systems strongly promote interdependence (Red Horse, 1980).

Traditionally, Native American people exist in relational systems that sustain and promote strong bonds of reciprocal assistance and affection, and even today several tribes continue to embrace a traditional system of cooperative interdependence, with family members accountable not only to one another but also to the different groups to which they belong. The extraordinary emphasis that the dominant culture places on individual accomplishment and success in academic institutions frequently causes conflict for Native American students and their families. For example, Native American university students may think the monetary awards they receive to fund their education should be shared with their family members, even though the financial aid they receive is barely enough to fund their minimal needs. Moreover, Native American students rapidly discover that the academic accomplishment for which they receive recognition on

campus may lead to further separation from their own people, which occasionally causes the community to actively dissuade aspirations that necessitate leaving the reservation or the family (LaFramboise & Low, 1998).

Tribalism is a cultural attitude that stresses the importance of the extended family and kinship relations over individualism, and views each person as connected to families, households, and communities, not as isolated individuals. Everything is closely related, biologically, spiritually, and emotionally (Glover, 2001). This attitude aligns strongly with Native Americans' worldview, as well as how they perceive their relationship with the physical world. Therefore, worldview and relationship to the physical world will be the second cultural characteristic discussed that differentiate the Native American population from the majority culture.

Worldview and Relationship to the Physical World. Most Native American people usually have a closer relationship with nature than most non-Native Americans, where Native Americans generally place much greater value on the relationship with the land rather than ownership of the land. Barlow and Walkup (1998) reported that geographic landmarks can absorb the shocks (traumatic events) of history, can produce "bad forces" if they are not respected, and that traumatic occurrences are often seen as the result of a "bad force" acting on the individual who was hurt, which in turn intensifies the psychological pain of the experience in some aspects. When a Native American is injured physically, medical treatment is often sought; however, treatment by a traditional healer is generally preferred when the individual is seeking emotional and/or spiritual healing (Barlow & Walkup, 1998). The healers' methods vary, but often include searching for a physical cause of a curse or "bad force." Part of healing might consist of distinguishing

the person who placed the curse on the individuals, however native healers strongly discourage revenge or retribution, which is thought to hinder or prevent the healing process. Rather, the individuals are taught to mentally and physically avoid the individual who cursed them and to concentrate on the individuals, family, and friends who can aid them through their recovery (Barlow & Walkup, 1998).

Yates (1987) describes Native American life as an unhurried, natural progression, where disease, death, and disability are acknowledged as milestones in the course of life's progress. Native Americans are often perceived as detached or as uncaring and irresponsible due to their seeming disregard for the values of the majority culture (Yates, 1987). For example, Native American children may not arrive at school on time, and Native American youth may not finish projects or report for work on time. These children tend to live in and value present time; deadlines are indications of future time. Because of this disregard for deadlines, Native Americans have often been viewed as lazy or irresponsible (Yates, 1987).

Traditional Native Americans relate to others intuitively on an event based rather than time based schedule, continually adapting to the present situation and/or needs. As everything is connected, harmony is greatly esteemed, and it is vital that all things be in balance. Family, community, balance, nature, accordance, and multiple other variables, are crucial for health (Glover, 2001).

Traditional Native Americans view all features of life as interactive, inseparable, and as having a natural course that should not be deliberately altered, with time being conceptualized as adaptable and unstructured Jones et al., 2001). For example, events occur "when the time is right," emphasis is on the present time, and deadlines enforced

by the majority culture are insignificant. Also, deadlines indicate a concern for time in the future, which cannot be forecasted and thus is not as important as what is happening in the present (Jones et al., 2001).

Traditional Native Americans perceive land as having a spiritual quality, therefore, it cannot be bought or sold (Goodluck & Short, 1980). Throughout generations, Native American families have utilized the land cooperatively and productively, never seeing it as an individual possession to be bought and sold for personal gain. Attitudes toward the land and toward children are similar in that one does not neglect one's relationship with either, but provides support, nourishment, and nurturing to guarantee continuity. Similarly, the traditional Native American does not consider a child a personal possession, but as belonging to the whole community (Goodluck & Short, 1980). Native American parents often rely on extended family and various other tribal members to foster the development and assist in the upbringing of their children. Thus, parent-child interaction style will be the last cultural characteristic discussed that differentiates the Native American population from the majority culture.

Parent-Child Interaction Style. Parents generally have the primary responsibility of raising their children in Native American and in dominant cultures. However, in comparison to the dominant culture, traditional Native Americans exhibit a greater reliance on extended family, where members of the extended family and tribe often play a significant role in raising tribal children. In Native American cultures, uncles and aunts, one of whom may possibly be designated as a character builder, are significant mentors and teachers who share values, impart knowledge, function as role models, and emphasize tribal learning (Glover, 2001). Grandmothers and aunts often provide

childcare, while grandparents and elders, as safekeepers of tribal songs and stories, share these customs with children through the oral tradition (Glover, 2001). Even though the Native American child receives guidance and direction from several different sources, he/she is essentially considered an autonomous being.

In mainstream American culture, children are considered the responsibility of their parents, where parents are expected to shape the child, carefully supervising and directing his or her development. This perspective is contradictory to the Native American value of noninterference, in which individuals defer to one another while reducing the power differential between them. Consistent with this value, adults even consider young children as autonomous individuals, competent in making their own decisions. Native American parents permit their children to develop in their own time with minimal rules, because attempting to guide or control behavior of another individual is viewed as disrespectful (Jones et al., 2001). However, that is not to say that discipline is nonexistent in traditional Native American families.

Barlow and Walkup (1998) reported that correct conduct is taught to children via ceremonies and direct or indirect instruction by parents, extended family, tribal elders, or traditional healers. They further state that cultural codes are also used to determine who has the authority to guide instruction. Since Native Americans usually observe a closer relationship with nature than most non-Indians, local geography often serves as a mnemonic device to aid in teaching children right from wrong (Barlow & Walkup, 1998). For example, cautionary tales that are related to characteristic features of the landscape are used to teach moral codes and appropriate behavioral conduct. These stories are permeated with social survival skills, as well as lessons for avoiding personal or

collective harm. These stories are thought to have been passed down orally from ancestors who lived before the European encounter (Barlow & Walkup, 1998).

Children are disciplined in accordance to tribal standards, most often using an inductive form of discipline, where wrongness is explained in terms of the effect of the behavior rather than whether or not an established rule has been broken (Lefley, 1973). Rules are discussed, but they aren't the beginning and end of the discussions. They are taught not to lie, steal, or cheat, but are seemingly granted autonomy in the most significant areas. Their property and rights are respected, and they are encouraged to utilize these possessions in a self-reinforcing and creative manner. Compliance from children is neither solicited nor anticipated, and the parents seemingly feel inadequate to interfere even in cases of significant misbehavior (Lefley, 1973).

The last area that will be discussed in this section is acculturation. The process of acculturation as well as acculturation level itself has a great influence on Native American culture. Further, acculturation has the potential to affect family cohesion, community involvement, and child development, thus influencing functioning both within the tribal community as well as with the majority culture.

Acculturation. Even though several of the core traditional values pervade the lives of Native Americans across tribes, Native Americans are not an entirely homogeneous group. Acculturation stress, or the dilemma of being caught between two worlds, has prompted a large amount of writing and research (Trimble, 1999). Trimble and Thurman (2002) reported that customarily it is thought that individuals immediately encounter conflict between the new and old cultures as they begin movement toward a new culture, because there is inherent conflict between beliefs, behaviors, and old and new values.

Moreover, they reported it is commonly assumed that when an individual embraces something from the new culture, it inevitably replaces something of the old, because a person has only so much capacity for culture. In fact, conflict will continue to exist until the individual has made a complete transition to the new culture and all of the old is replaced, according to this view. However, Oetting and Beauvais (1991) put forward a different conceptualization of acculturation. They postulate that transitioning between two cultures does not necessarily have to engender conflict or stress, because individuals have ample capacity not only to endure but also to grow from their ability to participate in two or more cultures. Furthermore, there is some belief that bicultural individuals, those who can function well in two worlds, may actually enjoy superior psychological health, although the empirical evidence is only modest at this time (Oetting & Beauvais, 1991). Garrett and Pichette (2000) have identified the following levels of acculturation for Native Americans:

- 1 *Traditional*. May or may not speak English, but generally speak and think in their native language; hold only traditional values and beliefs and practice only traditional tribal customs and methods of worship
- 2 *Marginal*. May speak both the native language and English; may not, however, fully accept the cultural heritage and practices of their tribal group nor fully identify with mainstream cultural values and behaviors.
- 3 *Bicultural*. Generally accepted by dominant society and tribal society/nation; simultaneously able to know, accept, and practice both mainstream values/behaviors and the traditional values and beliefs of their cultural heritage.

- 4 *Assimilated.* Accepted by dominant society; embrace only mainstream cultural values, behaviors, and expectations.
- 5 *Pantraditional.* Assimilated Native Americans who have made a conscious choice to return to the “old ways.” They are generally accepted by dominant society but seek to embrace previously lost traditional cultural values, beliefs, and practices of their tribal heritage. Therefore, they may speak both English and their native tribal language.

These five levels are a continuum along which any given Native American individual may fall. Not considering blood quantum, the most common means of determining a person’s “Indianness,” is his/her degree of traditionalism, which comes not only from his/her ethnic heritage, but also from his/her life experiences.

All Native Americans have become acculturated to varying degrees to the majority culture; however, the level of acculturation depends on the strength of the family’s support systems and the extent of their own commitment to retaining their traditions (Glover, 2001). When a family joins the dominant culture, they inevitably make modifications in their behavior to adapt to their new community. Garrett (1995) described the following four levels of acculturation as they applied to transitions an individual makes as he/she enters the dominant culture:

1. *Traditional level.* A person holds onto only traditional beliefs and values.
2. *Transitional level.* A person holds both traditional beliefs and values and those of the dominant culture, but he/she may not accept all of either culture.
3. *Bicultural level.* A person is accepted by the dominant culture and also knows and practices traditional ways.
4. *Assimilation level.* A person embraces only dominant cultural beliefs and values.

It is obvious that within-group differences have to be considered when working or dealing with Native Americans. Because of differences in acculturation, approaches that might be appropriate for a given individual may not be appropriate for all Native Americans (Choney, Berryhill-Paapke, & Robbins, 1995).

Population in Need of Intervention

Alcohol and Drug Abuse

Substance use and abuse is an extensive and pervasive problem for Native Americans. However, considerable differences exist in substance abuse rates between members of different nations or tribes, between men and women, and among age groups. M. Taylor (2000) reported that an estimated 60% of Navajos abstain from alcohol, whereas upwards of 80% of Utes and Objiwias have used alcohol. Regardless of the variability, substance abuse remains a critical concern and threat to the health of Native Americans. In a survey conducted by Red Horse (1980), approximately 70% of Native American adolescents in an urban school setting were found to be engaging in alcohol and drug abuse. Further, Herring (2004) reports that the 1994-1996 drug-related death rate for Native Americans is 65% higher than that of the U.S. general population. And that alcohol related deaths in Native Americans occurs at a rate about five times more often than in the Caucasian population. The effects of abusing substances can be both immediate and long-term, with detriments occurring in both physical and psychological health. Unfortunately, alcohol and drug abuse are not the only reasons for concern in regard to the physical and psychological health of the Native American population.

Health

On the whole, the health of Native Americans has begun to improve, with the gap in life expectancy rates between Native Americans and other ethnic groups becoming more narrow (US Department of Health & Human Service, 2001). Indian Health Services (1997) report that infant mortality rates have decreased from .013% to .009% from 1990 to 1997. However, life expectancy for Native Americans is about 8 years fewer than that of Caucasians (Herring, 2004). The U.S. Census Bureau (2000) reports that Native Americans are 10 times more likely than Caucasians to develop diabetes. Further, injuries from accidents, tuberculosis, liver and kidney disease, high blood pressure, pneumonia, and malnutrition are other significant threats to the health of the Native American population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000).

As with substance use/abuse, there are substantial differences between members of different nations or tribes, between men and women, and among age groups, in the prevalence of certain mental health problems. Unfortunately, there is little empirical evidence regarding the rates of mental disorders within the Native American population. The most recently published information regarding the mental health needs of Native Americans living in the community comes from a study conducted by Beals, Novins, Whitesell, Spicer, Mitchell, and Manson (2005). The American Indian Service Utilization, Psychiatric Epidemiology, Risk and Protective Factors Project (AI-SUPERPFP) examined the lifetime prevalence of nine psychiatric disorders in 3,084 tribal members aged 15-54 years living on or near one of two reservation communities in the southwest and northern plains. Lifetime prevalence for any DSM-IV disorder was 41.9% for the southwest tribal members and 44.5% for the northern plains tribes. The

most common lifetime diagnoses in the Native American populations were alcohol dependence, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and major depressive episode. In comparison to the baseline National Comorbidity Survey (NCS), lifetime PTSD rates were higher for both men and women from both the southwest and northern plains. Lifetime alcohol dependence rates were also higher for the Native American population with the exception of the women from the southwest tribe.

Native American children seem to be at greater risk than other racial or ethnic groups for mental health problems, including depression, substance abuse, suicide, and homicide (Barlow & Walkup, 1998). According to the Indian Health Services (IHS) in one state in which only 7% of the children are Native American, 45% are served by the state psychiatric adolescent unit and 65% of the children in residential placement for mental health problems are Native American (Glover, 2001). Another area of concern, which is somewhat related to the increased risk for psychopathology, is that of abuse and neglect of Native American children.

Child Maltreatment

Child maltreatment is the term most commonly used to describe all forms of child abuse and neglect. Although there is not a universally accepted definition of child maltreatment, a World Health Organization (WHO, 1999) report defined maltreatment as that which

constitutes all forms of physical and/or emotional ill-treatment, sexual abuse, neglect or negligent treatment or commercial or other exploitation, resulting in actual or potential harm to the child's health, survival, development or dignity in the context of a relationship of responsibility, trust, or power. (p. 15).

Based on data collected by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, violent victimization of Native Americans is more than twice as high as the national average. In fact, the Bureau of Justice Statistics (1999) report that child abuse in Native communities increased 18% between 1989 and 1999 (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1999). Although, the nature and extent of child abuse and neglect differ greatly across Native communities, interpersonal conflict, marital discord, parental substance abuse, attachment problems, parental unemployment, and violent death occur regularly among many abused and neglected Native American children (Yates, 1987). Native American youth have also been reported to be at risk for child abuse and neglect due to sociocultural shifts, such as a shift away from traditional values, modifications of gender roles and expectations, and the shifting nature of the extended family in the Native culture (Manson, Bechtold, Novins, & Beals, 1997).

Glover (2001) associates Native American child abuse with the boarding school era, and identified the following factors as being involved in the abuse of Native American children: problems adjusting to the demands of the dominant culture, social isolation from the extended family and other community support to aid in child rearing, deficient parenting skills, apprehension of spoiling the child, belief in the importance of physical punishment, and difficulty being accountable for their own lives. Obviously, parents who spent most of their childhood in boarding schools were denied the opportunity to experience family life, and thus reached adulthood lacking a clear concept of proper parenting behavior and family functioning. Moreover, she reported that boarding schools introduced new and dysfunctional behaviors to Native Americans, such as sexual abuse and the use of harsh physical punishment.

Children who are raised in homes that are abusing or neglectful often suffer repercussions in several different areas. Their social interactions, self-esteem, general attitude toward themselves, the future, and others, as well as their interest in education can be affected. The intelligence and education level of Native American children is not only affected by the type of home they are raised in, but by several other variables as well.

Intelligence and Education

Although Native American students achieve as well as or above the performance of non-Native students in elementary school, they often exhibit a decline in performance between the fourth and seventh grades (Barlow & Walkup, 1998). Further, Freeman and Fox (2005) found that in 2003, 15% of Native Americans between the ages of 16-24 were high school dropouts. Explanations for this decline in performance and drop-out rate vary. For example, it may be that Native American children have a culturally rooted method of learning that is incompatible with the teaching methods currently used in public education systems, or that culturally rooted behaviors may hinder Native American children's school performance. Hubbs-Tait, Tait, Hare, and Huey (2005) discuss five differences in home learning environments for Native American students as compared to dominant culture students, including: 1) greater emphasis on nonverbal than verbal communication, 2) emphasis on oral storytelling over reading, 3) use of a non-English home language, 4) warmer, non-punitive approach to child rearing, and 5) decreased emphasis on autonomy. Barlow and Walkup (1998) found that traditional Native American children are taught to respect figures of authority by not making direct eye contact or asking questions. Non-Native American teachers may misconstrue this

behavior as lack of interest, or even noncompliance, and may even inadvertently label them as problem children, as well as treat them as such, possibly foreshadowing a self-fulfilling prophecy. Other explanations offered by Barlow and Walkup (1998) of low school performance include the lower value of high school and college educations in attaining acceptable adult status in the cultural contexts of Native American versus non-Native American populations, and the fact that poor performance in school may increase Native American students' low self-esteem, compounding other risk factors for psychological and emotional problems. Keith, Keith, Quirk, Sperduto, Santillo, and Killings (1998) found that communication (between parents and children about school) and aspirations (of parents for their children in regard to number of years of education) were significantly related to an increased grade point average (GPA) in Native American students. In fact, an increase on one standard deviation of communications and aspirations led to an increase of almost $\frac{1}{2}$ a standard deviation in GPA.

Despite the declining academic performance and staggering drop-out rates, enrollment of Native American students in higher education institutions has increased significantly over the last 3 decades. In fact, Freeman and Fox (2005) reported that Native American student enrollment in institutions of higher education increased by 41% between 1990 and 1999. Unfortunately, however, retention continues to be a significant barrier to Native Americans graduating. According to Freeman and Fox (2005) only 11 percent of Native American students who entered college in 1992, received a bachelor's degree by 2000 in comparison to 31 percent for the total population. However, the recent increased development and accreditation of tribal colleges and universities appears to be making an impact on retention and graduation rates for Native American students.

According to the Institute for Higher Education Policy (2007), there are currently more than 30 tribal colleges and universities operating in the United States, offering a variety of accredited programs, and while the majority of these are two-year institutions, 9 of them offer bachelor's degrees, and two offer a master's degree. In the Fall of 2002, there were approximately 166,000 Native American students enrolled in degree-granting institutions, with only about 13,000 being enrolled in tribal colleges and universities, where the other 153,000 were enrolled in mainstream (non-tribal) institutions (Freeman & Fox, 2005). Although there are significantly more students enrolled in mainstream institutions, the retention rates of Native American students in tribal colleges and universities averages about 60%, while the retention rate at mainstream institutions remains about 35% (American Indian Higher Education Consortium, 2005). The last area of concern that will be discussed in this section is that of acculturation.

Acculturation

As Native American cultures change and acculturate to the dominant culture, their views regarding child development, parenting strategies, and family interaction also change. Acculturation has been defined as

the cultural change that occurs when two or more cultures are in persistent contact. In this process, change may occur in each of the cultures to varying degrees. A particular kind of acculturation is assimilation, in which one culture changes significantly more than the other culture and, as a result, comes to resemble it. This process is often established deliberately through force to maintain control over conquered peoples, but it can occur voluntarily as well. (Garcia & Ahler, 1992, p. 24)

In fact, advances in technology that have occurred over the last 30 years have begun to reach reservations in the last decade. Native American children, even in the most remote and traditional areas, are exposed to parallel sets of extensively conflicting influences from western and traditional cultures. During a single day, Native American children can experience the internet, cable television, videos, and musical CDs, in addition to attending ancient sacred or public ceremonies performed in their Native language. However, the number of individuals knowledgeable of indigenous language and cultural traditions is decreasing with each passing generation (Barlow & Walkup, 1998). It is estimated that there were originally 300-500 different Native languages spoken by indigenous peoples, and while approximately 200 still remain, only 34 are being passed down as a first language to children (Krauss, 1998). However, Bock Muniz (2007) found that seven states (Arizona, Montana, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Oklahoma) currently have policy in place to preserve Native American languages and have the following elements in common: 1) Native American languages count for foreign language credit, 2) state standards are based on state needs and values rather than national standards, 3) involvement of Native Americans in policy development, 4) significant Native American population and land base, 5) emphasis on culture and understanding of sovereignty, and 6) alignment with international human rights conventions.

Dislocation of Native American tribes and the wavering in traditional ways of earning a living, with resultant poverty, has had a significant effect on many Native American communities. Berlin (1987) found that poverty, hopelessness, and the appeal of dominant culture possessions has resulted in the reduction of importance of tradition and

ancient culture in the everyday life of numerous Native Americans. He also reports that efforts of a few Native American communities to emphasize the teaching of traditional ways and to deal with community problems in new ways are encouraging, and these pilot efforts, which originate from the tribe or are encouraged and helped along by mental health professionals, have begun to modify the status and sense of well-being in both adults and children.

Family Characteristics

Parenting

Involvement of others in child rearing. Native American families are normally part of an extended family system which usually includes parents, children, aunts, uncles, cousins, and grandparents in an active kinship system (Red Horse, 1980). In Native American families aunts may be referred to as “mother,” uncles may be referred to as “father,” and an individual’s cousins may be considered brothers and sisters. Further, grandparents are frequently important decision-makers and often play a significant role in the parenting of young children, while other members of the extended family typically take on child care responsibilities and may discipline children. This extended family system is often further broadened to include unrelated individuals who have taken on a family role within that system (Canino & Spurlock, 2000). The extended family system and its various members can be an extraordinary source of support to the biological parent(s) or primary caregiver(s) (Horejsi, Craig, & Pablo, 1992). Child-rearing customs among Native Americans are historically strongly related to the extended family concept and in that regard have depended on more than just the biological parents in the role of parenting. However, parents generally have the primary responsibility of child rearing,

and for some, the extended family has become an uncommon resource, and as a result some Native American parents have found it increasingly difficult to be “good parents” (Glover, 2001). In a study examining parenting characteristics of Native American families, Newcomb (2005) found that although all participating parents reported being primarily responsible for childrearing, 49% of the families reported that a significant role in childrearing was also shared with extended family members.

LaFramboise and Low (1998) reported that Native American people traditionally live in relational systems that serve to support and nurture strong bonds of reciprocal assistance and friendliness; numerous Native American families/communities continue to participate in a traditional system of communal interdependence, with family members accountable not only to one another but also to the community and tribe to which they belong. Further, they also report that uncles and aunts can be valuable teachers by sharing wisdom, imparting morals, serving as role models, and reinforcing tribal customs. Although grandmothers and aunts are often the primary alternative caregivers for children, child care is also shared by the men in some tribes. Grandparents and other elders are especially important as they are not only the guardians of tribal stories and songs but also frequently spend time with children sharing their customs and traditions through storytelling. LaFromboise and Low (1998) further reported that when problems appear among Native American youth, they often become problems of the community as well. This community cohesion and interdependence likely contributes significantly to the parenting confidence demonstrated by Native Americans, which will be discussed in the next section.

Confidence in parenting abilities. Native Americans have the same desires and dreams for their children and families as does the general population, with the majority wanting their children to receive a good education and become productive members of society. Further, in families with more traditional beliefs, these desires also include learning about tribal values, beliefs, and traditions (Berlin, 1987).

Currently, years after the boarding school era, many Native Americans continue to be ill-prepared for the parenting role. Moreover, many parents (involved with Child Protective Services) lack appropriate parenting skills and do not have a clear concept of the parenting role, becoming easily aggravated by ordinary parental responsibilities (Horejsi, Craig, & Pablo, 1992). As lack of knowledge in an area is often correlated with lack of confidence in that area, one could easily assume that Native American parents are likely to have limited confidence in their parenting abilities. However, at least one study has found results that conflict with this assumption.

Gfellner (1990) found that Canadian Indian parents believed their actual parenting behaviors exceeded their perceived norm or ideal. The association between their ideal beliefs and their reported parenting practices suggests that these parents are comfortable and feel quite competent in their role as parents. This confidence likely has a great deal to do with the community cohesion and support seen in most tribes, which many Native Americans feel that institutions of formal education are destroying. The views of formal education by Native Americans are varied and appear to be changing; thus it is important to examine the literature in this area in order to afford a better understanding of the Native American perspective.

Social support network and parenting stress. Transitioning to parenthood is a stressful life event that involves multiple adjustments and radical changes for new parents. Reliance on support networks, such as family and friends, is often necessary in order to cope with the stress and adjust to these changes. Atkins (1986) reported that individuals who receive support from their family and community are more likely to have lower levels of stress and positive interactions with their children. Simons and Johnson (1996) defined social support as receiving assistance, warmth, and encouragement from family, friends, and neighbors. Social support is believed to increase an individual's sense of well-being, facilitate positive coping, strengthen family functioning, and buffer stressful situations (Tyler, 2004). It is a commonly held belief in many Native American communities that many of the problems faced by parents who are not in touch with their culture stems from their lack of involvement in this available social network (Tyler, 2004).

Discipline. The use of discipline in Native American families may be different from that of the majority culture. When a Native American child misbehaves, it is not uncommon for information about their misbehavior to be passed from the mother to her parents and sisters or from the mother or father to an aunt or uncle, who has been selected as responsible for guiding the youth's character development (LaFromboise & Low, 1998). Atonement for the misconduct may involve an apology from the child to each of the family members who are concerned about the youth or who are embarrassed by the youth's misbehavior (LaFromboise & Low, 1998). This indirect line of communication may serve to protect the relationship between parents and their children, strengthen extended family involvement, while continuing to stress the effect of the child's behavior

on others. However, in contradiction to previous literature, Newcomb (2005) found in her examination of 51 Native American families, that 76.5% of parents reported being primarily responsible for disciplining their child. It is not clear why the parents in this sample differed from previous findings. It could be that there are certain areas in which a parent relies heavily on extended family members to assist with the child rearing while still being the individual primarily responsible for other areas, such as discipline.

Glover (2001) reported that social control of children in the traditional Native American community is minimal and used subtly. In fact, cautions about the effects of bad behaviors are presented in terms of community, identifying how others might see the behavior, and seldom is a threat of physical punishment used; however, shame is a regularly used disciplinary tool. She further reports that discipline may be administered in ways not perceptible by outsiders. Although physical discipline is not typically used in traditional Native American families, it is often used in many Native American families today (Willis, Dobrec, & BigFoot-Sipes, 1992). However, Native American children are not punished frequently nor are they in constant fear of punishment. This may be due in large part to Native Americans' long-standing utilization of inductive discipline (e.g., learning how your behavior affects others), where disciplining might include words of objection, ignoring the child, or forcing the child to make amends for misbehavior.

Teaching of life skills. Generally, most parents want their children to be giving, respectful, to relate well with others, and to make responsible choices. According to Berlin (1987), in the Native American community, as children develop, older children and subsequently adults model the specific roles the child will take on in adolescent and adult life. Berlin (1987) further reported that training in developmental tasks is

encouraged and rewarded but not deliberately taught or forced, while societal norms may be presented through stories that are memorized and passed down from generation to generation. Also, when a story is shared, children are encouraged to listen, to be receptive to what others think, and to observe rather than to ask questions. In effect, learning in the Native American culture is most often by trial and error, rather than by direct training.

According to Glover (2001), traditional Native American families actively teach by modeling and storytelling early on in a child's life, and that these skills (modeling and storytelling) are crucial and paramount to being Native American. Glover further reported that traditional Native Americans thought that children were special gifts from the creator, and prophecies were often made about the worth of a child. Tribal elders used praise and reassurance to support a positive loving connection between parents and children, and through storytelling, children learned about appropriate relationships with the environment and other people, and moral development was given particularly careful and constant attention (Glover, 2001). The value of noninterference will be discussed in the next section.

Noninterference and Children as Autonomous Individuals. Native American families continue to differ from the majority culture in their support of autonomy, by permitting their children to develop in their own time and with minimal rules (Jones et al, 2001). Unlike majority culture children, Native American children are expected to learn through observation; guidance is given only when children specifically ask for it. Words of advice are to be chosen carefully, and even when an elder is asked for advice, he/she may choose not to give it if he/she does not feel that he/she has expertise in that area (Jones et al., 2001). This value of noninterference is rooted in and has evolved from the

respect given to each person's life journey and his/her right to fulfill his or her own destiny (Waller, Okamoto, Miles, & Hurdle, 2003).

LaFromboise and Low (1998) reported that autonomy is highly valued in Native American families, and children are allowed to make their own decisions and operate semi-independently at an early age with the freedom to experience natural consequences. They further reported that infancy is often marked by several celebrations that honor developmental milestones, such as the first smile, first steps, or first attempts to use language, and even though Native American families honor these developments, they feel little stress over the timing of such events, because their values include recognition of a child's own readiness, as well as restraint from pressuring a child to perform.

Native American children are not thought to be the property of their parents, but to be autonomous, equal individuals who make progress in life at their own unique pace and who are responsible for their own decisions (Yates, 1987). Therefore, toddlers choose when to eat or sleep, grade school children may choose not to attend school, and older children are allowed to travel by themselves as well as make important decisions regarding their future. Since there is no "correct" way to rear children, parents do not interfere with the predicted course of development (Yates, 1987).

View of Formal Education. Throughout the history of federal policy regarding Native Americans, education of Native American youth has always been considered a central component in the solution to the "Indian Problem," and at the heart of that belief was the idea that only by immersing Native American children in the mainstream formal educational system would they become acculturated and thus civilized (Fleming, 2003). Beginning in 1879, Native American children were shipped to boarding schools where

they were prohibited from engaging in cultural practices or speaking their own language (Fleming, 2003). The boarding school system failed miserably and in effect permanently estranged many Native Americans from not only their family but their culture as well.

The great importance that is placed on individual achievement in most dominant culture academic institutions can be a source of conflict within tribes and families (Glover, 2001). Being publicly applauded for one's achievements may result in estrangement from the home. Further, it is not uncommon for both tribal and family members to actively discourage goals that could involve leaving the family and/or home. When one fails to live up to community expectations, conflict or guilt is often experienced due to their noncompliance (Glover, 2001).

According to Berlin (1987), Native American elders generally have little use for school since they perceive it to be taking their children away from tradition, and into a destructive and foreign world. Therefore, many Native American children often find there is limited support of their educational endeavors, and thus their cognitive development goes unnurtured. However, Berlin (1987) reported that some communities have recently been able to offer schooling near the reservation. This allows communities to focus on effective education, by combining both traditional values as well as the skills required to help individuals and the community function in a technological society. The ability to offer formal education near the reservation permits increased transmission of traditional values as well as the opportunity for training in life skills. By allowing the students to stay close to their community, they are able to avoid negative influences from the dominant culture. Further, they may also benefit from the increased opportunity to observe traditional behaviors and attitudes modeled in the community (Berlin, 1987).

In a recent study conducted by Newcomb (2005), it was found that all of the participants placed high emphasis on the value of receiving formal education, with 93% of the sample reporting they wanted their child to attend college. Further, 86% of the parents reported that education did not interfere with their child retaining traditional values. Hubbs-Tait et al. (2005) report similar findings in a few studies in their review of the literature, although most other previous literature is contradictory, indicating that formal education is not emphasized in the Native American culture because of the desire to preserve traditional beliefs and practices. This contradictory finding could be due to several factors, including emerging political and cultural autonomy, moderate-high acculturation level of the sample, and/or the increasing importance of attaining continuing education. The next section will discuss generational differences in parenting.

Generational Differences in Parenting

The concept of continuity of parenting practices across generations assumes that parents today typically use similar parenting strategies/practices that they themselves received from their parents in their childhood. In accordance with the principles of social learning theory, children may learn parenting strategies through observing their own parents utilize particular strategies and/or modeling the strategies they recall their parents using. Evidence of transmission of aggressive parenting and/or frequent family discord across generations has been well-documented by multiple investigations (Capaldi, Pears, Patterson, & Owen, 2003; Chen & Kaplan, 2001; Hops, Davis, Leve, & Sheeber, 2003; Smith & Farrington, 2004; Thornberry, Freeman-Gallant, Lizotte, Krohn, & Smith, 2003) as has evidence for the transmission of constructive parenting across generations (Chen & Kaplan, 2001; Thornberry et al., 2003; Belsky, Jaffee, Sligo, Woodward, & Silva, 2005).

Transmission of aggressive parenting behaviors. Aggressive, harsh, and insensitive parenting has long been associated with children's increased rate of problem behaviors, poor social and emotional development, and poor educational achievement. In a study conducted by Capaldi et al. (2003), the stability of parenting practices across generations in an at-risk sample of young fathers was examined. A strong relation was found between poor parenting practices of parents and those of their sons approximately 12 years later, indicating the likelihood of intergenerational transmission of parenting practices whereby a child learns parenting strategies from his own parents and then practices them years later with his own children. This intergenerational transmission is thought to be mediated, with poor parenting strategies placing a child at risk for developing antisocial behavior, and antisocial behavior then making it more likely that this child, as an adult, will utilize poor parenting strategies.

As part of a larger longitudinal study, an investigation was conducted by Hops, Davis, Leve, and Sheeber (2003) examining the extent of intergenerational stability in parent aggressive behavior and how this stability was affected by the children's own behavior. It was found that aggressive parent behavior was stable across generations in this sample of young adults and their children. Specifically, teenagers who were exposed to aggressive parent behavior within their family setting had a higher likelihood of behaving harshly toward their own children in adulthood. Further, this study also found that aggressive parenting was related to aggressive behavioral styles (externalizing behavior) in their children.

Although the majority of previous research on intergenerational transmission of parenting practices has focused on aggressive parenting behaviors, several recent studies

have also examined the transmission of constructive parenting practices across generations, two of which will be discussed in the next section.

Transmission of constructive parenting behaviors. Warm, sensitive, stimulating, and supportive parenting has long been credited for its influence on children's increased sociability, higher academic achievement, lower rate of problem behaviors, and better emotional development. Chen and Kaplan (2001) conducted a study examining the stability of constructive parenting behaviors across generations using a three-wave longitudinal data set. The study found that constructive and supportive parenting was moderately stable across generations. Specifically, they found that interpersonal relations (with friends and family members), social participation (educational attainment, organizational membership, and political participation), and role-specific modeling were the three variables most significant in explaining the stability of constructive and supportive parenting across generations. Belsky et al. (2005) also conducted a prospective study examining the transmission of constructive parenting across generations. They found that childrearing experiences in the family of origin predicted constructive parenting strategies in the family of procreation.

It is important to note that not all mistreated children grow up to inadequately parent their own offspring, nor do all children of appropriate parents grow up to be appropriate parents themselves. The multiple determinants of parenting (i.e., stressors and supports) as well as the multiple risk and protective factors of developmental psychopathology are well documented in the literature (Belsky, 1984; Cicchetti & Toth, 1998; Belsky et al., 2005).

Summary/Critique

It is evident from reviewing the existing literature on Native American parenting styles and strategies that there continues to be a great need for further research in this area. Although there is a growing field examining parenting within Native American families, there is much more to be discovered about this culture. The limited and inconsistent literature on Native American parenting contributes to the difficulty and complexity of working with these families. Without information that is accurate and current regarding this population, successful interventions will prove to be difficult. There are a multitude of areas that need further exploration and investigation. Specifically, discipline strategies used within the family and tribe, caretaker role, teaching of life-skills, value of education, effects of acculturation, parenting confidence, value of noninterference with children, social support and parenting stress, and generational differences in parenting. Each of these will be addressed below.

There are limited studies investigating the use of discipline in Native American families, and those that do exist are archaic and report contradictory findings. Lefley (1973) reported that the preferred punishment method in the Mikosukee and Seminole tribes is spanking, whereas in a follow-up study, Lefley (1976) reported that the common response for both tribes was to “talk and reason” as opposed to reprimanding as the primary means of handling misbehavior. Further, discrepant findings have also been reported in regards to who is responsible for administering the punishment. Thompson and Joseph (1951) examined two Native American communities, and found that in the more traditional tribe (First Mesa) punishment is primarily administered by the mother and father whereas in the less traditional tribe (Third Mesa), punishment largely came

from the tightly connected kinship group. However, Lefley (1973, 1976) reported that in the Mikosukee and Seminole tribes, punishment is primarily administered by the mother. These discrepant findings could be due to a number of factors including differences between tribes, differences in acculturation, differences in methodology, and differences in the ages of children being studied. Since it is unclear how these different factors interact to affect the previous findings, future studies should use standardized measures, while being aware that the results may not accurately reflect Native American parenting styles and strategies due to the fact that parenting measures have not historically been normed with Native Americans. Further, acculturation and age of child studied should be carefully taken into consideration and their influence on the resulting data should be thoroughly analyzed.

Studies examining who is/are the primary caretakers in Native American families commonly find that extended family members, friends, community members, and/or other tribal members are strongly valued and heavily utilized in the care-taking of Native American children (Horejsi, Craig, & Pablo, 1972; LaFramboise & Low, 1998). However, Glover (2001) reported that for some the extended family has become an uncommon source of support. It is critical to thoroughly examine the caretaker role within Native American families as well as how individuals in this role potentially affect the Native American child. Specifically, it is important to clarify how involved the extended family as well as other tribe members are in the care-taking of Native American children and if this involvement serves to support and foster strong bonds of reciprocal assistance or if it promotes instability within the home.

The existing literature on the value Native Americans place on education is not only limited but inconsistent as well. While many studies suggest education is discouraged, others indicate it is the estrangement from the tribe that is disliked. Further, it is not clear whether it is an individual's desire for higher education that causes conflict or the personal accomplishment that comes along with it. In a recent study conducted by Newcomb (2005), all of the participants placed high emphasis on the value of receiving formal education, with 93% of the sample reporting they wanted their child to attend college. Further, 86% of the parents reported that education did not interfere with their child's retaining traditional values. Further exploration and research in this area is important so that proper understanding and awareness can be acquired in regard to how the Native American culture views formal education and on what values those views are based.

The great importance that is placed on individual achievement in most dominant culture academic institutions can cause conflict with tribes and families. Being recognized for personal achievements may result in estrangement from home, and some family members may actively discourage pursuit of goals that involve leaving the family and home. Further, the difficulty in living up to or inability to live up to community expectations can often cause conflict or guilt over noncompliance (Glover, 2001).

Berlin (1987) found that elders respected by children tend to have little if any use for school since they consider it to be taking their children away from tradition and into a destructive and foreign world. Many Native American children, therefore, may find only limited support in regard to their eagerness to learn or their special talents throughout their school experience. Berlin (1987) indicated this limited support may lead to the

cognitive development of many Native American children to go unnurtured, although some communities have recently been able to offer schooling near the reservation. This allows communities to put increasing importance on effective education, combining both traditional values as well as the skills required to help individuals and the community function in a technological society.

Parenting confidence is another important area in which further research needs to be conducted with Native Americans. The research to date is inconclusive and limited in its findings. It is not clear whether the boarding school era, and thus the gap in communication of parenting skills, is still affecting the level of confidence that Native Americans have in their parenting. On the other hand, the confidence Native Americans have in their parenting could be boosted by the close communal relationship of the extended family and tribe. It is important to clarify how confident Native Americans are in their parenting abilities so that parenting programs can build on the strengths they already have and foster the development of skills in which they are lacking.

The importance of social support cannot be underscored in regard to its relation with parenting and the almost inevitable stress that comes with that role. Simons and Johnson (1996) defined social support as receiving assistance, warmth, and encouragement from family, friends, and neighbors. Social support is believed to increase an individual's sense of well-being, facilitate positive coping, strengthen family functioning, and buffer stressful situations (Tyler, 2004). It is important that social support be thoroughly investigated in the Native American culture as well as how support networks potentially affect the level of stress experienced by Native American parents in the parenting role. An increased understanding of the relation between these two

constructs could aid significantly in the development of parenting programs for Native American families.

Generational transmission of parenting practices is a final area of research that needs further examination. The stability of parenting strategies across generations assumes that parents today typically use similar parenting strategies/practices with their family of procreation that they themselves received in their family of origin. As mentioned previously, there is a large body of research that provides evidence for the transmission of aggressive parenting and/or frequent family discord across generations (Capaldi et al., 2003; Chen & Kaplan, 2001; Hops et al., 2003; Smith & Farrington, 2004; Thornberry et al., 2003) as well as for the transmission of constructive parenting across generations (Chen & Kaplan, 2001; Thornberry et al., 2003; Belsky et al., 2005). Investigation of generational differences in parenting strategies in the Native American culture will assist in understanding the mechanism underlying the generational transmission of parenting strategies.

Current Investigation

Parenting styles and strategies have been found to significantly contribute to child development, behavior, and adjustment. However, these domains have not been consistently examined in Native Americans. This study utilized well-standardized and accepted measures and a newly developed measure in order to collect normative data on parenting styles and strategies of Native American families.

This study had 7 purposes:

First, the study provides descriptive information about parenting beliefs, values, parenting practices, changes in parenting styles across two generations, and rates of child

problem behavior in a Native American sample in which acculturation and demographic information were assessed.

Second, data gathered on the Eyberg Child Behavior Inventory (ECBI), Parenting Scale (PS), and Perceived Social Support from Friends and Family (PSS-Fr/Fa) scales were compared to normative data to determine if there is a significant difference between the Native American and the normative samples in regard to sub-factor and total scores on the ECBI, PS, or PSOC. If these two samples differ significantly, the results would support the development of separate norms for Native Americans. If the two samples do not differ, the results would provide evidence for the utility of these measures with Native Americans.

Third, the relation of parenting strategies to intensity and level of child misbehavior were examined. Previous research has reliably demonstrated that parents of aggressive children are more likely to engage in irritable and ineffective discipline (Patterson, 1982; Patterson, Reid, & Dishion, 1992; Wahler & Dumas, 1989). Therefore, it was hypothesized that in this sample, less effective parenting would be related to more child misbehavior.

Fourth, the relation between parents' perceived level of social support was examined in relation to level of acculturation. It seems logical that as one becomes more acculturated, isolation from the cultural social support system and traditional resources also increase. However, it is not clear whether social support is lacking for this culturally isolated population or if it is obtained through others mechanisms (non-cultural support group). Analyses were used to determine if there is a significant relation between parents' level of acculturation and perceived level of social support.

Fifth, the relation between parents' perceived social support and parenting strategies was examined. Previous research has demonstrated that social support is related to improved maternal psychological well-being and self-esteem, which correspond to more effective parenting strategies (Simons, Lorenz, Wu, & Conger, 1993; Taylor & Roberts, 1995). Therefore, it was hypothesized that in this sample, increased social support would be related to more effective parenting.

Sixth, the relation between parents' sense of competence and several specific parenting strategies was examined. The following research questions were posed: 1) Is there a significant relation between parental involvement in teaching life skills to a child and parents' sense of competence? , and 2) Is there a significant relation between the use of noninterference and parents' sense of competence?

Finally, additional analyses were conducted to examine the influence of acculturation on the relations tested in the previous hypotheses. First, an exploratory regression analysis was conducted to examine if and how acculturation moderates the relation between parenting strategies and child misbehavior. Second, an exploratory regression analysis was conducted to examine if and how acculturation moderates the relation between parental involvement in teaching life skills to a child and parents' sense of competence. Third, an exploratory regression analysis was conducted to examine if and how acculturation moderates the relation between noninterference and parents' sense of competence.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Participants

Fifty-seven parents participated in the current study. In order to be included in the study, parents had to report they were the primary caregiver for a child between the ages of 5 and 12 years old and report their race/ethnicity as Native American on the demographic form used in this investigation. Nine participants were excluded after review of their completed questionnaires due to not having children within the specified age range. Therefore, only 48 Native American parents with children between the ages of 5-12 years were included in the final analyses. Refer to Table 1 for a detailed participant demographic summary.

Thirty-eight participating caregivers were biological parents, one was a step-parent, and nine were “other” caregivers (e.g., grandparents with primary caregiver responsibilities). Forty-one of the participants were female, and seven were male. Forty-four percent of the participating caregivers were Omaha, with the remainder representing 21 other tribes/nations. Other tribes/nations that were represented in this sample are Apache, Blackfoot, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Chippewa, Choctaw, Comanche, Creek, Cheyenne River Sioux, Iowa, Keetoowah, Navajo, Ogalala Sioux, Osage, Otoe, Pawnee, Ponca, Sac and Fox, Shawnee, Sioux, and Winnebago. Refer to Table 2 for detailed participant ethnicity information. Twenty-three of the participants were married or living with a partner, while twenty-five identified as single (i.e., never married, separated,

divorced, or widowed). Participating caregivers' mean age was 35.69 years (range 20-58), and the mean age for partners was 37.76 years (range 25-56). The participants' mean years of education was 13.15 (range 9-17), and the mean years of education for partners was 13.57 (range 11-17). Only 27.1 % of the participating caregivers had a monthly family income of over \$2,500, 18.8% between \$2,001 and \$2,500, 16.7% between \$1,501 and \$2,000, and 35.4% under \$1,500 (one participant [2.1 % of sample] did not report monthly family income). All participant recruitment and data collection was completed in the Midwestern United States, primarily Oklahoma and Nebraska. Nineteen caregivers lived in reservation communities, fourteen lived in rural communities, eleven lived in an urban community, and three lived in an "other" community (one participant [2.1 % of sample] did not report community of residence). The mean length of time the caregivers lived in their current communities was 25.46 years (range 1-58).

Participating caregivers were asked to complete study questionnaires in regards to their children between the ages of five and twelve. If caregivers had more than one child in this age range they were asked to choose one child and keep that child in mind throughout the study. The children of the participating caregivers had a mean age of 8.42 years, ranging from five to twelve years. There were more female children (n=27) than male children (n=21). The number of siblings of the children ranged from 0 to 5. Twelve children had no siblings, 11 had one sibling, 10 had two siblings, 5 had three siblings, 4 had four siblings, and 4 had five siblings. Two of the participants did not indicate number of siblings for the target child. The majority of the caregivers identified their child's ethnic background as Native American (n=42), although a few were identified as Bi-racial (n=6).

Measures

Demographic Questionnaire

A demographic questionnaire was completed by the parents for descriptive purposes (Appendix A). The questionnaire assessed the parents' income, occupation, age, level of education, ethnic background, Native American tribal affiliations, and gender.

Eyberg Child Behavior Inventory (ECBI)

The ECBI (Eyberg & Pincus, 1999) is used to assess parent reports of behavior problems in children between 2 and 16 years old. Sample items included “verbally fights with brothers and sisters” and “cries easily.” It is a 36-item scale, with two ratings for each item (intensity and problem). The ECBI Intensity Scale measures the frequency with which the child engages in each of 36 behavioral problems on a scale of 1 (never) to 7 (always). The ECBI Problem Scale asks parents to indicate whether each of the 36 behaviors is “a problem for you” on a binary scale of yes or no. Scores on the Intensity Scale range from 36 to 252 and scores on the Problem Scale range from 0 to 36. Children rated at or above a score of 131 on the Intensity Scale or 15 on the Problem Scale (T scores ≥ 60) are considered to have scores in the “clinical range” for behavior problems. In a restandardization study of the ECBI, Colvin, Eyberg, and Adams (1999) reported internal consistency coefficients of .95 for the Intensity Score and .93 for the Problem Score. The ECBI has demonstrated adequate reliability and validity for discriminating between children with and without behavior problems (Burns & Patterson, 2000). All three scores (intensity, problem, and total) were used as a comprehensive measure of child behavior problems and parental tolerance of them.

Parenting Scale (PS)

The PS (Arnold, O’Leary, Wolff, & Acker, 1993; Appendix B) assesses dysfunctional parental discipline techniques of parents with children between 18 months and 5 years old. It is a 30-item scale, using 7-point ratings. A total score is obtained as well as three sub-factor scores: laxness, overreactivity, and verbosity. The laxness factor is related to permissive discipline and describes the ways in which parents give in, fail to enforce rules, or give positive consequences for misbehaving. The overreactivity factor reflects parental behaviors such as displays of anger, meanness, and irritability. The verbosity factor reflects prolonged verbal responses and a reliance on talking even when talking is ineffective. Test-retest reliability coefficients were reported as .83 for Laxness, .82 for Overreactivity, .79 for Verbosity, and .84 for the Total Score. Internal consistency was reported as .83 for Laxness, .82 for Overreactivity, .63 for Verbosity, and .84 for Total Score (Arnold, et al., 1993). Although the standardization data were developed for families with children ages 18 months to 5 years, there is some evidence that this measure is useful for families with adolescents as well as children, with internal consistency of .84 for Laxness, .85 for Overreactivity, .52 for Verbosity, and .86 for Total Score (Irvine, Biglan, Smolkowski, & Ary, 1999). The total score as well as the three factor scores were used as measures of parenting practices.

Native American Acculturation Scale (NAAS)

The NAAS (Garrett & Pichette, 2000; Appendix C) is a 20-item multiple-choice measure which assesses an individual’s level of acculturation along a continuum, ranging from traditional Native American to assimilated mainstream American. It can be administered individually or in groups, and requires a ninth-grade reading level. An

average score is gained, ranging from 1 to 5, with 1 representing a low level of acculturation and 5 representing a high level of acculturation. The NAAS has reliability (internal consistency) of .91, and has been deemed culturally appropriate by a panel of experts from various geographical and tribal affiliations (Garrett & Pichette, 2000). Newcomb (2005) found Cronbach's alpha for the NAAS to be .89. The average score was used to indicate the acculturation level of our participants. We used the range of scores to look at degree of acculturation and did not utilize cut-off scores to dichotomize the sample into separate groups.

Native American Parenting Survey (NAPS)

The NAPS (Newcomb, 2005; Appendix D) is a newly developed 45-item measure which assesses several parenting factors: upbringing, parenting confidence, discipline, teaching, noninterference, generational differences in parenting, education, and traditional values. This measure was used to provide additional descriptive information about our sample.

Parenting Sense of Competence (PSOC)

The PSOC is a 17-item parent-report measure of parenting efficacy and satisfaction (Johnston & Mash, 1989; Appendix E). Every item is answered on a 6-point scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree," with scoring for some items reversed so that, for all items, higher scores indicate greater parenting self-esteem. The satisfaction subscale measures competence, problem-solving ability, and capability in the parenting role. It indicates the degree to which the parent feels frustrated, anxious, and poorly motivated in the parenting role. The efficacy subscale measures a person's perceived competence in the parenting role. It indicates the degree to which the parent

feels competent, capable of problem solving, and familiar with parenting. Johnston and Mash (1989) have reported internal consistencies of .75 for the Satisfaction scale and .76 for the Efficacy scale, and Ohan, Leung, and Johnston (2000) reported internal consistencies of .80 for both the Efficacy and Satisfaction scales for mothers. For fathers, the internal consistency of the Efficacy scale was .77 and the consistency of the Satisfaction scale was .80.

Perceived Social Support from Friends and from Family (PSS-Fa/Fr)

The Perceived Social Support from Family (PSS-Fa) and the Perceived Social Support from Friends (PSS-Fr) questionnaires (Procidano & Heller, 1983; Appendix F) each consist of 20 items relating to the level of understanding and support provided by friends and family (e.g., "My friends enjoy hearing about what I think"; "I rely on my family for emotional support"). Response options are "yes," "no," and "I don't know." Depending on the direction of the item, a "yes" or "no" is assigned 1 point, indicating support, or 0 points, indicating no support. An answer of "I don't know" is also assigned 0 points. Thus, the PSS-Fa and PSS-Fr each have a range from 0 to 20, with higher scores indicating more support. These subscores were combined to create a total score for perceived support. For the purposes of the current study, only the total score was used. Cronbach's reliability coefficients for the PSS-Fa and PSS-Fr were .87 and .85, respectively (Procidano & Heller, 1983). Ballew (2005) combined the PSS-Fa and PSS-Fr subscale scores into a total score and found Cronbach's alpha to be .92. Cronbach's alpha for the total score in the current sample was .89.

Debriefing Questionnaire

All participants completed a debriefing questionnaire (Appendix G) at the conclusion of their participation. This consisted of five questions which allowed the participants to ask any questions about the study and give feedback about their participation. Participants were asked to provide their preferred contact information at the bottom of the questionnaire so that the researcher could address any questions or concerns presented.

Procedure

Prior to collecting any data for this study, packets containing assessment materials were provided to IHS agencies and contacts for review and feedback. Additional review and approval was always gained from appropriate authorities (e.g., event coordinators) before recruitment was initiated in any setting. Recruitment of participants was completed using three primary methods: (a) letters describing the project distributed to potential participants by friends, family members, or previous participants, (b) flyers on campus and in the community, and (c) questionnaire packets directly distributed at cultural events (e.g., powwows), tribal health fairs, tribal clinics, and by previous participants. In total, approximately ten different events were attended to recruit participants and collect data. The number of packets distributed and returned completed varied largely at each event, with a range of 0-20 packets. Further, many participants reported having heard about and/or seen the project at prior events but waited to take a packet until after having multiple encounters with the project or researcher. Each packet included a brief description of the project, two consent forms, the demographic questionnaire, the Native American Acculturation Scale, the Native American Parenting Survey, the Parenting Scale, the Perceived Social Support from Friends and Family

questionnaires, the Parenting Sense of Competence survey, the Eyberg Child Behavior Inventory, and a debriefing questionnaire. Participants either returned completed packets to the researchers at the time of recruitment or returned the packets via postage-paid envelopes at a later date. Caregivers were given ten dollars for participating in the study.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Descriptive Information

Initial data analysis focused on descriptive information regarding the background and values of the participating families. Descriptive statistics were used to summarize data collected on Native American parenting, acculturation, parenting strategies, child misbehavior, parenting competence, and perceived social support.

Native American Parenting Survey (NAPS)

The NAPS questionnaire was designed to assess 6 primary areas related to parenting in Native American families: 1) Use of extended kinship ties, 2) Aspects of discipline and parenting competence, 3) Concept of noninterference, 4) Education and goals, 5) Generational differences, and 6) Traditional knowledge and values. Please see Table 3 for detailed results of the NAPS questionnaire.

In regard to use of extended kinship ties, review of the NAPS responses indicated that for all of the families, one or both parents were primarily responsible for childrearing. However, in 68.7% of the families, a significant role in childrearing was also shared with extended family members. These family members included grandparents, great grandparents, step-parents, aunts, uncles, cousins, older siblings, and “other” relatives.

The next area assessed by the NAPS questionnaire, aspects of discipline and parenting competence, contained several questions to which the parents responded on a

ten-point likert-type scale, with 1-2 being equal to “never,” 3-4 being equal to “sometimes,” 5-6 being equal to “half the time,” 7-8 being equal to “most of the time,” and 9-10 being equal to “always.” The following percentages pertain to parents who responded answering “most of the time” or “always”. Results indicated that for the majority of participants (87.4%), overall confidence in parenting was high. In regard to discipline, 85.4% of parents reported being primarily responsible for disciplining their child. Further, 81.2% of parents reported that they were consistent in the use of discipline with their child. Results also indicated that most parents (85.4%) believed girls should receive the same type of discipline as boys. Additionally, most parents (97.9%) reported being primarily responsible for teaching/providing guidance for their child.

The concept of noninterference, which LaFromboise and Low (1998) conceptualize as allowing children to make their own decisions and operate semi-independently at an early age with the freedom to experience natural consequences, was the next section assessed by the NAPS. Most parents (95.8%) in the current sample indicated it was almost always or always important to provide their child with guidance and direction.

The fourth section of focus in the NAPS, views on and goals for education, was included to investigate the goals Native American parents have for their children as well as to determine how these goals are influenced by cultural beliefs and traditional values. Approximately 40% of the participants in the current sample reported that completing middle school “never” interferes with retaining traditional values, whereas 52% reported that obtaining a high school diploma “never” interferes with retaining traditional values. In regard to advanced education, approximately 55% reported that obtaining higher education (college and/or graduate school) “never” interferes with retaining traditional

values. Most parents in the current sample, 70.6%, reported that education “never” or “sometimes” interferes with retaining traditional values. Results also indicated that for the majority of participants, 91.6%, it was very/extremely important for their child to receive a good education in order to eventually earn a living and support him/herself and his/her family. Finally, in rating educational goals, 85.5% of the participants reported wanting their children to attend college, while reporting that 71.2% of their parents wanted them to attend college, and that 45.8% of the participant’s parents attended college.

The fifth section, generational differences in parenting styles, was included to assess whether parents in the current sample were using similar parenting strategies/practices as their own parents used with them during their childhood, to determine if there has been a significant change in parenting strategies over time for these families. Results indicated that overall, only 8.4% of participants viewed themselves as being “much” different from their parents.

The last area assessed by the NAPS was goals for traditional and mainstream values. Most parents, 93.7%, indicated they wanted their child to have knowledge of both traditional and mainstream values, while 89.5% of their parents wanted them (participants) to have knowledge of both traditional and mainstream values, and 76.1% of participant’s parents had knowledge of both traditional and mainstream values.

Native American Acculturation Scale (NAAS)

The NAAS total score was utilized as a measure of participant acculturation level. Total scores on the NAAS range from 1 to 5, with 1 representing a low level of acculturation and 5 representing a high level of acculturation. A total score of 3 represents the cut-off score, with a total score below 3 identifying people holding

traditional Native American values and beliefs, and a total score above 3 identifying people holding the majority culture's values and beliefs. In the current study, NAAS total scores ranged from 1.45 to 4.45. The mean NAAS score was 2.99 ($SD = .63$), which is essentially the mid-range level of acculturation, reflecting equal identification with both the Native American and dominant cultures. Approximately 40% of the sample ($n = 19$) fell within the highly acculturated range, indicating an identification with the majority culture. Approximately 8% ($n = 4$) obtained a score of 3, placing them in the midrange of acculturation. The other half of the sample ($n = 25$; 52.1%) fell within the low acculturation range, indicating an identification with the traditional Native American community. Cronbach's alpha for the current sample was .89.

Eyberg Child Behavior Inventory (ECBI)

Two total scores were calculated from this parent-report measure: an Intensity score reflecting the frequency of occurrence of problem behaviors and a Problem score reflecting how many behaviors parents found problematic. Scores for the current sample and standardization sample are presented in Table 4. Six children, or 12.6%, scored above the ECBI Intensity score clinical cutoff (Intensity Score \bullet 132), while seven children, or 14.7 %, scored above the ECBI Problem score clinical cutoff (Problem score \bullet 15). The data gathered on the ECBI were compared to the standardization sample data to see if the scores significantly differed. Using the mean scores on both the intensity and problem scales of the ECBI, a one-sample z -test was conducted in order to determine if these scores differed significantly from the normative data for this measure. Results indicated that there was no significant difference between this sample and the normative sample for the mean Intensity score ($z = .96, p > .05$) or for the mean Problem score ($z = 4.39 \times 10^{-3}, p > .05$). This indicates the current sample scores are comparable to the

standardization sample scores. Cronbach's alpha for the current study were .96 for the Intensity score and .95 for the Problem score.

Parenting Scale (PS)

A Total score and three factor scores (Laxness, Overreactivity, and Verbosity) were calculated from this parent-report measure. Scores for the current sample and standardization sample are presented in Table 4. Using the mean scores on the Laxness, Overreactivity, and Verbosity scales of the PS, a one-sample z -test was conducted in order to determine if these scores differed significantly from the normative data for this measure. Results indicated that there was no significant difference between this sample and the normative sample for the mean Laxness score ($z = 2.71 \times 10^{-4}$, $p > .05$), the mean Overreactivity score ($z = .03$, $p > .05$), the mean Verbosity score ($z = .22$, $p > .05$), or for the mean Total score ($z = 7.76 \times 10^{-4}$, $p > .05$). This indicates the current sample scores are comparable to the standardization sample scores. Cronbach's alpha for the current sample were .83 for Total Score, .88 for Laxness, .75 for Overreactivity, and .02 for Verbosity.

Perceived Social Support from Friends and Family (PSS)

The PSS friends and PSS family scales were combined to create a PSS total score. The total score was utilized as a measure of perceived social support. Total scores on the PSS range from 0 to 40, with higher scores indicating higher levels of perceived social support. Scores for the current sample and the standardization sample are presented in Table 4. Less than ten percent of the current sample ($n = 4$; 8.4%) had scores of 30 or greater, indicating a relatively high level of perceived social support. Over half of the current sample ($n = 30$; 62.5%) had scores between 21 and 30, indicating a moderate level of perceived social support. The remainder of the current sample ($n = 14$; 29.3%)

had scores between 2 and 20, indicating a low level of social support. Using the mean scores on the Friends and Family scales of the PSS, a one-sample z -test was conducted in order to determine if these scores differed significantly from the normative data for this measure. Results indicated that there was no significant difference between this sample and the normative sample for the mean PSS-Fr score ($z = .99, p > .05$) or the mean PSS-Fa score ($z = .99, p > .05$). This indicates the current sample scores are comparable to the standardization sample scores. Cronbach's alpha for the current sample were .87 for PSS-Family, .71 for PSS-Friends, and .89 for PSS-Total.

Parenting Sense of Competence Scale (PSOC)

A Total score and two factor scores (Satisfaction and Efficacy) were calculated from this parent-report measure. Total scores on the PSOC range from 16 to 96, with higher scores indicating higher levels of perceived parenting competence. Scores for the current sample and the standardization sample are presented in Table 4. Overall, parents reported moderate to high levels of parenting satisfaction. Using the mean scores on the Satisfaction, Efficacy, and Total scales of the PSOC, a one-sample z -test was conducted in order to determine if these scores differed significantly from the normative data for this measure. Results indicated that there was no significant difference between this sample and the normative sample for the mean PSOC Satisfaction score ($z = .99, p > .05$), the mean PSOC Efficacy score ($z = .92, p > .05$), or the mean PSOC Total score ($z = .99, p > .05$). This indicates the current sample scores are comparable to the standardization sample scores. Cronbach's alpha for the current sample were .20 for Efficacy and .51 for Satisfaction, which may indicate that these constructs are not as applicable or do not operate in the same manner in this sample as they were/did in the standardization sample.

Therefore, support for the use of this measure with a Native American sample can not be concluded at this time.

Debriefing Questionnaire

As stated above, all participants completed a debriefing questionnaire which consisted of five questions and allowed the participants to provide feedback about the study and ask questions about their participation. The questions contained in the debriefing questionnaire are listed below, along with percentage of responses, and sample responses from participants.

The first question asked participants if they had any questions about their participation. Approximately 8.4% of the participants (n=4), wanted information on how they could “become a better parent,” and one participant (2.1%) wanted to know when the results would be available to participants.

The second question asked participants what it was like being in the study and what they thought about the study. Approximately 46% (n=22) of the participants responded positively to this item (e.g., “I liked answering the questions,” “I felt it was a very organized study and it made me analyze how I raise my children,” “Informative; Very thought provoking”). Approximately 33% (n=16) of the participants had a neutral response to this question (e.g., “it was okay,” “made me take a closer look at my parenting skills,” “I didn’t have any problems with it”). Approximately 6% (n=3) participants had negative responses to this item (e.g., “a lot of questions to answer,” “some of the questions did not accurately reflect our parenting/family”). Seven participants (14.6%) did not respond to this question.

The third question asked participants whether any part of the study was especially difficult. Approximately 77% (n=37) participants did not feel the study was difficult

while approximately 15% (n=7) reported difficulty with the study (e.g., “too many questions,” “questions on whether or not I’m a good parent.....don’t want to be overconfident,” “the discipline aspect”). Four of the participants (8.3%) did not respond to this item.

The fourth question asked participants if they were glad they participated and if they would be willing to be contacted about future studies. Forty-two participants (88%) indicated they would be willing to participate in future studies, while four participants (8.3%) reported they were not interested in participating in any future studies. Two participants (4.2%) did not have a response for this question.

The last question on the debriefing questionnaire asked parents if they had any other questions or comments. Most participants (n=43) did not indicate any further questions or comments. The remaining participants commented on the usefulness of this work (e.g., “keep up the good work in Indian country,” “need more surveys more often,” “making our parents aware of their role in being parents.....utilize extended family members to raise their children,” “I hope you were able to find some helpful pieces of information from this study”).

Correlational and regression analyses were used in the next step of analyses in order to test hypotheses regarding interrelationships between parenting strategies, child behavior, and other variables in this sample.

Main Analyses

Parenting strategies were correlated with frequency and problem level of child misbehavior in order to explore possible relations between parenting strategies and child behavior in a Native American culture as measured in this study. It was predicted that less effective parenting would be related to a higher frequency of child misbehaviors.

Scale scores from the PS (Laxness, Overreactivity, Verbosity, and Total score) were correlated with the Frequency and Problem scores of the ECBI using Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients. Less effective parenting, as indicated by higher scores on the PS Total Score, was not found to be related to a higher frequency or problem level of child misbehavior. Thus, less effective parenting was not found to be related to increased child misbehavior. However, overreactivity (excessive displaying of anger, meanness, and irritability), as measured by higher scores on the PS Overreactivity Score, was found to be related to a higher problem level of child misbehavior. Thus, overreactive discipline was found to be related to more problematic child behavior. Table 5 presents the Pearson correlations between these variables.

Parents' perceived social support was correlated with level of acculturation in order to explore the relation between social support and acculturation in a Native American culture as measured in this study. It seems logical that as one becomes more acculturated, isolation from the cultural social support system and traditional resources also increase. However, it is not clear whether social support is lacking for this isolated population or if it is obtained through others mechanisms (non-cultural support group). Analyses were used to determine if there is a significant relation between parents' level of acculturation and perceived level of social support. The total score from the PSS was correlated with the total score of the NAAS using Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients. The relation between perceived social support and acculturation was not significant ($r = -.058, p = .348$). Therefore, acculturation was not found to be related to parents' perceived social support.

Parenting strategies were correlated with parents' perceived level of social support in order to explore possible relations between social support and parenting

strategies in a Native American culture as measured in this study. Scale scores from the PS (verbosity, laxness, overreactivity, and total scores) were correlated with the Friends and Family Scale Total score of the PSS using Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients. It was predicted that less effective parenting, as measured by the PS Total score, would be related to lower levels of perceived parental social support. Thus, the subscale and total scores of the PS were expected to be negatively correlated with the total score of the PSS. Significant negative relations were found between the PSS Total score and the PS Overreactivity score ($r = -.285, p = .025$), PSS Total score and PS Laxness score ($r = -.440, p = .001$), and PSS Total score and PS Total score ($r = -.393, p = .003$). Thus, higher levels of perceived social support were found to be related to decreased levels of ineffective parenting strategies in general and parental overreactivity and laxness specifically. The relation between the PSS Total score and the PS Verbosity score was not found to be significant. Therefore, perceived social support was not found to be related to level of parental verbosity. Refer to Table 5 for the correlation table.

Parents' sense of competence was examined in relation to specific parenting strategies. Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were used to test the relations between competence items on the PSOC (total score) and individual items on the NAPS. Specifically, Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were used to examine the following relations: (1) the relation between parental involvement in teaching life skills and parents' sense of competence, and (2) the relation between the use of noninterference and parents' sense of competence. No predictions were made in regard to these research questions nor were any significant correlations found for these relations. Therefore, parents' sense of competence was not found to be related to parental involvement in

teaching life skills to their children or use of noninterference. Refer to Table 6 for the correlation table.

Finally, the relations between acculturation and the following variables were examined using exploratory regression analyses: parenting strategies and child misbehavior, parental involvement in teaching life skills to a child and parenting competence, and noninterference and parenting competence. Specifically, the potential moderator effect of acculturation in the relation between these variables was explored. A moderator is a qualitative or quantitative variable that influences the direction or strength of a relation between two other variables (Baron & Kenny, 1986). Baron and Kenny (1986) identified three different causal paths which can lead to an outcome variable: impact of the predictor, impact of the moderator, and impact of the interaction between the moderator and predictor. Although not necessary, it is desirable for the moderator variable to be uncorrelated with both the predictor and outcome variable, so that the interaction can be clearly interpreted (Baron & Kenny, 1986). The moderator hypothesis is supported if the interaction between the predictor and moderator is found to be significant.

Following procedures outlined by Baron and Kenny (1986) for testing moderation, a series of regression equations were conducted for each hypothesis. Prior to computing the regression equations, all variables were standardized (centered to zero) to reduce multicollinearity (e.g., Rose, Holmbeck, Coakley, & Franks, 2004; Holmbeck, 2002). Testing for moderation first involves testing for the significance of the interaction between the predictor variable and the moderator, such that the effect of the predictor on

the outcome variable is modified. The second step is to probe the significant interaction terms to identify the direction of the “effect” of the moderator.

In the first regression equation, the relation between parenting strategies, child misbehavior, and acculturation was examined. Specifically, the potential moderator effect of acculturation in the relation between parenting strategies and child misbehavior was explored. In the current example, the three pathways leading to child misbehavior were the impact of parenting strategies as a predictor, the impact of acculturation as a moderator, and the interaction of parenting strategies and acculturation. Acculturation could be considered a moderator in the relation between parenting strategies and child misbehavior if the interaction path is significant. The other paths can also be significant, but this is not a criterion for moderation. Acculturation and parenting strategies were entered into the regression equation on step 1. Next, an interaction variable was created for acculturation and parenting strategies, and the interaction variable was entered into the regression equation on step 2. The results of these regression analyses can be found in Table 7. Acculturation and parenting strategies together captured 1.2% of the variance, $F(2, 45) = .72, p = .493$. The addition of the interaction of acculturation and parenting strategies for an additional 2.2% of incremental variance, $F Change(1, 44) = .55, p = .582$, not supporting acculturation as a moderator in the relation between parenting strategies and child behavior.

In the second regression equation, the relation between parental involvement in teaching life skills to a child, parenting competence, and acculturation were examined. Specifically, the potential moderator effect of acculturation on the relation between parental involvement in teaching life skills and parenting competence was explored. In

the current example, the three pathways leading to parenting competence were the impact of parental involvement in teaching life skills as a predictor, the impact of acculturation as a moderator, and the interaction of parental involvement in teaching life skills and acculturation. Acculturation and parental involvement in teaching life skills were entered into the regression equation on step 1. Next, an interaction variable was created for acculturation and parental involvement in teaching life skills, and this interaction variable was entered into the regression equation on step 2. Acculturation could be considered a moderator in the relation between parental involvement in teaching life skills to a child and parenting competence if the interaction path is significant. The results of these regression analyses can be found in Table 8. Parental involvement in teaching life skills and acculturation together captured 2.3% of the variance, $F(2, 45) = .54, p = .586$. The addition of the interaction of parental involvement in teaching life skills and acculturation accounted for an additional 4.9% of incremental variance, $F \text{ Change}(1, 44) = 2.32, p = .342$, not supporting acculturation as a moderator in the relations between parental involvement in teaching life skills and parenting competence.

In the final regression equation, the relation between use of noninterference, parenting competence, and acculturation was examined. Specifically, the potential moderator effect of acculturation in the relation between use of noninterference and parenting competence was explored. In the current example, the three pathways leading to parenting competence were the impact of use of noninterference as a predictor, the impact of acculturation as a moderator, and the interaction of use of noninterference and acculturation. Acculturation and noninterference were entered into the equation on step 1. Next, an interaction variable was created for acculturation and noninterference, and the

interaction variable was entered into the regression equation on step 2. Acculturation could be considered a moderator in the relation between use of noninterference and parenting competence if the interaction path is significant. The results of these regression analyses can be found in Table 9. Use of noninterference and acculturation together captured 3.8% of the variance, $F(2, 45) = .88, p = .423$. The addition of the interaction of noninterference and acculturation accounted for an additional 14.3% of incremental variance, $F \text{ Change}(1, 44) = 7.52, p = .033$, supporting acculturation as a moderator in the relation between noninterference and parenting competence. Refer to Figure 1 for a graphic representation of the moderator model.

In order to further examine the moderating effect of acculturation on the relation between noninterference and parenting competence, new variables were created for high acculturation and low acculturation, and new interaction terms were created using these variables (e.g., Holmbeck, 2002). Two additional regression analyses were conducted using the new high or low acculturation variables and corresponding interaction terms. In the first regression analysis, low acculturation and noninterference were entered into the regression equation on step 1, and the interaction variable for low acculturation and noninterference were entered into the regression equation on step 2. In the second regression analysis, high acculturation and noninterference were entered into the regression equation on step 1, and the interaction variable for high acculturation and noninterference was entered into the regression equation on step 2. The simple regression slope for noninterference with high acculturation was not significant, $t(1) = -.013, p = .913$. The simple regression slope for low acculturation and noninterference was also not significant, but did suggest a trend, $t(1) = .499, p = .091$. Based on this information, it

appears that increased use of noninterference is associated with higher parenting competence when acculturation is low, but is unrelated to parenting competence when acculturation is high. Refer to Figure 2 for a graphic representation of the interaction relationship.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The present study examined parenting and family characteristics in a diverse sample of Native Americans living in the Midwestern United States. The study included parents and/or primary caregivers with children between the ages of five and twelve years, and had seven purposes: 1) provide descriptive information about parenting and family characteristics in a Native American sample in which acculturation and basic demographic information were assessed; 2) examine responses on the standardized measures used in this study to determine if these measures are appropriate to use with a Native American population; 3) examine the relation between parenting strategies and problem behaviors; 4) examine the relation between perceived social support and level of acculturation; 5) examine the relation between parenting strategies and perceived social support; and 6) examine the relation between parents' sense of competence and specific parenting strategies. Finally, this study examined the influence acculturation had on the following relations: a) the relation between parenting strategies and problem behaviors; b) the relation between parental involvement in teaching life skills to a child and parents' sense of competence; and c) the relation between the use of noninterference and parents' sense of competence. The following section will first discuss the findings of the current study, then discuss the limitations and strengths of the study, and finally discuss directions for future research.

Summary and Interpretation of Results

Native American Parenting and Family Characteristics

The first goal of this project was to provide descriptive information about parenting and family characteristics, including involvement of extended family members in childrearing, aspects of discipline and parenting competence, use of noninterference, views on and goals for education, generational differences in parenting, and views on and goals for learning and retaining traditional knowledge and values.

Parents in this study reported considerable involvement of extended family members in assisting in childrearing responsibilities, with caregivers including relatives from cousins to great-grandparents. This result is consistent with Newcomb (2005), who reported that approximately half the sample acknowledged a significant role in childrearing was shared with extended family members. Further, Red Horse (1980) found that involvement of extended family and/or tribal members in childrearing is at the core of Native American family values, with a strong emphasis on and promotion of interdependence. Although this concept of interdependence is not unique to the Native American culture, it is not typically found in the dominant culture where a typical (aka nuclear) family is defined and characterized by the mother and/or father and their children, without significant reliance on extended family members. As mentioned in Newcomb (2005), this reliance on extended kin is likely strongly intertwined with the value placed on children obtaining and retaining knowledge of traditional Native American practices and beliefs, as transmission of these beliefs and practices probably occurs more readily in families with high interdependence. For example, a child who is cared for by his/her great aunt versus a day care setting, has more opportunity to learn

and be exposed to the particular values and traditions of his/her family. Further, with extensive involvement of extended kin, a child is exposed to a greater range of the family's practices and culture. A child is shaped by the society in which he/she is reared, and everyone in that society can be influential in shaping how that child thinks and behaves. Child rearing, therefore, can be considered a collective responsibility within some families, where cultural and/or family traditions are ingrained and govern everything from respecting one's elders to individual character.

The next areas that were examined were aspects of discipline and parenting competence. Overall, parents in this sample were highly confident in their parenting abilities, believed they made good decisions regarding their children, and reported relatively low levels of frustration with their children. These results are very similar to what has been found in previous studies (Gfellner, 1990; Newcomb, 2005), where Native American parents reported their parenting behaviors exceed their perceived norm or ideal. It may be that the extended social and familial support that is often available to Native American families serves to increase confidence in parenting skills and lower frustration with children, by serving as a safety net for the insecure or overwhelmed parent. It is reasonable to assume that lack of knowledge about the responsibilities of parenthood and the parenting role would be strongly related to decreased confidence in parenting ability. However, being surrounded by friends and family who will assist with the childrearing and give guidance should understandably lead to increased confidence in parenting ability. Further, increased social and familial support may also serve to lower frustration with childrearing, due to the ability or opportunity to turn to others for advice, guidance, or respite care. However, lower frustration with childrearing may also be

attributed to the way in which families utilize discipline techniques. The majority of parents in this sample indicated they (and/or their spouse) were the individual(s) primarily responsible for disciplining their child. Further, the majority of parents also indicated that they were consistent in their discipline, which supports results found by Newcomb (2005). Other research (LaFromboise & Low, 1998), however, has reported that when problems come up among Native American youth, information about a youth's misbehavior might be passed from a primary caregiver to an extended family member who has been selected as responsible for guiding the youth's character development (e.g., disciplining the youth for the misbehavior). It is not clear whether primary caregivers continue to pass this information (regarding child misbehavior) on to extended family members while maintaining primary responsibility for the discipline or if a shift in information sharing and responsibility for discipline is something that has occurred over time. Further, it is unclear if the results found in this study are different due to variance across families and/or cultures, as this study collected data primarily from Native Americans in the Midwestern United States, a sample that hasn't been highly utilized in previous studies. It is possible that this sample has always considered discipline to be the responsibility of the primary caregiver and this difference does not reflect a generational shift in discipline responsibility. In regard to how this finding relates to the concept of interdependence and reliance on extended family members in childrearing, it is important to note that valuing interdependence does not prevent a parent from taking primary responsibility in certain areas of the child's development. Therefore, there may be certain areas in which the parent relies heavily on extended family members to assist with the

child rearing while still being the individual primarily responsible for other areas, such as discipline.

The concept and use of noninterference, which LaFromboise and Low (1998) describe as allowing children to make their own decisions and operate semi-independently at an early age with the freedom to experience natural consequences, was the next area under examination. Much of the previous research (Jones et al., 2001; LaFromboise & Low, 1998; Yates, 1987; & Waller et. al., 2003) that has been published on noninterference has been anecdotal and descriptive in nature, whereas the current study made an attempt to measure this concept. The results of this study do not clearly fit with previous research, as most parents in the current sample indicated it was almost always or always important to provide their child with guidance and direction. There are several possible explanations for this finding. First, it is possible, that in contrast to previous studies, participants in this study place low value on the use of noninterference in childrearing. Additionally, this difference could be due to sampling from different tribes and/or geographic locations (i.e., current sample primarily from Midwestern United States). It is also possible that the questions designed to tap into the concept and use of noninterference did not tap into the dimension the same way as it was conceptualized in previous studies. Therefore, these results may not give an accurate portrayal of the value and use of noninterference for this sample as it has been conceptualized in previous studies. Overall, it is not clear why the parents in this sample differ from previous findings, but this is an issue that should be researched further in future studies.

Views on and goals for education are the next areas that were examined and will be further discussed. All of the participants in this sample reported that it was important for their child to receive a good formal education. Moreover, every participant also

indicated that it was important for their child to graduate from college in order to earn a living, with 95.6% of the sample reporting it was important for their child to obtain a graduate degree in order to earn a living. Although there was a strong emphasis placed on the value of receiving a good formal education, there was some indication that education can and may interfere with maintaining traditional values. Approximately 25% of the sample reported that getting a college degree interfered with their child retaining traditional values. Responses were similar for education attainment above and below the collegiate level. Although there is some acknowledgement that education may interfere with maintaining traditional values, a large majority of the sample wanted their child to get a college or graduate school degree. These findings are similar to what was reported by Hubbs-Tait et al. (2005) and found by Newcomb (2005). However, the majority of previous research is contradictory, indicating that formal higher education is not emphasized in the Native American culture because of the desire to preserve traditional beliefs and practices. This contradictory finding could simply be due to the characteristics of this sample. It is possible that the majority of the sample endorsed higher education because they are located in an area (Midwestern United States) where institutions of higher education are accessible and therefore are not required to travel long distances or move away from their community.

This different emphasis on attainment of higher education could also be related to emerging political and cultural autonomy of Native American communities and tribes. Most Native American children are now able to attend elementary through high school on or near their reservation or tribal land. This allows communities to focus on effective education for their children, providing them with both traditional values and the skills required for them to function in an advancing technological society. Further, the recent

increased development and accreditation of tribal colleges and universities makes higher formal education more effective and more accessible to Native American students.

Another view regarding the changed opinion of formal education within the Native American culture relates to the increasing importance of attaining continuing education as it relates to economic success/survival.

Continuing education has almost become a necessity in order for an individual to secure a good job, and Native American families, like all other families, want only the best for their children (Berlin, 1987). As the importance of extended family and kinship relations are often emphasized over individualism in Native American families, the value of individual achievement in the educational arena may appear to be incompatible with traditional practices and beliefs. It may be, however, that those individuals who receive higher education do so for the benefit of their community, (with the intent to bring skills learned and knowledge acquired back to the community), therefore making this pursuit of higher education acceptable. In fact many tribes have developed higher education programs in order to facilitate tribal members' attainment of higher education. These programs provide educational and employment opportunities to prepare Native Americans for productive lives as tribal members.

The next area of examination and discussion is that of generational differences in parenting styles and strategies. The concept of continuity of parenting practices across generations presumes that parents generally use similar parenting strategies/practices that were modeled to them by their parents during their childhood. According to social learning theory, children may learn parenting strategies through observing their own parents utilize particular strategies and/or modeling the strategies they recall their parents using. The investigation of generational differences in parenting was included in this

study for several reasons. First, it was used to assess level of use and involvement in traditional practices and events by participating caregivers. It was also included in order to determine if the significant differences found in this study could be attributable to generational shifts in parenting or if there were other variables responsible for/contributing to these differences. A number of detailed questions were systematically developed for the current study to assess if and how participants used similar parenting strategies as their own parents. The variables assessed included involvement of extended family members, teaching strategies, discipline strategies, involvement in traditional events, and emphasis on education. Overall, approximately half of the participants in this sample reported they parent in a manner very similar to the way they recall their own parents parenting. The other half of the sample was split fairly evenly in their responses, with 25% of sample engaging in particular behaviors much less and the other 25% of sample reporting to engage in particular behaviors much more than their parents. This response pattern was found to be similar across dimensions, and therefore does not indicate support for a generational shift in parenting practices.

The final areas of descriptive information are those of views on and goals for obtaining and retaining traditional knowledge and values. In regard to goals for traditional vs. dominant culture beliefs and values, the desire for equally dominant and traditional beliefs and values is increasing over time. For example, if you look at the item where participants endorsed dominant and traditional beliefs and values to be equally important, 25% of participants reported their parents had equally traditional and dominant culture beliefs, 40% reported their parents wanted them to have equally traditional and dominant culture beliefs, and 54% of the participants reported they wanted their children to have equally traditional and dominant culture beliefs. This finding appears to support a

slight generational shift in goals for traditional vs. dominant beliefs and values. This result is in contrast to the previous finding, where support for a generational shift in parenting practices was not supported. It is possible that this shift in values is in part due to the belief that one must be knowledgeable of a culture in order to succeed in it. Although all tribes and Native American communities are dedicated to preserving traditional customs and beliefs, there is also increasing emphasis placed on the growth, development, and success of tribal members. As mentioned previously, Native American families want their children to succeed and flourish just as much as parents from every other culture, and most often this requires entrance into and frequent interaction with the dominant culture. However, as tribes continue to focus on increasing political and economic autonomy, there will be less opposition to Native American individuals learning about and working with the dominant culture. Interaction with the dominant culture (e.g., through higher education) will benefit the collective community, with the new skills and knowledge learned being brought back to the tribe.

Comparison of Standardized Measures to Normative Data

In examining scores on standardized measures of parenting and child behavior, a wide range of scores was found. For the ECBI, it was hypothesized that the data gathered on this sample would differ on some aspects from the normative data, due to the Native American value and use of noninterference. For example, a parent who values noninterference may be okay with their child exhibiting a particular problem behavior until they learn differently through natural consequences. This parent may indicate on the ECBI that his/her child engages in the misbehavior frequently, but may not see it as a problem. Therefore, for this parent the intensity score may be the same as the normative population, but the problem score would be different. The analyses conducted did not

demonstrate any significant differences between the Native American sample and the normative population for the ECBI. Although noninterference has historically been reported to be an important value for and frequently practiced in Native American cultures (Glover, 2001; Jones et al., 2001; LaFromboise & Low, 1998), this was not supported for this sample. However, this is not to say that participants in this sample do not value or use noninterference. It is unclear whether the questions designed to tap into the concept of noninterference for this study actually tapped into the dimension the same way as it was conceptualized in previous studies. The Native Americans in this sample responded to the standardized measures in a manner consistent with the normative group, indicating that the reported norms for the ECBI may be appropriate to use with this group.

Results of the PS were also hypothesized to differ from the normative sample due to the predicted value of noninterference by this sample. Specifically, the Laxness scale was expected to significantly differ as parents who value noninterference would rate higher on this scale. The analyses conducted indicated there were no differences between the Native American sample and the normative sample for the PS on the Total score, or on the 3 factor scores (Laxness, Overreactivity, and Verbosity). It is important to emphasize again that although noninterference has historically been reported to be an important value for in Native American cultures (Glover, 2001; Jones et al., 2001; LaFromboise & Low, 1998), this was not found in the current sample. The Native Americans in this sample responded to the standardized measures in a manner consistent with the normative group, indicating that the reported norms for the PS may be appropriate for use with this group.

For the other standardized measures, the PSS-Fr/Fa and PSOC, no predictions were made in regard to whether or not the current sample would differ significantly from the normative sample. Rather, the goal was to obtain preliminary data on these measures to see how data from the current sample fit with the normative data. The analyses conducted indicated there were no differences between the Native American sample and the normative sample for the PSS-Fr/Fa or the PSOC, however the alphas for the PSOC were very low indicating the particular constructs measured may not be applicable for this sample or may be operating in a different manner. These results indicate that while the PSS-Fr/Fa may be appropriate for use with the current sample, the PSOC may not be an appropriate measure to use with this sample. The next section will discuss the relations investigated between parenting strategies and child behavior.

Relations between Parenting Strategies and Child Behavior

A major goal of this study was to test the hypothesis that less effective parenting would be related to a higher frequency and problem level of child misbehaviors, which was only partially supported with this sample. Parents who endorsed higher levels of dysfunctional parenting techniques overall (Total score), did not report having children with more frequent and/or problematic misbehaviors. Previous studies with clinic samples (Patterson, 1982; Patterson, Reid, & Dishion, 1992; Wahler & Dumas, 1989) have found a strong relation between the use of unreliable and/or faulty discipline techniques and high levels of problem behaviors in children; this finding was not supported in the current study. A possible partial explanation for this finding not being supported in the current study is that in contrast to previous studies in which clinic samples were used, the current sample was normal, with relatively good parents and

relatively well-behaved children. Although there were a range of responses reported on both the PS and the ECBI, the majority of participants endorsed minimal dysfunctional parenting strategies and also indicated their children exhibited average levels of problem behaviors. Therefore it is possible that this relation did exist to some extent, but the lack of extreme scores on the PS and ECBI prevented the relation from being clearly identified. An additional reason this relation was not found could be that dimensions important to parenting in Native American families which contribute to the presence or absence of problem behavior in children were not tapped into by this measure.

While less effective parenting overall was not found to be related to increased child misbehavior, overreactivity (excessive displays of anger, irritability, and meanness) was found to be related to increased problem level of child misbehavior. Parents in this study who reported having children with more problematic behaviors, also endorsed more dysfunctional parenting strategies in the area of overreactivity. This result is similar to what has been found in previous research. Arnold et. al. (1993) reported that overreactive parenting may lead to problematic child behavior, as displays of anger, irritability, and meanness toward children may function to elicit similar behaviors. Although some evidence was found to support this relation, more research is needed to identify the true nature of this relation as well as the determinants of the relation between overreactivity and problem level of child misbehavior.

Finally, neither the Verbosity nor the Laxness scales on the PS were found to be related to increased frequency or problem level of child misbehavior. The lack of a relation between Verbosity and problem behaviors is not surprising due to the low to moderate stability of this scale. This explanation does apply to the Laxness scale,

however, as it is a fairly stable scale. Therefore, it is unclear why the relation between problem behavior and laxness was not found in the current sample. Future research should further investigate the relationship between these variables.

Relations between Social Support and Acculturation

Another primary goal of this study was to explore the relation between social support and acculturation in a Native American sample as measured in this study. As one becomes acculturated and begins to identify more with the dominant culture, an obvious deduction may seem to be that his/her isolation from the cultural social support system and traditional resources would also increase, leading to lower levels of overall social support. However, this relation was not found in the current study. Overall, caregivers in this study reported receiving a good amount of social support while reporting a range of acculturation. It is possible, even likely, that the reason decreased levels of perceived social support was not found to be related to higher levels of acculturation is due to social support being obtained through other mechanisms (non-cultural support group). Another reason this relation may not have been found could be due to the fact that the social support measure used in this study assessed support from both friends and family. Although reports of support were high for both friends and family for most participants, there was no way to determine if support received was from the traditional community or the dominant culture community. The hypothesis was that as acculturation increased, perceived social support would decrease due to the potential weakened ties with the traditional community. This relation would be better investigated if support from traditional community was dichotomized and measured separately from the dominant culture. Therefore, future research should attempt to assess social support received within the tribe or community versus social support received outside the tribe.

Relations between Social Support and Parenting Strategies

Previous research has demonstrated that social support is related to improved maternal psychological well-being and self-esteem, which correspond to more effective parenting strategies (Simons, Lorenz, Wu, & Conger, 1993; Taylor & Roberts, 1995). Therefore, it was predicted that there would be a negative relation between dysfunctional parenting strategies and level of reported social support. This hypothesis was supported. Parents who reported high levels of social support endorsed low levels of dysfunctional parenting strategies. Having a good social support network may make it easier for parents to learn and use effective parenting strategies. The importance of social support is even further emphasized when considering the positive relation found between overreactivity and child problem behavior in this study. Good social support is related to low levels of dysfunctional parenting strategies, whereas high levels of dysfunctional parenting strategies (specifically overreactivity) is related to high levels of child problem behavior. The relationship between social support and ineffective parenting strategies found in the current study is consistent with previous studies (Simons, Lorenz, Wu, & Conger, 1993; Taylor & Roberts, 1995).

Relations between Parents' Sense of Competence and Parenting Strategies

Exploratory analyses were used to determine if certain parenting strategies thought to be unique to Native American families would contribute or be related to parents' sense of competence. The first relation examined was that between parenting competence and use of noninterference. It was hypothesized that there would be a significant relation between these two variables, but no direction was predicted. As noninterference is conceptualized as a traditional Native American practice, one could assume that high levels of noninterference would be related to high levels of

traditionalism (or low acculturation) in other areas. Further, individuals with low levels of acculturation have strong ties to community and tribal members (good social support), which may in turn influence parents' sense of competence. On the other hand, the opposite of noninterference is interference, or being involved. A parent who is highly involved in his/her child's life may have more control over certain outcomes, which may in turn influence parents' sense of competence. Although a significant relation was expected between parenting competence and use of noninterference, this hypothesis was not supported. Therefore, noninterference was not found to be related to parents' sense of competence. This lack of relation may be due to a generally lower value and use of noninterference by this sample, and the fact that participants were recruited from the Midwestern United States. Additionally, it may be that the relation between noninterference and parents' sense of competence is being influenced by an unknown variable. Finally, this lack of relation may be due to the dimension of noninterference not being tapped into in this study the same way as it was conceptualized in previous studies.

The other relation examined was that between parenting competence and parental involvement in teaching life skills. Again, it was hypothesized that there would be a relation between these variables, but no direction was predicted. According to Glover (2001), traditional Native American families actively teach by modeling and storytelling early on in a child's life, and that these skills (modeling and storytelling) are crucial and paramount to being Native Americans. Given the relationship inferred between teaching and identity development, it would seem logical to find a strong relation between parenting competence and parental involvement in teaching of life skills. Although a significant relation was expected between these variables, the analysis conducted did not

support the hypothesis. Therefore, parents' sense of competence was not found to be related to parental involvement in teaching life skills to their children. It is unclear why no relation was found between these variables. It is possible that the relation between these variables is being influenced by an unknown variable. Future studies should further investigate the relations between parents' sense of competence, use of noninterference, and parental involvement in teaching life skills in order to obtain a better understanding of the underlying mechanisms that are contributing to the existence or lack of these relations.

Role of Acculturation on Relation between Parenting Strategies and Problem Behaviors

The regression analysis conducted to examine the influence acculturation had on the relation between parenting strategies and problem behaviors, found that neither acculturation nor parenting strategies had significant unique contributions in predicting child misbehaviors. Further, level of acculturation was not supported as a moderator in the relation between parenting strategies and child misbehavior. The amount of variance in child misbehavior explained by acculturation and/or parenting strategies is minimal. There is still a large amount of variance in the intensity of child misbehaviors that is unexplained. This unexplained variance should be researched further in future studies by assessing other variables that may be potential contributors.

Role of Acculturation on Relation between Teaching of Life Skills and Parenting

Competence

The regression analysis conducted to examine the influence acculturation had on the relation between parental involvement in teaching life skills to a child and parents' sense of competence, found that neither acculturation nor parental involvement in

teaching life skills to a child had significant unique contributions in predicting parents' sense of competence. Further, level of acculturation was not supported as a moderator in the relation between parental involvement in teaching life skills to a child and parents' sense of competence. The amount of variance in parenting competence explained by acculturation and/or parental involvement in teaching life skills to a child is minimal. There is still a large amount of variance in parenting competence that is unexplained. This unexplained variance should be researched further in future studies by assessing other variables that may be potential contributors.

Role of Acculturation on Relation between Noninterference and Parenting Competence

The regression analysis conducted to examine the influence acculturation had on the relation between use of noninterference and parenting competence, found that neither acculturation nor use of noninterference had significant unique contributions in predicting parents' sense of competence. However, level of acculturation was supported as a moderator in the relation between use of noninterference and parenting competence. Noninterference appeared to have an influence on parenting competence when acculturation was low, but no influence when acculturation was high. The amount of variance in parenting competence explained by the acculturation, use of noninterference, and the interaction between acculturation and use of noninterference remains minimal nonetheless. There is still a large amount of variance in parenting competence that is unexplained. This unexplained variance should be researched further in future studies by assessing other variables that may be potential contributors.

Clinical Implications

There are a number of clinical implications that have emerged from the results of the current study. The data indicate that although participants in this sample are similar in some aspects of their parenting to what has been reported in previous literature, there are also significant differences as well. This finding may suggest that Native American parenting styles have changed over time, where the Native Americans in this sample are both holding on to traditional ways as well as adopting different strategies that they believe to be most beneficial for their children. These differences could also be attributed to methodological differences between previous studies and the current study.

The participants in this sample continue to value and make use of extensive involvement of extended family members in child rearing responsibilities. This suggests that in clinical settings, these families may benefit by being treated from a systems perspective. Being open to and aware of the context in which the family operates will serve to improve the therapeutic relationship and ensure best therapeutic progress.

The view of formal education by participants in this sample is consistent with recent literature, with a strong value being placed on the attainment of higher education. Further, it was encouraging to find that participants in this sample did not see formal/higher education and preservation of traditional values as mutually exclusive. This finding is encouraging when one considers that in 2003, 15% of Native Americans between the ages of 16-24 were high school dropouts (Freeman & Fox, 2005). It is imperative for parents, teachers, and other professionals to be aware of and support this emphasis on higher education in order to increase retention and graduation of Native American students. Perhaps with the development of additional educational and

employment programs for Native Americans the retention and graduation rate of Native Americans will increase.

The results from this study provide tentative support that the *ECBI*, *PS*, and *PSS-Fr/Fa* are appropriate to use with the participants in this sample, while more research needs to be conducted on the PSOC in a Native American sample before determining if this might be an appropriate measure to use with this population. It was found that the problem level or frequency of child misbehaviors, the utilization of dysfunctional parenting techniques, perceived social support from friends and family, and parenting sense of competence did not differ significantly from what is reported for the normative sample. However, it is important to note that these results only provide tentative support and future research must be done in order to better understand these relations.

Participants in the current sample were recruited primarily from the Midwestern United States, so it is possible that Native American families from other parts of the country may respond to these measures differently. Additionally, as the current sample was non-clinical, it would be beneficial for future studies to investigate Native American families in a clinic setting. Investigation of these measures in a clinic setting would help determine if these measures remain appropriate for use with this population, especially the *PS* and *ECBI*, as both these measures are widely used in clinic settings.

Finally, it is important to discuss the clinical implications of what was found in regard to acculturation. Although acculturation was only found to moderate one of the relations investigated, it is still an important concept to consider. The data reported in this paper may not be an accurate reflection of Native Americans who did not participate in this study. Additionally, there are several areas that were not tapped into by this study

in which acculturation may have a strong influence. It is important for acculturation of Native Americans to continue to be assessed in both the clinical and research arenas.

Limitations and Strengths

In general, there are several limitations to the present study which should be noted. First, a sample of 48 caregivers primarily recruited from Oklahoma and Nebraska served as participants in the current study. It is possible that the variables under study may not have had enough variability due to the restricted geographic area from which participants were recruited. Future research should aim to recruit participants from a broader geographical area in order to see if similar results are obtained. Another limitation of this study was the limited inclusion of different types of descriptive assessment. Although quantitative data yields important information, it is much enriched by the addition of descriptive assessments. The addition of more descriptive and/or qualitative measures (e.g., interviews) may have tapped into or further explained factors that were not clearly examined in this study (i.e., noninterference).

An additional limitation of this study is related to shared-method variance. Problems associated with the fact that raters are not independent and thus information about parenting and child outcomes is filtered through the same source (i.e., parents) and it is unclear how this may have affected the results. There may be other constructs of parenting in Native American families that were not identified by the paper and pencil measures used with these parents. Future research could expand on the current study by having independent observers observe parent-child interactions and compare these observations to the results of the paper and pencil measures. Finally, it is possible that there was a selection bias in this sample, where individuals who were more acculturated

or more educated may have been more interested in participating in this study (or any type of research for that matter) than individuals who were less educated, less acculturated. This bias may have influenced potential participants in their decision to participate in this sample and may have led to a more homogeneous sample than had this selection bias not occurred.

Significant strengths of this study should also be noted. This study collected both descriptive and quantitative data on Native American parents and provided descriptive information about parenting beliefs, values, parenting practices, changes in parenting styles across two generations, and rates of child problem behavior in a sample where acculturation and demographic information were also assessed. Thus, it was a comprehensive study of important aspects of parenting in a Native American sample. This study specifically set out to systematically measure domains that had only been anecdotally measured in previous studies (e.g., noninterference, generational differences in parenting, value of and goals for education, and views on and goals for traditional vs. dominant culture beliefs and values). An additional strength of this study was the examination of the appropriateness of using well-accepted measures with Native American parents, a population that has been largely neglected in the normative samples of many psychological measures. By demonstrating support for the use of standardized measures with this sample, clinicians have more confidence in utilizing these measures and interpreting the results when working with this population. However, it should be noted that this strength may relate strongly to the selection bias limitation discussed previously. It could be that the standardized measures used in this study may be appropriate to use with the individuals who were inclined to participate in this study but

may not be appropriate for individuals who did not participate (for whatever reason) in this study. This study also gathered information on acculturation, tribal affiliation, and location of residence (urban vs. rural vs. reservation) in order to provide a thorough description of the sample. Collection of this data is important as Native Americans may differ by location, level of acculturation and by tribe. The participants in this sample were primarily recruited from the Midwestern United States which is important to keep in mind when interpreting the results of this study. It is possible that Native American families from other parts of the country would have vastly different answers/responses to many of the questions in this study. As individuals vary in their level of acculturation so will their responses to questions about parenting strategies thought to be unique to the Native American culture. Finally, different traditions and practices are valued across tribes and it is important to continue to assess tribal identification to ensure sensitivity to these differences.

Another strength of this study was the measurement of reliance on traditional parenting practices, interdependence among family members, and views on formal education. This information is important as it will strongly influence the assessment and treatment of Native American families. Finally, a considerable amount of thought about the goals of this project and the meaningfulness of the potential results went into the planning phase of the current study and were also kept in mind during data collection, analyses, and interpretation. In order to ensure best efforts were made in regard to cultural sensitivity and appropriateness, the current study was reviewed and approved by all communities and/or tribes where participants were recruited prior to the initiation of data collection.

Areas for Future Research

There are number of areas that should be considered in future research.

Although the information gathered from this study is beneficial and informative, much more research is needed. Future studies should attempt to recruit a larger and more diverse sample. Specifically, it would be beneficial if future studies were able to recruit individuals from different tribes and from different parts of the United States. This would allow for a better understanding of how the results of this study are relevant to other Native American families outside of the Midwestern United States.

Additionally, future research should also include both standardized and descriptive measures of parenting and child behavior. The inclusion of both descriptive and standardized measures is likely to yield rich data, which will be useful in comparing results of future studies with those of past studies. Using descriptive, quantitative, and qualitative measures may additionally yield factors that were not touched upon in this study that could be important to examine. Preferably all measures used with a Native American sample would have an adequate representation of Native American individuals involved in the standardization process however, this is unfortunately not the case, as many commonly used measures for children and parents do not currently meet these criteria. It would be beneficial in future studies if the appropriateness of standardized measures with Native American children and adults continued to be examined. If it were found that a particular standardized measure was inappropriate, then those results would support the development of new normative data or even the development of a new measure which would be more appropriate to use with this population.

More research is also needed on the relation between parenting strategies and child behavior. The results of the current study provided support for a relation between overreactivity and problematic child behavior, but the neither the relations between laxness and child misbehavior or dysfunctional parenting strategies in general and child misbehavior were supported. It would be important to examine if there are variables unique to Native American parenting that are influencing these relations. Future research should also further explore the role of acculturation in parenting and family interactions in a Native American sample. In the current study, acculturation was found to moderate the relation between parents' sense of competence and noninterference. It would be interesting in future research to examine whether acculturation influences other important parameters of parenting and child behavior or if it is most meaningful when used in the descriptive sense.

Finally, more research is needed to fully understand the concept of noninterference. The current study attempted to systematically measure this concept, but it is unclear if this construct was measured in this sample the same way it has been conceptualized in previous studies. Further examination of the concept of noninterference should focus not only on how the construct is conceptualized and used, but also on how it may affect and/or influence different aspects of parenting and child behavior.

Conclusions

This project collected both descriptive and quantitative data from a reasonable sample of Native American participants and provided descriptive information about parenting beliefs, values, parenting practices, changes in parenting styles across two generations, and rates of child problem behavior in a sample where acculturation and

demographic information were also assessed. The results of this project indicate that this sample of Native American parents are highly involved in and take primary responsibility for many areas of their children's lives, including discipline and teaching of life skills. However, the value of interdependence and reliance on extended kinship in assisting with childrearing also continues to be very important for this group. The results of this project further indicate that there is an emphasis on balancing traditional and dominant culture beliefs and values and strong value placed upon the importance of higher education. Additionally, the results of this study provided tentative support for the use of the *ECBI*, *PS*, *PSS-Fa/Fr* with this group. Finally, it appears that a good social support network may be related to decreased use of dysfunctional parenting strategies.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Demographic Questionnaire

Demographic Questionnaire

Please fill in the blanks below. All responses will be kept confidential.

1. Location at which survey materials are being completed

_____ powwow

_____ IHS/ Tribal Clinic

_____ Other _____
Please describe

2. Your relationship to the child:

_____ Biological parent

_____ Step-parent

_____ Adoptive parent

_____ Other

3. Your age: _____

4. Your sex: _____ Female _____ Male

5. Your ethnicity:

_____ Caucasian _____ American Indian _____
Tribe or Nation

_____ African-American _____ Biracial _____
Please describe

_____ Hispanic/Latino _____ Other _____
Please describe

_____ Asian/Asian-American

6. Type of community in which you currently reside:

_____ Rural _____ Reservation

_____ Urban _____ Other _____
Please describe

7. Length of time in this community: _____

8. Type of community at previous residence:

_____ Rural _____ Reservation

_____ Urban _____ Other _____
Please describe

9. Your highest level of education completed (circle year):

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 (Grade school)

9 10 11 12 (High school)

13 14 15 16 (College)

17 and over (Graduate School)

10. Your occupation _____

11. Your total family income per month (check one):

_____ Less than \$800 _____ \$800-\$1,000 _____ \$1001-\$1,500

_____ \$1,501-\$2,000 _____ \$2,001-\$2,500 _____ over \$2,500

12. Marital Status (check one):

_____ Married _____ Divorced _____ Separated _____ Single

_____ Widowed _____ Living with partner

13. If married or living with partner, please provide the following information about your spouse/partner:

a. Spouse/Partner's relationship to the child:

_____ Biological parent

_____ Step-parent

_____ Adoptive parent

_____ Other

b. Spouse/Partner's age _____

c. Spouse/Partner's ethnicity:

_____ Caucasian _____ American Indian _____
Tribe or Nation

_____ African-American _____ Biracial _____
Please describe

_____ Hispanic/Latino _____ Other _____
Please describe

_____ Asian/Asian-American

d. Spouse/Partner's highest level of education completed (circle year):

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 (Grade school)

9 10 11 12 (High school)

13 14 15 16 (College)

17 and over (Graduate School)

e. Spouse/Partner's occupation: _____

14. Please provide the following information about the child participating in this study:

a. Date of birth: _____ (month/day/year)

b. Sex: Male _____ Female _____

c. Child's ethnicity:

_____Caucasian	_____American Indian _____	Tribe or Nation
_____African-American	_____Biracial _____	Please describe
_____Hispanic/Latino	_____Other _____	Please describe
_____Asian/Asian-American		

15. Does the child have siblings?

_____No	_____Yes	Age (in years)	Sex (please circle)	Living in the home (please circle)	
		_____	M F	Y N	
		_____	M F	Y N	
		_____	M F	Y N	
		_____	M F	Y N	
		_____	M F	Y N	

16. Including you and your child, how many people are living in your home? _____

APPENDIX B

Native American Parenting Survey

Native American Parenting Survey

1. Upbringing

In some families the mother and/or father are the ones primarily responsible for raising the children, but in other families extended kinship and friends assist in the child rearing. Given this information, please choose one sentence below (a - f) that is most consistent with the way in which your child is raised. Choose one sentence only.

a. _____ My spouse/partner and I **share** responsibility of our children without relying on other family members..

b. _____ My spouse/partner and I **share** responsibility, but others play a significant role in my child's life. *If YES, please indicate who shares responsibility (check all that apply):*

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| _____ child's grandmother | _____ child's aunt |
| _____ child's grandfather | _____ child's uncle |
| _____ child's great grandmother | _____ child's cousin |
| _____ child's great grandfather | _____ child's older sibling |
| _____ child's stepmother | _____ other (please specify) |
| _____ child's stepfather | _____ |

c. _____ I have **primary** responsibility for my children without relying on other family members.

d. _____ I have **primary** responsibility for my children, but others play a significant role in my child's life. *If YES, please indicate who shares responsibility (check all that apply):*

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| _____ child's grandmother | _____ child's aunt |
| _____ child's grandfather | _____ child's uncle |
| _____ child's great grandmother | _____ child's cousin |
| _____ child's great grandfather | _____ child's older sibling |
| _____ child's stepmother | _____ other (please specify) |
| _____ child's stepfather | _____ |

2. Confidence in Parenting Abilities

Circle the number that corresponds most closely with your beliefs and values regarding your child.

A) I am a good parent.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

B) I am easily frustrated by my child.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

C) I make good decisions regarding my children.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

3. Teaching

Circle the number that corresponds most closely with your beliefs and values regarding your child.

A) I am the person responsible for teaching my child right from wrong.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

B) I am the person responsible for teaching my child how to take care of him/herself.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

C) I am the person my child asks for guidance when faced with important life decisions.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

4) Discipline

Circle the number that corresponds most closely with your beliefs and values regarding your child.

A) I am the person responsible for disciplining my child.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

B) I am consistent in the disciplining of my child.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

C) Girls should receive the same type of discipline as boys.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

5) Noninterference

Circle the number that corresponds most closely with your beliefs and values regarding your child.

A) I think it is important for my child to receive direction and guidance in choosing and keeping friends.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

B) I think it is important for my child to receive direction and guidance in choosing hobbies and interests.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

C) I think it is important for my child to receive direction and guidance in choosing extracurricular activities.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

D) I think it is important for my child to receive direction and guidance in making decisions about his/her future.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

E) I think it is important for my child to receive direction and guidance when he/she engages in minor misbehaviors.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

F) I think it is important for my child to receive direction and guidance when he/she engages in major misbehaviors.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

G-1) It is important for my child to respect elders.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

G-2) I think it is important for my child to receive direction and guidance in developing respect for elders.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

7) Education

Circle the number that corresponds most closely with your beliefs and values regarding your child

A) It is important that my child receives a good formal education

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
not important somewhat important important very important extremely important

B) *Education and Earning a Living*

1) How important is completing middle school in your child eventually earning a living and supporting him/herself and his/her family

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
not important somewhat important important very important extremely important

2) How important is getting a high school diploma in your child eventually earning a living and supporting him/herself and his/her family

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
not important somewhat important important very important extremely important

3) How important is getting a trade school/vo-tech certificate or diploma in your child eventually earning a living and supporting him/herself and his/her family

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
not important somewhat important important very important extremely important

4) How important is attending some college in your child eventually earning a living and supporting him/herself and his/her family

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
not important somewhat important important very important extremely important

5) How important is getting a college degree in your child eventually earning a living and supporting him/herself and his/her family

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
not important somewhat important important very important extremely important

6) How important is getting a graduate school degree in your child eventually earning a living and supporting him/herself and his/her family

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
not important somewhat important important very important extremely important

C) *Education and Retaining Traditional Values*

1) How much does completing middle school interfere with your child knowing and practicing traditional values

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

2) How much does graduating from high school interfere with your child knowing and practicing traditional values

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

3) How much does getting a trade school/vo-tech certificate or diploma interfere with your child knowing and practicing traditional values

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

4) How much does attending some college interfere with your child knowing and practicing traditional values

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

5) How much does getting a college degree interfere with your child knowing and practicing traditional values

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

6) How much does getting a graduate school degree interfere with your child knowing and practicing traditional values

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
never sometimes half the time most of the time always

D) *Choose the sentence below that is most consistent with the goals you have for your child*

_____ I want my child to complete middle school

_____ I want my child to graduate from high school

_____ I want my child to receive technical training or go to vo-tech

_____ I want my child to go to college

_____ I want my child to get a college degree

_____ I want my child to get a graduate school degree

E) *Choose the sentence below that is most consistent with the goals your parents had for your education*

_____ They wanted me to complete middle school

_____ They wanted me to graduate from high school

_____ They wanted me to receive technical training or go to vo-tech

_____ They wanted me to go to college

_____ They wanted me to get a college degree

_____ They wanted me to get a graduate school degree

F) *Choose the sentence below that is most consistent with your parents educational achievement*

- _____ They completed middle school
- _____ They graduated from high school
- _____ They received technical training or go to vo-tech
- _____ They went to college
- _____ They received a college degree
- _____ They received a graduate school degree

8) Traditional Values

A) *Choose the sentence below that is most consistent with your parents beliefs and values*

- _____ My parents knew and practiced only traditional beliefs and values
- _____ My parents knew and practiced traditional beliefs and values as well as had some knowledge about dominant culture beliefs and values
- _____ My parents knew and practiced both traditional beliefs and dominant culture
- _____ My parents knew and practiced dominant culture beliefs and values as well as had some knowledge about traditional beliefs and values
- _____ My parents knew and practiced only dominant culture beliefs and values

B) *Choose the sentence below that is most consistent with the goals your parent(s) had for you as a child*

- _____ They wanted me to know and practice only traditional beliefs and values
- _____ They wanted me to know and practice traditional beliefs and values as well as have some knowledge about dominant culture beliefs and values
- _____ They wanted me to know and practice both traditional beliefs and dominant culture
- _____ They wanted me to know and practice dominant culture beliefs and values as well as have some knowledge about traditional beliefs and values
- _____ They wanted me to know and practice only dominant culture beliefs and values

C) Choose the sentence below that is most consistent with the goals you have for your child

_____ My child should know and practice only traditional beliefs and values

_____ My child should know and practice traditional beliefs and values as well as have some knowledge about dominant culture beliefs and values

_____ My child should know and practice both traditional beliefs and dominant culture

_____ My child should know and practice dominant culture beliefs and values as well as have some knowledge about traditional beliefs and values

_____ My child should know and practice only dominant culture beliefs and values

The following is an area reserved for your comments. Feel free to add anything about parenting that you feel is important, but that may not have been covered in this questionnaire.

APPENDIX C

Debriefing Questionnaire

DEBRIEFING QUESTIONNAIRE

At the end of the study, we like to explain the study and get feedback from the parents about the study. The purpose of the study was to examine factors that might influence parenting behavior and parent-training (i.e. parent education). Our hope is that with more information about the parenting behavior and parent-training preferences of Native American parents, the services available to Native American parents will be the best possible.

1. Do you have any questions about this study or your participation?
2. What was it like being in the study? What did you think about it?
3. Was any part of the study especially difficult?
4. Having experienced the study, are you still glad you participated in the study? Would you be willing to be contacted about further studies involving parents and children?
5. Any other questions or comments?

If you listed a question above, what is the best way to contact you so that we may respond to this question?

First Name: _____

Home Address: _____

Email Address: _____

Phone: _____

APPENDIX D

Tables

Table 1.

Summary of Participating Caregiver Self-Reported Demographic Information

Relationship to Child	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent</u>	Age of Respondent		
Biological parent	38	79.2	Mean	35.69	
Step-parent	1	2.1	Range	(20 to 58)	
Other	9	18.8			
Gender of Respondent	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent</u>	Child Age		
Female	41	85.4	Mean	8.42	
Male	7	14.6	Range	(5 to 12)	
Marital Status	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent</u>	Child Gender	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Married	20	41.7	Male	21	43.8
Divorced	7	14.6	Female	27	56.2
Separated	3	6.2			
Single	12	25.0			
Widowed	3	6.2			
Living with Partner	3	6.2			
Years of Education	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent</u>			
8 th to 11 th grade	9	18.8			
Completed high school	12	25.0			
1-3 Years College	18	37.4			
Completed Bachelor's	8	16.7			
Graduate Education	1	2.1			
Family Income	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent</u>			
Less than \$800/mo	5	10.4			
\$800-\$1000/mo	9	18.8			
\$1001-\$1500/mo	3	6.2			
\$1501-2000/mo	8	16.7			
\$2001-2500/mo	9	18.8			
over \$2500/mo	13	27.1			
not reported	1	2.1			
Community of Residence	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent</u>			
Rural	14	29.2			
Urban	11	22.9			
Reservation	19	39.6			
Other	3	6.3			
Not Reported	1	2.1			

Table 2.

Summary of Participating Caregiver Self-Reported Ethnicity

Tribe/Nation	<u>n</u>
Apache	1
Blackfoot	1
Cherokee	3
Cherokee/Creek	1
Cherokee/Osage/Shawnee	1
Cheyenne River Sioux	1
Chickasaw/Choctaw/Cherokee/ Keetoowah	1
Choctaw	1
Comanche	3
Creek	1
Creek/Cherokee/Chickasaw	1
Iowa/Chippewa	1
Iowa/Otoe/Sac and Fox	1
Navajo	1
Navajo/Pawnee	1
Ogalala Sioux	1
Omaha	20
Ponca	2
Shawnee/Chippewa	1
United Keetoowah	1
Winnebago/Omaha	1
Winnebago/Sioux	1
Not Reported	2

Table 3.

Summary of Native American Parenting Survey (NAPS) Items

Use of Extended Kinship Ties	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent</u>
My spouse/partner and I share responsibility of our children	11	22.9%
My spouse/partner and I share responsibility, but others play a significant role	17	35.4%
	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent</u>
grandmother	12	25.0%
grandfather	8	16.7%
great grandmother	2	4.2%
great grandfather	0	0%
stepmother	0	0%
stepfather	1	2.1%
child's aunt	6	12.5%
child's uncle	6	12.5%
child's cousin	1	2.1%
child's older sibling	5	10.4%
other	1	2.1%

I have primary responsibility for my children	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	4	8.3%

I have primary responsibility for my children, but others play a significant role	16	33.3%
---	----	-------

	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent</u>
grandmother	13	27.1%
grandfather	9	18.8%
great grandmother	1	2.1%
great grandfather	1	2.1%
stepmother	0	0%
stepfather	0	0%
child's aunt	8	16.7%
child's uncle	6	12.5%
child's cousin	2	4.2%
child's older sibling	3	6.2%
other	3	6.2%

Table 3 Continued.

Aspects of Discipline and Parenting Competence and Teaching Children Life Skills

Confidence in Parenting Abilities

	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent</u>
I am a good parent		
Never	0	0%
Sometimes	0	0%
Half the time	1	2.1%
Most of the time	24	50.0%
Always	23	47.9%
I am easily frustrated by my child		
Never	6	12.5%
Sometimes	29	60.4%
Half the time	9	18.8%
Most of the time	3	6.3%
Always	1	2.1%
I make good decisions regarding my children		
Never	1	2.1%
Sometimes	0	0%
Half the time	2	4.2%
Most of the time	17	35.4%
Always	28	58.3%
<i>Discipline</i>		
Responsible for disciplining my child		
Never	0	0%
Sometimes	1	2.1%
Half the time	6	12.5%
Most of the time	11	22.9%
Always	30	62.5%
Consistent in the discipline of my child		
Never	0	0%
Sometimes	0	2.1%
Half the time	8	16.7%
Most of the time	19	39.6%
Always	20	41.7%

Table 3 Continued.

Believe girls and boys should receive the same discipline	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Never	1	0%
Sometimes	3	6.3%
Half the time	3	6.2%
Most of the time	11	22.9%
Always	30	62.5%

Teaching

I am responsible for teaching my child right from wrong		
Never	0	0%
Sometimes	0	0%
Half the time	1	2.1%
Most of the time	12	25.0%
Always	35	72.9%

I am responsible for teaching my child self-care skills		
Never	0	0%
Sometimes	0	0%
Half the time	1	2.1%
Most of the time	10	20.8%
Always	37	77.1%

My child comes to me for guidance with important life decisions		
Never	0	0%
Sometimes	0	0%
Half the time	2	4.2%
Most of the time	14	29.1%
Always	32	66.7%

Concept of Noninterference

Important to provide child with guidance in choosing friends		
Never	1	2.1%
Sometimes	1	2.1%
Half the time	7	14.6%
Most of the time	18	37.5%
Always	21	43.7%
Not Reported	2	4.2%

Table 3 Continued.

Important to provide child with guidance in choosing hobbies/interests		
	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Never	2	4.2%
Sometimes	3	6.3%
Half the time	4	8.4%
Most of the time	24	50.0%
Always	15	41.3%
Important to provide child with guidance in choosing extracurricular activities		
Never	1	2.1%
Sometimes	4	8.4%
Half of the time	5	10.4%
Most of the time	24	50.0%
Always	15	31.3%
Important to provide guidance in making sure child learns things by a certain age		
Never	0	0%
Sometimes	3	6.2%
Half of the time	5	10.4%
Most of the time	22	45.8%
Always	17	35.4%
Important to provide guidance when making decisions about the future		
Never	1	2.1%
Sometimes	1	2.1%
Half of the time	3	6.3%
Most of the time	14	29.2%
Always	29	60.4%
Important to provide guidance when child engaging in major misbehaviors		
Never	0	0%
Sometimes	0	0%
Half of the time	1	2.1%
Most of the time	10	20.8%
Always	37	77.1%

Table 3 Continued.

Important to provide guidance when child engaging in minor misbehaviors	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Never	0	0%
Sometimes	0	0%
Half of the time	1	2.1%
Most of the time	14	29.2%
Always	33	68.7%
Important to provide guidance in developing respect for elders		
Never	0	0%
Sometimes	0	0%
Half of the time	1	2.1%
Most of the time	4	8.4%
Always	43	89.6%
Views on and Goals for Education		
Important for my child to receive a good formal education		
Not important	0	0%
Somewhat important	0	0%
Important	2	4.2%
Very important	6	12.5%
Extremely important	40	83.4%
Completing middle school important in order for my child to earn a living		
Not important	0	0%
Somewhat important	0	0%
Important	4	8.3%
Very important	7	14.6%
Extremely important	37	77.1%
Completing high school important in order for my child to earn a living		
Not important	0	0%
Somewhat important	0	0%
Important	2	4.2%
Very important	5	10.4%
Extremely important	40	83.4%

Table 3 Continued.

Important for my child to attend		
some college in order to earn a living	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Not important	0	0%
Somewhat important	0	0%
Important	5	8.4%
Very important	7	14.5%
Extremely important	36	75.0%
Important for my child to graduate		
from college in order to earn a living		
Not important	0	0%
Somewhat important	0	0%
Important	5	8.4%
Very important	6	12.5%
Extremely important	37	77.1%
Important for my child to attain a graduate		
degree in order to earn a living		
Not important	1	2.1%
Somewhat important	0	0%
Important	8	16.7%
Very important	11	22.9%
Extremely important	27	56.2%
Not Reported	1	2.1%
Completing middle school interferes		
with my child retaining traditional values		
Never	21	43.8%
Sometimes	7	14.6%
Half the time	4	8.4%
Most of the time	6	12.5%
Always	9	18.8%
Not Reported	1	2.1%
Graduating from high school interferes		
with my child retaining traditional values		
Never	25	52.1%
Sometimes	5	10.4%
Half the time	4	8.3%
Most of the time	5	10.4%
Always	8	16.7%
Not Reported	1	2.1%

Table 3 Continued.

Completing trade school interferes with my child retaining traditional values		
	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Never	28	58.3%
Sometimes	5	10.4%
Half the time	4	8.3%
Most of the time	5	10.4%
Always	4	8.3%
Not Reported	2	4.2%
Attending college interferes with my child retaining traditional values		
Never	26	54.2%
Sometimes	8	16.4%
Half the time	3	6.3%
Most of the time	5	10.4%
Always	4	8.3%
Not Reported	2	4.2%
Getting a college degree interferes with my child retaining traditional values		
Never	27	56.2%
Sometimes	7	14.5%
Half the time	3	6.3%
Most of the time	4	8.3%
Always	5	10.4%
Not Reported	2	4.2%
Getting a graduate school degree interferes with my child retaining traditional values		
Never	27	56.2%
Sometimes	7	14.6%
Half the time	3	6.3%
Most of the time	4	8.3%
Always	5	10.4%
Not Reported	2	4.2%
I want my child to		
Complete middle school	1	2.1%
Graduate from high school	3	6.2%
Go to trade/technical school	2	4.2%
Go to college	2	4.2%
Get a college degree	25	52.1%
Get a graduate school degree	14	29.2%
Not Reported	1	2.1%

Table 3 Continued.

	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent</u>
My parents wanted me to		
Complete middle school	0	0%
Graduate from high school	14	29.2%
Go to trade/technical school	0	0%
Go to college	13	27.1%
Get a college degree	13	27.1%
Get a graduate school degree	7	14.6%
Not Reported	1	2.1%
My parents		
Completed middle school	7	14.6%
Graduated from high school	13	27.1%
Went to trade/technical school	4	8.3%
Went to college	3	6.2%
Got a college degree	14	29.2%
Got a graduate school degree	5	10.4%
Not Reported	1	2.1%
Generational Differences		
I rely on extended family members to help raise my child		
Much less than my parents	12	25.0%
Same amount as my parents	23	47.9%
Much more than my parents	12	25.0%
Not Reported	1	2.1%
The number of different people that help me in raising my child is		
Many less than my parents	18	37.5%
Same amount as my parents	21	43.7%
Many more than my parents	9	18.8%
I use storytelling as a teaching strategy with my children		
Much less than my parents	6	12.5%
Same amount as my parents	26	54.2%
Much more than my parents	16	33.3%
I use shaming as a teaching/discipline strategy with my children		
Much less than my parents	18	37.5%
Same amount as my parents	25	52.1%
Much more than my parents	5	10.4%

Table 3 Continued.

I use reasoning as a teaching/discipline strategy with my children	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Much less than my parents	4	8.4%
Same amount as my parents	26	54.2%
Much more than my parents	18	37.5%
I use spanking as a teaching/discipline strategy with my children		
Much less than my parents	27	56.3%
Same amount as my parents	18	37.5%
Much more than my parents	3	6.2%
I assign extra chores as discipline teaching strategy with my children		
Much less than my parents	11	22.9%
Same amount as my parents	21	43.7%
Much more than my parents	16	33.3%
I use storytelling as a discipline strategy with my children		
Much less than my parents	13	27.0%
Same amount as my parents	27	56.3%
Much more than my parents	8	16.7%
I use ignoring as a discipline/teaching strategy with my children		
Much less than my parents	25	52.1%
Same amount as my parents	16	33.3%
Much more than my parents	7	14.6%
I take my child to traditional events		
Much less than my parents	5	10.4%
Same amount as my parents	17	35.4%
Much more than my parents	26	54.2%
My child and/or I participate in tribal events		
Much less than my parents	6	12.5%
Same amount as my parents	19	39.6%
Much more than my parents	23	47.9%

Table 3 Continued.

	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent</u>
I emphasize education with my child		
Much less than my parents	0	0%
Same amount as my parents	17	35.4%
Much more than my parents	31	64.6%
Traditional Knowledge and Values		
My child should have		
Only traditional beliefs & values	0	0%
Primarily traditional values	7	14.6%
Equally traditional & dominant	26	54.2%
Primarily dominant culture values	12	25.0%
Only dominant culture values	2	4.2%
Not Reported	1	2.1%
My parents wanted me to have		
Only traditional beliefs & values	2	4.2%
Primarily traditional values	10	20.8%
Equally traditional & dominant	19	39.6%
Primarily dominant culture values	14	29.2%
Only dominant culture values	1	2.1%
Not Reported	2	4.2%
My parents had		
Only traditional beliefs & values	6	12.5%
Primarily traditional values	9	18.8%
Equally traditional & dominant	12	25.0%
Primarily dominant culture values	16	33.3%
Only dominant culture values	1	2.1%
Not Reported	2	4.2%

Table 4.

One-sample z-tests for standardized measures

	<u>Current Sample</u>		<u>Normative Sample</u>	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
ECBI Intensity Score	98.27	35.55	104.34	24.50
ECBI Problem Score	6.50	8.42	4.62	4.97
PS Laxness Score	2.81	1.04	2.40	0.80
PS Overreactivity Score	3.11	0.84	2.40	0.70
PS Verbosity Score	4.02	0.64	3.10	1.00
PS Total Score	3.23	0.64	2.60	0.60
PSS-Friends Score	11.38	3.28	15.15	5.08
PSS-Family Score	11.81	4.69	13.40	4.83
PSOC Total Score	59.08	7.57	64.19	10.48
PSOC Satisfaction Score	34.73	5.42	38.50	6.34
PSOC Efficacy Score	24.35	4.83	25.69	6.61

Table 5.

Pearson Product-Moment Correlations between the Parenting Scale and the Perceived Social Support from Friends and Family Scale & Eyberg Child Behavior Inventory

	<u>PS scores</u>			
	<u>Laxness</u>	<u>Overreactivity</u>	<u>Verbosity</u>	<u>Total Score</u>
PSS-Fa/Fr Total Score	-.440**	-.285*	.028	-.393**
ECBI Intensity Score	-.111	.240	-.137	-.016
ECBI Problem Score	-.025	.386**	-.128	.113

Note. Correlations in bold remain significant after the modified Bonferroni correction.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 6.

Pearson Product-Moment Correlations between Parenting Sense of Competence (PSOC) and NAPS Teaching and Noninterference Scores

	NAPS scores	
	Teaching	Noninterference
PSOC Total Score	.140	.182

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 7.

Summary of Stepwise Regression for Variables Predicting the Intensity Score of the ECBI.

(N = 48)

Step	β	t for within step predictors	R^2 Change for step	F Change for step
1			.031	.718
PS Total Score	.580	.070		
Acculturation	9.937	.177		
(Constant)	96.900	3.590		
2			.012	.554
PS Total Score	.355	.043		
Acculturation	6.833	.731		
PS Total Score X Acculturation	9.845	.744		
(Constant)	98.063	3.609		

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 8.

Summary of Stepwise Regression for Variables Predicting the Total Score of the PSOC.

(N = 48)

Step		β	t for within step predictors	R^2 Change for step	F Change for step
1				.023	.540
	NAPS Teaching	.413	1.010		
	Acculturation	.808	.429		
	(Constant)	59.331	50.879		
2				.049	2.317
	NAPS Teaching	.501	1.231		
	Acculturation	.092	.048		
	NAPS Teaching X Acculturation	-.719	-1.522		
	(Constant)	59.051	50.729		

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 9.

Summary of Stepwise Regression for Variables Predicting the Total Score of the PSOC.

(N = 48)

Step		β	t for within step predictors	R^2 Change for step	F Change for step
1				.038	.878
	NAPS Noninterference	.194	1.300		
	Acculturation	.940	.496		
	(Constant)	59.391	50.243		
2				.143	7.518*
	NAPS Noninterference	.270	.272		
	Acculturation	-.647	-.348		
	NAPS Noninterference X Acculturation	-.534	-2.742**		
	(Constant)	58.790	52.271		

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

APPENDIX E

Figures

Figure 1.

Moderator Relationship: Acculturation moderates the relation between noninterference (predictor) and parenting competence (outcome). (Adapted from Rose et al., 2004)

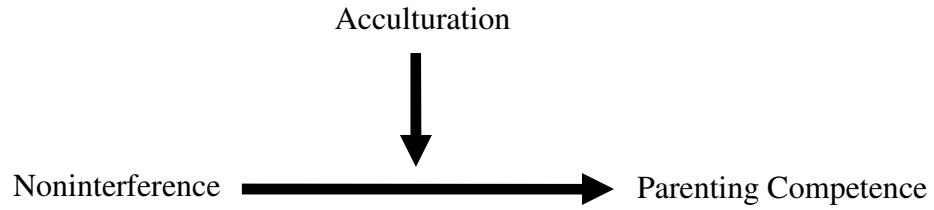
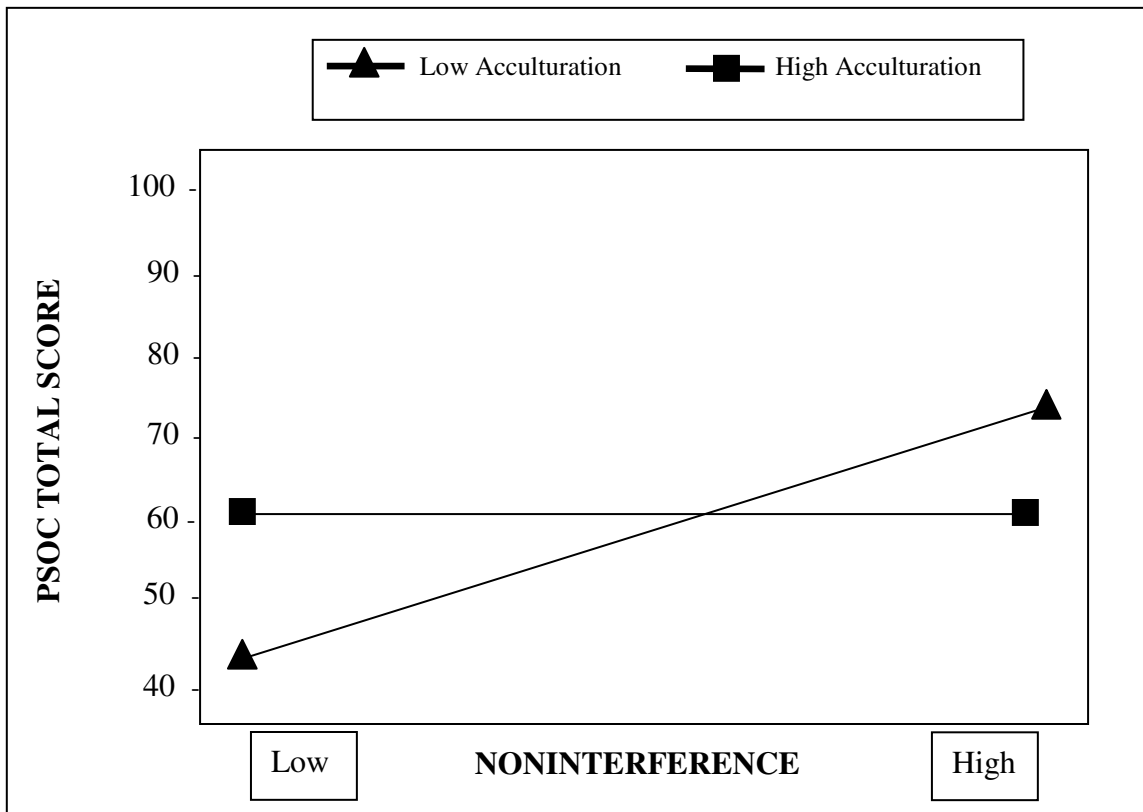


Figure 2.

Interaction of Noninterference and Acculturation on Parenting Competence.



APPENDIX F

Institutional Review Board Approval Form

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date: Monday, February 11, 2008 Protocol Expires: 2/10/2009
IRB Application No: AS062
Proposal Title: Parameters of Parenting in Native American Families

Reviewed and Processed as: Expedited
Continuation

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): **Approved**

Principal Investigator(s):

Tamara Newcomb
215 N. Murray
Stillwater, OK 74078

Maureen Sullivan
215 N Murray
Stillwater, OK 74078

Approvals are valid for one calendar year, after which time a request for continuation must be submitted. Any modifications to the research project approved by the IRB must be submitted for approval with the advisor's signature. The IRB office MUST be notified in writing when a project is complete. Approved projects are subject to monitoring by the IRB. Expedited and exempt projects may be reviewed by the full Institutional Review Board.

- The final versions of any printed recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

Signature


Sheila Kennison, Chair, Institutional Review Board

Monday, February 11, 2008
Date

VITA

Tamara Camille Newcomb

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Dissertation: PARAMETERS OF PARENTING IN NATIVE AMERICAN FAMILIES

Major Field: Psychology (option: Clinical)

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Ardmore, Oklahoma, on April 27, 1978, the daughter of David and Linda Wilburn, the wife of Darrell Newcomb, the mother of Fisher Newcomb.

Education: Graduated from Fox High School in Fox, Oklahoma in May, 1996; received a Bachelor of Science degree in Family Relations and Child Development from Oklahoma State University in Stillwater, Oklahoma in May 2001; received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Psychology from Oklahoma State University in Stillwater, Oklahoma in May 2001; received a Masters of Science degree in Psychology (option: Clinical) from Oklahoma State University in December 2005; completed predoctoral internship at the University of Nebraska Medical Center Munroe-Meyer Institute in Omaha, Nebraska in June 2008; completed the requirements for Doctor of Philosophy degree in Psychology (option: Clinical) at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma in July 2008.

Professional Memberships: Association for Behavioral and Cognitive Therapies, American Psychological Association, Society of Indian Psychologists, Association for Behavior Analysis, Heartland Association for Behavior Analysis

Name: Tamara C. Newcomb

Date of Degree: July, 2008

Institution: Oklahoma State University

Location: Stillwater, Oklahoma

Title of Study: PARAMETERS OF PARENTING IN NATIVE AMERICAN
FAMILIES

Pages in Study: 138

Candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Major Field: Psychology (option: clinical)

Scope and Method of Study: This study utilized well-standardized measures and a newly developed measure to collect normative data on parenting styles and strategies of Native American families. The goals of this study were to: 1) provide descriptive information about parenting beliefs, values, practices, changes in parenting styles between two generations, and rates of child problem behavior in a Native American sample where acculturation and basic demographic information were assessed; 2) examine responses on the standardized measures used in this study to determine if they are appropriate to use with a Native American population; 3) examine links between certain parameters that have been found with the dominant culture and examine them in a Native American sample; and 4) examine the influence acculturation had on the relations between parenting strategies and problem behaviors, between parental involvement in teaching life skills to a child and parents' sense of competence, and between the use of noninterference and parents' sense of competence.

Findings and Conclusions: Caregivers in this study reported being highly involved in their children's lives, while also placing value on interdependence/reliance on extended kinship for childrearing assistance. Overall, parents in this sample were confident in their parenting abilities, believed they made good childrearing decisions, and reported low levels of frustration with their children. Further, an emphasis on balancing traditional and dominant culture beliefs and values was found, as well as was strong value placed upon the importance of higher education. Approximately half of the sample reported similar parenting styles as their own parents. Additionally, the results of this study provided tentative support for the use of the *ECBI*, *PS*, *PSS-Fa/Fr*, and *PSOC* with this group. Based on the results of this study, it appears that a good social support network may be related to decreased use of dysfunctional parenting strategies. Acculturation does not appear to influence the relation between parenting strategies and child problem behavior or the relation between parenting competence and parental involvement in teaching life skills. However, acculturation was found to influence the relation between the use of noninterference and parenting competence.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL: Maureen A. Sullivan, Ph.D.