Urban American Indians’ perceptions of historical trauma.

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Abstract:

This dissertation presents a study of the experience of American Indians, residing in an urban setting, regarding historical trauma. This study consists of two parts. The first aspect of the study is to correlate scores from the Historical Losses Scale (HLS) and the Native American Acculturation Scale (NAAS). The results indicate that higher scores on the HLS are moderately related to lower scores on the NAAS. The second aspect of this study presents findings from interviews with 12 participants regarding their perceptions of the effects of historical trauma (HT). The following themes emerged from the interviews: Assimilation Produces HT, Oppression, Loss of Language, Guilt-Not being able to pass on, Family Connection or Lack of, Loss of Traditions and Spirituality. The qualitative and quantitative aspects of this study are both theoretically and empirically related. Hence quotes from the interviews were used to illustrate the items of the HLS. The content of the interviews suggests that the impact of historical trauma is relevant for American Indians residing in urban areas.
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Urban American Indians' perceptions of historical trauma.

The lived experience of urban American Indians is not well understood, as much as how American Indians perceive their lives is not understood (Tsethlikai, Peyton, & O'Brien, 2007). Previous studies have focused on the problems associated with urbanization, such as diffusion of bloodlines through increases of intermarriage with non-Indians, a decrease of tribal identity, loss of language, and lack of connection to cultural practices (Thornton, 2001). Increases of intermarriage, not only with non-Indians, but also with intertribal unions between American Indian has lead to an increase in the number of people of American Indian descent, although progeny of these relationships do not possess enough of one heritage to be enrolled in a particular tribe due to tribal enrollment standards. This has resulted in people of American Indian heritage having no official connection to a tribe, even though they are American Indian. Very little is understood as to what the impact of assimilation is on American Indians. This study provides an opportunity for American Indians to voice their perceptions regarding the effects of assimilation.

According to the 2000 Census, 4.1 million people in the United States, self identify as American Indians. This represents approximately 1.5 percent of the United States population (Census, 2000). While American Indians comprise a small portion of the population, they hold a unique history with the United States government, a history that for some remains salient. Currently, there are 563 federally recognized American Indian tribes. Each of these tribes is a distinct sovereign nation that determines its own membership (citizenship) and exercises the powers of government to varying degrees.
The Urban Health Institute (2001) estimates that approximately 66% of the total American Indian population resides in urban areas.

American Indians tend to move between reservation or rural settings and urban settings (Tsethlikai, Peyton, & O’Brien, 2007). This movement between rural and urban settings began from efforts by the United States government at relocation in the 1950’s (Langer, 2005). Policies aimed at relocating American Indians to urban settings were part of an historical effort to assimilate American Indians into the dominant society of the United States (Brave Heart-Jordan, 1995; Duran et al. 1998; Yellow Horse Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998). High rates of unemployment on reservations often forced many to leave the reservation in search of employment in urban areas and away from connection to traditional culture (Fixico, 2000). Currently migration between urban and rural settings continues, frequently prompted by the search for better education, employment and housing, as often on reservations shortages exist of education, employment and housing (Forquera, 2001). It is common for American Indians to travel between their urban homes and reservations to maintain connections to their family as well as their culture (Forquera, 2001). This mobility, paired with intermarriage and increased connection between American Indian cultures as well as contact with the dominant culture, contribute to the increased diversity of urban American Indians population (Forquera, 2001; Langer, 2005).

American Indians have extremely high rates of depression, suicide, chemical dependency and chronic health, all of which can be attributed to the history of oppression by the dominant culture in the United States (Struthers & Lowe, 2003; Surgeon General, 2001). Historically, policies of the United States government were intentionally aimed at assimilating American Indians by removing, to their detriment, cultural practices and
disrupting cultural family ties through the use of boarding schools. Historically, a
commonly held belief was that as American Indians did not live according to customs of
Europeans, that they were savages and needing education. At one point in time the
Bureau of Indian Affairs contained a department call the Department of Education, this
department was born out of the Civilization Division (Adams, 1995; Yellow Horse Brave
Heart-Jordan, 1995). It was in here, where the concept of boarding schools was born,
stripping of generations of American Indians of their cultural identity. Generations of
American Indian children were removed from their homes, to live in boarding schools. In
these schools, American Indian children were physically punished for speaking their
native languages, practicing their traditions or identifying as American Indian (Adams,
1995). The conditions in these boarding schools was harsh, with firm expectations placed
upon children to conform to values and practices of the dominant white culture (Adams,
1995; Yellow Horse Brave Heart-Jordan, 1995). To encourage conformity, the standard
practice at many boarding schools was harsh physical discipline, deprivation of adequate
food and assignment of long hours of labor (Yellow Horse Brave Heart-Jordan, 1995).

The very rights and liberties sought by Europeans coming to America and
foundational to the formation of the United States were denied to American Indian
people. The policies of the United States government went from removing American
Indians from land to removing culture from American Indian peoples, and forced them to
abandon their traditional lifestyles and values (Brave Heart, 1995; Duran, Duran & Brave
Heart and DeBruyn, 1998; Fogelson, 1998; Sutton & Broken Nose, 1996). These policies
have resulted in negative social and psychological consequences, some intended and
some unintended, but many detrimental to the lives of American Indians. Whitbeck,
McMorris, Hoyt, Stubben, and LaFramboise (2002) found connections between depressive symptoms and perceived discrimination and lack of connection to traditions. One of the more painful injuries of this history of oppression is the lack of connection to traditional tribal cultures.

The issues of depression, chemical dependency, anxiety and trauma are significant for American Indians. However, explanations for the causation of these problems have been either inadequate and/or insufficient. It is clear that American Indians have suffered severe and sustained trauma over the course of their history with the United States government; yet the current nomenclature regarding trauma may not be sufficient to capture the experience of American Indians. There is evidence that exposure to racism and oppression both contribute to poor mental health outcomes, yet neither exposure to racism nor oppression receives sufficient attention in mental health assessment and treatment (Scurfield & Macky, 2001). Cultural racism and myopathy affects how mental health and pathology are defined, often marginalizing individuals and families from non-dominant cultures as dysfunctional or deviant (Rollock & Gordan, 2000). Moreover, problems are less frequently experienced by those from the majority culture but commonly and routinely experienced by minorities, are often given little to no consideration. An example of this is from the DSM-IV-TR’s definition of trauma, which is limited to incidents that are physical in nature. The definition includes such incidents as rape, physical assault, and war; its limited scope excludes verbal abuse, emotional abuse, resource denial and social alienation, such as sexual harassment based upon sexual orientation and racist incidents. Non-physical racist incidents are not considered traumas by the current diagnostic criteria (Carter, Forsyth, Mazzula & Williams, 2005).
The racism and oppression experienced by individuals can negatively influence their psychological well-being by creating internal stress, self-doubt, and sometimes self-hatred (Rollack & Gordon, 2000). The experience of racism and oppression go beyond individual functioning and impact families through intergenerational transmission of general emotional experience and expression, health, and psychophysiology, and the symptoms of mental illness (Rollack & Gordon). The concept of historical trauma, which will be defined in the next section, captures both the loss of connection to culture and experience of oppression through forced assimilation.

**Context of Historical Trauma**

The concept of Historical Trauma relates to consequences of forced assimilation. Acculturation is a process in which members of one cultural group make choices to adopt the beliefs and behaviors of another group. Acculturation is usually in the direction of a minority group adopting habits and language patterns of the dominant group. Assimilation pertains to the absorption of one cultural group into another so that any distinctive characteristics of a non-dominant group are removed. Assimilation of one cultural group into another may be evidenced by changes in language, adoption of common attitudes and values, membership in common social groups and institutions, and loss of separate political or ethnic identification. In the forced assimilation, members of a non-dominant group have little to no choice in the matter, whereas in acculturation any adaptation on their part is more voluntary. Many American Indians had no choice regarding assimilation. The effects of HT have also been termed Intergenerational Grief; both refer to the loss of social uniqueness that belonged to cultural groups from forced assimilation.
Brave Heart-Jordan (1995) defined historical trauma as: the collective emotional and psychological injury, both over the life span and through generations, resulting from the process of assimilation. Brave Heart-Jordan completed groundbreaking work on healing historical trauma among the Lakota. Brave Heart-Jordan noted similarities across clients expressing features of post-traumatic stress disorder, even though these clients did not present a single, definable, traumatic event. Investigations revealed a common experience. These were highly emotionally charged, negative experiences with the dominant culture resulting from efforts of forced assimilation. Quite recently a quantitative measure was developed based upon theory about the possible effects of historical trauma.

Brave Heart-Jordan (1995) noted that past events shape experiences of current events. In her groundbreaking work, the definition of historical trauma was followed by an explanation of how the policies of the United States government were intentionally aimed at assimilating American Indians into the majority culture and destroying traditional American Indian cultures. One effort of forced assimilation was through disrupting cultural family ties through the use of mandatory boarding schools. Brave Heart-Jordan found that of the 44 participants, 32 attended a boarding school themselves and 40 had parents that also attended a boarding school. This experience was negative for most, with 26 indicating they had been hit by staff, 31 stating they experienced direct racism from school staff and 10 indicating they were sexually abused by staff (Brave Heart-Jordan). Brave Heart-Jordan noticed that most of the participants interviewed came from families where attendance was mandatory for the children at government sponsored boarding schools. The parents had no choice in the matter. Most of the participants
attended a boarding school from the age 8 through high school, being on average 123.1 miles from home. There was a trend reported by participants that their grandparents and older generations had more connection to their culture in terms of language ability, immersion in traditional practices and spirituality. The long-term effects of being forcefully separated from one’s family and culture and punished for any attempts to reconnect with either resulted in what she considered historical trauma.

In another, but related study, Yellow Horse Brave Heart and DeBruyn (1998) contended that current racism and internalized oppression contributed to the continuation of historical trauma. Yellow Horse Brave Heart and DeBruyn provided an outline of some of the common experiences American Indians had in what is termed the “Boarding School Era”, where federal policies placed American Indian children into boarding schools, regardless of parental consent. The involuntary placement of American Indian children in boarding schools began with the inception of reservations which stemmed from the Dawes Act in 1887 and continued until the early 1970’s (Yellow Horse Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998). Yellow Horse Brave Heart and DeBruyn documented the multiple and severe consequences for American Indian children as they grew into adulthood without the connections to family and traditions. The children had little positive connection and often had a negative connection to their heritage, low self-esteem, and a variety of mental health issues. American Indians who grew up in the Boarding School Era found themselves ill-prepared for raising their own children in the context of being American Indian (Yellow Horse Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998).

A recent study by Whitbeck, Adams, Hoyt and Chen (2004) developed two instruments related to historical trauma, the Historical Loss Scale (HLS) and the
Historical Loss Associated Symptoms Scale (HLASS). These scales were developed to better measure, quantitatively, the impact of historical trauma on American Indians, which had not been previously done. The study was the first of its kind, filling in a gap in the literature in that previous work was theoretical with no quantified data. Whitbeck and colleagues (2004) attempted to make an empirical connection that historical losses are present in the cognitive world of contemporary American Indians. This study linked the perceptions of historical trauma to symptoms. In developing these instruments, focus groups with tribal elders were conducted to identify themes that were the basis for measurement items. The themes that emerged from these focus groups were: loss of language due to boarding schools, guilt that the language was not passed on, hopelessness regarding the language, the erosion of traditional family systems, loss of land, despair regarding chemical dependency, as well as daily reminders of these losses. This study contributed to what is known about historical trauma in that it was a first effort at quantifying the effects of historical trauma, in that it asks about how frequently losses associated with historical trauma are thought of (Whitbeck et al.). However, the study is limited in that it fails to provide adequate description and explanation of the day to day effects of historical trauma, in that the study does not ask about how historical trauma is experienced in daily life (Whitbeck et al.). Another limitation of this study is that the extent the findings can be generalized to other AI/AN populations is unknown.

**Acculturation**

Given that intent of the policies of the United States government historically, focused on the destruction of traditional cultures and the assimilation of American Indian people into the dominant culture, it is important to consider the concept of acculturation
when studying American Indians. Race and ethnicity are broader than mere categories of human experience but are better described as dimensions of human lived experience (Goodchilds, 1991). The concept of acculturation allows exploration of how individuals negotiate membership in multiple cultural contexts. Acculturation can be thought of as an individual's affiliation with a second culture, while concurrently understanding they are not a complete member of that second culture (Coleman, 1997). Historically, this has been the case for American Indians, as many who attended mandatory boarding schools returned feeling disconnected from their American Indian culture, while understanding that they did not fit in with the dominant culture (Brave Heart-Jordan, 1995).

Acculturation for American Indians is not always a positive aspect of their existence, as it provides a reminder of forced assimilation and losses of culture, traditions and values. Acculturation can mean living in two worlds, one world that is not completely present (American Indian) and one world that complete membership in seems unattainable (dominant).

With respect to culture, American Indians occupy a liminal space (Brayboy, 2005). One way to understand their lived experience is to understand the distance an individual is from either their tribal culture or the dominant culture. Garrett and Pichette (2000) developed a measure, the Native American Acculturation Scale (NAAS), to quantify acculturation in American Indians. Essentially the instrument provides a score that indicates the distance a respondent is from their traditional tribal culture and the dominant culture in the United States. Having a bi-cultural existence can be problematic for American Indians, as it can create confusion in identity (Moran, 1999). The existence and utility of quantitative instruments can be valuable in increasing what is known about
American Indian acculturation. In order to better understand the acculturation and marginalizes experience of American Indians, one has to recognize the significance and centrality of their tribal beliefs, values and worldviews in shaping how they make meaning of their lived experiences (Brayboy, 2005).

The current threat to American Indians and their tribal cultures is that of obscurity. The daily experiences of the traditional ways of American Indians have been removed from their awareness as they attempt to become members of the dominant culture of the United States (Brayboy, 2005). The intentional efforts of assimilation have produced a new form of oppression, a form that results from being obscured from awareness. Initially, efforts were made to remove American Indians from land via war and treaties (Langer, 2005). Efforts to remove traditional culture from American Indians came through the use of mandatory education as part of treaty negotiations (Brave Heart-Jordan, 1995; Langer, 2005; Yellow Horse Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998). In these treaties, what was deemed appropriate education was determined by European Americans, not by or even with American Indian tribes (Langer, 2005). The intent was to remove traditional culture and install values and beliefs from the dominant culture of the United States. The use of blood quantum to determine eligibility to enroll in one of the federally recognized tribes can be another threat to American Indians (Langer, 2005). By having strict guidelines regarding blood quantum for tribal enrollment, especially at a time when there is increasing inter-tribal and inter-cultural marriage, the population of individuals with American Indian heritage that qualify for enrollment is decreasing. Another issue is that not all tribal groups are legally “recognized” by the United States government, thus placing non-recognized tribal groups in a uniquely limited existence.
Currently, American Indians reside mainly on remote reservations or are dispersed in urban settings; in either case American Indians are obscured from view from the dominant culture.

The research in the area of historical trauma has been conducted largely with rural (reservation) populations of American Indian groups (Brave Heart-Jordan, 1995; Duran et al. 1998; Fogelson, 1998; House et al, 2006; Struthers & Lowe, 2003; Whitbeck et al. 2002; Whitbeck et al. 2004; Yellow Horse Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998). It is important to understand the experiences of American Indians residing in urban settings, as they comprise the majority of the American Indian population in the United States. There are reasons to think that urban American Indian populations might be different from rural (reservation) populations. First, urban American Indians reside in closer proximity to the dominant culture of the United States as well as other cultures. Second, urban American Indians may be more removed from tribal sacred places, traditions, customs and meanings. To better understand issues of acculturation, assimilation and oppression in the context of American Indian identity; and to minimize the risk of imposing a dominant world view onto the experiences of American Indians, this study will examine the lived experiences of American Indians both qualitatively and quantitatively.

This study will use two methods to examine the perceptions of urban American Indians regarding historical trauma. By examining a group of urban-residing American Indians, the first aim of this study is to determine the relationship between two measures: the Historical Losses Scale (HLS) and the Native American Acculturation Scale (NAAS). The HLS (Whitebeck et al. 2004) measures the frequency of thoughts regarding historical
trauma, while the NAAS (Garrett & Pichette, 2000) measures expressed acculturation to Western/dominant society. It is important to examine the relationship between these two instruments since they purport to provide measures of two aspects of the same experience. These instruments measure two aspects of being from a culture that has been suppressed by another. The HLS provides a measure of loss related to a culture that no longer exists in its entirety. The NAAS provides a measure of connection or distance between two cultures, a culture that one is a member of but that is suppressed by another culture, one in which complete membership in is difficult to attain.

The second aim of the study is to conduct interviews with American Indians, residing in an urban setting, regarding their perceptions of the effects of historical trauma and acculturation on their daily family life. The interviews will focus on the perceived daily experience of historical trauma and acculturation on individual and family life of American Indians residing in an urban area. This needs to be done, as the HLS and NAAS provide information about American Indians but do not necessarily provide information from American Indians regarding their experience of being between two cultures. This aim of the study is to address the obscurity that faces American Indians, by allowing their voices to be heard. This aspect of the study is also culturally sensitive (Brayboy, 2005; House, Stiffman, & Brown, 2006).

The two aspects of this study fit together in that both are intended to understand the experience of American Indians, who exist between two cultures. It has been noted that combining quantitative and qualitative methods may generate deeper insights than either method alone (Cox, 2003). In this study, combining these methods provides two perspectives, the perspective of the observer (quantitative) and the perspective of the
insiders (qualitative). The HLS and the NAAS provide information to the observer about connections to culture, while the interviews provide information from American Indians about their experience. Combining these two methods helps gain a deeper understanding of the experience of urban American Indians. The quantitative measures may come through this study seeming more or less valid as a result of the interviews, and the relationship between the two measures may be clarified in light of thematic content from the interviews. Similarly, the quantitative measures may inform and shape the interviewing in some ways and the relationship between the measures may inform parts of the analysis of the interview material. However, as mentioned previously, part of this existence between two cultures carries the threat of obscurity. One effort to oppose attempts at obscuring the existence of American Indians is to hear from American Indians in their own voices, in their own words what their experience of their existence is like. Understanding the lived experience of American Indians through their own stories is not only central to informed study of American Indians, but it demonstrates a higher level of cultural sensitivity in research (Brayboy, 2005; House, Stiffman, Brown, 2006; Tsethlikai, Peyton, & O'Brien, 2007).

**Methods**

This study combined quantitative and qualitative methods to understand the experience urban American Indians have with the effects of historical trauma and acculturation on individual and family life. First, this study determines how the frequency of thoughts regarding historical trauma, as measured by the Historical Losses Scale, are correlated with a measure of acculturation, the Native American Acculturation Scale for American Indians residing in urban settings. Second, interviews with American Indians
residing in urban settings were conducted to understand their perceptions as to how historical trauma impacts their individual and family life. The combination of these two methods theoretically provided two views, one from the outside (quantitative) and one from the inside experience (qualitative).

**Participants**

Recruitment utilized snowball sampling which is ideal when a specific group is sought because of their possession of some desired perspective or experience. Snowball sampling is also suited to the unique characteristics of urban American Indian populations. Urban Indian communities are better conceptualized as essentially a network of relations, rather than the more commonly held conceptualization of a community as a geographically based cluster of residences and commercial enterprises with accompanying shared cultural attributes (Lobo, 2003). Also there is no defined list of urban American Indians from which to sample.

A total of 81 participants was recruited with the assistance of local American Indian service agencies. This author contacted agencies soliciting their assistance in the advertisement for and recruitment of voluntary participants. American Indians who maintain a residence in an urban setting were recruited. Equal numbers of males and females were sought.

The American Indian community of the Twin Cities might be unique as compared to other urban American Indian populations in at least three ways. First, the tribal heritage of urban American Indians is different from other urban centers that are closer to tribes other than Ojibwa or Lakota. The size of the population is different than other urban settings with American Indians. Another reason has to do with the unique
experiences tribes had historically with the United States government in terms of assimilation. While many tribes in the Midwest endured the experience of forced relocation to reservations or mandatory boarding schools, this was not the case for all tribes. The differences in cultural make-up, size and experience of assimilation may make the experience of urban American Indians in the Twin Cities unique to this area, though themes related to assimilation may be similar to American Indians in other locations.

**Incentives, Confidentiality, Informed Consent**

Participants who met inclusion criteria were offered a nominal gift card after they completed the two instruments. Participants were informed that HIPPA governs the use and control of any data in this study and that no identifying information will be shared with any agency, including any agency that may have contacted them. Identifiers were removed from the data so that in any publication or presentation of this study no single participant can be identified on the basis of a quote. This study provided participants with an informed consent form that covers the voluntary nature of the study, their right to withdraw at any time, contact information of this author’s advisors as well as an overview of the intent of the study.

**Demographic Information**

To help understand the social context of each participant, surveys captured demographic information. The demographic information sought was: age, level of education, gender, income, size of household, number of children, blood quantum, experience with boarding schools, number of years residing in an urban setting and frequency of participating in traditional activities. Appendix A contains the survey for demographic information.
The Historical Losses Scale

The Historical Losses Scale was developed by Whitbeck and his colleagues (2004) to detect the impact of historical trauma. This instrument was developed based upon themes that emerged from focus groups held with 24 American Indian elders regarding historical trauma (Whitbeck et al., 2004). The items for this instrument are found in Appendix B. The 12 items of Historical Losses Scale are based upon the themes that emerged from focus group discussions. The response categories for these instruments are: 1 several times a day, 2 daily, 3 weekly, 4 monthly, 5 yearly or at special times, and 6 never. Whitbeck and colleagues (2004) report this scale as having high internal consistency. The Historical Loss Scale had a Cronbach’s alpha coefficient of .92 (Whitbeck et al., 2004). This measure was used as an indicator of the frequency of thinking of loss associated with HT.

The Native American Acculturation Scale

The purpose of the Native American Acculturation Scale (NAAS) is to help counselors to more accurately understand the worldview of their American Indian clients. The NAAS (Garrett & Pichette, 2000) can be administered individually or in groups and has a 9th grade reading level. It consists of 20 multiple-choice items covering language (5 items), identity (2 items), friendships (3 items) behaviors (4 items) generational background (5) and attitudes (1 item). Scores range from a low of 1 (indicating low acculturation) to a high of 5 (indicating high acculturation). A score of 3 indicates being bicultural. The items of the NAAS are provided in Appendix C. The score is obtained by summing the responses for all 20 items, then dividing by 20 to arrive at an average, which Garrett and Pichette feel provides a useful representation of acculturation. Each
item can have a response from 1 to 5, with responses carrying a value of 1, indicating a strong connection to traditional Indian culture and responses carrying a value of 5 indicate less connection to traditional Indian culture. Garrett and Pichette report the Cronbach alpha coefficient for the NAAS is .91, based upon a sample of 139 American Indians. NAAS scores were used as an indicator of expressed acculturation.

**Data Analysis**

The scores of HLS and the NAAS were correlated to see if lower expressed acculturation is associated with more frequent thoughts of losses associated with HT. It is estimated that for a medium effect size of .3, with alpha at .05, a sample size of 85 is needed (Cohen, 1992). A total of 81 participants were recruited. After collecting the data, the frequencies of the items were computed. Then the responses on the HLS were reverse scored, so that responses indicating a greater frequency carried a greater numerical value. Next, the responses on the HLS were tallied to arrive at a score to indicate the frequency of thoughts related to historical trauma. This score was used to determine the correlation coefficient with scores on the NAAS. Correlation coefficients are inferential statistics and are used to assess the relationship between two variables, in this case the HLS and the NAAS (Leech, Barrett, & Morgan, 2005).

A factor analysis on the HLS was run to determine if this instrument captures the same factor with an urban population as it did with a rural reservation population. Exploratory factor analysis is useful to determine the number of latent constructs underlying a set of items or variables and to define the content or meaning of factors or latent constructs.
Semi-structured Interview

There were two purposes to conducting interviews. The first purpose was to see what themes emerged from interviews focused on what HT and acculturation are to urban American Indians, themes that may support or challenge how historical trauma and acculturation have been conceptualized. The second purpose was to see how the themes of this study supported or challenged the validity and hence the utility of quantitative measures in the study of the experience of urban residing American Indians. From the sample of 81 participants completing the two quantitative measures, 12 were recruited to participate in the semi-structured interviews.

Qualitative research often falls within the context of discovery rather than verification, making determining the number of interviews or sample size more dependent upon the focus of the study than on a need for generalizability (Ambert, Adler, Adler & Detzner, 1995). Sample size is dependent upon the scope of the research question (Morse, 2000). The concept of theoretical saturation helps to determine the number of interviews to conduct (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This occurs when: no new or relevant data emerge regarding a theme, a theme is well developed in terms of its properties and dimensions demonstrating variation, and relationships among categories are well established and validated (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This makes estimating sample size difficult to do without having collected any data to make judgments on.

A study with interviews that produce large amounts of valuable data for each participant needs fewer participants (Morse, 2000). Morse (2000) suggests that a study with such a nature could achieve saturation with no more than ten interviews. Twelve of the 81 participants agreed to be interviewed and given that the information sought was
about experience with a specific phenomena and not information that might be
generalized to others outside of this population; the number of interviews conducted is
sufficient.

The interviews of 12 female participants were conducted, tape recorded and
transcribed by this author. These participants were recruited from the sample of
participants completing the HLS and the NASS so as to establish a connection between
themes from the interviews and scores on the HLS. The following lead in questions were
used to evoke participant views on historical trauma:

What does historical trauma mean to you? Or what does oppression mean to you?
What are some examples of historical trauma in your life? In your daily life?
How has historical trauma influenced the life of your family (or family life)?
In your view, how has oppression influenced the life of your family?
How does historical trauma continue today?
What does being part of an American Indian family mean to you?
How do American Indians begin to heal from the effects of historical trauma?
What are the most salient features of historical trauma for your family? Why?
How do you describe your worldview or connection to your culture?
To you, how are acculturation and Historical Trauma related?

In addition to these main questions, follow up questions to help clarify or seek specific
elements, to determine the frequency, severity or form of expression of historical trauma
or to provide examples of acculturation were usually asked.

Data Analysis of the Interviews

The author reviewed the transcriptions of the interviews to identify themes related
to historical trauma and acculturation. Thematic analysis helped to understand the
perceptions of the participants as they relate to HT and acculturation and to develop a
sense of voice for the 12 interviewees concerning other aspects of urban American Indian
experience that are salient for them. The second step in the thematic analysis was to read
through the interview transcripts multiple times, with the first reading of the transcript
being to gain a sense of the overall content (Aronson, 1994). A second reading identified potential themes to develop categories (Aronson) and to build on categories already identified in a preliminary way during the interviews. In a third reading the themes were compared to the themes from Brave Heart-Jordan's original conceptualization of historical trauma. A fourth reading identified lines of thought that go beyond, challenge, explain, develop, or otherwise take us to places different from Brave Heart-Jordan's original conceptualization of HT.

The themes of this study are presented for comparison to the items of the HLS from the study by Whitbeck and colleagues to provide verification. The themes are also matched up with the corresponding items from the HLS to demonstrate a connection between the quantitative study and the qualitative study. In efforts to be transparent, examples of themes from this study are documented in the form of quotes for readers to evaluate.

Results

Demographics

Demographic data is presented to help the reader situate the results of this study, as the effort is not to generalize to a larger population but to understand the unique experience of a specific group. A total of 81 individuals participated in this study by completing a survey and 12 elected to also participate in a semi-structured interview. Most of the participants were female with only 29 males participating. All of the participants resided within the same urban location. Eighteen participants were ages 18 to 24, sixteen participants were ages 25 to 30, fourteen were ages 31 to 39. Twelve
participants were ages 40 to 45, ten were between the ages of 46 and 50, ten were between the ages of 51 and 60. The remaining one participant was 66 years of age. The average age of the participants was 36.3 years, with 84% having tribal enrollment. Most of the participants were parents, with 20 indicating they are not parents. On average the participants reported living with one child and being the parent of two children. Easily many of the participants could be considered to be living in poverty, as a point of reference in 2010 DHHS guidelines views individual annual income of $10,830 as 100% of poverty level. Many of the participants reported having very little income, with 63% earning less than $10,000 per year for household income. Sixteen percent reported an annual household income between $10,000-20,000 per year and 8.6% had an annual household income between 20,000 and 30,000. Only 7.4% had an annual household income between $30,000 and 40,000. One participants reported having an annual household income between $40,000 to $44,999 per year. One participant reported an annual income between $50,000 and $59,999 and two participants indicated annual incomes of over $60,000. In terms of education, 15 had less than a high school education, 24 had either a high school diploma or GED, 30 had attended some college, with only 6 completing a four year degree and 6 held a graduate degree. Most of the participants were below poverty level and held a HS diploma or less, indicating they were at a disadvantage in socioeconomic terms.

**Correlation**

Prior to calculating the correlation between the two measures, frequencies were run on the data and the variables. The data presented normal distributions. The scores for the HLS scale and the NAAS were calculated and then correlated to see if a negative
relationship between the two instruments existed. In this study the HLS and the NASS yielded a Pearson Correlation coefficient of -.296 (p=0.01). Using Cohen’s (1988) guidelines this correlation represents a moderately strong association between these two instruments. These results indicated that higher scores on the HLS are correlated with lower scores on the NASS. What this indicates is that participants who endorsed having more frequent reminders of historical losses, associated with forced assimilation, also endorsed being less acculturated and more connected to their traditional tribal heritage. This is significant as this is likely one of the few efforts to understand the impact of historical trauma on urban American Indians.

Analysis of the HLS

An exploratory factor analysis was run to determine if the use of the HLS with an urban population produces similar results as it does with a reservation population. The results of this factor analysis are presented in the table below and are quite similar to the results obtained by Whitbeck and colleagues (2004). Two factors emerged from the data, one explained 58.8% of the variance and the second factor explained much less of the variance, only 6.9%. The smaller second factor is omitted from further discussion as it does not account for much variance. As part of the determination of what factors to include, the examination of the scree plot associated with this analysis indicates the inclusion of the first and largest factor and not the second and smaller factor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Factor 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loss of our land</td>
<td>0.783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of our language</td>
<td>0.858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of our traditional spiritual ways</td>
<td>0.829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of our family ties because of boarding schools</td>
<td>0.769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of our families from the reservation</td>
<td>0.755</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
to government relocation
Loss of self respect from poor treatment by government officials
Loss of trust in whites from broken treaties
Loss of our culture
Losses from the effects of alcoholism on our people
Loss of respect by our children and grandchildren for Elders
Loss of our people through early death
Loss of respect by our children for traditional ways

Percent of variance explained: 58.798

For comparison purposes the next table presents the results from Whitbeck and colleagues original work on the HLS. Most of the factor loadings from this study produced higher values than in the original study by Whitbeck and colleagues.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Factor loading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loss of our land</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of our language</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of our traditional spiritual ways</td>
<td>0.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of our family ties because of boarding schools</td>
<td>0.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of our families from the reservation to government relocation</td>
<td>0.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of self respect from poor treatment by government officials</td>
<td>0.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of trust in whites from broken treaties</td>
<td>0.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of our culture</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Losses from the effects of alcoholism on our people</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of respect by our children and grandchildren for Elders</td>
<td>0.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of our people through early death</td>
<td>0.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of respect by our children for traditional ways</td>
<td>0.81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percent of variance explained: 58.17

The HLS in the current study produced a Cronbach’s alpha of .943 which was close to the Cronbach’s alpha reported by Whitbeck of .92. The NAAS in this study produced a Cronbach’s alpha of .848. This suggests that the HLS has very high internal
consistency. The results from this factor analysis suggest that as in the study by Whitbeck and colleagues the items on the HLS represent one latent construct, in this case the construct of historical trauma. What this suggests is that utilizing the items of the HLS with urban American Indians also produces a latent construct of historical trauma, meaning the HLS is useful in quantifying the experience of historical trauma in urban American Indians. Something to consider is that if the HLS in an urban setting and a reservation setting produce similar factor loadings which suggests that the continuing impact of HT is similar in urban and rural/reservation settings.

Responses from interviews

Themes and quotes from the interviews are presented in this section to allow the reader to gain a sense of what the participants had for responses to the interviews. What emerged were themes that aligned with themes from the previous work by Brave-Heart-Jordan as well the work by Whitbeck and colleagues (2004). In addition to presenting themes and quotes, items from the HLS are matched with themes to support the use of the instrument with urban residing American Indians.

Assimilation producing HT

A number of the participants used language that supports the work of Brave-Heart Jordan's original definition of historical trauma. Brave Heart-Jordan (1995) defined historical trauma as: the collective emotional and psychological injury, both over the life span and through generations, resulting from the processes of assimilation. While most of the interviewees commented on how historical trauma results from forced assimilation, one interviewee, a mother of three, had nothing to say about historical trauma or assimilation. Eleven of the participants had comments connecting historical trauma to
forced assimilation. A forty year old mother of six shared her thoughts:

"Um... generations of people that have been traumatized... certain acts that have been betrayed, I guess, upon people over and over again" This person's thoughts fit with the seventh item: Loss of trust in whites from broken treaties, in that she talks about being betrayed over and over again which fits with the history that many tribes experienced with the policies of the government. The following quote, from a 22 year old mother of one child, fit with this item and also lends itself to three other items: Loss of our language, Loss of our families from reservation to government relocation and Loss of culture.

"...I don't know, makes me mad to think about that, what happened to Indian people... that today we're still... oppressed people today. I guess even... I don't know, my mom called it 'internal rage' about what white people did to us, and like... I just think we're lost, we're lost as a people because we don't know what to do. I feel lost because I don't feel right being Christian... We were assimilated. We were... everything was taken from us. That's all we had and that's all we knew and then we were just supposed to start living a different life that we weren't, you know, familiar with. They took away... they took everything away. They took our language, the way we lived, they took our buffalo, what we eat... they took... everything from us. Like just stripping somebody of all their clothing, all their money, on the street out here. They just took everything, said, "Here, go ahead. Go... go live, without anything."

One participant spoke of the isolation that can be part of the lived experience of historical trauma as a result of others placing onto her misunderstandings that come from being part of a group whose culture was forcibly removed. The words of a fifty year old mother of three adult children connect with the item: Loss of Culture.

"Will because nobody knew anything... I mean... I mean, they all had these John Wayne ideologies around... they thought we were all dead first of all. I was like the only Indian there. And so, it's like I'm trying to address... address myself to these people who... you know, I remember, I think Mexicans in Chicago were... were closer to my ethnic background and so I think I wanted to speak Spanish just
to fit in. Because I would not, I was the only Indian in the classroom all the time. It was horrible. It was horrible. It was just... the isolation was horrible. The shame that came along with it was horrible. I knew that I was different from everybody else.”

It was clear from the interviews that the participants felt that historical trauma is the direct result of forced assimilation. A sixty year old mother of three adult children spoke of “being molded and shaped” in her response that connected with the items: Loss of Language, Loss of our family ties because of boarding schools and Loss of our culture.

“because I have to live in a society that I’ve been molded and shaped into. Starts when my grandfather, he was taken from him family and put into a boarding school. He lost his culture ways and he was forced to speak English, okay, he learned English. And then when he and my grandmother got married, they lost the way of that Indian language... We were forced to speak more of English, they taught their children, and then it was carried on to me. So then I lost the cultural way of speaking of the Native American Indian. So I felt they, what I had inherited as a Native American, I’d lost that culture because they never taught me how to speak it... I didn’t realize that until later on in my life when I knew that the culture was being lost. And then it did become meaningful to me, but up until then I just thought, this was just the way it is...I knew that there was something in me that I had lost, that who I was, because I couldn’t speak.”

One of the participants, a sixty year old mother of three spoke of her experiences as a young girl in a boarding school being compared to a white girl. This person attended a boarding school prior to the enactment of the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) in 1978. ICWA was enacted to provide protections for the preservation of American Indian families and culture in cases when the placement of a child was a central issue. Her experience suggests that modeling of preferred cultural norms was a typical part of boarding schools.

“I think cause they wanted me to be white. They wanted me to be like the little girl... the superintendent had a little girl and they would always point her out. She had little curls. She had... she wore little uniforms like us. But you need to be like her. You need to talk like her. You need to act like her. We didn’t look anything like her. But they wanted us to be like that. Trying to be something that you’re not... that was one of the hardest things. I tried really hard.
Her statement fit with the items: Loss of family ties due to boarding schools, Loss of self respect from poor treatment by government officials and Loss of culture. This same participant also spoke of how the initial processing that took place at boarding schools contributed to the modeling of preferred cultural norms or standards.

“Yeah they tried to break us. Tried to break our spirits. I know they used to scrub us really hard, and I used to think maybe they were going to try to scrub all the brown off of me, and I thought, it’s not going to go anywhere! I would just get a rash from that soap. But my brown skin wouldn’t go anywhere. And they were always cutting our hair off of us all the time. I don’t know what that was all about. But we all looked the same. We all had bangs, straight across... down and around. And we all wore the same clothes.”

In her original writings on historical trauma Brave Heart-Jordan (1995) talked about experiences that were highly emotionally charged negative experiences with the dominant culture resulting from efforts for assimilation and the intentional removal of culture. A 38 year old, residing in a halfway house with a year of sobriety linked historical trauma with genocide shared:

“Um... what does the term historical trauma mean to me? Um...I don’t know... past histories of not so good things, I guess. Probably like the violence... um... genocide.

**Oppression**

From the participants’ comments a sense of oppression exists for American Indians. During the interviews it was easier for some participants to talk about their experiences with oppression rather than historical trauma. A forty year old mother of six had thoughts connected with the first and sixth items of the HLS: Loss of Land and Loss of self respect from poor treatment by government officials.

“Um...them coming over to their land, to our land, and trying to take over, just being, pretending we were savages, but they were actually the savages. They
disturbed a whole generation of people, a whole tribe of people. And they tried to take their land, move them off their land...because they wanted it.

The words of a 32 year old parent echoed Freire’s (2000) words regarding the mechanics of how one society will attempt to dominate another. This person’s thoughts connect with the first, third, seventh and eighth items of the HLS: Loss of land, Loss of our traditional spiritual ways, Loss of trust in whites from broken treaties and Loss of culture.

“Oppression is something that happened back in the day...of like people coming in and just taking everything from us, like our values, our traditions, our culture, stuff like that...They took our land. They took our traditions away from us. They took our self-respect, our dignity. They just took a lot of things away and made us feel as we were nothing. By manipulating and controlling. Trying to be in control. And lying.

A fifty year old participant, an adoptee of a non-American Indian family, offered comments connected to Freire’s (2000) thoughts on how a dominant culture will attempt to make oppressed people into objects and not subjects. “Not letting people be who they are supposed to be, or who they want to be. Yeah”. This statement connected with the items of: Loss of self respect from poor treatment by government officials and Loss of culture.

Participants offered their opinions about the strategies that were employed to assimilate and oppress American Indian cultures. The comments of a forty year old mother of six comments connect with the items of Loss of land and Losses from the effects of alcoholism on our people, as well as speaking directly to the open biases that American Indians face on a regular basis when she shared:

“Well...yeah...like they gave them alcohol...liquor, and turned them into alcoholics...tricked them...Um, by...putting Natives on the ah...reservation and
just keeping them on their part of the land and not letting them have their share of
what's rightfully theirs and...uh... um...just like, you know, stereotyping
everybody. Stereotyping everyone and putting them in categories like Indians are
drunks, you know, and not giving people a chance, not giving anyone a chance."

The same participant spoke of how she views the effects of oppression continuing
today, as it is not something that is historical.

"Um...a lot of places, like, going ...I don't know... you can just feel the tension,
like when we go places like people...uh-oh, you know like to you...people just
getting a different attitude or treating us differently. Being Indians.

One participant, a 38 year old woman residing in a chemical dependency half-way house,
provided comments that speak to a sense of low self-esteem or self-respect from not
being a member of the dominant society. Her comments reflect the essence of one of the
items when she uses the word "un-proud"

"Um... it's kind of difficult because then I feel like I'm a lower... a lower person
than what's out there because I sometimes feel like I don't fit in a white society...
But that's up to their... the ways of their levels, or whatever. And sometimes that
makes me feel un-proud. And then other times I'm very proud of who I am and
not ashamed of it. Because that's who I am and I have to accept that this is the
way society is and I don't think it's ever going to change. You know, I just have
to live with it.

In her comments, a 32 year old mother, shared a sense of emptiness that is part of her
experience of being American Indian that results from being oppressed.

"Well, I grew up an urban Indian...but there was always something inside of me
that felt empty. Like, I used to be ashamed to be Native American because of we
being labeled as "alcoholics" or you know, just stuff, they just stripped our values,
so I was so ashamed to be called Native American, just be, I mean it felt good
when I was at a pow-wow or a drum and dance group, I felt a little bit but there
was still a piece missing. So...yeah...It didn't feel like, I don't know, I, just an
emptiness, like something was empty inside of me. I can't quite put my finger on
it, but yeah. That's how I felt. I felt empty."
Many of the participants spoke openly about their perceptions of forced assimilation. A woman in her sixties, spoke directly of the psychological and physical pain her experiences caused her.

"Pain. Because there was a lot of physical pain. To my person. Physically. I was injured... documented and injured four times... um... by the staff at my boarding school. I was really rebellious at that time and um... fighting them all the time and... I have a documentation where I had lacerations on the back on two occasions and brought to the hospital. And I was in the hospital for some time, and I was brought back again. And it was always by the same sister... The third time I injured my leg when I was trying to run away from sister...again. Um... and the fourth time I was fighting with um... the nurse Mr.____He was trying to some little girls away into his chambers. And I was fighting with him, and he threw me down a flight of stairs, and I broke a collar bone."

Another interviewee, a fifty-four year old in chemical dependency treatment, spoke of the pain that her parents experienced and likened it to experiencing mental illness in its severity:

"Historic trauma means like what my parents went through, my grandparents, which carried on from, carried on from them From my grandparents to my parents to me. So it was like, um, either psychological, like, um, bipolar disorder, and they didn’t know they had it, so being untreated... It’s, so yeah. I thought of trauma...What was learned is like, it was a coping mechanism, alcohol. To go through our problems in life, to face our problems, to pick up and use alcohol, um, to escape the pain. Or even in happy times, using alcohol as um coping. I don’t know, yeah, I think alcoholism and the kind of being, physical abuse, sexual abuse that was carried on, happened to my parents, and my mother. Growing up in her home, always feeling like—having to protect myself, having to...um, just feel what she was feeling. You know, like, carried on through me, so it was like I had to be the protector. I don’t know if this is making sense in anyway, but that is what I think historic trauma comes from."

This quote reflects the fact that American Indian families experience historical trauma being transmitted across generations. One generation’s experience with overt oppression and assimilation lead to utilizing alcohol to cope with the pain, connecting with the ninth item of the HLS: Losses from the effects of alcoholism on our people. Such coping
mechanisms to escape then inadvertently cause pain in younger generations. Historical trauma is difficult to categorize for people as specific family members may have more directly experienced active assimilation efforts and family members who did not directly experience those acts are also impacted. Unlike other traumas a person can face, HT leaves the person without internal and familial resources, as a 50 year old mother of 3 adult children suggested when she talked about how her family struggled after the children were adopted out from her parents:

"Well because nobody knew anything... I mean... I mean, they all had these John Wayne ideologies around... they thought we were all dead first of all. I was like the only Indian there. And so, it's like I'm trying to address... address myself to these people who... you know, I remember, I think Mexicans in Chicago were... were closer to my ethnic background and so I think I wanted to speak Spanish just to fit in. Because I would not, I was the only Indian in the classroom all the time. It was horrible. It was horrible. It was just... the isolation was horrible. The shame that came along with it was horrible. I knew that I was different from everybody else."

**Loss of Language**

The loss of connection to language, customs, and family ties can interfere with the development of a healthy identity as an American Indian. Ethnic identity is one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one's thinking, perceptions, feelings, and behavior that is due to ethnic group membership. Two processes involved in the development of ethnic identity are ethnic socialization, the process by which people acquire the behaviors, perceptions, values, and attitudes of an ethnic group, and enculturation, the process by which individuals learn about and identify with their traditional ethnic culture (Phinney; 1989, 1992; Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992).

Several quotes connect to a theme of loss of language that emerged from the Whitbeck, Adams, Hoyt and Chen (2004) work developing the HT scale. In some ways it
seems that the loss of language is also a loss of world view or meaning. To illustrate this, the following interview exchange with a thirty two year old mother of two is presented to demonstrate how one participant connected being unable to speak their language as a loss of worldview or culture.

**Interviewer:** Is there any oppression in your life today or for American Indians?

**Participant:** Well, today, I don’t think there’s—yeah, there is. Just how do I, how can I help to bring back the language. First, learn it, go to someone who can help me to learn these things so that I can start passing them on, or start at least helping others to understand so that we don’t have to be, so, you know, non-Native, or at least feel that way.

**Interviewer:** What do you mean, non-Native?

**Participant:** Like, me just growing up in an urban city, not knowing anything about my Native traditions.

**Interviewer:** Is that part of the emptiness you talked about before?

**Participant:** Yes.

The following two quotes help illustrate how the loss of language is about loss of worldview or meaning, one of the participants speaks of forgetting their heritage and another speaks of it in terms of reality.

“Um... the history of the native people and how they were treated when... when um... people came to... into the country and took it over. You know, everything that they... had to do and go through. And, what do they have today? Um... they moved off their lands... they were starved... they got all the diseases that the white person brought over here... and um... that they couldn’t run away from them. And um... tried to make them forget that they were Native American... and all of their ceremonies, you know? Their religion... um... that’s what it means to me.”

One participant, a fifty year old mother, was quite articulate in talking about what historical trauma is to her
"an experience that a culture or a ethnic group experiences through colonization, through colonization and attempts to assimilate the mentality or the socialization of an individual into a mainstream society or dominant culture, dominant society. And as a result of that assimilation process or acculturation process that the message used in accomplishing or attempting to accomplish that has been brutal, demoralizing, humiliating, degrading, um, includes ethnic cleansing, and so because of those experiences, the individuals who survived that experience, especially if they were socialized when they were children, carry that into the next generation. Their emotional traumas are carried into the next generation. And so then that next generation then experiences what they view as normal which is really not. It’s actually experiencing a traumatic reality, but their not aware of it. It’s an unconscious, like, uh, an unconscious kind of, like uh, processes that they’re not aware of that’s passed down from generation to generation. So instead of having a holistic view of reality, they have a distorted view of what their indigenous reality actually is.

Many of the participants also talked about how language, customs and family ties were lost as part of the assimilation that took place generations ago, as did this 50 year old mother of three.

"Like the oppression of like people coming in and just taking everything from us, like our values, our traditions, our culture, stuff like that...They took our land. They took our traditions away from us. They took our self-respect, our dignity. They just took a lot of things away and made us feel as we were nothing...By manipulating and controlling. Trying to be in control. And lying."

Her comments reflect several items from the HLS: Loss of land, Loss of traditional spiritual ways, Loss of self respect from poor treatment by government officials. Her words also reflect methods that Freire (2000) presents that dominant societies employ to oppress other societies.

In talking of issues related to loss of language, a 60 year old mother of three connects how being forced to speak English was part of the removal of traditional cultural values.

"Does that mean anything? Well, that means, when I think back to the old days, back when we came here culturally, the way we were, and where we are now
today, I call that historical because I have to live in a society that I’ve been molded and shaped into...Starts when my grandfather, he was taken from him family and put into a boarding school. He lost his culture ways and he was forced to speak English... And then when he and my grandmother got married, they lost the way of that Indian language. They spoke it, but they never taught us how to speak it. We were forced to speak more of English, they taught their children, and then it was carried on to me. So then I lost the cultural way of speaking of the Native American Indian. So I felt they, what I had inherited as a Native American, I’d lost that culture because they never taught me how to speak it. I was smart enough to learn English. And I didn’t realize that until later on in my life when I knew that the culture was being lost. And then it did become meaningful to me, but up until then I just thought, this was just the way it is, okay, you have to speak English. But every time I grew up in understanding, well, I knew that there was something in me that I had lost, that who I was, because I couldn’t speak.

All of the participants interviewed spoke of their sense of the loss of their traditional languages. In talking about her own ability to speak her traditional language a 40 year old mother of six talks of a generational gap with her own mother:

“No. I don’t. My mom does, but I just can’t catch onto it. I think I’m too old. (laughs)... it was something the white man didn’t want Natives to do... because they couldn’t understand them, so they tried to wipe out their language too.”

When this participant continued to explain why she felt her language was wiped out, she highlighted how a dominant culture forced assimilation onto another culture through the use of education.

“You know by stopping them from being Indian when they put them in boarding schools, and stuff, they put them in schools where they taught them about God, about their version of God, and or you know... tried to get them to stop talking that language because they couldn’t understand them and they thought maybe that maybe they were a threat. Or, they just wanted them not to be “savages,” or something, they say, they called them savages, that’s what they used to call them. Yeah.”

Her thoughts connect with the items of Loss of language, Loss of family ties because of boarding schools, Loss of traditional spiritual ways.
One of the participants, a mother of three, spoke to why the forced removal of language was important.

"I think, seriously, for me, I think it has to do with power. I think it has to do with power and I think it has to do with the unknown factor that white people did not know what they were talking about. They were not going to have them speaking a language that they could not understand because then they weren’t like, in a power decision-making position. So as long as these individuals could speak Indian, then they could keep information from them. And as long as they could keep information from them they could at least sustain something of who they were, the Indian people, and I think it really was disturbing to them, that they were, plus not to mention that they were trying to assimilate them and acculturate them into mainstream society. But how can you acculturate and assimilate a nation of people or a tribe of people into a mainstream society that hates them anyway? So it's like, it's insane."

In a social constructionist perspective meanings are strengthened or weakened by placement of focus (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). Meanings are suppressed when they consistently fall outside the scope of social focus. As an aside, this author feels that one of the more painful aspects of historical trauma is not what is passed on from generation to generation, but the absence of what is not past on from generation to generation. In selecting what is highlighted or focused on to construct meaning, what is not of focused on is also selected. By not attending to certain meanings or perspectives, those meanings or perspectives become suppressed. This mechanism of suppression within the process of constructing meaning is one of the processes utilized within the context of intentionally forced assimilation, as found with the history of many American Indian peoples.

Guilt-not able to pass on language

In talking about the loss of language some of the participants clearly felt a sense of guilt about not being able to pass on the language. This fits with one of the themes that Whitbeck and colleagues outlined in their work. A 60 year old mother of 3, talks about
her view of how the process began so that now she is unable to pass on her traditional language to her grandchildren

"Starts when my grandfather, he was taken from him family and put into a boarding school. He lost his culture ways and he was forced to speak English, okay, he learned English. And then when he and my grandmother got married, they lost the way of that Indian language. They spoke it, but they never taught us how to speak it. We were forced to speak more of English, they taught their children, and then it was carried on to me. So then I lost the cultural way of speaking of the Native American Indian. So I felt they, what I had inherited as a Native American, I’d lost that culture because they never taught me how to speak it. I was smart enough to learn English. And I didn’t realize that until later on in my life when I knew that the culture was being lost. And then it did become meaningful to me, but up until then I just thought, this was just the way it is, okay, you have to speak English. But every time I grew up in understanding, well, I knew that there was something in me that I had lost, that who I was, because I couldn’t speak. ? I don’t know how to speak. I know how to say... but to say a full sentence in..., I can’t, so I can’t teach it to my grandchildren, I can’t teach it to my kids."

**Family Connection—or Lack of**

Some of the participants shared their thoughts about how historical trauma has influenced their families. A 38 year old female shared her thoughts about the experience of her family with historical trauma. Her thoughts connect with the item of: Loss of our families due to government relocation.

"I think it’s affected our family a lot because we’re not close, we’re really split apart. Um, I have family that I don’t even know, because from what I’ve heard, they took my great, great grandma from Bad River and dumped her off in a prairie in White Earth, and I probably came from White Earth. So I must have relatives in Wisconsin, wherever I came from. And because I don’t know, then I don’t know half of my family. And I grew up in a white foster home, so I didn’t get a chance to really grow up with my family. Um, well, because the way I think my family was affected, by you know, trauma and what not, with the alcoholism and stuff, is, I think I was better off not being with them. But not being with them affects our relationship now. Where, we’re not, we don’t hardly talk, and I’m the outcast, so.”
A 32 year old mother of two spoke of how alcoholism was the coping mechanism for their family.

“...well, my family was alcoholics, you know, and that’s how we coped, that how I coped, I coped being an alcoholic, so growing up in the city here it just made it more, more easy access to get to. Because they need an escape. It’s easy not to feel, not to deal with reality, not to deal with my responsibilities. You know, and I don’t know why...my mother taught me that, you know? That’s how my mother coped...Well, she became an alcoholic because she saw her father do that. I know that I was ashamed to be Native because of the alcoholism, all these drunk people, and what I saw at home, that’s exactly what I saw. She was drunk, high. She had parties all the time.

Her comments connect with the HLS in that they reflect the following items: Losses from the effects of alcoholism, Loss of families from the reservation due to government relocation. In her comments, something that is suggested but not overtly talked about is the relationship between parents and children. At this point it is noteworthy that the themes presented thus far have not connected with the last three items on the HLS. These items are: Loss of respect by our children and grandchildren for Elders, Loss of our people through and early death and Loss of respect by our children for traditional ways. Her comments suggest a potential reason for why some may perceive children losing or having no respect for Elders or traditions; the children are witnessing poor coping strategies, poor modeling for meeting responsibilities towards one’s family and little hope for a positive future. The common factor is alcoholism. The issue of alcoholism came up in the interviews. Many of the participants talked about how alcoholism is related to historical trauma as both a result of historical trauma and a coping mechanism. This finding is in agreement with Whitbeck and colleagues’ work in developing the HT losses scale. The same participant shares:
"...how we turn to alcoholism as a way of escape, our way to not face reality. It's, so yeah. I thought of trauma, like what was learned. Like, What was learned is like, it was a coping mechanism, alcohol. To go through our problems in life, to face our problems, to pick up and use alcohol, um, to escape the pain. Or even in happy times, using alcohol as um coping. I don't know, yeah, I think alcoholism and the kind of being, physical abuse, sexual abuse that was carried on, happened to my parents, and my mother. Growing up in her home, always feeling like—having to protect myself, having to...um, just feel what she was feeling. You know, like, carried on through me, so it was like I had to be the protector. I don't know if this is making sense in any way, but that is what I think historic trauma comes from."

Her comments clearly depict losses both physical and psychological that are from the effects of alcohol. The words of a 38 year old women struggling with her own chemical dependency support the previous quote.

"Yeah. Again, I think there's like an allergic reaction to alcoholism, and that's been a big struggle for Native Americans, and I think we're just not cut out to be drinking, and it seems like that most of the people I know who are in prison or debt, it's alcohol related. And then things I've done in my own personal life, it was all alcohol related. Things I wouldn't be doing outside of that, I mean, it's not the alcoholism is a part of being Native American, it just, I think it goes along with the genocide, you know? Trying to kill us off."

In talking about why she feels alcohol is such a prevalent problem for many American Indians this participant goes on to say:

"...because it's a way of escaping, of dealing with how society is. It's an outlet. I mean, it's a very negative outlet, but I think once a Native person has a drink, that's it. That once that allergic reaction has started, man, we're just not cut out for alcohol because we didn't have it, you know, our people never had that stuff."

Clearly the effects of alcoholism are profound on the lives of the participants' families. For some alcoholism is a result of historical trauma in that one can learn from their family to use alcohol to cope with the psychological impact of historical trauma. For others it is an agent of oppression, in that historically it was used to influence American Indians to conform to social norms. For many of the participants it is both. All of the participants had comments about the effects of alcoholism. While the perceived loss of
respect children might have for Elders and traditions was not explicitly mentioned, several of the comments regarding alcohol suggest that viewing one’s parents and family relying on and being controlled by alcohol leads to a sense of shame on top of sorrow.

**Loss of Traditions/Spirituality**

Most of the participants spoke of the loss associated with their traditions and spiritual practices. Their comments reflect the following items on the HLS: Loss of language, Loss of our traditional spiritual ways and Loss of culture. While many did partake of traditional practices some noted a loss as did this 32 year old mother.

"You know, me not knowing the language of the song and nobody interpreting it to me, it was like, what is the point. You know? If I’m going to these functions and I don’t know what’s going on, it’s really sad. I feel sad and empty. Sad because I should know these things. I should know my language. I should know what a song means, and you know, what is the proper way of going about that song or the dance or, you know, certain things at the pow-wow that they do, not only at pow-wows, but ceremonies. Like, where do I start, you know?"

She continued with thoughts that provide a sense of cultural confusion some may be in when they attempt to reconnect to traditional spiritual practices but are lacking in language skills and guidance from elders.

"Um, just not knowing where I come from. I mean, I know where I came from, but like not knowing my language, my language, the way we did things, you know, how to, there’s a ceremony for everything, it seems like, and I want to know, you know, I want to know how to go about getting my children a Native name, but I know the process, a little bit about the process, but, and then, bringing them to Sundance, or bring them to the circle—going back to my children—bringing them into the circle. Where do, you know, who do I go to? Who, what spiritual leader do I really go to for this? Who knows?"

A 58 year old mother of three children, talked about how she saw others loss of connection to traditions being related to their lack of language ability.

"If you’re a Native American… I mean, if you’re Lakota, like in my… in my tribe, if you’re a Lakota, then you wouldn’t understand it. A ceremony, cause
everything is in Lakota...I think you really have to understand the language in order to listen to the spirits when they come in and talk to people.”

The following statements from a 54 year old woman reflect how loss of language, loss of culture, losses due to government relocation, losses of traditional spiritual ways and assimilation are all interrelated.

“I mean, losing our culture, you know, living on reservations, the kids who grow up on cities, who are born in cities, I think, have no sense—cause I’ve met a couple who were very limited...I think that they get too urbanized. They fall into habit of living in the white man’s world and they forget how to, you know, pass on the traditions. That’s what I believe. Because they think going to a pow-wow and watching them dance, that’s...but learning how to dance and learning the words to the pow-wow, you know, that’s all tradition. And what dances, what different dances symbolize, and just...I think they get too urbanized, too caught up in trying to stay in the white man’s world.”

She speaks of how children do not understand the traditions because they are in the “habit of living in the white man’s world,” which suggests that their historical family values are being erased with the values of the dominant culture.

**Discussion**

The results of this study are significant in four main aspects related to its methodology and results. First, one of the aims of the study was to determine if a relationship existed between the experience of historical trauma and acculturation for urban American Indians. The results demonstrated that a moderate correlation exists between scores on the HLS and the NAAS, with higher scores on the HLS related to lower scores on the NAAS. This means that participants endorsing more frequent experiences of losses associated with historical trauma tended to endorse fewer behaviors associated with acculturation. This is significant for a couple of reasons. First, this is the first study examining such a relationship with urban American Indians and second the
predicted relationship was supported. One conclusion is that urban American Indians who tend to identify more frequent experience of losses associated with historical trauma also tend to not self-identify as much with non-American Indian culture as compared to those who have less experience with historical trauma. Another conclusion is the powerful impact of forced assimilation several generations ago continues to impact American Indians regardless of their location. The losses associated with HT can be thought of in three dimensions: past, present and future. The past losses have to do with a loss of worldview, traditions and life that was and is no more. The losses of the present related to the pain of current conditions. The losses of the future have to do with the perceived loss of potential of future generations.

A second aspect of this study that is significant is that it demonstrates that the HLS is useful in measuring historical trauma with urban American Indians. When Whitebeck and colleagues (2004) developed the HLS it was with American Indians residing on reservations. The results of this study demonstrate that the HLS has similar performance characteristics with both reservation and urban populations. The number of latent factors and the factor loadings are quite similar in this study as the results from Whitebeck's work. Understanding that an instrument performs consistently across situations is important for furthering the understanding of individuals and families whose experiences has typically been marginalized by others. The development of the HLS in itself was significant as it provided a means to quantify what had been more of a subjective experience by a marginalized people. Research on historical trauma or on the experiences of American Indians in general has been conducted in rural or reservation areas, despite more American Indians residing in urban settings; the results of this study
are helpful in demonstrating that the HLS is a valid tool in understanding the experience of urban American Indians and their families. The results of this study demonstrate that the collective history of oppression is shared in common by American Indians residing on reservations or in urban settings. It may be that the American Indians living in urban settings have connections to reservations which play a part in the results. It also may be that the common connection to culture and history goes beyond physical location and is more relevant in psychological terms or self identification.

Another aspect of the present study that is significant is how the themes from the interviews tended to match with previous work regarding historical trauma. The themes that emerged from this study connected with the work of Whitbeck and colleagues (2004) were: loss of language due to boarding schools, guilt that the language was not passed on, hopelessness regarding the language, the erosion of traditional family systems, loss of land, despair regarding chemical dependency, as well as daily reminders of these losses. The themes of this study connected with the Brave Heart-Jordan (1995) original definition of historical trauma as the collective emotional and psychological injury both over the life span and through generations, resulting from the process of forced assimilation. The words of the participants recount current pain American Indians feel regarding historical and current oppression. The pain for many of the participants is not something historical; it is very much present as the trauma has not stopped.

The presence of the pain in the words of the participants and how those words connect with the actual items of the HLS demonstrate how combining qualitative and quantitative methods provides each with a sense of validity. The words of the participants fit with the items of the HLS, providing the instrument with a sense of validity. In
developing this instrument, Whitbeck and colleagues (2004) used discussions from focus
groups to develop themes to formulate the items. The voices of the participants in this
study connected with the discussion of those focus groups in the work of Whitebeck and
colleagues. Two groups of people, unaware of each other's conversations, appear to be
describing a similar experience of oppression. The different conversations and the results
of the HLS demonstrate a sense of triangulation regarding historical trauma. This is a
form of triangulation (Patton, 2001). Methodological triangulation, in general involves
using more than one method to gather data, such as interviews, observations,
questionnaires, and documents. The overall purpose of triangulation in qualitative
research is to demonstrate the credibility of information from data.

An interesting aspect of this study is that the participants' comments did not
address the issues raised in the following items:

  Loss of respect by our children and grandchildren for Elders.
  Loss of our people through early death.
  Loss of respect by our children for traditional ways.

For any number of reasons the interviews did not contain information or direct comments
regarding these three items. Possibly the participants were responding regarding their
own experiences of the losses associated with historical trauma and not reflecting on the
experiences of others in their family. Another possible reason for this is that the
participants were not Elders, meaning they were in more of an active parenting position
which offers a different perspective than a grandparent or Elder might have regarding
youth. Another consideration is that the participants did talk about loss of respect for
elders indirectly when recounting their experiences witnessing their parents abuse
alcohol. A final consideration is that it is out of a cultural norm of respect that they did not talk about the disrespect of elders.

**Policy Implications**

The results of this study suggest implications for policy regarding research and practice regarding mental health for American Indians. The first implication is more of a challenge to examine the dominance of holding an individual level focus or paradigm in mental health. While there is little question that individuals do experience symptoms, there is room to question that healing such symptoms is always best done on the individual level. Western psychotherapy often aims to restore the intrapsychic order—"making what is unconscious conscious" and encouraging the individual to actualize the self. Many non-Western cultures value a sense of belonging to family or kin group over individualization and therefore such values need to be incorporated into mental health research and practice to avoid further cultural oppression. The study indicates that family or systems therapies may be more effective for Americans Indians suffering the effects of historical trauma. Hence, the creation, development, implementation, and funding of mental health programs and centers with a systemic focus is warranted.

Whitbeck (2006) names several guidelines for developing culturally relevant prevention models with American Indians, three are relevant to this discussion. Whitbeck states that cultural ways and knowledge must be viewed as equal to social science prevention knowledge. This first assumption will be a significant challenge to meet as it is difficult to see how often a Western world view is automatically privileged over other world views. A second assumption Whitbeck states is that American Indian cultures contain all the necessary knowledge to socialize mentally healthy, alcohol-and drug-free
children. By coming to a point where cultural knowledge is held as privileged as Western science, identifying cultural wisdom that promotes mental and emotional health can be endorsed and promoted. A third assumption he notes is that ownership must exist for culturally specific prevention programs to be successful (Whitbeck). The can translate into American Indian tribes participating as equals in research, conducting their own research or at the very least participant guided research so that what is relevant to American Indians is the focus. As part of holding such ownership, tribes and American Indians will also be able to hold their own cultural knowledge as equal to Western science rather than unintentionally, internally oppress their cultural knowledge and privilege Western science.

A number of actionable steps arise from the guidelines proposed by Whitbeck. First, given the significance of the findings from this rather small study, agencies concerned with the health, mental health and wellbeing of American Indian populations should establish funding mechanisms to support more research of the impact of historical trauma on American Indian populations. Because American Indian cultural experiences differ significantly from European American and other Westernized cultural experiences, oversight agencies should require the inclusion of culturally sensitive and appropriate models of prevention in mental health care programs that serve American Indian clientele. In addition to utilizing culturally sensitive on synchronous treatment methods, government and private agencies conducting research or providing services need to actively take every step needed to ensure that American Indian tribal stakeholders have significant voice on advisory panels regarding the direction or research or clinical activities. This research, along with other research, indicates that cultural groups respond
differently to health service delivery in culturally meaningful ways; hence, educational workforce oversight agencies should require the inclusion of training that is sensitive to the needs of American Indians in mental health education and training, including challenges to Western science and individual approaches to mental health. Given that much of what is typically present in the literature is about how to adapt Western models of treatment to the unique culturally needs of American Indians, research in the development of indigenous models of mental or chemical health treatment need to be given priority in funding.

By challenging the value of Western science and the dominance of the individual focus in mental health research and practice the training of researchers and practitioners will allow for expanded views of mental health. Such expanded views will help practitioners for example see beyond the fairly limited scope of post-traumatic stress disorder, from something that is often considered an experience of an individual to a traumatic isolated event to something that individuals experience in relationship to others from a trauma that can be much more than a time limited isolated incident. Likely very little will happen in terms of policy change until mental health concerns are conceptualized from an ecological approach to conceptualize how a person or family’s entire social context impacts their mental and/or chemical health, and how that relationship is bidirectional. In terms of training and research, more needs to be done in developing and utilizing family level and culturally synchronous interventions. In addition to prioritizing research about what works in terms of successful treatment, research that focuses on understanding the dynamics of American Indian families that are resilient and how retention of cultural identity might relate to such resilience. Given that
American Indian families were dismantled and injured through the processes of forced assimilation, common sense suggests that interventions that heal family relationships need to be provided. Policies regarding research and training in mental health need to be informed and guided by cultural values. This is difficult to do as the processes of assimilation can lead one to believe that significant cultural differences have been eliminated.

**Clinical Implications**

This study demonstrated that the experience of historical trauma is relevant for urban American Indians as the participants were able to talk directly from their experiences. In addition to having the experience of participants, this study also demonstrates how the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods provides a more meaningful understanding of the experiences of urban American Indians. Clinical implications also arise from this study. The words of the participants and the nature of the concept of HT suggest that taking a systemic and generational view of American Indian families might be helpful in addressing issues such as depression or alcoholism. Many models of approaching such issues do not adequately account for the shared experience across generations. One thought is combining transgenerational theories of family functioning and Narrative therapy. Transgenerational theories of family functioning such as Bowenian or Contextual Family therapy allow for the examination of trends across generations in families (Nichols, 2009; Piercy, Sprenkle, & Wetchler, 1996). An approach such as Narrative therapy allows clients to explore the dominant themes in their life, themes that serve to shape how they view themselves and their lives (Nichols, 2009; Piercy, Sprenkle, & Wetchler, 1996). By helping American Indians explore the shared
transgenerational themes of their family, they can also look for themes of resiliency that exist alongside of stories of oppression.

Limitations

The limitations of this study have to do with the sample of participants recruited. The demographics of this sample, particularly socioeconomic status, suggest that many of the participants are speaking from a perspective that contains less resources and privilege as maybe those coming from higher levels of socioeconomic status. Sixty seven of the participants had annual incomes of less than $25,000, ten of the participants had annual incomes that ranged from $25,000 to $39,999, one participant had an income between $40,000 and $45,000 with the remaining three participants having incomes over $50,000. The participants’ overall level of socioeconomic status may or may not be related to HT. One way to account for this would be to recruit more participants with annual incomes over $45,000. Increasing the sample of participants from higher economic backgrounds might yield different results or the results might remain largely unchanged which would indicate the experience of HT is unaffected by a person’s socioeconomic level.

The participants who volunteered to be interviewed were 12 women, meaning the voices of American Indian men went unheard in this study. Without the voices of American Indian men it is not clear if American Indian men and women have similar experiences of the impact of HT on their families or more importantly understanding where differences might exist. Such differences in perception regarding the impact of HT might have to do with differences in areas of focus on family functioning or transmission. Recruiting American Indian men in future study would benefit the understanding of HT.
To gain a better generational perspective of HT, more voices of American Indian Elders need to be heard. As 48 of the 81 participants were between the ages of 18 and 39, this sample consists of younger participants. By adding more American Indian Elders or grandparents a clearer view regarding any perceived loss of respect by youth might be gained. While it is a strength of the findings, that individuals who did not grow up in the boarding school era, but were removed from it by a generation still spoke of the current impact of HT, younger individuals might not have the perspective to fully comment on how the attitudes of youth have change over the course of time. Alongside of recruiting more Elders, a limitation of this study is that it focused more on the experience of individuals regarding phenomena that has had some impact on their family, but this is not a study of family experience. In future study on American Indian family experiences of HT could be done either by conducting individual interviews of members of the same family or conducting interviews of entire families, where all members are present for one interview. Such an effort might produce results that indicate family Elders may focus more on the loss of connection to culture that younger family members have, whereas younger family members might focus on the pain and suffering that Elders experienced.

In future study of the experience of HT in urban American Indians two additional efforts need to be made. First, having participants recruited from both reservations and urban settings, with equal numbers of men and women and efforts to match by age to see if any differences exist in how they respond to the HLS. Such a study might find that the items of the HLS perform differently based upon gender or age. Such a study would require substantially more numbers of participants.
Another future direction for studying the experience of HT would be to continue with a qualitative approach with a series of interview questions focused on the resiliency American Indians have gained as a result of their experience of oppression. Such an approach would help American Indians to be subjects and not objects. Understanding such stories of resilience would help round out the understanding of how HT is experienced as well as increasing the critical consciousness (Burton, Winn, Stevenson & Clark, 2004). This consideration comes from the experience of listening to a community elder talk of her frustrations with other elders who were at a conference on HT. Her frustration was that she felt the community needed new stories, healing stories and not the usual stories of how American Indian families have been hurt and what forced assimilation did to American Indians. Thus the next direction of study needs to provide for American Indians telling their healing stories of their experience.
References


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Appendix A

1. What is your current age?

2. Circle your gender- Male     Female

3. What percentage American Indian are you?
   100%  75%  50%  25%  less than 25%  None

4. Please list (if any) Tribal heritage ________________________________

5. How many years have you spent living in an urban setting? ______________

6. Are you enrolled on this or any other reservation? (circle one) YES NO

   What is the highest level of education you have completed?
   8th grade  some high school  high school/GED  some college  4 yr degree  some graduate school  MA/MA/PhD (specify)

7. What is your household income? Circle most appropriate range.
   Less than $10,000
   $10,000 to $14,999
   $15,000 to $19,999
   $20,000 to $24,999
   $25,000 to $29,999
   $30,000 to $34,999
   $35,000 to $39,999
   $40,000 to $44,999
   $45,000 to $49,999
   $50,000 to $59,999
   $60,000 to $74,999
   $75,000 to $99,999
   $100,000 to $124,999
   $125,000 to $149,999
   $150,000 to $199,999
   $200,000 or more

8. How would you identify yourself to someone you just met? (circle one)
   a) American Indian
   b) Mostly American Indian and some non-American Indian (i.e. White, African American, Latino, Asian American, Other Ethnicity)
   c) Mostly non-American Indian and some American Indian
   d) Bicultural (equally American Indian and non-American Indian)
   e) Non-American Indian

9. What language do you speak? (circle one)

10. Where were you born? (circle one)
    a) I was born on the Reservation
    b) I was born off the Reservation
11. Circle how connected you feel to your American Indian heritage?
   Not connected at all  not connected  neutral  connected  strongly connected

12. Circle all those you know who have attended a boarding school prior to 1978.
   yourself  parents  siblings  grandparents  great grandparents  aunts and uncles

13. Circle all those you know who have attended a boarding school after 1978.
   yourself  parents  siblings  grandparents  great grandparents  aunts and uncles

14. How many adults do you live with?

15. How many children live with you?

16. How many children are you the parent of?
Appendix B

Please indicate how often you think you think about the following topics by circling the most appropriate response.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Daily</th>
<th>Weekly</th>
<th>Monthly</th>
<th>Yearly or special times</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loss of our land.</td>
<td>Several times a day</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>Yearly or special times</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of our language</td>
<td>Several times a day</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>Yearly or special times</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Losing our traditional spiritual ways</td>
<td>Several times a day</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>Yearly or special times</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The loss of our family ties Because of boarding schools</td>
<td>Several times a day</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>Yearly or special times</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The loss of families from the reservation to government relocation</td>
<td>Several times a day</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>Yearly or special times</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The loss of self respect from poor treatment by government officials</td>
<td>Several times a day</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>Yearly or special times</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The loss of trust in whites from broken treaties</td>
<td>Several times a day</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>Yearly or special times</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Losing our culture</td>
<td>Several times a day</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>Yearly or special times</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The losses from the effects of alcoholism on our people</td>
<td>Several times a day</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>Yearly or special times</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of respect by our children And grandchildren for elders</td>
<td>Several times a day</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>Yearly or special times</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of our people through early death</td>
<td>Several times a day</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>Yearly or special times</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of respect by our children For traditional ways</td>
<td>Several times a day</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>Yearly or special times</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix C

Native American Acculturation Scale
Instructions: This questionnaire will collect information about your background and cultural identity. For each item, choose the one answer that best describes you by filling in the blank.

1. What language can you speak?
   1. Tribal language only (e.g., Cherokee, Navajo, and Lakota)
   2. Mostly tribal language, some English
   3. Tribal language and English about equally well (bilingual)
   4. Mostly English, some tribal language
   5. English only

2. What language do you prefer?
   1. Tribal language only (e.g., Cherokee, Navajo, and Lakota)
   2. Mostly tribal language, some English
   3. Tribal language and English about equally well (bilingual)
   4. Mostly English, some tribal language
   5. English only

3. How do you identify yourself?
   1. Native American
   2. Native American and some non-Native American (e.g., White, African American, Latino, and Asian American)
   3. Native American and non-Native American (bicultural)
   4. Non-Native American and some Native American
   5. Non-Native American (e.g., White, African American, Latino, and Asian American)

4. Which identification does (did) your mother use?
   1. Native American
   2. Native American and some non-Native American (e.g., White, African American, Latino, and Asian American)
   3. Native American and non-Native American (bicultural)
   4. Non-Native American and some Native American
   5. Non-Native American (e.g., White, African American, Latino, and Asian American)

5. Which identification does (did) your father use?
   1. Native American
   2. Native American and some non-Native American (e.g., White, African American, Latino, and Asian American)
3. Native American and non-Native American (bicultural)
4. Non-Native American and some Native American
5. Non-Native American (e.g., White, African American, Latino, and Asian American)

6. What was the ethnic origin of friends you had as a child up to age 6?
1. Only Native Americans
2. Mostly Native Americans
3. About equally Native Americans and non-Native Americans
4. Mostly non-Native Americans (e.g., Whites, African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans)
5. Only non-Native Americans

7. What was the ethnic origin of friends you had as a child 6 to 18?
1. Only Native Americans
2. Mostly Native Americans
3. About equally Native Americans and non-Native Americans
4. Mostly non-Native Americans (e.g., Whites, African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans)
5. Only non-Native Americans

8. Who do you associate with now in your community?
1. Only Native Americans
2. Mostly Native Americans
3. About equally Native Americans and non-Native Americans
4. Mostly non-Native Americans (e.g., Whites, African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans)
5. Only non-Native Americans

9. What music do you prefer?
1. Native American music only (e.g., pow-wow music, traditional flute, contemporary, and chant)
2. Mostly Native American music
3. Equally Native American and other music
4. Mostly other music (e.g., rock, pop, country, and rap)
5. Other music only

10. What movies do you prefer?
1. Native American movies only
2. Mostly Native American movies
3. Equally Native American and other movies
4. Mostly other movies
5. Other movies only

11. Where were you born?
1. Reservation, Native American community
2. Rural area, Native American community
3. Urban area, Native American community
4. Urban or Rural area, near Native American community
5. Urban or Rural area, away from Native American community

12. Where were you raised?
1. Reservation, Native American community
2. Rural area, Native American community
3. Urban area, Native American community
4. Urban or Rural area, near Native American community
5. Urban or Rural area, away from Native American community

13. What contact have you had with Native American communities?
1. Raised for 1 year or more on the reservation or other Native American community
2. Raised for 1 year or less on the reservation or other Native American community
3. Occasional visits to the reservation or other Native American community
4. Occasional communications with people on reservation or other Native American community
5. No exposure or communications with people on reservation or other Native American community

14. What foods do you prefer?
1. Native American foods only
2. Mostly Native American foods and some other foods
3. About equally Native American foods and Other foods
4. Mostly other foods
5. Other foods only

15. In what language do you think?
1. Tribal language only (e.g., Cherokee, Navajo, and Lakota)
2. Mostly tribal language, some English
3. Tribal language and English about equally well (bilingual)
4. Mostly English, some tribal language
5. English only

16. Do you
1. Read only a tribal language (e.g., Cherokee, Navajo, and Lakota)
2. Read a tribal language better than English
3. Read both a tribal language and English about equally well
4. Read English better than a tribal language
5. Read only English
17. Do you
1. Write only a tribal language (e.g., Cherokee, Navajo, Lakota)
2. Write a tribal language better than English
3. Write both a tribal language and English about equally well
4. Write English better than a tribal language
5. Write only English

18. How much pride do you have in Native American culture and heritage?
1. Extremely proud
2. Moderately proud
3. A little pride
4. No pride, but do not feel negative toward group
5. No pride, but do feel negative toward group

19. How would you rate yourself?
1. Very Native American
2. Mostly Native American
3. Bicultural
4. Mostly non–Native American
5. Very non–Native American

20. Do you participate in Native American traditions, ceremonies, occasions, and so on?
1. All of them
2. Most of them
3. Some of them
4. A few of them
5. None at all