CONCEPTUALIZING NATIVE IDENTITY WITH A MULTIDIMENSIONAL MODEL

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Abstract: This study reports on a Native Identity Scale (NIS) adapted from an African American identity scale (Sellers et al., 1997). American Indian (AIs) and First Nations Canadian participants (N = 199) completed the NIS at powwows in the Upper Midwest. The majority of respondents were Ojibwe, but other tribal groups were represented. A principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation revealed four factors important in self-identity: Centrality, Humanist, Public Regard, and Oppressed Minority. The correlation of respondents' scores on items defining the four factors with some aspects of respondents' behavior supports the validity of the factors. It is suggested that the NIS is a promising new tool for the study of identity dimensions in AI populations.

NATIVE IDENTITY: APPLICATION OF A MULTIDIMENSIONAL MODEL

According to Phinney (1990), a clear understanding of the components of ethnic identity is crucial. Phinney states "attitudes toward one's ethnicity are central to the psychological functioning of those who live in societies where their group and its culture are at best poorly represented … and are at worst discriminated against or even attacked verbally and physically" (p. 499). One group that has historically been impacted psychologically by discrimination is American Indians (AIs). The topic of AI identity has not been extensively studied, but it has been approached from several different perspectives. For example, scholars trained in historical methodology have attempted to describe the issue of who is AI from legal, economic, and political perspectives (Hagan, 1985 and Nagel, 1996). (In addition, see Trimble, 2000 and Trimble & Thurman, 2002 for succinct reviews of historical and contemporary problems in defining and identifying North American Indigenous people, and Peroff, 1997 for a discussion about the idea of Indianness and what it has meant for Native and non-Native people). Anthropological research has investigated the acculturation aspect of AI identity (see Choney, Berryhill-Paapke, & Robbins, 1995 and LaFromboise, Coleman, &

Gerton, 1993 for reviews). Most recently, psychological research has investigated the ethnic and cultural identity[1] of AI persons, particularly adolescents (Moran, Fleming, Somervell, & Manson, 1999; Oetting & Beauvais, 1990-91; Oetting, Swaim, & Chiarella, 1998; Trimble, 2000).

Trimble, Helms, and Root (2003) and Trimble and Dickson (2005) provided an extensive review of the ethnic and racial[2] identity literature from a social psychological perspective. It is evident from these reviews that there is limited empirical research on AI identity compared to that of other groups. Furthermore, most empirical research on AI identity focuses on cultural identity. For example, Oetting and Beauvais (1990-1991) proposed the Orthogonal Cultural Identification Theory (OCIT) which posits that identification with any one culture is independent of identification with any other culture.   The OCIT assumes that an individual's position along a continuum of identification with one culture implies nothing about the individual's position along a continuum of identification with another culture. An individual may have any combination of degree of identification with two or more cultures. Subsequent research by Oetting, Swaim, et al. (1998) and Moran et al. (1999) further validated the factor structure and validity of this type of bicultural or multicultural identity construct. (See LaFromboise et al., 1993 and Oetting & Beauvais, 1990-1991 for reviews on acculturation and bicultural identity models.) The application of these models was demonstrated by Whitbeck and colleagues (2001, 2002); they reported that AI youth may be protected through enculturation processes and by having a bicultural sense of identity. The authors also discussed how AI youth can benefit academically by identifying with and participating in their traditional cultures, which suggests a sense of biculturalism.

Trimble (2000) has proposed a four-part ethnic identity measurement model, which has been followed, in part, by cultural identity researchers (e.g. Oetting & Beauvais, 1990-91; Moran et al., 1999). This measurement model proposes that the assessment of ethnic identity needs to include at least four domains: natal, subjective, behavioral, and situational. Natal measures include birthplace and ethnic origins of self and family members. Subjective measures can include self-identification, acculturation status, ego-involvement in group, and attitudes towards out-groups. Behavioral measures can include language use, music and food preferences, and participation in cultural and religious activities. Finally, situational-context measures can include home-family, work, or school settings. Research on cultural identity has primarily assessed the behavioral domain of Trimble's model. Therefore, cultural identity can and should be considered a behaviorally focused identity. In essence, it is a behavioral manifestation of one's ethnic identity. While the assessment of cultural identity in AI persons has proven useful (Moran et al., 2000; Oetting and Beauvais, 1990-91; Oetting, Swaim, et al., 1998), there is limited research investigating the *development* of cultural identity and ethnic identity within AI populations.

Trimble et al. (2003) make the salient point that ethnic identity is multidimensional and that research using only single constructs to measure ethnic identity will have shortcomings. Furthermore, Oetting, Donnermeyer, Trimble, and Beauvais (1998), discussed the multiple socializing agents, such as culture, communities, families, schools, and peers, that affect ethnic and cultural identity. These socializing agents most likely interact with and influence several components of AI self-identity. However, we believe the cultural identification models described above mostly tap the behavioral measures domain of ethnic identity. Furthermore, we believe that cultural identity, though related to ethnic identity, is a separate construct and should be considered as a behavioral component of ethnic identity. While research investigating the cultural identity of Native people and the correlates of that construct has demonstrated different outcomes, more fundamental work needs to be done to investigate the unique components leading to the different developmental pathways of ethnic and cultural identity.

Another area of research on racial identity may provide further insights into the complexity of cultural identity development. Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, and Smith (1997) proposed the Multidimensional Model of Racial[2] Identity (MMRI) as a composite theoretical approach for understanding identity. Initially proposed for African American identity, the MMRI provides an empirical strategy for studying other racial and ethnic group identities, such as AI identity. Rather than being concerned with the development of racial or ethnic identity, the MMRI is principally interested in the status of an individual's ethnic identity and what the qualitative meaning of a group membership is within the person's self-concept. In a later article, Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, and Chavous (1998) put forth two questions that the MMRI attempts to address: "How important is race in the individual's perception of self?" and "What does it mean to be a member of this racial group?" (p. 23). The MMRI assumes that an individual possesses a number of hierarchically ordered, race-related identities and that these identities are both stable properties and subject to situational influence. The most valid indicator of ethnic identity is assumed to be the individual's own perception. Individual differences are expected to exist in the meaning of ethnic identity. Furthermore, the MMRI does not place a value judgment about what is healthy or unhealthy as a racial or ethnic identity.

Sellers et al. (1997) proposed four dimensions along which racial or ethnic identity is expected to vary. The first dimension, Centrality, is a measure of the extent to which "race is a core part of an individual's self-concept" (p. 806). A second dimension, Ideology, represents the minority person's beliefs regarding how they should interact with their own and other groups in society. Ideology is divided into four components, each of which is a set of political attitudes about one's own group and other groups. The Nationalist component emphasizes the importance of one's own racial descent. The Oppressed Minority component emphasizes solidarity and communalities

across many oppressed groups. The Assimilationist component emphasizes the view that integrating one's own ethnic group into the rest of society is important. The Humanist component emphasizes communalities among humans regardless of ethnicity.

The third dimension of the MMRI, Regard, represents affective and evaluative judgments of one's own ethnicity. Regard has two components: Private, the extent to which one feels positively or negatively about his/her own ethnic group, and Public, the extent to which a minority person believes that others evaluate his/her ethnic group positively or negatively.

The final dimension of the MMRI is Salience, the extent to which ethnicity is a relevant part of identity at a particular point in time. Salience is unlike the other three dimensions in that it is situational in nature. Salience can be strengthened or weakened by events in the person's social environment, and its strength will affect the importance of the other three dimensions.

To evaluate the MMRI, Sellers et al. (1997) created an instrument, the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI), which consisted of items designed to tap each of the dimensions and dimensional components. They reported the results of factor analyses and instrument revision which essentially support the assumptions made by the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1997).

Evidence for the construct validity of the factors identified in Sellers et al.'s (1997) analyses was provided by the relationships observed between the scales and ethnic-related behaviors. For example, more contact with African Americans was positively correlated with the Centrality, Private Regard, and Nationalist scores, while more contact with Anglo Americans was negatively related to the Centrality and Nationalist scores. Moreover, having an African American best friend resulted in higher scores on Centrality and Nationalism and lower scores on Assimilation, Humanist, and Minority Ideology scales.

While Sellers et al. (1998) originally intended for the MMRI to describe African American identity, they suggested that the dimensions of Centrality and Salience, in particular, may be relevant to identity in other racial and ethnic groups. These authors cautioned that the four components making up the Ideology dimension were based specifically on African American historical and cultural experiences and may not be relevant to other ethnic groups. While each racial, ethnic, and cultural group does have its own experiences, the experiences of African Americans and AIs may be similar in terms of forced relocations and cultural suppression. We hypothesize that the MMRI (and the MIBI items derived from it) may serve as a valuable starting point for describing ethnic identity in AI groups. To this end, we modified the MIBI to develop the Native Identity Scale (NIS), an instrument that may be useful in assessing dimensions of AI identity. We also suggest that there may be a dynamic relationship between the potential dimensions of AI identity revealed from this

work and the socialization agents of culture, community, family, and peers described by Oetting, Donnermeyer et al. (1998), that may allow us to further understand the links between identity and behavioral outcomes.

METHODS

Setting for data collection

Data were collected over a two-and-a-half-month period at seven powwows in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan. Powwows are social gatherings where Native people come together through song and dance. Powwows are not necessarily religious events; rather, they are occasions for Native people to socialize, and these events have become a social institution among Native peoples. Nearly all Native tribes in the United States and Canada hold powwows, which are inter-tribal and thus are attended by members of a variety of tribal groups. Powwows were selected as sites for recruiting participants for several reasons. First, they provided a convenient location where a large number of Native people were present. Second, we believed that the atmosphere of the powwow would enhance the saliency of Native identity. Third, we believed that the powwow situation likely would permit Native people to feel more comfortable responding to a questionnaire than they would in a more formal data collection environment. The respective powwow committees granted approval prior to data collection.

Participants

One hundred ninety-nine people completed the questionnaire. Table 1 summarizes the participant characteristics on a number of variables. The largest tribal group represented was Anishinaabe (79.9%). (Anishinaabe people include the Ojibwe, Potowatomi, Odaawa, Menominee, and Cree.) Lakota/Dakota people made up 6.5% of the respondents, and 9.5% were members of other tribes. Eight participants (4.1%) did not list a tribal affiliation, and thus were not included in the analyses. A second tribal affiliation was listed by 16% of the participants. U.S. citizens made up the majority of the participants (96%); the rest were First Nations[3] (Canadian) citizens (4%). Many of the respondents were involved in specific powwow activities, with 27% identifying themselves as singers and 43% identifying themselves as dancers. These activities are not mutually exclusive, so a given participant might be represented in both percentages. A table was supplied by the respective powwow committees, and powwow participants were asked by the researcher to voluntarily complete the questionnaire as they walked through the vendor areas. Because the researcher was also AI and participated in the powwows, the survey table was not staffed continuously. Data were collected

for approximately one hour before and two hours after Grand Entry ceremonies (Grand Entries typically occur once on Friday evening and twice on Saturday and Sunday). Nearly all powwow attendees who passed by the table were asked to complete the questionnaire. As is the case in this type of sampling approach, refusal rates were moderate at about 30% to 40%.

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics of Participant Characteristics

Variable	N	%	*M*	*SD*
Tribal Affiliation				
Anishinaabe	159	79.8		
Lakota/Dakota	13	6.5		
Other	19	9.5		
Gender				
Male	113	56.8		
Female	77	38.7		
Age	-	-	35.90	12.79
Education				
College grad	47	23.6		
Some post HS	81	40.7		
HS or less	62	31.2		
Dancers	85	42.7		
Singers	53	26.6		
Powwows attended	-	-	9.28	6.85

Note: Anishinaabe people include the Nations of Ojibwe, Cree, Menominee, Pottawatomi, and Odaawa (Ottawa).
"Powwows attended" refers to the number attended by participants during the summer of data collection.

Instrument

To investigate the applicability of the MMRI to Native identity, the 56 items from the revised MIBI (Sellers et al., 1998) were modified by substituting the word "Black" with "American Indian." (Canadian participants received a version of the questionnaire that substituted "Native" for "Black"). Also included were six items written by the authors that were specific to Native culture,

related to issues of language retention, sovereignty, land and treaty rights, and religion or spiritual practices. The response format was a 7-point Likert scale anchored by *strongly agree* (7) and *strongly disagree* (1). Despite the fact that some of the items from the MIBI appeared to be specific to African American culture, the full item pool from the MIBI was included in order to evaluate the overlap in the dimensions of African American and AI identity. In addition, participants were asked their age, gender, and education level; how many powwows they planned to attend during the summer and whether they danced or sang at powwows; how many of their five best friends were non-Native, and how many of the people where they worked were Native. These variables were included because their relationship with the factors that emerged from the analysis could help assess the validity of the instrument.

RESULTS

Factor analysis

A principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation was used to extract the factors. Preliminary analyses were conducted extracting four, five, or six factors. After each of these preliminary analyses, the percentage of variance explained, communalities, eigenvalues, and factor loadings were examined. On this basis, a four-factor solution was determined to be most satisfactory. Four iterations were required to reach the selected solution. Of the original 62 items on the questionnaire, 25 had satisfactory communalities and factor loadings and were retained for the Native Identity Scale (NIS). Communalities of the selected items ranged from .348 to .739. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) value was good (.815) and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity was highly significant ($p < .0005$). The four factors explained 48.2% (Factor 1, 19.4%; Factor 2, 10.8%; Factor 3, 9.1%; and Factor 4, 8.9%) of the total variance in the NIS. The factors identified were quite distinct in that only 7% of loadings of a factor with items not defining that factor exceeded .200 and none were above .288 (see Table 2).

Nine items made up Factor 1, the Centrality subscale. These items in part reflected the importance of and satisfaction with being Native. Two of the newly written items, which related to the importance of Native language and of treating Native reservations as sovereign nations, loaded on this factor.[3] Higher scores indicate a stronger sense of being Native or that being Native is a central or core part of one's identity. Seven items made up Factor 2, the Humanist subscale. These items involve relationships with non-Natives, with a higher score indicating more acceptance of and commonalities with non-Natives. Four items make up Factor 3, the Public Regard subscale. The items all relate to the way in which AIs believe others perceive them, with a higher score indicating a stronger belief in positive perception by others. Five

Table 2
Factor Loadings of Items from the Native Identity Scale

Item	Centrality	Humanist	Public Regard	Oppressed Minority
I have a strong sense of belonging to AI people	**.857**			
Being AI is an important reflection of who I am	**.825**			
I am proud to be AI	**.759**			
It is important for AIs to surround their children with Native art, music, and literature	**.712**			
Knowledge of AI language is important for AI people	**.701**			
In general, being AI is an important part of my self-image	**.695**			
I have a strong attachment to other AI people	**.645**			
I am happy that I am AI	**.630**			
It is important for AI reservations to be recognized as soverign nations	**.620**		-.266	
AIs should not consider race when buying art or selecting a book to read		**.639**	.217	
AIs should have a choice to marry interracially		**.622**		
AIs should not marry interracially		**-.603**		
AIs should judge Whites as individuals and not as members of the White race		**.572**		
White people can never be trusted where AIs are concerned		**-.568**		.227
AIs and Whites can never live in true harmony because of racial differences		**-.567**	.288	
AIs and Whites have more things in common than they have differences		**.538**		
In general, others respect AI people			**.781**	
In general, other groups view AIs in a positive manner			**.772**	
Overall, AIs are considered good by others			**.608**	
Society views AI people as an asset			**.574**	
The struggle for AI sovereignty in America should be closely related to the struggle of other oppressed groups				**.788**
AIs should learn about the oppression of other groups				**.632**
There are other people who experience racial injustice and indignties similar to AIs				**.596**
AIs will be more successful in achieving their goals if they form coalitions with other oppressed groups				**.581**
The racism AIs have experienced is similar to that of other minority groups		.268	.231	**.558**

Note: Only items loading above .200 are shown.
            Boldface items indicate the factor on which the item loaded.

items made up Factor 4, the Oppressed Minority subscale. These items relate to Native people's sense of solidarity with other oppressed groups, with a higher score indicating greater solidarity. Table 3 shows the means, standard deviations, and alphas for each factor. Finally, the subscale inter-correlations, which suggest distinct dimensions and subscale independence, are presented in Table 4.

Table 3
Descriptive Statistics for the Native Identity Scale Factors

Scale	*M*	*SD*	Cronbach's α
Centrality	59.45	6.26	.88
Humanism	30.24	8.36	.70
Public Regard	14.47	5.15	.65
Oppressed Minority	25.11	6.01	.66

Table 4
NIS Factor Inter-correlations

Scale	1	2	3	4
1. Centrality	-			
2. Humanism	-.43	-		
3. Public Regard	-.16	.28	-	
4. Oppressed Minority	.14	.05	.19	-

Correlates and Relationships of Factors

For each respondent, a score was created for each subscale by summing the Likert values for each item that defined the scale. Items 3 and 5 on the Humanist subscale were reverse scored. The relationships among the subscale scores and the respondents' involvement in powwows; the ethnicity of people in their work and social environments; and age, gender, education, and tribal affiliation were examined to assess the validity and meaning of the scales. Several one-way ANOVAs were conducted on the NIS factor scores and validity assessment variables. Independent *t*-tests and Pearson *r* correlation analyses were conducted when appropriate. Relationships were, for the most part, as expected and are summarized in narrative form in Table 5.

Table 5
Summary of the Significant Relationships of NIS Factors and Validity Assessment Variables

Factor	
Centrality	Higher scores are associated with fewer non-Native best friends, a higher incidence of dancing at powwows, and a greater likelihood of using appropriate Native language terms for self-identification
Humanism	Higher scores are associated with more non-Native best friends, a lower incidence of dancing at powwows, and a lesser likelihood of using appropriate Native language terms for self-identification
Public Regard	Higher scores are associated with more non-Native coworkers, a lower level of education completed, younger age, and being male
Oppressed Minority	None of the measured variables were associated with this factor.

There was a significant difference in Centrality scores depending on the number of non-Natives among a respondent's five best friends, $F(2, 175) = 4.10, p < .02$. Tukey's HSD tests showed respondents with no non-Native friends ($M = 60.9$) had significantly higher Centrality scores than those with three or more non-Native friends ($M = 57.7$); those with one or two non-Native friends had Centrality scores in between ($M = 59.1$) which were not significantly different from those of the other two groups. Respondents who danced at powwows had significantly higher Centrality scores ($M = 60.9$) than those who did not dance ($M = 58.8$), $t(189) = 2.59, p < .02$, Cohen's $d = .40$. Respondents who used appropriate words from their Native languages (e.g. Anishinaabe, Ojibwe, Lakota) to self-identify their tribal affiliation had significantly higher Centrality scores ($M = 60.7$) than those who used words that are derived from other languages and are not culturally traditional (e.g., Chippewa or Sioux; $M = 59.1$), $t(188) = 2.25, p < .03$, Cohen's $d = .35$. There was a significant positive correlation between Centrality scores and the number of powwows a respondent attended during the summer, $r(139) = .19, p < .04$.

There was a significant difference in Humanism scores depending on the number of non-Natives among a respondent's five best friends, $F(2, 175) = 4.16, p < .02$. Tukey's HSD tests showed respondents with three or more non-Native friends ($M = 32.7$) had significantly higher Humanism scores than those with no non-Native friends ($M = 28.1$); those with one or two non-Native friends had Humanism scores in between ($M = 30.9$), which were not significantly different from those of the other two groups. Respondents who did not dance at powwows had significantly higher Humanism scores ($M = 31.9$) than those who did dance ($M = 28.1$), $t(188) = 3.18, p < .01$, Cohen's $d = .46$. Respondents who used words that are not culturally derived to describe their tribal affiliation had significantly higher Humanism scores ($M = 31.8$) than those who used words derived from their Indigenous languages ($M = 28.8$), $t(176) = 2.42, p < .02$. Cohen's $d = .37$. There

was a significant negative correlation between Humanism scores and the number of powwows a respondent attended during the summer, r (164) = -.15, $p < .05$; respondents who attend fewer powwows had higher scores.

There was a significant difference in Public Regard scores depending on the number of non-Natives among a respondent's coworkers, F (2, 158) = 3.22, $p < .05$. Tukey's HSD tests showed respondents with most or all non-Native coworkers ($M = 15.2$) had significantly higher Public Regard scores than those with no or few non-Native coworkers ($M = 13.0$); those with some non-Native coworkers had intermediate Public Regard scores ($M = 14.4$) which were not significantly different from the other two groups. There was a significant difference on Public Regard scores depending on a respondent's education, F (2, 183) = 3.76, $p < .03$. Tukey's HSD tests showed respondents with a high school degree or less ($M = 15.6$) had significantly higher Public Regard scores than those with a college degree ($M = 12.9$); those with some higher education had intermediate Public Regard scores ($M = 14.6$) which were not significantly different from those of the other two groups. There was a significant negative correlation between Public Regard scores and age, r (178) = -.19, $p < .05$; younger respondents had higher scores. Men ($M = 15.0$) had significantly higher Public Regard scores than women ($M = 13.5$), t (184) = 1.99, $p < .05$, Cohen's $d = .30$. No significant relationships were found between Oppressed Minority scores and any of these variables.

DISCUSSION

Although the MMRI was developed for African American identity, the present results suggest the application of the model to Native identity appears promising. Clearly, we did not expect the "structure" of Native identity to directly match that of African American identity. In addition, the approach to data analyses and interpretation further ensured that the Factor structure would deviate. For Sellers et al. (1998), the driving process was to fit the data to their proposed theory of racial identity for African Americans. Our approach was more data driven and exploratory in nature. As stated previously, it was assumed that AIs and African Americans shared a similar history in terms of forced relocations and forced assimilation. In addition, the saliency of being AI in a society that historically segregated AIs to reservations may be more similar to the African American experience than to that of other ethnic groups. Thus, a theoretical basis for applying the Multidimensional Model was proposed. However, it was also recognized that the unique history of each group would also lead to "unique ideological profiles" (Sellers et al., 1998, p. 35) related to their identities and would reveal itself in differing factor structures.

The analyses of the data resulted in a unique but less complex factor structure of AI identity with both similarities and differences vis-à-vis. African American identity. Centrality appears to be an aspect of identity that applies across ethnic groups. However, the composition of the Centrality

factor for AIs differed from that of African Americans on Sellers et al.'s (1998) MIBI. Only four of the eight items from the MIBI Centrality subscale loaded on the NIS Centrality factor, with the other five items of the NIS Centrality factor coming from other subscales of the MIBI and two newly written items specific to Native history and culture. Specifically, two items from the MIBI Private Regard subscale loaded on the NIS Centrality factor: "proud to be Native" and "happy that I am Native." One item from the MIBI Nationalist Ideology subscale loaded on the NIS Centrality factor: "importance of surrounding children with Native art, music, and literature." The final two items of the NIS Centrality factor were newly written items created for this study and related to specific aspects of Native culture: "importance of knowing Native language" and "importance of being recognized as sovereign nations."

Sellers et al. (1997) defined Centrality as a measure of the extent to which "race is a core part of an individual's self-concept" (p. 806). Native identity seems to also incorporate this conception of being Native, as well as taking pride in being Native, as a core part of the Native self-concept. Having a sense of pride in one's ethnic group and a strong attachment to that group is a key factor. These feelings are described by Phinney (1989, 1992) and others (Roberts et al., 1999; Spencer, Icard, Harachi, Catalano, & Oxford, 2000) as part of the process in developing an ethnic identity. Moreover, retaining traditional language and having a Nationalistic ideology by surrounding one's children with Native symbols and desiring to be sovereign appear to be *central* to Native self-concept. These aspects of Centrality can be seen further in the relationships with behavioral indicators. For example, the significant positive relationship between powwow participation and Centrality suggests that those who actively participate in this important cultural activity see such participation as a core part of their self-concept as a Native person. However, the use of Indigenous language as an indicator of the strength of the Centrality factor might be restricted to the tribes studied and may not be true of all tribes—and would not be a meaningful indicator for tribes whose languages have been lost. Additionally, the significant negative correlation between number of non-Native friends and Centrality scores is indicative of having a Nationalistic ideology. Thus, respondents with high Centrality scores are more likely to be involved in Native culture and less likely to socialize with non-Natives.

The second factor, Humanist, is an ideology or philosophy that historically can be applied to AI worldviews. Traditionally, many Indigenous tribes of North America had an attitude of acceptance towards other racial and ethnic groups. For example, when Europeans first arrived in North America many Indigenous tribes were accepting of the "foreign visitors" despite the evident differences (Berkhofer, 1979; Deloria, 1973 2003; Page, 2003). There was an ideology of respect for other human beings and living beings that appears to be still present in Native identity today. However, the composition of the NIS Humanist factor also differed from the MIBI's. Only four of

the nine items on the MIBI Humanist subscale loaded on the NIS Humanist factor: "should have choice to marry interracially," "Natives and Whites have more in common than differences," "should not consider race when buying art or books to read," and "should judge Whites as individuals and not as members of White race." Three items from the MIBI Nationalist subscale instead loaded on the NIS Humanist factor to finalize this factor, and all three loaded negatively: "should not marry interracially," "Native and Whites can never live in true harmony because of racial differences," and "Whites can never be trusted where Natives are concerned." However, it is not unexpected that the above items from the MIBI Nationalist subscale loaded on the NIS Humanist factor because they relate to humanism by being "non-humanistic" in nature, thus explaining their negative loadings. The addition of the above items loading on this factor probably strengthens the validity of this dimension.

The positive relationship between number of non-Native friends and the Humanist factor provides some construct validity for this factor. It makes intuitive sense that someone who has a Humanistic ideology would "see" past race and ethnicity or consider these constructs less when associating with people. However, the negative relationship between powwow activity and the Humanist factor is not clear. This relationship indicates that someone who is high on Humanist (i.e., views all people as similar regardless of race) is less likely to attend powwows or participate as a dancer. It is possible that the Humanist factor is tapping some aspects of assimilation in Native people. Therefore, a person who scored high on this factor may be more assimilated and *may* be less likely to attend and participate in powwows.

The third factor, Public Regard, should be important to ethnic identity development in general. From a developmental model this makes sense. Members of ethnic groups that are most often in the minority are exposed to a variety of views and attitudes about their group through both personal experience and vicarious elements such as mass media. This experience is particularly true for AI groups (e.g., images from western films; use of AI mascots and logos by school, college, and professional sports teams). Furthermore, Cross (1991) hypothesizes that, during the encounter stage (pre-exploration), exposure to the attitudes and behavior of the majority culture will serve as a catalyst for examination of one's ethnic identity and one's place within society. Thus, a minority member's view of how he or she is perceived by society is an important aspect of ethnic identity. Finally, LaFromboise et al. (1993) postulated that being accepted by members of a second culture was part of the process of bicultural acquisition.

The items composing the NIS Public Regard factor all came from the MIBI Public Regard subscale. However, only four of the original nine items from MIBI formed the NIS factor. Therefore, this component of Native identity is similar to that of African American identity, and may be to all ethnic groups as postulated above. The relationship between Public Regard scores and demographic

and behavioral variables provides an interesting set of questions for future research. For example, the positive correlation between Public Regard scores and number of non-Native coworkers suggests that more association with non-Natives may be associated with a sense of being evaluated more positively by non-Natives. The negative correlations between Public Regard scores and age may reflect that older Native people have been subject to more racism, prejudice, and discrimination. Additionally, many older Native individuals have had the experience of being sent to boarding school, or have been exposed to stories of the boarding school experience by family members. Finally, the negative correlations between Public Regard scores and education may indicate that more educated Native people have experienced negative interactions with non-Natives, possibly as a result of their progression through an educational system that reflects the majority culture and is unfriendly to minority people in general (Huffman, 1991; Zakhar, 1987). The differences between men and women on Public Regard scores suggest that women have had less favorable interactions in mainstream society than men. This suggestion may in fact be congruent with the cultural differences that exist between Native peoples and Western Whites. For example, the family structures in many Native cultures follow a maternal lineage pattern where the forms of ownership and rights are passed down through the mother, which is in contrast to the paternal lineage pattern seen in American society.

The fourth factor, Oppressed Minority, is, we speculate, another aspect of ethnic identity that can apply cross-culturally for ethnic minority groups. This factor taps into an ideological viewpoint that there is and should be a sense of solidarity with other ethnic minority groups. Like Public Regard, this ideology appears important to the development of an ethnic identity. For example, these views and feelings are likely to interact with the self-concept influencing one's orientation toward majority groups and other cultures (Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986). Phinney (1989, 1992) reports how subjects in her studies indicated a desire to learn more about their own culture as part of their ethnicity, and about how their culture and ethnic group differed from others. In other words, individuals attempt to identify the activities, values, or beliefs that make their culture and ethnic group different than or similar to others. This suggestion would imply that, during the development of an ethnic identity or second-culture acquisition, individuals are contemplating their position and role in relation to other groups in society. Thus, for ethnic minority group members in particular, the opportunity exists to develop a sense of solidarity with other oppressed groups.

The composition of the NIS Oppressed Minority factor was very similar to that of the MIBI Oppressed Minority subscale, consisting of five out of nine items from the MIBI. Although the Oppressed Minority factor accounted for 8.9% of the variance on our scale, we did not find any significant relationships with our behavioral indicator or demographic questions. Theoretically, negative relationships between Oppressed Minority scores and number of non-Native friends or

non-Native coworkers would be predicted. However, it is unclear why this was not seen. It is possible that these environmental variables are not critical in relation to this ideology. Future research needs to identify what environmental variables and behavioral indicators are related to an Oppressed Minority ideology.

As stated above, the current research on Native identity has focused on the ethnic and cultural identity theories. Researchers have attempted to determine if and how these constructs are related to behavioral health issues in Native communities, such as substance abuse. The general belief is that cultural factors (e.g., powwow attendance) protect against substance misuse and other psychosocial issues (Fleming, 1992, Whitbeck et al., 2001, 2002). Whitbeck and colleagues also suggested that cultural factors can have an impact on academic success, using a more behavioral assessment of cultural identity. They found that youth who reported engaging in more traditional activities also reported being more successful in school. However, the research in this area has not produced conclusive evidence of the hypothesized links between culture characteristics and psychosocial functioning (Oetting, Donnermeyer, et al. 1998). For example, it is commonly believed that a person's identification with the majority culture or his/her culture of origin can indicate how likely he/she is to engage in substance use. As Oetting et al. (1998) point out, the disappointment of not finding clear-cut relationships in the research does not lie in the basic belief itself, but may involve the generated hypotheses and the methods used to test these hypotheses. We posit that measuring only a person's self-identity and cultural identity is insufficient to help explain psychosocial functioning. Oetting et al. (1998) have reached a similar conclusion and have presented a theory that further explains why simple relationships between cultural identification and substance use are not found. They posit that Native youth have varying levels of ethnic and cultural identity, and the ways these identities are learned and solidified vary through different socialization processes. In addition, different subcultures within cultures have varying norms about substance use and other behavioral health activities. Therefore, knowing a person's cultural and/or ethnic identity does not automatically provide information about his/her behavioral health lifestyle. Oetting et al. (1998) have found that many other factors play a role in these behaviors, particularly the socialization processes occurring in the family, school, and peer group.

We posit that there is a dynamic relationship between these socialization agents of culture, community, family, school, and peers and the dimensions of identity that are assessed by the NIS, and that, through further development, the NIS can be a useful tool for studying the underlying processes of AI identity. In other words, two Native people can have a strong cultural or ethnic identification based on some self-identification questions, but would probably have different "profiles" on the dimensions of the NIS and, depending on the differing levels of each dimension, one may be more protected from behavioral health issues than the other.

For example, Sellers and colleagues (2003) have reported some relationships among subscales of the MMRI and behavioral health indicators. Caldwell, Sellers, Bernat, and Zimmerman (2004) reported that racial Centrality and Private Regard were associated with alcohol use. Specifically, they found that Private Regard (having a positive view of one's own racial/ethnic group) and parental support were associated with less self-reported alcohol use. In addition, they reported that this dimension of identity interacted with the Centrality dimension such that students whose race was a more central part of their identity and who scored higher on Private Regard reported less alcohol use. In an earlier article, Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, and Zimmerman (2003) discussed the multiple pathways through which identity dimensions can have an impact on psychological well-being or behavioral health. They reported some evidence of a direct relationship between Centrality and psychological distress, whereby individuals for whom ethnicity was more central to identity experienced less psychological distress, based on items from the Brief Symptom Inventory. Furthermore, they reported indirect relationships between both Centrality and Private Regard and psychological distress as a result of racial discrimination and perceived stress. Finally, results from Caldwell, Zimmerman, Bernat, Sellers, and Notaro (2002) suggest that the meanings ethnic and cultural minority group members attribute to their ethnicity may be a key factor to their mental and behavioral health. They found that the relationships between identity dimensions and mental health were mediated by maternal support and perceived stress. Structural equation models indicated that Centrality and Private Regard were not significantly associated with psychological distress alone, but instead operated indirectly by way of maternal support and perceived stress.

Together, these studies highlight the importance of viewing ethnic identity as multidimensional in understanding mental and behavioral health. In addition, these studies indicate that key variables such as parental support and perceived stress in the form of racial discrimination have an impact on mental health. Although these studies were conducted with African American populations, the identity dimensions and social variables of family support and discrimination can certainly apply to AI and Alaska Native populations as well. The idea that parental support was associated with the ethnic identity dimensions of Centrality and Private Regard highlights the concept of ethnic socialization, a critical component of cultural transmission in many Native cultures and similar to what Oetting, Donnermeyer, et al. (1998) discussed as primary socialization theory. In many Native communities, the importance of having pride in one's culture and feeling good or positive about Native people is stressed and is thought to act as a buffer against mental and behavioral health problems. Sellers and colleagues (2003) found mixed support for this hypothesis with African American populations. Whereas Private Regard (feeling good or positive about own ethnic group) was inversely related to perceived stress and psychological distress, Centrality (pride and core identity marker) was positively related to perceived stress and negative mental health indicators

in some studies, but inversely related to alcohol use in another study. However, it is important to note that two of the Private Regard items from the MIBI loaded on Centrality for the NIS and that the MMRI factors differed for Native identity. Thus, determining how these identity dimensions may be associated with mental and behavioral health factors and other psychosocial functioning in Native populations is an important empirical question.

Limitations

While it can be argued that modifying a measure originally developed with African Americans is a limitation to the current study, we would like to point out that the factor structure of the NIS differed significantly, and the newly created items addressing specific AI issues (i.e., sovereignty, language, land) lend support for using this approach as a starting point. Future research with the NIS needs to investigate the inclusion of other ideologies. For example, it was expected that an Assimilationist ideology would emerge as part of the Native identity. Historically, assimilation has been a major issue for AI people. While the federal policy of forced assimilation was in place, many Indigenous nations struggled to maintain their traditional cultures. Parts of this ideology are included in the Centrality factor, but the question remains whether it should be a separate factor. In our original factor analysis, a five-factor solution was one of the possible options, with the fifth factor being the Assimilationist. However, only two items comprised that factor and we felt that it did not currently account for enough variance. In future studies, this factor will need to be reconsidered through additional item construction and factor analytic designs. It is acknowledged here that the correlations between the factors and current environment variables were relatively weak, and accounted for about 4% to 5% of shared variance. Future research assessing other environmental variables and areas of psychosocial functioning can provide further evidence for the validity of the NIS and the different facets of identity tapped by the NIS subscales.

Finally, the procedure used to recruit participants may have limitations. The fact that all participants were attendees at Upper Midwest powwows may make them more homogeneous in their cultural identity than participants recruited in other ways. Specifically, greater homogeneity might limit the strength of the relationship between factor scores and participant characteristics (e.g., number of non-Native friends, number of powwows attended). Also, it is acknowledged that because the majority of the participants were from a single tribal group, Anishinaabe, the results might not generalize to members of other tribes.

CONCLUSION

Previous research on AI populations has focused primarily on bicultural ethnic identity. While the construct of bicultural identity has been validated (Moran et al., 1999; Oetting & Beauvais, 1990-91), the predicted relationships between bicultural ethnic identity and psychosocial outcome variables has not been strongly supported (Oetting et al., 1998). This study was conducted to investigate the possible underlying dimensions or factors that may compose ethnic identity in AIs and that may be more related to socializing agents and psychosocial outcome variables.

A measure (the NIS) was adapted based on a multidimensional model (Sellers et al., 1997) of identity that assesses various ideological and social determinants of an ethnic minority experience. An exploratory analysis resulted in a four-factor model of AI ethnic identity: Centrality, Humanism, Public Regard, and Oppressed Minority. Construct validity of these factors was partially demonstrated by significant relationships with validity assessment variables. The NIS suggests there are indeed some underlying dimensions of AI ethnic identity that are not tapped by current assessment measures. Future research with the NIS should assess the possible relationships between the factors found in this study and the socializing agents of culture and community that are more directly related to psychosocial outcome variables important to AI communities.

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FOOTNOTES

[1] We agree with Phinney's definition of ethnic identity in that it "is a dynamic, multidimensional construct that refers to one's identity, or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group" (2003, p. 63). Cultural identity is defined by the authors as the "acting out" of one's ethnic identity. The person's sense that he/she can and does participate in cultural activities and beliefs held by their ethnic/cultural group.

[2] Racial identity is most often associated in the literature with African American identity. Researchers such as Janet Helms, William Cross, and Robert Sellers prefer to use this term when describing their work with African Americans. Interestingly, it seems to imply a sense of both ethnic and cultural identity with this group.

[3] "First Nations" is a term Indigenous peoples of Canada use to refer to themselves and to signify their relationship to this land.