AOSERP/COLD LAKE

WORKING NOTES

CANADIAN AND AMERICAN INDIANS:

AN OVERVIEW OF APPROACHES TO RESEARCH

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INTRODUCTION

This paper was prepared as part of the development of a
research design for longitudinal monitoring of personal
adjustment and social change in the Fort McMurray area
and the Cold Lake region.

The paper grew out of the study team's recognition that
research concepts, methodologies and data collection
instruments and procedures which are appropriate in
white communities might not be so in Indian and Metis
communities.

The purpose of this paper is to provide an overview and
introductory assessment of research approaches in Indian
communities, and a context for a more detailed
examination of particular approaches which may be
appropriate in the various study areas.

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May, 1978

The purpose of this report is to briefly summarize the findings of a review of the literature relating to the personal and social adjustment of native peoples. The focus has been particularly on approaches to conceptualization and methodology rather than study results or conclusions. While there has recently been a plethora of material written about the American Indian, a large number of studies are general and speculative in nature rather than research oriented. It has been the procedure in this study to review only studies utilizing some method of data collection which is explicitly described. (A small number of non-empirical studies have been included in the bibliography because they must be considered as classics.)

A major difficulty throughout has been the confusing and sometimes conflicting terminology utilized by different approaches. Mental health, psychopathology, personal adjustment, social pathology, social adjustment, personal discomfort, psychosomatic stress, social problems and acculturative stress have all been variously employed, often without definition or differentiation. This confusion is, of course, not limited to Indian research but rather is characteristic of the present 'state of the art'.

Thrusts for research on native peoples have come from a variety of sources: sociological studies of minority groups (from both ethnic and poverty viewpoint), cross-cultural psychological studies, social psychiatric approaches, anthropological studies, particularly those in the area of

psychological anthropology, urbanization studies from a variety of disciplines plus a large number of miscellaneous approaches.

For the above reasons it has been necessary to research a wide variety of headings cutting across several disciplines. Sources searched include the following:

Card Catalogues at Glenbow, Arctic, Boreal and University libraries.

Boreal Institute Computer Printouts.

Psychological Abstracts to 1970.

Anthropological Abstracts to 1970.

Medicus Index to 1970.

Canadian Index to Periodicals (two years).

Computer Printouts for Sociological Abstracts.

Bibliographies of several types.

Bibliographic service from White Cloud Centre in Portland Oregon.

Headings searched have varied according to the particular terminology utilzied by the resource but have included the various terminologies listed above re mental health, several different terms re urbanization, acculturation, social change, several terminologies referring to ethnic groups - ethnography, ethnicity, etc. and, of course, various referents to Indians. The result has been a reasonably complete identification of the current literature. Within the time limits of this study it has not been possible to locate all items identified. However all those currently available in Calgary or Edmonton plus a number requested

through the mail have been reviewed.

Before proceeding to a description of the literature
it seems important to mention several methodological issues
common to native studies which will be utilized in the
evaluation of the studies.

Methodological Problems in Indian Research

The question of appropriateness of the traditional
categories of description and explanation for the study
of other cultures or subcultures has long been a thorny one
in scientific enquiry. The difficulties in comparing beha-
vior cross-culturally have been outlined by Berry (1976)
who stresses the necessity of utilizing categories of
description that are valid for all cultural groups involved.
Such validity depends upon the demonstrated functional
equivalence of the behavior in both cultures.

This raises an equivocal point regarding the present
degree of acculturation of the Indian people. While it is
occasionally argued that, because of the extensive accultura-
tive experience of native people, they need no longer be
considered a separate culture, in fact, present-day Indian
culture cannot be considered a homogeneous entity. Rather,
it is best viewed as a continuum with a high degree of
urbanization at one end and a high degree of traditionalism
at the other. Because of the presence of a large number of
individuals and families who are still highly traditional,
it is necessary to approach native research essentially as

cross-cultural research, thus ensuring error to be on the side of caution. Assumptions, then, of comparability of behavior and concepts between Indians and whites can be made only with extreme caution. For example, 'achievement need' may be common to both Indian and white cultures but the form in which it is expressed varies from culture to culture. Similarly, concepts such as dominance and responsibility which are explicitly defined in white culture do not have equivalent psychological meaning in the Indian culture.

A second methodological difficulty to be considered in the evaluation of the research studies is that of differential response tendencies. Native respondents tend towards a higher proportion of 'I don't know' responses as well as socially desirable responses. Also the interviewer-subject relationship is generally viewed differently by native people as the interviewer role is not normally a part of the Indian role system. Hence, utilization of a reward is often necessary to ensure cooperation.

A surprising number of those studies reviewed were found to make use of instruments that were readily available and convenient without any apparent consideration for their cultural appropriateness. Frequently instruments that had been specifically designed for use in white culture were employed in native studies without comment as to their obvious limitations. To be culturally appropriate, a particular dimension must be assessed by means of a medium which

is familiar to members of that culture. Unfortunately this presupposes an intimate knowledge of the particular group being studied on the part of the investigator. Also, objective standardization must, to some extent, be sacrificed for the sake of cultural relativity.

A distinction between two different types of research, that of emic and etic, has become common in the literature. Emic studies attempt to view behavior in the cultural context in which it occurs and strive for cultural relativity. Etic studies have as a goal general comparisons between cultures for the purpose of theoretical cross-cultural generalizations. In etic studies, instruments need not necessarily be culturally modified because of the goal of investigating cultural similarities and variations on a particular construct. The value of this distinction lies in the encouragement it offers investigators to clearly state their goals and select instrumentation appropriately. Where the goal of a study is to provide an analysis of the changing attitudes and behaviors of a particular cultural group as in the presently proposed research, both an emic and etic type of study is indicated.

Conceptualization

While certain methodological concerns have been approached with considerable sophistication, conceptualization and operationalization of terms have remained at a fairly low level of development. Basic concepts are, with

only a few exceptions, poorly defined, if defined at all, and frequently employed inconsistently. Because of the multi-dimensional nature of the concepts involved, operational definitions have varied widely and appear in the literature as extremely fragmented. It would seem also that operational definitions have frequently been defined according to the availability of measures. For these reasons no overall statement of definitions of concepts will be attempted here. Where definitions are explicitly stated in those studies reviewed they will be included in the study description. It should be pointed out that this inexactness in definitions of concepts and in operational definitions has rendered more difficult the application of validity and reliability measures.

Methods of data gathering have been a prime focus of this literature survey. The remainder of the report will be divided into the following sections according to the type of data gathering technique utilized:

Participant observation.

Secondary analyses of data (from census information, clinics and hospitals primarily).

Surveys based on questionnaires and interviews.

Psychological tests and scales.

Representative studies for each category will be presented along with a discussion of the applicability of the approach for the proposed research. Particularly useful studies will be presented in greater detail. Generally, studies of the

questionnaire or psychological scale categories appear to hold the greatest promise and will therefore be considered in greater detail than the participant observation and secondary analyses categories.

Participant Observation

A large number of anthropologists have been utilizing participant observation as a primary data gathering technique for several decades. Studies of culture change, accultura- tion and more recently urbanization have particularly attracted anthropological research. The focus has most frequently been on cultural adjustment and conditions lead- ing to successful adaptation versus those associated with disintegration. Psychological processes have usually been included but with a lesser degree of emphasis.

Irving Hallowell was one of the first anthropologists to focus on psychological adaptation in his research on the Ojibwa. Since then major contributions to an understanding of Indian cultural and psychological adjustment have been made by researchers such as Dosmann, Honigman, Guillemin, Waddell, Chance, Braroe and Brody. Dosmann in "The Urban Dilemma" presents an insightful analysis of those socio- cultural variables which underly the adaptation process.

Operating from the viewpoint that questionnaires are not applicable in native studies because Indians do not trust paper and pencil approaches, he draws his data from participant observation, particularly of family relations

and social organization involvement. His data is supplemented by analyses of various social statistics. Guillemin in "Urban Renegades" similarly presents an analysis of the cultural adjustment of the Mic Mac tribe to urban life Brody in "Indians on Skid Row" provides us with a study of problems of marginality and socio-economic impoverishment from within the Indian culture.

These studies along with numerous others have contributed a rich and insightful account of cultural and personal adjustment to processes of urbanization. The type of qualitative data generated by such studies is in some ways superior to the quantitative data generated by survey studies because of the focus on processes within the society and within the individual. Their primary utility, however, would seem to be exploratory for the purpose of defining concepts and generating hypotheses. In addition they are frequently useful as a supplement to survey data. A shortcoming of those studies reviewed is apparent in the inattention paid to conceptualizations of adjustment as well as the scarcity of data on psychological processes of adjustment as opposed to cultural.

Secondary Analyses

The studies utilizing secondary analyses of data can be divided generally into those which survey clinical, court and agency records for rates of various types of deviancy and those which utilize clinical anecdotes for descriptive

and analytical purposes. The two approaches are quite
different and will be considered separately.

Mental health statistics have frequently been obtained
through the analysis of hospital and clinical records. Data
frequently collected consist of psychiatric diagnosis,
place of occurrence and demographic characteristics. Typi-
cal of such studies are "The Navajo Indian: A Descriptive
Study of the Psychiatric Population" by Schoenfeld and
Miller, "Psychiatric Problems and Cultural Transitions in
Alaska" by Bloom, "Developing a Community Mental Health
Clinic on the Papago Indian Reservation" by Kahn and Delk
and "The Mental Health of the Alaskan Natives" by Foulks
and Katz. Most such studies ignore the question of clarifi-
cation of concepts and operational definitions but implicitly
adhere to standard psychiatric typologies.

Foulks and Katz compared the incidence of treated
disorders in Alaska among five Alaska native groups and then
correlated results with increases in population size and
rapidity of transition. The result provides us with a pic-
ture of the relative frequency of different disorders in
native groups as well as relationships to cultural transi-
tion. Similarly Schoenfeld and Miller investigated mental
health data in the Navajo Area Indian Health Service to
determine if the relatively isolated Navajos presented a
diagnostic pattern of illness different from that in other
groups.

Investigation into rates of arrest, drunkenness,

illegitimacy, venereal disease, suicide and homicide has also been a frequent approach to the study of social pathology. Clifton (1977), for example, measured social adjustment of native Indian, Eskimo and Metis students in a northern hostel by percentage of pregnancies and arrests.

Several attempts have also been made in the literature to measure the degree of stress from cultural change through the use of accidental injury rates as an index of stress. Stull in his article "Victims of Modernization: Accident Rates and Papago Indian Adjustment" utilizes occupational types as indices of personal modernization and a community scale as an index of village modernization in combination with 1969-70 data on accident injuries as a measure of stress sustained by the Papago Indians. These measures are related in an effort to determine whether stress associated with rapid change has more impact on (1) modern individuals in modern villages; (2) traditional individuals in modern villages; (3) modern individuals in traditional villages; or (4) traditional individuals in traditional villages. Hackenberg, in a similar vein examines several theories suggesting that stresses associated with urbanization are responsible for excesses of accidental injuries among Indians.

There are several disadvantages inherent in these studies of mental illness, deviancy and accidental rate. First, the clinical data utilized for analysis is of questionable reliability and validity, being dependent, as it is, on reporting procedures and record keeping procedures.

Concepts are operationalized in a purely pragmatic way and measures cannot be considered as indices of true incidence but rather of those seeking treatment or those who in some other way, such as arrest, have become conspicuous to social agencies. Also such methods generally provide only quantitative data in the form of rates, etc., with little insight into the processes involved. Finally such studies often have the disadvantage of being firmly rooted in white society with little regard for the native point of view. Utilizing as they do white standards of deviancy, i.e., arrest for drunkenness and illegitimacy, they cannot be considered as measures of personal disorganization amongst natives.

Amongst the advantages of such studies is the fact that they provide access to data which would otherwise be difficult to obtain. Data on mental illness, alcoholism, suicide attempts, etc. are extremely difficult to obtain through a survey approach. Also, while such studies may sometimes provide poor measures of personal adjustment it must be admitted that the behavioral rates are indicative of degree of cultural adjustments to the dominant society. Finally a major advantage is that of expediency and availability.

Studies utilizing clinical data and experience in an anecdotal way for purposes of description would seem to have less utility in the study of native adjustment. Some studies such as McDonald's "Group Psychotherapy with Native-

American Women" and Metcalf's "From School Girl to Mother"
have examined the effect of urbanization on psychological
stress and self-esteem. Again, these studies provide little
in the way of conceptual definitions and the type of quali-
tative data collected does not allow for comparison over
a period of time.

Questionnaire and Interview Survey Methods

The majority of studies in this area have been socio-
logical in nature and have examined a wide range of personal
and social data. Once again, explicitly stated definitions
of concepts have generally been lacking but implied opera-
tional definitions have covered areas including socio-
demographic measures, quality of life and life satisfaction
measures as well as measures of deviancy and social problems.
While attitudes towards living conditions, urbanization, etc.
have frequently been elicited, more highly sophisticated
constructs such as self-esteem and personal adjustment are
not within the range of such studies.

Representative of studies in this area are those con-
ducted by Davis, MacKinnon and Neufeldt, Hobart, French,
Littleman, Siperko, Stanbury, Nagler (1975, 1970), Strimble
(1971), Shore (1973), Bloom, Graves (1967) and Durgin.

Davis, in a study of Metis and Indians living in three
Saskatchewan urban centers obtained information on demo-
graphic characteristics, housing facilities, employment,
occupation and income, social participation in formal

organizations and informal social activities, major problems
as perceived by the respondent, direction of solutions for
these problems and aspirations with reference to levels
of living, etc. While the interview schedule was the pri-
mary data gathering method it was supplemented by informal
observation as is frequently the case in these types of
studies. The main interviewer was a native, relatively
untrained worker.

MacKinnon and Neufeldt conducted a survey of the mental
health status of Eskimo, Indian and white residents in the
far north of Canada. The survey sampled 17 communities us-
ing specially designed questionnaires containing "general
questions of perceived relevance to people everywhere."
Measures of income, family stability, community satisfaction,
alcohol consumption, personal problems, and emotional diffi-
culties were obtained. Local interviewers were utilized
entirely. MacKinnon and Neufeldt, while recognizing the
advantages of use of local interviewers in order to improve
rapport and reduce resistance, at the same time, admit to
problems in doing so. At times it may be more difficult
for local interviewers who may be neighbours or friends to
obtain certain private kinds of information and attitudes
than for strangers.

Hobart in his Community Opportunity Assessment study
recognized the need to utilize different interview proce-
dures for native people. He also made use of Indian inter-
viewers (non-local) in order to minimize problems of suspicion

and establishment of rapport. Interviewers moved into the field prior to the beginning of the interviewing in order to become known and allay mistrust as much as possible. Once interviewers became known to the people in the area an interview schedule was developed with the "items flexibly stated to be adapted to the communication situation of the interviewee." Information was sought on housing, income (sources and amount), work experiences, work preferences and aspirations, health problems, consumption patterns, attitudes towards residential, segregated day care, integrated schools, kins of contacts with whites and consequences of those contacts, kinds of city experience and attitudes towards the city, experience with and attitudes towards alcohol and experience of welfare aid and attitudes towards welfare.

French surveyed social problems of Cherokee women in terms of normlessness, confused role identity, family disorganization, violence, and alcoholism. His survey approach was supplemented by deviancy rates gathered from secondary data analysis.

Siperko, in a study of Edmonton native youth, administered a large scale questionnaire designed to obtain information regarding school adjustment, general integration and general adjustment (measured by closeness of relationships). Stanbury, in a study of social and economic conditions of British Columbia Indians who live off reserves and in urban centers sought to examine the process of change and adjust-

ment. He obtained quantitative data on social and economic conditions but little of relevance to personal well-being.

Trimble (1971) conducted an exhaustive research study of socio-economic conditions on the Indian population in the State of Oklahoma including data on population characteristics, educational, health and welfare characteristics and crime and delinquency patterns. Graves (1967) in his survey study on the drinking patterns and deviant behavior of Indian, Anglo and Spanish residents of a tri-ethnic community in the southwest examines the question: under what conditions is acculturation accompanied by disorganization and under what conditions is it not. Criterion measures, based on self-reports, were a quantity-frequency index of alcohol intake, and frequency of drunkenness during the previous year. Survey data were also supplemented by a global-deviancy index incorporating records of court convictions during the last ten years.

Several epidemiological studies have been conducted utilizing survey data supplemented with health records data. Of these Shore's study is a typical example. His study has three aims: (1) to assess the probability and severity of psychiatric impairment in an Indian village, (2) to compare epidemiologic data within different cultures, and (3) to assess the hypothesis that psychiatric morbidity is causally related to social disorganization. Data gathering techniques consisted of a structural socio-demographic field interview plus data on health and drinking history from health records.

Berry's work entitled "Human Ecology and Cognitive Style"
must also be mentioned here as a further example of the
interview-questionnaire type of study even though it will
be discussed more fully in the next section as an example
of 'psychological tests and scales" studies.

The above studies have been briefly described as
representative of the numerous studies of this type. One
of the most apparent advantages of this type of study lies
in its flexibility to cover a wide variety of questions.
Data on social adjustment, quality of life and life satis-
faction are particularly amenable to this type of approach.
Data regarding hypothetical constructs such as self-esteem
and personal adjustment are not so amenable to this type of
study. A second advantage of this approach lies in the
large amount of quantifiable data which can be handled.
The approach has a certain degree of face validity because
of the direct method of seeking information - through rela-
tively simple questions. It is also possible to check reli-
ability in a way not possible in participant observation
and secondary data analyses studies. However where such
studies are utilized on a cross-cultural basis wherein
white concepts and constructs may not be applicable or
understandable to the Indian respondent, validity must be
continuously challenged. Language barriers also pose a
frequent problem in this regard. Sources of bias also lie
in the differential response tendencies of native people to
questionnaires. Utilization of well trained interviewers

and construction of the questionnaire or interview schedule with the assistance of someone thoroughly knowledgeable in native interviewing are the best protection against this danger. Native interviewers have frequently been used as a means of overcoming resistance and suspicion as well as language barriers. Berry (1976) utilized three separate strategies for data-gathering. In the first strategy, a native interpreter-assistant worked along with the researcher during interviewing and testing conducted in the local language. The advantages of this approach are that a constant element in the form of the researcher is maintained throughout the study and a variable element in the form of the assistant is provided for the necessary cultural contact. Where the respondent preferred to operate in the English language a second type of strategy was employed utilizing only the researcher. A third strategy relied only upon native research workers who were trained and supervised by the researcher. Berry, at times, utilized all three strategies in one research study and while recognizing that the methods involve differences in research and interviewer skills, in language of communication and in ethnicity of interviewer, he felt that the flexibility offered by such an approach outweighed any disadvantages.

Because of the greater mobility of native people, it becomes more difficult to establish a sampling base. To avoid as much as possible the resulting sampling bias several researchers have approached the problem by attempting to

interview total population rather than random samples. We
see, then, that while survey approaches have some definite
advantages there are numerous methodological problems
involved in their use which cannot be ignored.

Psychological Scales and Tests

A host of studies have utilized psychological scales
and tests as measures of native attitudes and behavior.
While cross-cultural psychologists have frequently been
responsible for the development of these measures, their
use is by no means restricted to cross-cultural psychology.
Rather because of their apparent ease of administration,
ready availability and tempting sophistication of concepts
such as mental disorder, psychopathology, self-esteem,
personal adjustment and alienation their use has become
quite widespread.

Studies of native mental illness based on psychological
instrumentation are well exemplified by Martin's "Mental
Health of Eastern Oklahoma Indians: An Exploration". This
study explores the usefulness of the Cornell Medical Index
and the Langer Scale by comparing results obtained on
Indians, whites, and Negroes of comparable socio-economic
status. Subjects were rated and categorized into "severely
impaired", "normal" and "mildly neurotic". Scores were
compared to ratings made by a psychiatric resident with the
result showing a considerable discrepancy. Alternative
hypotheses are presented for the discrepancy but no conclu-

sions are possible at present. This study definitely casts
doubt upon the validity of the Cornell Medical Index and
Langer Scale and/or psychiatric ratings as measures of
mental disorder.

Hoffman and Jackson administered Jackson's Differential
Personality Inventory to Indian male alcoholics and compared
results to a group of non-Indian male alcoholics. They
conclude with a recommendation that separate forms be deve-
loped on standardized measures of psychopathology for speci-
fic ethnic groups.

In the past there have been numerous attempts to
utilize projective techniques as cross-cultural measures
of psychopathology. Use of these techniques has fallen
into disrepute in recent years. However several studies
describing new approaches to the use of the Rorschach have
recently appeared in the literature. Spindler's article
provices a good example of such an approach to the measure-
ment of effects of culture change. Because of the techni-
cal and somewhat limited nature of this work it will not
be described in any detail.

Measurements of self-concept have long been used as
indicators of adjustment on mental health. A number of
studies have utilized self-concept scales without any
discussion of applicability to the Indian culture. Williams,
for example, administered the Tennessee Self Concept Scale
to natives and McIntyre the Acceptance of Self and Others
Scale without any recognition of possible limitations.

Other approaches have attempted an examination of the suit-
ability of such tests before employing them. Lefley in his
article "Acculturation, Child-Rearing and Self-Esteem"
selected self-concept materials by Coopersmith which had
previously been selected as the most culturally suitable
by a number of cultural informants. All insturments were
subsequently discussed with a panel of five bilingual
Indian judges in order to ensure conceptual equivalence
and cultural comparability of items. In spite of the care
taken in this approach the relevance and validity of
Coppersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory has been questioned
by Cress and O'Donnell who in a validity study found the
scale to be not a valid measure of self-esteem for Oglala
adolescents. Assessment of self-esteem among the Sioux
must, they conclude, take into consideration their values
which differ from those of white Americans.

Bromberg suggests an alternate method of measuring
self-esteem through the utilization of the Goodenough-
Mackover Draw A Person Test. He argues that such an approach
offers a more direct entry into the Indians' self-image,
avoiding the pitfalls of language and conceptual barriers.

While these studies are typical of self-concept native
research they are by no means exhaustive. Similar approaches
have been reported by Clifton (1975), Lammer, Rosenthal
and Withycombe. Studies utilizing measures of adjustment
have been reported by Klein and Kemnitzeu and those utiliz-
ing concepts of alienation by Franklyn and Vasquez while

Hayes has reported a measure of congruency between persona-
lity needs and environmental press. Several studies have
also utilized measures of values (Zentner, Friesen) as they
affect adjustment.

The most appropriate study in terms of conceptualiza-
tion and methodological soundness is that described by
Berry in Human Ecology and Cognitive Style. The result of
a massive research study of several tribes of Indians in
addition to several other aboriginal groups, the book
describes a comprehensive model for the study of human
behavior. Berry examines the effect of acculturation on
behavior within the framework of an ecological-cultural-
behavioral model. Cultural and behavioral variables are
considered to be in a process of adapting to ecology. The
particular value of Berry's approach lies not only in the
strict attention paid to methodological issues but also in
the fact that he provides an index of acculturative influ-
ences as well as what he calls acculturative stress. There
are three elements to this index which are derived from
the central features of the acculturative influences: western
education, wage employment and urbanization. As a single
measure, western education is perhaps the best because·it
consists of a deliberate attempt to influence the behavior
of a group.

In devising the acculturative stress components Berry
made use of a good deal of background literature regarding
the personal and social difficulties, which are experienced

by persons involved in rapid cultural change through contact with a dominant culture. Acculturative stress refers to those problematic behaviors which occur in the process of change. As Berry points out the behaviors he describes do not always occur. Although acculturative influences may be pervasive in a community, it is predicted that each individual will experience these pressures differently, depending upon his level of psychological differentiation.

Utilization of the term "acculturative stress" constituted a deliberate attempt on the part of Berry to avoid value-loaded terms such as "cultural shock", "mental health" or "personal adjustment". There are three variables which act as components of the term acculturative stress: psychosomatic stress, feelings of marginality and attitudes towards modes of relating to the society at large. Stress is measured by Berry through a checklist of psychosomatic symptoms, marginality by a scale designed by Mann and attitudes towards modes of relating to the dominant group by a scale developed by Berry. Copies of these scales can be found in Appendix A.

Because Berry has so thoroughly laid the groundwork for these indices, it will be possible for future studies to focus more thoroughly on the validity and reliability of these measures.

The studies utilizing psychological tests and scales suffer from many of the same disadvantages as those utilizing questionnaires and interviews. In addition, because the concepts being measured are usually hypothetical constructs,

more acute methodological problems are presented, particularly
when these constructs are extended to groups cross-culturally.
Many of these instruments are without validity or reliability
measures. Or where validity measures have been attempted
they are most frequently based on white rather than native
groups. Even where measures have shown themselves appro-
priate for a particular group within the native culture,
i.e., students, it is risky to extend this appropriateness
to other native groups because of the extreme heterogeneity
of Indian culture due to varying degrees of acculturation.

Conclusion

While there have been numerous studies attempting
to measure the multi-dimensional concept (or concepts)
variously termed personal or social adjustment, psychopatho-
logy, mental disorder and acculturative stress, most of
these studies have devoted too little attention to proper
methodological procedures. Berry presents, perhaps, the
most notable exception and bears further inquiry for the
purposes of the proposed research.

In order to ensure appropriateness of instruments to
the native culture it is recommended that, where scales on
psychological tests are being utilized, only those which have
demonstrated some degree of validity and reliability for
native groups or, at the very least, have been well
researched as being culturally appropriate be selected.
Where new questionnaires are being developed it would be

recommended that they receive close scrutiny from a panel of individuals particularly knowledgeable in Indian culture. In addition one would recommend acute awareness of methodological difficulties and sources of bias and error.

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APPENDIX A

TABLE I

PSYCHOSOMATIC STRESS CHECKLIST

Item Number	CMI Number	A: Somatic
1.	7	Do you have pains in the heart or chest?
2.	11	Do you usually belch a lot after eating?
3.	13	Do you constantly suffer from bad constipation?
4.	14	Do your muscles and joints constantly feel stiff?
5.	16	Is your skin very sensitive or tender?
6.	19	Do you suffer badly from frequent severe headaches?
7.	20	Do you often have spells of severe dizziness?
		B: Exhaustion
8.	32	Do you usually get up tired and exhausted in the morning?
		C: Other
9.	35	Do you wear yourself out worrying about your health?
10.	39	Do you usually have great difficulty in falling asleep or staying asleep?
		D: Anxiety
11.	44	Do strange people or places make you afraid?
12.	46	Do you wish you always had someone at your side to advise you?

TABLE I (CONTINUED)

Item Number	CMI Number	E: Depression
13.	47	Do you usually feel unhappy and depressed?
14.	49	Do you often wish you were dead and away from it all?
		D: Anxiety (continued)
15.	50	Does worrying continually get you down?
16.	54	Are you extremely shy or sensitive?
		F: Paranoid Irritability
17.	59	Does it make you angry to have anyone tell you what to do?
18.	60	Do people often annoy or irritate you?
		D: Anxiety (continued)
19.	61	Do you often shake or tremble?
20.	65	Do you often break out in a cold sweat?

SOURCE: From Berry (1976).

TABLE II

MARGINALITY SCALE

1. Successful people do their best to prevent others from being successful too.

2. I feel that nobody really understands me.

3. I am so restless that I cannot sit in a chair for very long.

4. People seem to change from day to day in the way they treat me.

5. Life is a strain on me.

6. I suddenly dislike something that I liked very much before.

7. If others hadn't prevented me, I would be far better off than I am now.

8. I feel that I don't belong anywhere.

9. I wish I could be as happy as others.

10. I let myself go when I am angry.

11. I am more nervous than most people.

12. I feel that I am somehow apart from the people around me.

13. I regret the decisions I have made.

14. The world is a dangerous place full of evil men and women.

SOURCE: From Berry (1976).

TABLE III

ATTITUDES TOWARDS MODES OF GROUP RELATIONS

Item Number	Sub Scale	
1.	R	The Indians should be completely self-sufficient so they do not need to co-operate with the whites in any way.
2.	I	It is better if an Indian marries with one of his people rather than with a white.
3.	A	Any Indian who is successful should try to forget that he is of Indian descent.
4.	R	It is better for the Indians to stay on their reserves than to come into the city where they encounter difficulties.
5.	R	The Indians should only cooperate with the whites when they have something to gain.
6.	I	Having a National Indians Organization is not really a good idea since it makes the Indians different from other Canadians.
7.	R	There are no aspects of the whites' culture that might be beneficial to the Indians.
8.	A	The Indians should cooperate as little as possible with the whites.
9.	A	The only real way an Indian can become successful is by dissociating himself from other Indians.
10.	A	Any Indians living within the white community should try and behave in the same way as those around him.
11.	I	The Indians should do all they can to ensure the survival of their people.
12.	A	Although it is alright for Indian parents to maintain their cultural differences within the white community, they should encourage their children to be just like other Canadians.

TABLE III (CONTINUED)

Item Number	Sub Scale	
13.	A	The social activities of the Indians should be restricted to the Indians themselves.
14.	A	If a number of Indians are working on the same job, they should be put in the same section so they are together.
15.	I	Encouraging the Indians to stay as a group is only hindering their acceptance into the community.
16.	I	Most of the Indians living in the city today are not really interested in knowing anything about the life or culture of their ancestors.
17.	R	The Indians should lead their own way of life, independently of the rest of society.
18.	I	So little remains today of the Indial culture that it is not really worth saving.
19.	I	Focusing attention on the Indians' traditional way of life is only preventing them from making any progress in society.
20.	I	The Indians should seek their friends among other Indians.
21.	A	The Indians should act as a separate community in every way within society.
22.	I	Indian children should be encouraged to choose other Indians as their playmates.
23.	A	If an Indian sets up his own business, he should try and employ Indians to work for him.
24.	R	The fact that Canada has only developed since the arrival of the whites clearly shows that the Indians must follow the example of the whites if they themselves are to make any progress.

SOURCE: From Berry (1976).