1999

Maternal Emotional Support, Ethnic Identity, and Years of Completed School in Urban Native-American Female Adolescents

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MATERNAL EMOTIONAL SUPPORT, ETHNIC IDENTITY, AND YEARS OF COMPLETED SCHOOL IN URBAN NATIVE-AMERICAN FEMALE ADOLESCENTS

A Dissertation
Presented to the
Faculty of the School of Education
Counseling Psychology Department

In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the
Degree of
Doctor of Psychology

by
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San Francisco, CA
May 1999

This dissertation, written under the direction of the candidate's dissertation committee, has been presented to and accepted by the Faculty of the School of Education in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Psychology. The content and research methodologies presented in this work represent the work of the candidate alone.

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Acknowledgments

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the following people:

To my committee for their assistance, time, energy, and support. To Dr. Joan Avis for her constant enthusiasm, encouragement, and patience throughout this project. She always had the "you can do it" attitude that I needed. To Dr. Patricia Busk for her encouragement, editing, and helpful suggestions. To Dr. Elena Flores who encouraged me to work with Native Americans and gave to me the critical, initial introductions that made the study possible.

To the 31 Native-American girls who participated in this study and the Native-American leaders that I worked so closely with. Thank you. To Deborah Carter, my assistant and consultant in this project, who advised me and supported my research with Native Americans.

Finally, I could not have written this dissertation without the emotional support of my family and friends. Special thanks go to: My husband Joe, who has always believed in my efforts to become a psychologist. Thank you for all your love and guidance. My daughter, Kellan, for just being a flexible, good-natured kid. My parents, John and Paulette, who instilled in me that I could do anything if I put my mind to it. My sister, Hillary, who echoed their words.

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Introduction

Statement of the Problem

The Final Report of The White House Conference on Indian Education (U.S. Department of Education, 1992) stated that elevated high-school drop-out rates are a major problem for Native Americans in the United States. It has been estimated that 35% of all Native-American high-school students fail to graduate from high school (Reddy, 1993). Another study reported Native-American drop-out rates at 40% in junior high and as high as 60% in high school (Herring, 1992). These rates compare with a 13% total drop-out rate for American high-school students of all ethnicities in the United States (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1996). Although high-school graduation rates of Native-American adolescents are low, college and graduate program graduation rates are even lower. According to *The Statistical Abstract of the United States*, only 9.4% of American Indians in the US hold a bachelor degree or higher (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1995). Overall, the rates for four-year college degrees for the entire U. S. population in 1995 is 23% (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1995).

While the educational achievement among Native-American students is considered to be poor, the achievement level for female Native Americans is even lower. Several researchers report that the graduation rate for female Native Americans appears to be lower than the rate for male Native Americans (Coladarci, 1983; Fine & Zane, 1989; LaFromboise, 1984; Reddy, 1993). Reddy (1993) reported that, within the Native-American population, high-school graduation rates are 42% for females and 44% for males. It has been estimated that only 3% of Native-American women hold a 4-year college degree (LaFromboise, 1984;

Reddy, 1993). The numbers of Native-American women with a masters or doctorate degree is less than 1% (Reddy, 1993).

Although elevated high-school drop-out rates among Native Americans are well documented (Fine & Zane, 1989; Herring, 1992; Reddy, 1993; U.S. Department of Education, 1992), there are few studies that have investigated the causes of this problem. *The Final Report of White House Conference on Indian Education* attributed the cause to a pervasive lack of understanding of Indian students' educational needs among governmental and educational institutions (U.S. Department of Education, 1992).

Research indicates that lack of support, skills, and familiarity with the European-American curriculum accounts for the low graduation rates among Native Americans rather than lack of educational aspirations (Coladarci, 1987; LaFromboise, 1984; Reddy, 1993; Santo, 1990; Tsosie, 1995). LaFromboise (1984) maintained that Native Americans often are not taught the same behavioral skills to succeed in the academic world as their European-American counterparts. Further, curricula in most high schools, colleges, and universities do not include Native-Americans' history, culture, values, or languages (Santo, 1990). According to Tsosie (1995), "negative [educational] experiences of the past, confusion of identity and lack of real support" (p. 14) are some of the reasons for the elevated high-school and college drop-out rates. Although these studies identify important factors that need to be addressed, *The Final Report of The White House Conference on Indian Education* (U.S. Department of Education, 1992) concluded that more extensive work needs to be done to identify the causes of high drop-out rates.

More adult support and a school environment that enhances Native-American ethnic identity are likely to assist Native-American students to complete high school. Evidence

suggests that lack of parent, teacher, and educational-institution support has major implications for Native-American students dropping out of school (Coladarci, 1983; Fine & Zane, 1989; LaFromboise, 1984; LaFromboise & Low, 1989; Santo, 1990; Tsosie, 1995). In addition, Native-American youth's struggle with their ethnic identity affects their achievements in education (LaFromboise, 1984; LaFromboise & Low, 1989; Tsosie, 1995). Coladarci (1983) found, in 224 interviews with Native-American high-school students, that lack of parent support, poor relationships with their teachers, and a school culture that was not consistent with their own were reasons for dropping out of high school.

Further, research that examines ways to facilitate Native-American students' retention in school is needed. Although there are no specific studies on the effect of adult support on school retention of Native-American students, research on European-American and African-American populations has shown that adult support assists adolescents to stay in school (Baker & Entwisle,1987; McLoyd & Jozefowicz, 1996). According to developmental research, connections with other women are particularly important for female adolescent development (Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan, Lyons, & Hammer, 1990; Josselson, 1996). Females have been found to be more relational in their behaviors, whereas males tend to be more competitive (Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan et al., 1990; Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver, & Surrey, 1991). The mother-daughter relationship is particularly important for adolescent girls' emotional development (Apter, 1993; Choderow, 1979; Gleason, 1991; LaSorsa & Fodor, 1991; Surrey, 1990). Research has shown that this relationship assists females to build their self-esteem (Bell & Bell, 1983; Curtis, 1991; Flora, 1978; Lackovic-Grgin, Dekovic, & Opacic, 1994). Further, self-esteem of European-American and African-American females is associated with school achievement (American Association of University Women, 1991;

Oyserman, Gant, & Ager, 1995). Thus, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that maternal emotional support will build confidence in Native-American daughters and also will assist them to succeed academically in high school and college.

Another aspect that can foster school achievement in female Native Americans is a strong ethnic identity. Studies with African Americans, European Americans, Latin Americans, and Asian Americans indicate that high self-esteem is associated with a strong sense of ethnic identity (Maldonado, 1979; Oyserman et al., 1995; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Rotherman-Borus, Dopkins, Sabate, & Lightfoot, 1996). African-American females' ethnic identity has been found to affect school performance (Oyserman et al., 1995). It is also important for Native-American females to form a strong ethnic identity because this factor is likely to contribute to their school performance. Research indicates that parents are instrumental in the development of their children's ethnic identity (Aboud, 1987; Phinney, 1989; Spencer, 1982). Specifically, a study by Rotherman-Borus et al. (1996) concluded that adolescents girls' ethnic identity mostly was influenced by their parents. Thus, Native-American female adolescents need consistent parent support for the development of a strong ethnic identity that is likely to enhance success in school.

For Native-American female adolescents, being closely tied to family and tribe members is an essential part of their personal and cultural development (LaFromboise, Heyle, & Ozer, 1990; LaFromboise & Low, 1989). During adolescence, urban Native-American females may be interacting with the European-American culture in educational settings. Because the school system operates on a different set of values than their own, Native-American students are challenged by living in two cultures (Garrett & Garrett, 1994; LaFromboise & Low, 1989; Santo, 1990; Tsosie, 1995). In order for them to function and be

successful in their educational pursuits, Native-American adolescents need to have a strong ethnic identity by maintaining close relationships with their family and tribe members (LaFromboise & Low, 1989; Tim & Borman, 1997; Tsosie, 1995). For female adolescents, keeping closely connected with their mother will help them form a strong identity (Apter, 1990; Choderow, 1979; LaSorsa & Fodor, 1990; Surrey, 1990). It is hypothesized, therefore, that maternal emotional support influences Native-American females' ethnic identity development and enhances their ability to cope with obstacles in the educational system. Thus, maternal emotional support and ethnic identity are two identified variables that may assist Native-American female adolescents to complete high school.

Background and Need for the Study

Among Native-American students, high-school and college drop-outs are a serious educational problem (Coladarci, 1983; Herring, 1991; LaFromboise, 1984; Reddy, 1993). Although there are different opinions as to why this is the case, research has demonstrated that lack of parental support and concern for youth's ethnic identity, as well as the entrance to a school culture that differs from their own, are some of the reasons why Native-American students drop out of high school (Beck, 1997; Coladarci, 1983; Garrett & Garrett, 1994; Herring, 1992; LaFromboise, 1984; LaFromboise & Low, 1989; Santo, 1990; Tim & Borman, 1997; Tsosie, 1995). Studies indicate that the problem intensifies for female Native-American high-school and college students (Fine & Zane, 1989; LaFromboise, 1984; Reddy, 1993; Tim & Borman, 1997).

The history of Native-American education provides some background information on why parental support is a critical factor in helping Native-American students remain in school. Although Native Americans value education, their traditional education differs from standard

European-American education (DeJong, 1993; Santo, 1990; Tsosie, 1995). Native-American's education includes the passing on of traditions, ceremonies, and oral histories. The European-American educational system does not value Native-Americans' educational and cultural practices (Beck, 1997; DeJong, 1993; LaFromboise & Low, 1989). In turn, Native Americans tend to be suspicious of European-American education due to the history of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and policies of the U. S. government for educating American Indians. Although Native Americans generally want their children to graduate from high school and college, they also do not wish their young people to abandon their Native-American culture and traditions (Beck, 1997; LaFromboise, 1984; Tsosie, 1995). One of the cultural values that is of utmost importance is allegiance to family and tribal life (Garrett & Garrett, 1994; LaFromboise, Heyle, et al., 1990; LaFromboise & Low, 1989). Consequently, urban Native-American youth often live in two worlds: their Native-American culture and the European-American culture (LaFromboise & Low, 1989; LaFromboise, Trimble, & Mohatt, 1990; Sutton & Broken Nose, 1996). They have the challenge of holding onto their Native-American culture as well as obtaining an education with European-American cultural values (LaFromboise & Low, 1989; Tsosie, 1995). Parental support assists youth to remain grounded in their own culture and form their ethnic identity (Aboud, 1987; Phinney, 1989; Spencer, 1982). Also, it provides emotional assistance that adolescents need in their high-school years (McLoyd & Jozefowicz, 1996; Rotherman-Borus et al., 1996). Therefore, parental emotional support while attending school may assist Native-American youth in completing high school and continuing their education in college.

There is little known research on Native-American students and retention in school. The few studies that have been done indicate that lack of adult and institutional

support are reasons why Native-American students drop out of high school (Coladarci, 1983; Herring, 1992; Tsosie, 1995). As a result, Coladarci's (1983) study is of particular interest. Coladarci and his project staff interviewed 99 Native-American students who had dropped-out of high school in the previous 3 years. Interviews indicated that 40% of the students perceived lack of parental support as a factor in their decision to drop-out. Coladarci found that 25% of the students stated that school was not relevant to them as Native Americans. Another finding showed that 33% of the students thought that relationships with their teachers was a reason to leave school. More recently, Santo (1990) reported that curriculum and school environment were incompatible with Native-American students' educational and cultural needs. These results suggest that more parent and teacher support is needed for Native-American students to complete high school.

Further, research on European-American and African-American youth demonstrate that maternal support affects school retention. The support, attitudes, and influences that a mother provides her daughter will affect her school performance and the likelihood that she will complete school (Baker & Entwisle, 1987; Connell, Halpern-Felsher, Clifford, Crichlow, & Usinger,1995; McLoyd & Jozefowicz, 1996). A longitudinal study by Connell et al. examined behavioral, psychological, and contextual factors associated with school retention among 443 urban African-American seventh, eighth, and ninth grade students. The findings showed that both males and females were more likely to stay in school if adult support at home was present. Baker and Entwisle (1987) found that mothers' attitudes about children's academic abilities differed depending on children's gender. Among European Americans, mothers had lower expectations of the academic abilities of their daughters than of their sons. These studies

suggest that strong maternal support may assist girls' school performance and contribute to their staying in school. Similarly, Native-American mothers are influential in their daughters' development (Brannan, 1979; Brayboy, 1990; LaFromboise, Heyle et al., 1990). Therefore, the proposed research examined how maternal support relates to Native-American female adolescents' years of completed school.

While there are no specific studies that examine Native-American adolescent females' relationships with their mothers, research on adult daughters confirm the importance of mothers in the lives of Native-American women. The studies by Brannan (1979) and Brayboy (1990) focus on Native-American mother-daughter relationships from the perspective of adult daughters and suggest that maternal support is important to daughters' emotional development. Also, these two studies found that despite the challenge of living in two cultures, Native-American women's relationships with their mothers remain strong.

Using a hermeneutic phenomenological approach, Brayboy (1990) interviewed four Native-American women and interpreted their experiences of living in a non-Indian environment. Mother-daughter relationships, culture or identity, and educational experiences were some of the variables examined. The researcher found that the four women shared themes of spirituality, Indianness, bonding, racial discrimination, and reciprocity or inclusiveness. Despite their aspirations to succeed in the European-American-dominated corporate world, these women still believed that their spirituality, their identity as American-Indian women, and their relationships with their mother and other American-Indian women were very important to their emotional and professional

development. Furthermore, despite the discrimination they had each experienced, all four women still wanted to be part of their American-Indian tribe.

Brannan (1979) explored the relationships of Native-American mothers and their more acculturated daughters who had been educated in European-American educational systems. Through oral histories, the researcher found that Native-American daughters learned less about Native-American traditions and more about European-American values from their European-American education than traditional Native-American women in their age group. When Native-American daughters returned from European-American-dominated boarding schools, they felt torn between their Native culture and their acquired European-American culture and knowledge. Most women decided that they must choose between the two cultures and immerse themselves in either American-Indian culture or European-American culture. The researcher concluded that despite the tremendous pressure for Native-American women to become acculturated into European America, the mother-daughter relationship remained strong.

Most of the literature on mother-daughter relationships focuses on European-American dyads or comparisons between European-American and African-American dyads (Bell & Bell, 1983; Flora, 1978; Fu et al., 1984; Honess & Lintern, 1990; Lakovic-Grgin et al.,1994; Mack & Morgan, 1974; Rollins & White, 1982). Studies indicate that mother-daughter relationships that are emotionally supportive result in daughters with high self-concept or self-esteem (Bell & Bell, 1983; Curtis, 1990; Flora, 1978; Lackovic-Grgin et al., 1994). Self-esteem is one of the factors that affects school performance in adolescents (AAUW, 1991; Oyserman et al., 1995). Further, mothers influence their daughters' achievements and attitudes about school (Baker & Entwisle, 1987; McCoy &

Jozefowicz, 1996). Native-American culture considers the mother's role as critical to family life (LaFromboise, Berman, & Sohi, 1994; LaFromboise, Heyle, et al., 1990). Therefore, maternal support is likely to affect Native-American daughters' self-esteem and school achievement.

Besides maternal support, achieved ethnic identity of Native-American females may affect their ability to complete high school and also to pursue additional educational goals. Ethnic identity is defined as the way members of a minority group self-identify. It includes a minority person's sense of belonging to an ethnic group as well as the individual's attitudes toward his or her own group (Phinney, 1990). Although research on ethnic identity and retention in education in a Native-American population is not available, studies of African-American adolescents suggest that ethnic identity is associated with achievement and engagement in school (Oyserman et al., 1995; Taylor, Casten, Flickinger, Roberts, & Fulmore, 1994). In addition, research has shown that self-esteem and minority-student achievement have a strong positive correlation (Oyserman et al., 1995; Rotherman-Borus et al., 1996). Ethnic identity and self-esteem also are related strongly in minority students (Oyserman et al., 1995; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Roberts, Phinney, Romero, & Chen, 1996). Therefore, a strong ethnic identity may influence Native-American females to complete high school.

In sum, research has shown that lack of adult support and a curriculum that is not consistent with Native-American culture are reasons for the high drop-out rates among Native-American students aspirations (Coladarci, 1987; LaFromboise, 1984; Reddy, 1993; Santo, 1990; Tsosie, 1995). Research among European-American and African-American students indicates that parental support assists school retention school (Baker

& Entwisle,1987; McLoyd & Jozefowicz, 1996). Specifically, research is needed on ways to facilitate Native-Americans students school retention. The present study does not investigate school retention, but instead, examines variables that may assist Native-American female adolescent students to complete high school.

Therefore, research indicates that maternal support is important to adolescent females' development of self-esteem and school performance (Baker & Entwisle, 1987; Bell & Bell, 1983; Curtis, 1990; Flora, 1978; Lackovic-Grgin et al., 1994; McCoy & Jozefowicz, 1996). Evidence also shows that ethnic identity affects ethnic minority youths' school achievement (AAUW, 1991; Oyserman al., 1995; Taylor et al., 1994). Although results of studies indicate that this evidence may apply to the Native-American population (Brannan, 1979; Brayboy, 1990), the relationships among maternal emotional support, ethnic identity, and school retention in Native-American female adolescents have not been studied. A quantitative and qualitative study that examines the influences of Native-American mothers on their adolescent daughters' ethnic identity and completed years of school is needed.

Purpose

The purpose of the study was to examine the relationships among perceived maternal emotional support, ethnic identity, and completed years in school of Native-American female adolescents. The study examined Native-American female students who were in high school or were pursuing studies in an urban junior college, college, or university and were between the ages of 14 and 19. Quantitative data for 31 Native-American female adolescents were collected, using the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (Greenberg & Armsden, 1987), the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure

(Phinney, 1992), and a demographic questionnaire (see Appendix A). Qualitative data were collected through in-depth interviews with 16 Native-American female adolescents concerning how they perceived their mothers' influence on their ethnic identities and their education (see Appendix B).

Theoretical Rationale

Erikson (1968) identified adolescence as an essential period when youth must form their ego identity. The individuals who explore and achieve a sense of confidence in their social roles are able to develop ego identity. Youth who are unable to form their ego identity suffer from "role confusion." Erikson asserted that role confusion is common particularly in individuals who are unsure of their occupational identities.

Marcia (1968) expanded on Erikson's (1968) theory, maintaining that formation of ego identity requires youth to explore and make a commitment to a profession, religion, or politics. Marcia divided ego-identity status into four different forms: identity achievement, identity diffusion, moratorium, and foreclosure. Identity-achieved individuals had experienced a crisis and had committed to an occupation. Individuals in identity diffusion were characterized mainly as not being committed. They may or may not have experienced a crisis. The moratorium individuals were in a crisis, wanted to make commitments, but were unable to make commitments. Those who were in foreclosure had made a commitment to a career but had not experienced a crisis. Thus, only youth who are able to explore an occupation and make a commitment are likely to develop ego identity (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1968).

Erikson (1968) and Marcia's (1968) theories form the foundation for modern adolescent developmental theory; however, their research focused primarily on European-American males. Further, researchers have found that female development patterns differ from male patterns (Choderow, 1979; Gilligan, 1982; Josselson, 1996; Surrey, 1990) and that ethnic-minority adolescents' development differs from European-American adolescent development (Phinney, 1989, 1990; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990).

Josselson (1987) used Marcia's (1968) classification system to examine women's development. She found that the women in the identity-achieved category had made conscious choices for the directions of their lives. Women who were foreclosed had made their life choices during their childhood and also remained content with these life choices. The women in moratorium were those who both experimented with new ways of being and also conformed to more traditional roles for women. The identity diffusion group tended to be women who were lost and did not know the direction that their lives would take. Josselson concluded that women differ from men, in that women find their identities through the process of relating to others and the world, whereas men's development is a more individual and self-reflecting process.

Therefore, an essential element of development for female adolescents is their need for supportive relationships (Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan, Lyons, & Hammer, 1990; Josselson, 1987,1996). Females are more relational interpersonally than males, whereas males tend to be more competitive in their relationships (Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan et al., 1990; Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver, & Surrey, 1991). Further, emotional connections with other women are particularly important to females (Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan et

al.,1990; Josselson, 1996). According to Gilligan, *connection* is defined as the extent to which a girl feels understood by others. As they approach adulthood, girls often need an emotionally supportive connection with their mothers in order to develop both identity and self-esteem (Apter, 1990; Bell & Bell, 1983; Dukes & Martinez, 1994; Lackovic-Grgin, Dekovic, & Opacic, 1994; LaSorsa & Fodor, 1990; Rollins & White, 1982; Surrey, 1990). Josselson (1996) concluded in her research with 30 college women that females need both to connect with other women and to become their own person.

Furthermore, Josselson (1996) found that connections with other females continue to be important to females as they enter adulthood. It is likely that the relationship with mother continues to play an influential role as female adolescents continue their academic studies through the high-school and college years. Studies indicate that adolescents who have a supportive environment are more likely to remain in school (Baker & Entwisle, 1987; Connell et al., 1995). Also, mothers' attitudes about their daughters' abilities predict how daughters perform academically (Baker & Entwisle, 1987; McLoyd & Jozefowicz, 1996). Some research (Baker & Entwisle, 1987; Cauce et al., 1996; Connell et al., 1995; McLoyd & Jozefowicz, 1996) suggests that the relationship with mother is important to adolescent females' retention in school. This research problem, however, has not been examined in-depth in any known study.

Although Erikson (1968) maintained that culture and society influence an individual's development, he did not specify the extent that culture is important to the development of an ethnic identity. Development of ego identity for ethnic minority youth also must include their ethnic identity development (Maldonado, 1975; Phinney, 1990). Researchers such as Atkinson, Morten, and Sue (1989) and Phinney (1990) described ethnic identity development

as a process that drives individuals to examine their feelings about their own group as well as their feelings about the dominant culture group. Phinney (1989, 1992) developed a model and measurement for ethnic-identity development among ethnic minority adolescents.

Research has found that ethnic identity is an essential part of the ego-identity development process for ethnic-minority youth: it is not possible to form an ego identity without exploring ethnic-identity issues (Maldanado, 1979; Phinney, 1989; 1990). Marcia (1968) described ego identity as being either achieved, foreclosed, diffused, or in moratorium. Phinney's (1989) model of ethnic-identity development is built on Marcia's theory of ego identity. According to Phinney, adolescents develop their ethnic identity by exploring what it means to belong to their own ethnic group and forming attitudes toward that group. She stated that youth who have explored actively what it means to belong to an ethnic group and have committed to that group have an achieved ethnic identity. Adolescents who have committed to an ethnic group but have not explored what it means to be a member of this group have an ethnic-identity diffusion or foreclosure. Those who are in the process or exploring and have not committed to an ethnic group are in an ethnic-identity moratorium. Therefore, in order for ethnic-minority youth to develop their identity, they must form their ethnic identity while forming their personal identity. In essence, they are examining their attitudes and feelings about their ethnic group and their personal values about religion, politics, and occupations simultaneously.

For Native-American adolescents, ethnic identity is complicated by the fact that often they live in two worlds: the Native-American culture and the European-American culture. Native-American cultures emphasize the needs of the group rather than individual needs (LaFromboise & Low, 1989; LaFromboise, Trimble, & Mohatt, 1990;

Sutton & Broken Nose, 1996). Individuals have obligations to both their immediate family and to other tribe or clan members. In an effort to connect with other American-Indian people, urban Native Americans often extend their tribal relationships to Native Americans outside their own tribe. Native-American youth usually enter the European-American culture when they begin school (LaFromboise & Low, 1989). The European-American educational realm often requires them to learn a different set of values and norms than their Native-American culture (DeJong, 1993; LaFromboise, 1984; LaFromboise & Low, 1989; Santo, 1990). Therefore, in order to maintain a healthy ethnic identity, Native-American students need to continue their strong relationships with their family, tribe and culture, and also function successfully in their European-American school.

In summary, according to adolescent theory, close connections with mothers foster strong ego identity and emotional development in adolescent girls (Apter, 1993; Choderow, 1979; Gleason, 1991; LaSorsa & Fodor, 1991; Surrey, 1990). This finding may apply to Native-American girls because their culture considers close relationships with mothers to be a crucial part of family and tribal life (LaFromboise et al., 1994; LaFromboise, Heyle, et al., 1990). Development of an ego identity also includes formation of an ethnic identity for minority youth (Phinney, 1989, 1990). Strong ego and ethnic identities are essential for Native-American female adolescents to succeed in a school culture different from their own. Strong emotional support from the mother may assist Native-American girls in developing positive personal and ethnic identities that facilitate completion of high school. Therefore, having maternal emotional support and a strong ethnic identity may give Native-American

females the confidence they need to function effectively in two worlds and complete their education.

Major Quantitative Research Questions

1. What is the relationship between achieved ethnic identity and completed number of years in school for Native-American female adolescents?

2. What is the relationship between perceived maternal emotional support and achieved ethnic identity for Native-American female adolescents?

Minor Quantitative Research Questions

3. What is the relationship between perceived maternal emotional support and grade point average (GPA) for Native-American female adolescents?

4. What is the relationship between achieved ethnic identity and GPA for Native-American female adolescents?

Qualitative Research Question

5. Do Native-American mothers teach their daughters about ethnic identity and the importance of education? If so, how? What cultural messages do they give their daughters regarding ethnic identity and getting or completing an education?

6. In what ways do Native-American mothers emotionally support their daughters to complete high school?

Definition of Terms

Maternal emotional support is defined as the level of trust and communication an adolescent perceives between herself and her mother. It is further defined as the adolescent's perception of whether her mother "understand[s] and respect[s] her needs and desires, and perceptions that [she is] sensitive and responsive to her emotional states

and helpful with her concerns" (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987, p. 432). The Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA, Armsden & Greensberg, 1987) is used to measure maternal emotional support. Scores on the IPPA range from 1 to 5. A score of 1 measures low perception of trust and communication. A score of 5 measures high perception of trust and communication between the mother and daughter.

Ethnic Identity is defined as the way members of minority groups self-identify, their sense of belonging to their ethnic group, and their attitudes toward their own group (Phinney, 1990). Ethnic identity is further defined as an essential part of a minority adolescent's ego-identity development (Erikson, 1968; Phinney, 1990, 1992). As part of developing his or her ego identity, a minority adolescent explores what it means to be a member of that group, and makes a commitment to the group and culture (Phinney, 1990). Minority adolescents who are active in exploring their ethnic identity issues will have an achieved ethnic identity and those who do not explore their culture and ethnicity will have a diffused or foreclosed ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is measured by scores on the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM). Scores on the MEIM range from 1 to 4, with 1 representing low ethnic identity and 4 representing high ethnic identity. Adolescents that have actively explored and committed to an ethnic group are in the highest category, *ethnic identity achieved.* This group is likely to score high on the MEIM. Those adolescents who have not explored or committed to an ethnic group are referred to as diffused, foreclosed or in moratorium. These students may therefore produce low scores on the MEIM.

Self-Esteem is defined as the way a person feels about and views himself or herself. In particular, self-esteem consists of the pride and respect an individual has for himself or herself (Dukes & Martinez, 1994).

Summary

Elevated high-school drop-out rates are a well-documented problem for Native-American students (Herring, 1992; Fine & Zane, 1989; Reddy, 1993; The Final Report of the White House Conference on Indian Education, 1992). Further, female Native-Americans are particularly at risk of dropping out of high school (Fine & Zane, 1989; Reddy, 1993). High drop-out rates from both high school and college prevent Native-American females from earning a 4-year college degree (Coladarci, 1983; Fine & Zane, 1989; LaFromboise, 1984; Reddy, 1993).

Past research indicates that educational institutions fail to provide teacher support and an environment that welcomes Native-American students and addresses their cultural needs (Colardarci, 1984: Fine & Zane, 1989; LaFromboise, 1984; LaFromboise & Low, 1989; Santo, 1990; Tsosie, 1995). In addition, lack of parental support has been found to be another reason why Native-American students fail to graduate from high school (Colardarci, 1984). Research among European-American and African-American students show that female students benefit from mother support, which in turn, fosters strong academic achievement (Baker & Entwisle, 1987; McCoy & Jozefowicz, 1996). Further, research has shown that minority students with strong ethnic identity perform well academically (Oyserman et al., 1995; Rotherman-Borus et al., 1996). Therefore, given the research on Native-American students and students of other ethnicities, maternal

emotional support and ethnic identity are variables that may affect completion of school in Native-American female students.

The present study examines how maternal emotional support and ethnic identity are related to completion of school in Native-American students. Research on mother-daughter relationships, ethnic identity, Native-American culture, and female adolescent development are presented in the Review of Literature. In Chapter 3, the Methodology of the current study is given. The results of the study are presented in Chapter 4. The final chapter contains the discussion of the results.

Chapter II

Literature Review

In this study, the adolescent development literature is discussed as well as the more recent research on female adolescents. Because there is no known literature on Native-American female adolescents, the next section discusses ethnic identity development. A discussion of Native-American culture and education follows the section on ethnic identity. The final section on mother-daughter relationships includes two Native-American mother-daughter relationship studies, as well as the research on European-American and African-American mother-daughter relationships.

Adolescent Development Literature

Erikson's (1968) psychosocial development theory proposes that a person must complete successfully each of the eight stages in order to become a well-functioning adult. The stages begin at infancy and continue through late adulthood. In each stage, individuals resolve the "crisis" or stage and continue their psychosocial development. Erikson maintains that individuals must solve successfully each crisis in order to move on to the next stage. The adolescent crisis is particularly important to solve. During adolescence, the task is to form an ego identity. Adolescents are "concerned with what they appear to be in the eyes of others as compared with what they feel they are and with the question of how to connect the roles and skills cultivated earlier with the new occupational prototypes of the day" (Erikson, 1968, p. 261). To solve the adolescent crisis, youth develop ego identity by exploring their personal values and committing to political, religious, and occupational realms that support their values (Erikson, 1968;

Marcia, 1968). Some youth, however, are unable to form their ego identities and the result is "role confusion" (Erikson, 1968).

Erikson (1968) maintained that adolescent girls develop role confusion and that having a solid identity is not possible for a girl unless she is attached to a male. He concluded that women are lost without men. "The fear of being left empty, and, more simply, that of being left, seems to be the most basic feminine fear, extending over the whole of a woman's existence" (p. 410). Thus to Erikson, female adolescence is a time to prepare for becoming a wife, not a woman. Although Erikson came to that conclusion, perhaps his intention was to observe that females need to connect with others much more than males. Subsequent researchers such as Gilligan (1982; Gilligan, Lyons, & Hammer, 1990) and Josselson (1996) suggests that women need emotional connections with others more than males.

Marcia (1968) expanded Erikson's (1968) theory of ego identity; however, his research also does not pertain specifically to female identity development. Marcia conducted research on 86 college males to measure specific ego identity status. Two variables were used to identify identity status: *crisis* and *commitment* to occupational choice, religion, and politics. Marcia described crisis as "the adolescent's period of engagement in choosing among meaningful alternatives" and commitment as "the degree of personal investment the individual exhibits" (p. 551). In his study, Marcia divided college-student participants as having one of the following ego identity statuses: identity achievement, identity diffusion, moratorium, or foreclosure. Marcia defined identity-achieved individuals as those students who had experienced a crisis and had committed to an occupation. Individuals in identity diffusion were characterized mainly as not being

committed and they may or may not have experienced a crisis. Individuals in moratorium experienced a crisis, intended to make commitments, but were unable to do so. Those students who were in foreclosure had made a commitment to a career but had not experienced a crisis.

Participants were interviewed to determine their appropriate ego-identity group. Each participant underwent stressful and authoritarian conditions while taking the Concept Attainment Task (CAT) performance and the Self-Esteem Questionnaire. The results showed that the identity-achievement group had the highest self-esteem and were less susceptible to authoritarian and stressful conditions than the participants in the moratorium, foreclosure, or diffused groups. The moratorium group did well on the self-esteem measure and the stressful and authoritarian measures, but scores were varied on the CAT performance. In comparison with the identity-achieved group, the foreclosure group conformed to authoritarian ways, did poorly in the stressful condition, and on the self-esteem measures. The identity-diffused group did poorly on the CAT performance and their scores were inconclusive on the other measures. Marcia concluded that foreclosure is the most problematic of the identity statuses.

Both Erikson (1968) and Marcia (1966) based their discussion of ego identity on European-American males. Because their models do not examine specifically how girls develop their ego identity, their conclusions are less applicable to females. Josselson (1996), however, specifically discusses female development. In her research based on interviews of 30 college women, she found evidence to support Gilligan's findings (1982; Gilligan et al., 1990) that females' identity is formed through their emotional connections with other people. Josselson interviewed 30 women in their adolescent period of crisis and categorized the women into four groups, based on Marcia's (1968) classification of

identity statuses. She found that women who had undergone exploration and commitment "had enough inner strength to tolerate crisis and uncertainty and to design their lives to suit them" (p. 37). Women who had not explored and had made a commitment to a career and way of life wanted their lives to remain safe and nonconfrontational. Women who were exploring but were not ready to make a commitment continued their search for a meaningful identity. The last group of women were not in a crisis and had not made a commitment; these women tended to "drift" from one career option to the next. Therefore, Josselson concluded that, to females, "identity expresses both our separateness from others (who we are within our individuality) and our ways of connecting ourselves to others (who and how we are with other people) (Josselson, 1996, p. 32).

As part of the Emma Willard School study, Stern (1990) interviewed 23 high-school girls to examine whether girls need to separate from others or connect with others in forming their identities. Over the 3 consecutive years of the research, Stern found that the girls more frequently described themselves interpersonally as "relational" than "independent." Examining the interview data more carefully, Stern concluded that girls' identity formation involved both separating and connecting with others. "Developing independence is seen as improving the capacity to meet one's own needs, so that others can be appreciated as people rather than as instrumental providers" (pp. 84-85). Stern's results suggest that girls' development is similar to boys' because for both, adolescence is characterized as the time when one becomes an individual person. Girls' development, however, differs from boys because becoming an individual strengthens their ability to relate and communicate with others.

Although Josselson (1996) and Stern's (1990) conclusions specifically do not address Native-American female adolescent development, their findings that adolescent females need emotional connections are consistent with the research on Native-American mother-daughter relationships (Brannan, 1979; Brayboy, 1990). Minority adolescents form an ethnic identity as part of their ego identity development (Phinney, 1989, 1990). Therefore, it is necessary to examine the literature on ethnic identity.

Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity is essential to ego development in minority students, because it has been found to predict psychological adjustment, self-esteem and achievement in school (Maldonado,1975; Oyserman, Gant, & Ager, 1995; Phinney, 1989, 1990; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Rotherman-Borus, Dopkins, Sabate, & Lightfoot 1996). Urban Native-American girls are at risk of dropping out of high school (Fine & Zane, 1989; Tim & Borman, 1997). Because research has found that self-esteem and ethnic identity are correlated (Oyserman et al., 1995; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Rotherman-Borus et al., 1996) and self-esteem predicts school performance (Oyserman et al., 1995), it seems likely that minority female students who have an achieved ethnic identity are more likely to remain in school.

Phinney (1989;1990; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990) developed an adolescent ethnic-identity theory and measure based on Marcia's (1968) classification of ego identity. Phinney (1989) examined the ethnic identity stages of 91 African-American, Asian-American, Latin-American, and European-American 10th graders in an urban high school. Phinney interviewed and coded each adolescent ethnic stage as "foreclosure or diffused" (one category), "moratorium," or "ethnic identity achieved." To become

ethnically achieved, individuals must explore what it means to belong to their ethnic group and make a commitment to this group. Participants completed questionnaires about ego identity and psychological self-adjustment. The researcher found that 55.7% of all minority participants were in the diffused or foreclosure group, 22.9% were in the moratorium group, and 21.3% were in the ethnic identity-achieved group. European-American participants could not be coded accurately. As expected, the results suggested that the ethnic-identity-achieved students had the best sense of ego identity and were the most psychologically adjusted. The moratorium group scored second to the identity-achieved group and the diffused or foreclosure group had the lowest scores overall. These results suggest that in order to become psychologically adjusted and have a firm ego identity, ethnic-minority students must explore what it means to belong to an ethnic group and make a commitment to that group.

Phinney and Alipuria (1990) investigated the relationship of ethnic identity to self-esteem in 196 college students. Participants were Asian-American, African-American, Latin-American, or European-American. The European-American group served as a comparison group. Participants completed questionnaires on demographics, importance of identity domains, ethnic-identity search and commitment, and the Rosenberg (1989) Self-Esteem Inventory. Using Pearson Product-Moment correlation coefficients, the researchers found that ethnic-identity commitment was related to self-esteem in the three minority groups: Asian Americans ($r = .31$), African Americans ($r = .51$), and Mexican Americans ($r = .35$). All minority groups rated ethnic identity as more important than the European-American group.

A group of studies by Oyserman et al. (1995) examined the relationship between ethnic identity of African-American students and school persistence. Comparing European-American and African-American college students (n = 105), the researchers found that the two groups approached achievement in college differently. Three instruments developed by the authors were used in this study. The Possible Selves questionnaire measured future-achievement-related activities, interpersonal relationships, intrapsychic characteristics, self-descriptives, and attainment of material goods. The Related Selves questionnaire measured individualism versus collectivism orientation, ethnic identity, and Protestant work ethic orientation. The Strategies to Obtain Possible Selves measured strategies that students were doing in order to become more academic and career oriented. Univariate analyses of the closed-ended identity scales showed that African-American students worked more collectively in achievement situations (B = .24, p =.11) whereas European-American students approached achievement-related activities individually (B = .23, p =.07). African-American students endorsed more ethnic-identity items than European-American students.

In the second study, Oyserman et al. (1995) investigated the effects of African-American identity on school performance. They hypothesized that a strong African-American identity and awareness of racism would correlate with school performance. The sample included 146 seventh- and eighth-grade urban African-American students. In a comparison design, half of the students were "salient" (consciously aware) of their ethnic identity during an academic task, whereas the other half were not consciously aware of their ethnicity. The first group was interviewed about their open-ended identity that addressed what it means to be an African-American student, making them salient of

their ethnic identity. Then the first group took the closed-ended identity, which is a math task and does not ask ethnic-identity questions. The other half of the students first filled out the close-ended identity and then were interviewed about their ethnic identity. Interviews were coded into categories such as connectedness to culture and family, vision-responsibility, experiences of racism, everyday coping strategies, being male-female and African-American, awareness of racism problems, achievement in school, and disengagement of ethnic identity. Using factor analysis, the researchers found statistically significant correlation between achievement and connectedness ($r = .29$) and awareness of racism ($r = .24$) and between self-esteem and experiences of racism ($r = .17$). Using multiple regression, self-esteem was found to predict school performance in African-American students. For female students only, however, salience of identity had a statistically significant effect on achievement. This research suggests that adolescents who feel connected are more likely to achieve in school and, further, adolescents with higher self-esteem are likely to have higher school performances. Although this research includes only African-American adolescents, the results may have applicability to a Native-American population.

Rotheram-Borus, Dopkins, Sabate, and Lightfoot (1996) examined the effect of school context, ethnicity, and grade level on ethnic-identity search, values, and self-esteem in ninth- and twelfth-grade African-American, Latin-American, and European-American students. The Ego Identity Status measure determined participants' reference group such as mainstream, bicultural, ethnic diffuse, ethnic foreclosed, ethnic moratorium, and ethnic achieved. Personal identity was measured qualitatively as well as by the Ego Identity Status questionnaire. Values were measured using a self-report

measurement on traditional values. School performance was determined by grade point average (GPA). It was not mentioned which self-esteem inventory was used to measure self-esteem. The research took place at two different urban schools. Three days were devoted to the research project. On the first day, the students responded to scenes on a video tape. The following day, they took questionnaires. On the last day, individual interviews about personal and ethnic identities were conducted.

The researchers concluded that, for the most part, students were either bicultural in their ethnic identities or had made a commitment to an ethnic group without undergoing any exploration (ethnic identity foreclosed). The students who were ethnically achieved had higher self-esteem than students who rated themselves as bicultural or mainstream ($F = 6.05$, $p < .05$). In accord with other research by Oyserman et al. (1995), Rotheram-Borus et al. found that the African-American and Latin-American students were more likely to be ethnically achieved than the European-American students. European-American students scored higher on self-esteem than ethnic-minority students. Girls, generally, scored lower on self-esteem than boys in all ethnic groups. Consistent with the findings of Oyserman et al., African-American and Latin-American students self-reported as being more group oriented than individually oriented. Through interviews, data indicated that the girls' ethnic and gender identities were most influenced by their parents. This finding implies that the relationship with the mother is important to girls' development of their ethnic and ego identities.

The results of the Oyserman et al. (1995), Phinney (1989), Phinney and Alipuria (1990), and Rotherman-Borus et al. (1995) studies have implications for the present research. Self-esteem and ethnic identity are strongly related (Oyserman et al., 1995;

Phinney & Alipuria, 1990). Oyserman et al. (1995) found that self-esteem has a positive effect on school performance in seventh- and eighth-grade students. The researchers also found that salience of ethnic identity tended to predict school performance in female students. Research findings indicate that ethnic-identity achievement is more likely to occur in college students than in eighth-grade students or tenth-grade students (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990). Ethnic-identity achievement "corresponds to acceptance and internalization of one's ethnicity" (Phinney, Lochner, & Murphy, 1990, p. 67). Therefore, the probability that ethnic-identity achievement affects school performance is likely in female students who are in high school or in their freshmen year of college. To date, no known studies have demonstrated a relationship between ethnic identity and number of completed years in education.

In sum, the participants in most of the known adolescent ethnic-identity literature do not include Native-American adolescents. Replications of these studies in the Native-American population are needed. Research suggests that there is a statistically significant relationship between ethnic identity and school achievement (Oyserman et al., 1995). It seems reasonable to investigate whether a similar relationship between ethnic identity and completed years in school exists in a Native-American female adolescent population.

Native-American Culture

There are hundreds of different Native-American tribes, each with their own culture; in general, Native Americans view human development in a more spiritual framework than European-Americans (LaFromboise et al., 1994; LaFromboise, Trimble, et al., 1990). Native Americans believe that they are born, die, and may return to life in another spiritual form. In this context, development occurs through rites of passage

rather than by a biological event. For example, ceremonies marking girls' entry to adulthood is more the norm than the physical stage of menarche. Women increase their importance and power when they give birth to children (LaFromboise et al., 1994).

Furthermore, in many tribes, women have the main power in families; women decide the number of children to have, where the family will reside, and other decisions concerning the family and children (LaFromboise et al., 1994). Women are known to have spiritual power in tribes and are more connected to Mother Earth than men (Brayboy, 1990; LaFromboise et al., 1994; LaFromboise, Heyle, et al., 1990).

Despite efforts of European-American people to convert Native Americans to become more "American," traditional Indian women still value their commitments to their families, culture, and traditions (Brayboy, 1990; LaFromboise et al., 1994; LaFromboise, Heyle, et al., 1990). Children are considered to be "beloved gifts" to families. They are taught to become independent by learning to make decisions for themselves. Elders are respected by all tribe members and spend time with children, sharing their tribal stories (LaFromboise & Low, 1989). Therefore, family relationships and networks remain a vital part of the well-being of Native Americans (Garrett & Garrett, 1994; LaFromboise et al., 1994; LaFromboise & Low, 1989).

Urban Native Americans may be a part of their Native-American culture, but they also have knowledge and skills on how to live in European-American culture; in essence, they are bicultural (LaFromboise & Low, 1989; LaFromboise, Trimble, et al., 1990). Furthermore, LaFromboise, Trimble, et al. (1990) stated that Native Americans who are bicultural can "function effectively and be seen in both worlds" (p. 636): the Native-American one and the European-American one. This is especially true for Native-

American youth because, for the most part, they attend European-American schools and yet also must remain loyal to their Native-American culture and family (LaFromboise & Low, 1989). "Because tribal spirituality remains paramount among Indian people, families encourage and expect their children and adolescents to participate in various ceremonies. Unfortunately, participation in these ceremonies sometimes violates attendance polices of Anglo-operated schools and work sites" (LaFromboise & Low, 1989, p. 123).

Native-American Education

Native Americans have had their own methods of educating their youth before the Europeans came to America. The traditional Indian education system involved teachings through elders, chiefs, spiritual directors, and family members (DeJong, 1993). European Americans, however, thought it necessary to "educate" Indians in their method of schooling (DeJong, 1993). Mission schools took it upon themselves to educate American Indians in Christian ways. Government funds were provided to schools for the purpose of "civilizing" American Indians (DeJong, 1993) In addition, five tribes decided to take on the challenge of educating their own. They requested funds from the government and set up their own "formal" schools that taught both the Native language and English (Santo, 1990).

In 1890, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) took over the education of Native Americans. Tribal schools closed and off reservation schools become the norm (Santo, 1990). The goal was to assimilate Indian children into the dominant European-American culture by removing them from their families. It was not until the Merrian report in 1928 that government decided this system was not a healthy way to educate Indian children

(DeJong, 1993; Santo, 1990). In 1934, under the Johnson-O'Malley Act, Indian children were encouraged to attend public schools, and in return schools received federal funding. Often these funds were used for the general financial needs of the school instead of for the betterment of Indian education (DeJong, 1993).

Native-American researchers such as LaFromboise (1984) and DeJong (1993) maintain that general educational degrees are not valued by Native Americans partly due to the history of BIA boarding schools. Furthermore, obtaining education that will take a tribe member away from his or her community is not valued (LaFromboise, 1984; LaFromboise, Heyle, et al., 1990). According to Santo (1990), however, the current trend in Indian Education on reservations is to teach a bilingual-bicultural curriculum based on the assumption that a curriculum including Native-American history, culture, and language will be more relevant to Native-American people. For the most part, urban Native-Americans are not exposed to a bilingual-bicultural curriculum. Instead, they are taught from the mainstream European-American curriculum (Tsosie, 1995).

The only known research that investigates the reasons for the high Native-American student drop-out is a study by Coladarci (1983). Coladarci and his staff interviewed 99 Native-American students who had dropped out of high school. Staff contacted students from a list compiled from 224 student records. Interviews were done at the homes of the participants. Project staff asked open- and closed-item questions that were derived from past research, conferences with teachers, and personal and intuitive knowledge as to why students drop-out of high school. The first 27 items were closed-ended items in which the interviewer circled the participants' answers. During the open-ended part of the interview, participants either agreed to a tape-recording of the interview

or the interviewer was given permission to take notes. The closed-items were coded with either a "0" or "1" for "not important" or "important" as a reason for dropping out. The open-ended questions were read and categorized for each question. Then two staff members independently coded the responses for assigned values.

The results showed that there were three main factors for Native-American students dropping out of high school: teacher-student relationships, content of schooling, and lack of parental support. One third of the students reported that they felt that teachers did not care about them. Females indicated this fact more than male students. One third of the students indicated that the arguments they had with teachers were reasons to drop out of school. About half of the students interviewed reported that school did not relate to what they wanted to do in life. About one fourth of the students said that school did not relate to them as Native-American people. Forty percent of the students indicated that they needed more parental encouragement, communication, and cooperation. Students (48% of the females in the study and 38% of the males) reported that problems at home were another reason for their dropping out of high school. Over 90% of the students regret their decision to drop out of high school. These results suggest that Native-American students need strong support systems in school and at home. Coladarci's findings are consistent with other researchers such as Fine and Zane (1989) and LaFromboise (1984) who found that female Native-American students are at particular risk of dropping out of high school.

In sum, given the history of European-American schools and the results of Coladarci's (1983) study, it is critical to find ways to address school retention for Native-American students. Current research identifying specific ways to support Native-

American female students to stay in school and feel comfortable in their schools is needed.

Mother-Daughter Relationships

Object-relations theorists such as Chodorow (1978) contended that adolescence is particularly difficult for females, because they must identify with their mothers in order to understand what it is like to be feminine and also separate so that they can become an adult. "A girl alternates between total rejection of her mother who represents infantile dependence and attachment to her, between identification with anyone other than her mother and feeling herself her mother's double and extension" (p. 138). The self-in-relations model claimed that females do not wish to separate from their mothers but instead want their relationships with their mothers to become more intimate (Jordan et al., 1991). Further, Gleason (1991), a self-in-relations researcher, interviewed 80 college women and found that 38 of them reported wanting "more closeness, greater openness, trust, or friendship" (p. 137) with their mothers. The self-in-relations theory has the most relevance to Native-American mother-daughter relationships. For example, Brayboy (1990), through in-depth interviews with four Native-American women, found that Native-American women do identify with their mothers. Brannan (1979) in her exposition of Native-American mothers' and daughters' oral histories found that, after being educated in an European-American educational system, Native-American daughters still considered their relationship with their mother to be strong and important to their own emotional development. In sum, both studies found that Native-American women do not separate from their mothers emotionally but need their relationships with their

mothers in order to progress emotionally and professionally (Brannan, 1979; Brayboy, 1990).

According to LaFromboise, Heyle, et al. (1990) Native-American culture values the role of the mother, however, only two works that address Native-American mother-daughter relationships have been identified. Brayboy (1990) examined modern Native-American women who live in a non-Indian world. Mother-daughter relationship was one of the variables the researcher investigated in interviews with four women. The data revealed that the participants had common themes of spirituality, Indianness, bonding, racial discrimination, and reciprocity or inclusiveness. In addition, they still felt very emotionally connected to their mothers despite their need to fulfill careers in European-American culture. Their ethnic identity as an American Indian remained important to them as they continued to develop personally and professionally. The results of this study imply that ethnic identity may affect emotional and professional development. For example, Native-American women who are ethnically achieved may have stronger relationships with their mothers. Emotional maternal support may assist them to feel confident in their exploration of their ethnic identity as well as their educational pursuits.

Brannan (1979) examined approximately 10 Native-American and immigrant European and Asian mother and daughter dyads. Using oral histories, the researcher demonstrated that both Native-American and immigrant daughters moved toward the European-American mainstream culture in order to assimilate. Daughters became bicultural by upholding their Native-American culture as well as obtaining an European-American education. Despite the emotional stress of daughters living in two cultures, the researcher found that mothers and daughters still remained emotionally connected. Both

Brannan (1979) and Brayboy (1990) suggest that Native-American women who have been educated in an European-American system need the emotional support of their mothers to continue their education in a culture that differs from their own.

Most research done on mother-daughter relationships either compares African-American and European-American dyads with each other (Fu et al., 1984; Mack & Morgan, 1974) or examines European-American dyads only (Bell & Bell, 1983; Flora, 1978; Honess & Lintern, 1990; Lackovic-Grgin et al., 1994; Rollins & White, 1982). Although none of the following studies include Native-American participants, some findings may have relevance to the present study.

Two studies done by Honess and Lintern (1990) examined parent-child relationships. In the first study, 36 mother-adolescent sons and daughters were interviewed separately about their relationships with each other. The data were coded according to the conflict, independence, and interdependence between the dyads. The results indicated that there were more conflicts between mothers and daughters than between boys and mothers. The second study used an interview approach in which 25 mothers and their postadolescent daughters were interviewed to examine whether mother-daughter relationships are naturally "conflicted." The results of this study indicated that adolescence may be particularly difficult for mothers and daughters; however, during early adulthood, the members of the dyad are not likely to be in conflict with each other.

Bell and Bell (1983) investigated the effect of parent ego development on family climate, parental behavior, and adolescent daughter's self-regard. The researchers screened 283 girls, using the California Psychological Inventory and shortened forms of the Loevinger sentence completion test for ego development. From this group, 215 girls

were eligible to participate and 100 girls and their families agreed to participate. Two-hour structured interviews were scheduled in the family's home. In addition, families took a shortened form of the Moos Family Environment Scale and Loevinger's ego development for parents, a questionnaire about self-regard. Interviews were coded using the Interaction process Coding Scheme by Bell and associates. Two scales from the Interaction Process Coding were used: the Support and Acknowledge Scales. The results indicated that parental ego development affects accurate interpersonal perception that, in turn, affects adolescent ego development. Other conclusions the researchers found were that mothers' support of daughters positively affects daughters' self-regard. The data indicated that mothers' self-regard influences fathers' support for their daughters which, in turn, may influence daughters' own self-regard.

More recently, Cleborne and Taylor (1992) studied family and social attitudes of four generations of maternal lineage. The participants in the study came from 35 different families: the daughters were in their teens, the mothers in their 30s and 40s, grandmothers in their 50s and 60s, and great grandmothers were over 60 and above. Race and ethnicity of the participants were not stated. The researchers investigated which family and social attitudes are transmitted from older generation to younger and which attitudes are not transmitted. The Adolescent-Middlescent Attitude Scale was used with additions to incorporate the two older generations. The Scale measures behavior traits related to friends, parents, and children, assessment of self-esteem, importance of education and religion, commitment to community, characteristics of marriage, personal health, view of leisure time, thoughts about the future, and rating of daily tasks. Mean scores showed that the younger the generation, the more positive the attitudes on health,

leisure, school, community, self-concept, and the future. The older generations had more positive attitudes about behavioral traits of children. Mothers and daughters were similar in their attitudes on health compared with older generations.

Flora (1978) examined how self-concept affected communication between 152 adolescents and their parents. The adolescents were college freshmen and were 18 years old. Demographic and socioeconomic information were collected using the McGuire and White Scale. Adolescents from European-American, middle-class homes were given the Parent-Adolescent Communication Inventory and the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale. Parents also were given the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale. Using factor analysis, the researcher concluded that adolescents with higher self-concepts had more constructive communication with their parents than adolescents with low self-concept. The results indicated that there were no statistically significant differences between male and female adolescents in their communication with their parents. The researcher found that mothers' self-concept influenced daughters' perceived communication with their parents. Mothers and daughters with low self-concept resulted in daughters who perceived communication to be nonconstructive. The researcher concluded that female communication patterns tend to be more open-responsive than male communication patterns.

Curtis (1991) researched the relationship between mothers and their adolescent daughters' self-concept to daughters' behavior. Thirty-six mother-daughter dyads were selected from a pool of 70 pairs. Daughters were identified by social services as being "at risk," "delinquent," or "maladaptive." The hypotheses were that there was a relationship between mothers' self-concept and daughters' self-concept and that there was a

relationship between daughters' self-concept and their behavioral problems. The variable of self-concept for mothers was measured by the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale. The variable of self-concept for the daughters was measured by the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale. The daughters' self-report of behavioral problems was measured by two independent counselors. The researcher found that mothers' self-concept *T* scores correlated with daughters' self-concept *T* scores (r = .37). Also, the results indicated that 10 out of 11 girls who had low self-concept and whose mothers had low self-concept had behavioral problems. The researchers found through regression analysis that girls' self-concept and behavioral problems were not related. In descriptive analysis, the results showed that daughters with low self-concept were more likely to engage in negative behavior than girls with high self-concept. Curtis concluded that further research should examine how self-concept develops in the family and its relation to behavior problems for at-risk youth.

A control-group study by Lackovic-Grgin et al. (1994) investigated the interaction between 178 girls' pubertal status, interaction with family and friends, and self-esteem. Self-esteem was measured by a shorted form of the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory. The researchers used their own Likert-format scale to measure interaction with significant others. Analysis of variance showed that girls who had their menstrual periods the longest number of months had low self-esteem, $F(3, 175) = 10.16$, $p<.05$. Correlations found that girls with high self-esteem experienced more intimacy in relationships and had less punishments and control by their parents. The variables that were statistically significant at the .05 level in terms of relationships with mother were intimacy (r = -.41), control (r = .46), and punitiveness (r =

.50). The researchers concluded that pubertal maturation and self-esteem are affected by the quality of the adolescent's relationship with her mother.

One recent study by Cauce, Hiraga, Graves, Gonzales, Ryan-Finn, and Grove (1996) examined the constructs of closeness, conflict, and control among African-American mother-daughter relationships. The sample included 59 African-American mothers and daughters. Daughters were in their seventh or eighth grade in school. On video-tape, mothers and daughters were asked to talk about their greatest conflict and to find a resolution. Also, daughters took two inventories: the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA) and the Social Support Rating Scale-Revised. Mothers and daughters both took the Issues Checklist and the Decision Making Questionnaire. The results showed that daughters felt close to their mothers and listed them as their most important social support. Mothers and daughters agreed about the issues that were the most conflictual for them. Examples of these conflicts are going places without parents, issues about curfew, and daughter's choice of friends. Mothers, however, made decisions about curfew and daughters made decisions about the friends they kept.

McLoyd and Jozefowicz (1996) investigated 115 seventh- and eighth-grade African-American mother and daughter dyads. The purpose of the study was to examine the adolescents' expectancies about their economic fortunes and family-life-course expectations. Two interviews, 6 months apart, were conducted at the homes of the mothers and their adolescents; mothers and daughters were interviewed separately. In addition, daughters responded to a questionnaire that included questions about expectancies about economic hardships, family life course, demographics, and perceptions of financial strain, her own academic ability, the importance of grades, the utility of education, and the frequency that

their mothers talked about the importance of work. Mothers responded to a similar questionnaire but were questioned on their perceptions of their daughters' ability and their own views on applicability of education to work. The results indicated that mothers' perceptions of the utility of education were correlated at a statistically significant level to daughters getting good grades ($r = .39$). Daughters who perceived themselves as having academic ability also believed that grades were important and understood the utility of education. Using a regression analysis, the researchers found that mothers' educational level predicted daughters' expectations of family life course ($r = -.26$).

In sum, female adolescents need strong emotional connections with their mothers to develop their identity and self-confidence (Apter, 1990; Bell & Bell, 1983; Curtis, 1990; Dukes & Martinez, 1994; Flora, 1978; Lackovic-Grgin et al.,1994; LaSorsa & Fodor, 1990; Rollins & White, 1982; Surrey, 1990). Studies indicate that high self-esteem in girls affects school performance (AAUW, 1991; Oyserman et al., 1995). In addition, self-concept and self-esteem are both important parts of ethnic identity (Maldonado, 1975; Phinney, 1989; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990). Research has found that there is a strong correlation between ethnic identity and self-esteem, and between ethnic identity and self-concept in minority students in both high school and college. (Phinney, 1989; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Phinney et al., 1996). Although self-esteem and self-concept will not be measured directly in this study, maternal emotional support and ethnic identity of female Native-American adolescents will be examined.

In the Native-American population, family relationships are a vital part of their culture (LaFromboise & Low, 1989; LaFromboise et al., 1990). Urban Native-American females need to remain loyal to their families and yet also be able function in a White-

American school system. A strong emotional connection with the mother and a sense of belonging to the Native-American culture may allow the Native-American female adolescent to live in the Native-American world and perform academically in the European-American educational system. Therefore, a study that examines the relationships among maternal emotional support, ethnic identity, and completed years in school in the Native-American population is needed.

Summary

Research indicating ways to keep Native-American female students in school is lacking. Coladarci (1983) found that Native-American students dropped out of high school, because they did not feel supported by their parents, teachers, or the school environment. Further, studies suggest that attending a school that emphasizes European-American curriculum and culture is emotionally very difficult for Native-American students (Santo, 1990; Tsosie, 1995). In order to survive academically and emotionally, Native-American students must learn to function in two cultures, their Native-American one and an European-American one (Garrett & Garrett, 1994; LaFromboise & Low, 1989; LaFromboise, Trimble, et al., 1990; Santo, 1990; Tsosie, 1995).

Strong ethnic identity has been found to enhance school achievement in African-American students (Oyserman et al, 1995; Taylor et al., 1994). Although there is no known research stating that strong ethnic identity and school achievement or retention is related in the Native-American population, it seems likely that strong ethnic identity would contribute to Native-American female students finishing their high-school education.

As discussed earlier, like other ethnicities, Native-American daughters have a strong bond with their mothers (Brannan, 1979; Brayboy, 1990; LaFromboise, Heyle, et al., 1990).

The Native-American culture values family relationships (LaFromboise, Heyle, et al., 1990; LaFromboise & Low, 1989). Research has found that lack of parental support has been one of the factors causing Native-American students to drop out of high school (Beck, 1997; Coladarci, 1983; Tim & Borman, 1997). Having the emotional support of their mothers may enable Native-American female students to continue their studies.

Currently, Native-American female students are particularly at risk of dropping out of school (Coladarci, 1983; Fine & Zane, 1989; Reddy, 1993). Research studies that examine ways to keep these students in school are needed. Research on ethnic identity and mother-daughter relationships in other populations (Baker & Entwisle, 1987; Connell et al., 1995; McCoy & Jozefowicz, 1996; Taylor et al., 1994) suggests that these two variables may assist Native-American students to complete school. Through quantitative and qualitative methods, this research study examined how strong ethnic identity and maternal support may promote completion of school in Native-American female students.

Chapter III

Methodology

The purpose of the study was to examine the relationships among perceived maternal emotional support, ethnic identity, and completed years in school of Native-American female adolescents. This section describes the research design, sample population, human-subject considerations, interview format, data collection, and data analysis.

Research Design

A correlation design was used to investigate the first four research questions. Correlational designs are used "to investigate the extent to which variations in one factor correspond with variations in one or more other factors based on correlation coefficients" (Isaac & Michael, 1995, p. 46). In the present study, correlation coefficients were calculated to determine the relationships among perceived maternal emotional support, ethnic identity, and completed years in school. For the minor research questions, correlation coefficients were calculated to find the relationships among perceived maternal emotional support, ethnic identity, and grade point average (GPA). Scores of 31 Native-American female adolescents (ages 14 to 19) were used to determine the correlation coefficients. Perceived emotional maternal support was measured by the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987) and ethnic identity was measured by the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992). Completed years in school was determined by the total number of years the participant has completed in elementary school, junior and high school, and college or university

(see Appendix A). Repetition of grades was not included in the calculations of completed years in school.

A qualitative interview design was used to answer the fifth and sixth research questions. The procedures of Seidman (1991) and van Kaam (1959) were used to analyze the interview data (see Appendix B). According to Seidman, in-depth interviewing is a research methodology that allows the researcher to understand and give meaning to other people's experiences. The purpose of van Kaam's method of phenomenal analysis is to describe experiences that people of a culture have in common. Both methods require the researcher to review all interview data, reduce it, form categories and common themes, and interpret the meaning of the participants' experiences. Sixteen Native-American female adolescents from the original group of 31 were interviewed. Interview candidates were self-selected. The interview questions were grouped into three main categories: "maternal emotional support," "ethnic identity," and "factors that lead to completed years of education." Questions included how daughters felt supported by their mothers and how mothers influenced their daughters' ethnic identity and education. Common themes within the three main categories were then categorized and interpreted by the researcher.

Major Quantitative Research Questions

1. What is the relationship between achieved ethnic identity and completed number of years in school for Native-American female adolescents?
2. What is the relationship between perceived maternal emotional support and achieved ethnic identity for Native-American female adolescents?

Minor Quantitative Research Questions

3. What is the relationship between perceived maternal emotional support and grade point average (GPA) for Native-American female adolescents?

4. What is the relationship between achieved ethnic identity and GPA for Native-American female adolescents?

Qualitative Research Question

5. Do Native-American mothers teach their daughters about ethnic identity and the importance of education? If so, how? What cultural messages do they give their daughters regarding ethnic identity and getting or completing an education?

6. In what ways do Native-American mothers emotionally support their daughters to complete high school?

Population

Participants in this study were Native-American female adolescents who lived in an urban area on the West-North Coast. Some of the tribes that were represented in this sample were Cherokee, Navajo, Parsu, LaGuna, LaKota, Oglala, Yurok, and Pomo.

The researcher recruited the participants through contacts with individuals from the Native-American community. This method of recruitment produced a sample that had few variations between participants. In particular, contacts were made with a youth director at a Native-American health center, group leaders of Native-American groups at urban colleges and high schools, and a director of an American-Indian educational project. In addition, fliers were posted and letters to Native-American groups were sent (see Appendixes C & D). Most of the participants came from the contacts made with a

youth director at the Native-American health center and a director of the American-Indian educational project.

The Native-American health center provided a list of potential participants who had participated in their youth programs. The researcher sent packets to potential participants from the list provided. The American-Indian educational project agreed to send packets that were ready for mailing to Native-American youth that met the criteria. Packets were sent to female students who identified as being Native American and were between the ages of 14 and 19. Contents of the packets included a letter of introduction to the potential participants and their parents, informed consent forms, the IPPA, the MEIM, the demographic questionnaire, and a stamped envelope addressed to the researcher (see Appendixes A, E, F, G, H, I). In addition, there was a form that asked where to send compensations and how to be contacted should the participant wish to be part of the interview component of the study (see Appendix J). Participants sent the completed packets to the researcher. Upon receipt of a packet, the researcher sent a check for $10 to each individual.

Participants who wished to be part of the interview component of the study also provided their phone numbers, indicated their willingness to participate on a form (see Appendix J), and returned this form with the packet of completed questionnaires. The researcher contacted individuals by telephone who indicated that they were interested in the interview part of the study. Individual interviews were arranged according to the schedules of the participants and the researcher. Interviews took place at the Native-

American health center, at the participants' homes, at libraries, or at restaurants. Upon completion of the interview, the participants were paid a $15 cash compensation.

In order to qualify for the study, participants identified as a female Native-American adolescent and were between the ages of 14 and 19. Participation in the study was voluntary and participants were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time.

Demographic Data

Demographic data were collected from all 31 participants. The demographic questionnaire was included in the packet with the introduction letter, the IPPA-mother, the MEIM, the permission forms, and the form to volunteer for the interview part of the study (see Appendixes A, E, F, G, H, I, & J). Three students were recruited at a Native-American health fair. One student was recruited at a Native-American Thanksgiving ceremony. At both of these events, the researcher gave the packets of information to the students. The remainder of the students were recruited through mailings from a local Native-American health center and a Native-American educational project. All participants under 18 years of age received permission from their parents in order to participate. One participant filled out her questionnaires and received permission from her mother at the health fair, because her mother was present too. The remainder of the participants returned their questionnaires and permission forms by mail to the researcher.

The demographic composition of the participants is given in Table 1. The mean age of the participants is 16.4. The identified ethnicities are stated also in Table 1. All 31 participants identified themselves as Native-American; however, on the MEIM, 28 of the

participants checked the Native-American space and three participants identified as African American, Latin American, or European American. Of these 28 students, half (n=14) are full-blooded Native-American students. The mean score on the EIA for students who identified themselves as only Native-American is 3.31. Scores ranged from 2.57 to 3.71. The other half (n=14) of the students who identify as Native-American consider themselves "mixed" or bicultural in their ethnic make-up. The mean score on the EIA for the bicultural group is 2.93. Scores ranged from 1.42 to 3.85. The mean score for completed years in school of participants is 10.67. The demographic composition of the participants' mothers is given also in Table 1.

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of Participants and Their Mothers (n=31)

Variables	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
AGE		
14	4	12.9
15	6	19.3
16	6	19.3
17	7	22.5
18	4	12.9
19	4	12.9
IDENTIFIED ETHNICITY		
Native-American, Indian-American	14	45.1
Mixed, Bicultural	14	45.1
African-American	1	3.0
Hispanic, Latina	1	3.0
Mexican	1	3.0
European-American	0	0.0
YEARS OF COMPLETED SCHOOL		
8 years or less	3	9.6
9 years	5	16.1
10 years	8	25.8
11 years	4	12.9
12 years	6	19.3
13 years	4	12.9
14 years	1	3.0
EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF DAUGHTERS		
Will finish high school	5	16.1
Will go to trade/vocational school	3	9.6
Will complete 2-year college	4	12.9
Will complete a 4-college degree	7	22.5
Will complete a graduate degree	12	38.7

IDENTIFIED ETHNICITY OF MOTHERS		
Native-American, Indian-American	19	61.2
Mixed, Bicultural	7	22.5
African-American	3	9.6
Latin-American	0	0
European-American	2	6.4
MOTHERS' EDUCATION LEVEL		
Completed Junior High	3	9.6
Completed High School	14	45.1
Completed trade or vocational school	3	9.6
Completed 2 years of college	2	6.4
Completed 4 years of college	5	16.1
Attended graduate school	1	3.2
Don't know	1	3.2
Did not answer question	1	3.2

As stated earlier, different Native-American tribes were represented in the sample. Although there were many tribes represented in the study, there were low frequencies in each tribe. The tribes that had more than one representative are Cherokee, Laguna Pueblo, Navajo, and Yurok. Tribes having one representative in the study are Apache, Caddo, Creek, Karok, Miwok, Lakota, Oglala, Blackfeet, Papago, Pima, Pomo, Ponca, Quechan, Sioux, Wintoon, Winnebago, and Zia.

Protection of Human Subjects

In order to protect the rights to human subjects, the researcher followed the guidelines of the American Psychological Association (1992). Participants were informed of the study and its purpose, and, if interested could request that the results be sent to them at the completion of the study. Consent forms for those participants under

18 years old were signed by daughters and their parents (see Appendixes E & F). Participants who were 18 and 19 also signed the consent forms, but they did not need parental consent to participate in the study (see Appendixes G & H).

The researcher informed participants that a Native-American researcher not known to the participants would code the audiotapes, but that the information would not be shared with anyone. Audiotapes and questionnaires were stored at the researcher's home in a locked filing cabinet. Names of participants were not identified to anyone and only the first initials of participants' names were given to her assistant.

The researcher informed the participants that their participation was voluntary and that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any time. The researcher explained to participants that the information they provided was confidential and that exceptions to confidentiality were only in cases of child abuse and threat of harming oneself or another. If the participant disclosed one of the above, the researcher, as a doctoral student in Counseling Psychology, indicated she would provide immediate emotional support and also make appropriate referrals.

Instrumentation

Three instruments were used in the quantitative part of the study: a demographic questionnaire, the IPPA (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987), and the MEIM (Phinney,1992). The demographic questionnaire inquired about the age, ethnicity or ethnic identification, and number of completed years of education of the participant, as well as ethnicity and highest level of education of the participant's parents (see Appendix A).

Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment. The IPPA is a 60-item 5-point rating scale. Only the mother scale of the IPPA, which has 25 items, was used in this study. Participants were asked to respond to each item to the extent that it is true for them: almost never or never, seldom, sometimes, often, and almost always or always.

The IPPA was conceptualized using Bowlby's attachment theory. Armsden and Greenberg (1987) designed the scale to measure the perception of trust, communication, and anger an individual has for his or her parental figures and friends. The scales for parents and friends are scored separately. The IPPA was revised by Armsden to separate mother and father attachments in two separate scales.

There are three subscales in the IPPA mother: parent trust, communication, and alienation. Only parent trust and communication were used in this study. An example of an item from the trust scale is "My mother respects my feelings." An example of an item from the communication scale is "I like to get my mother's point of view on things I'm concerned about." Items that are scored directly on the trust scale are numbers 1, 2, 4, 12, 13, 20, 21, and 22. Items that are reverse-scored on the trust scale are numbers 3 and 9. Items on the communication scale that are scored directly are numbers 5, 7, 15, 16, 19, 24, and 25. Items that are reverse-scored on the communication scale are numbers 6 and 14. The remainder numbers are items on the alienation scale and were not used in this study. Therefore, only 19 out of the 25 items on the IPPA- Mother scale were used. To determine mother support, mean scores on the subscales of trust and communication were calculated. High scores between 4 and 5 indicate that perceived emotional maternal support is strong and low scores between 1 and 2 indicate that perceived emotional support is low.

Cronbach's alpha was used to determine the internal reliability for mother attachment. Based on a sample of twenty-seven 18- to 20-year-old European- and Asian-American college students, reliability of the revised version of the IPPA is .87. Construct validity of parent attachment scores was statistically significant to the Family ($r = .86$) and Social Self Scores ($r = .46$) of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale and to the Family Environmental Scale ($r = .62$) in eighty-six 16- to 20-year-old college students (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987).

The IPPA-Mother scale was used in this study, because it is a measure for adolescents with acceptable reliability and validity. Further, this scale measures two important constructs of maternal emotional support: the levels of communication and trust daughters have for their mothers. Although the IPPA is not known to have been used with Native-American adolescents, Rotherman-Borus et al. (1996) used it in their research with African-American female adolescents. Therefore, because the items of the IPPA-Mother appear to be applicable to Native-American females and it has been used with African-American female adolescents, it was likely to be an approximate measure in the present study too.

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure. The MEIM is a 23-item questionnaire that is designed to measure general ethnic identity in different ethnic groups (Phinney, 1992). Three aspects of ethnic identity are measured including ethnic-identity achievement, positive ethnic attitudes and sense of belonging, and ethnic behaviors or practices. Participants respond to items on a 4-point scale ranging from strongly agree, agree, disagree, to strongly disagree. Ethnic-identity scores are calculated by summing scores on

each item and calculating the mean. High mean scores such as between 3 and 4 indicate strong ethnic identity and scores between 1 and 2 indicate weak ethnic identity.

The MEIM was tested on both high-school and college groups. The high-school group included a sample of 417 urban high-school students (182 males and 235 females). In the high-school group, there were 134 Asian Americans, 131 African Americans, 89 Hispanic Americans, 41 students with mixed background, 12 European Americans, and 10 students who indicated "other" ethnic group. Using Cronbach's alpha, internal reliability was found to be .81 in the high-school group. There were 136 participants (47 males and 89 females) in the college group that included 58 Hispanic Americans, 35 Asian Americans, 23 European Americans, 11 African Americans, 8 with mixed background, and one American Indian. Ages of the college group ranged from 18 to 34 years. Using Cronbach's alpha, internal reliability was found to be .90 for the college sample.

Using Pearson Product-Moment correlation coefficients, construct validity was assessed. Phinney (1992) found that among the high-school group, ethnic identity of the minority students was statistically and positively correlated with self-esteem ($r = .31$). In the minority college students group, ethnic identity also was statistically and positively correlated to self-esteem ($r = .25$). In a group of 5,423 students in grades 6 to 8, high MEIM scores correlated with high self-esteem, active coping, a greater sense of mastery, more optimism, and greater sense of ethnicity. The middle-school group included 1,237 African Americans, 755 Anglo Americans, 755 Mexican Americans, 304 Vietnamese Americans, 253 Central Americans, 342 from mixed backgrounds, 41 Native Americans,

and the remainder were from other backgrounds (Roberts, Phinney, Romero, & Chen, 1996).

The MEIM was used in this study, because it has been tested on youth representing 20 different ethnicities. Further, the MEIM has been used in several studies with Native-American youth (Phinney, 1989; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Roberts et al., 1996). This measure also is appropriate for participants who are between the ages of 14 and 19.

Procedures

Contact with potential participants was made through a director of youth at an urban Native-American center, a director of a American-Indian project, and through leaders of local Native-American groups at urban colleges and universities in the San Francisco Bay area. Recruitment of participants was done by introduction letter, flyer, personal contact, and word of mouth (see Appendixes C & D). In addition, the researcher attended events such as a Native-American health fair for youth, Thanksgiving dinner, pow-wows, and has volunteered at a Native-American youth camp for 2 years. Packets including an introduction letter, a demographic questionnaire, the IPPA-mother, the MEIM, informed consent forms, a form to indicate interest in the interview part of the study, and a stamped envelope were given out at some of these events (see Appendixes A, E, F,G, H, I, & J). In addition, the researcher mailed 100 packets out to Native-Americans female students between the ages of 14 and 19. Thirty of the 100 packets mailed were sent to potential participants whose names were given to the researcher by a Native-American health center. The remainder of the packets (n=70) were mailed to

potential participants from a list obtained from a Native-American educational project. Interested participants filled out the questionnaires and the informed consent forms and returned these packets by mail to the researcher. The nature and purpose of the study was indicated in the informed consent forms. Participants kept one copy of the informed consent form and sent a signed consent form to the researcher. Participants under the age of 18 were required to have parental consent in order to participate in the study.

Upon receipt of the packet, the researcher sent a check for $10 to the participants. Participants interested in the interview part of the study indicated this on a form (see Appendix J). The interviewer contacted interested participants by phone. The interviews were in-person and took place at a Native-American health center, at the participants' home, or in a public place such as a library or coffee shop. The interview questions were open-ended so that the participants could respond freely (see Appendix B). Upon completion of the interview, the researcher paid the participants $15 in cash. If a participant completed both paper-and-pencil measures and the interview, she received $25 total.

Before beginning the interview, the interviewer explained the purpose and procedures of the study and answered any questions. The interviewer had a tape recorder to record interviews. The interviewer asked permission from the participants to record the interview by audiotape. After the participant agreed to be audiotaped, the interviewer turned on the recording device and again asked the participant for permission to tape the interview before proceeding. Upon completing the interview, the participant received a cash stipend of $15.

Qualifications of the Researcher

The researcher identifies herself as a European-American woman, although she also is descended from the Iroquois tribe. The researcher is a fifth-year doctorate student in Counseling Psychology at the University of San Francisco. She received her Masters Degree in Education with a major in Psychological Counseling from Teachers College, Columbia University. As part of her counseling training, she has worked as a trainee with AIDS patients, college students, and at a university-based community clinic. In her career, she has worked as a school counselor for 5 years. In addition, she has a Virginia teaching credential in Secondary Education and has taught children ages 3 to 18.

As a result of her training and her employment opportunities, the researcher is experienced in interviewing. She has had three classes in cross-cultural counseling and has counseled and taught many people ethnically different from herself.

Data Collection

Inventories and demographic questionnaires were completed and sent to the researcher by mail. Interviews for this study were scheduled immediately. Data collection included audiotaping the interviews, writing observation notes of the participant's mannerisms, and expressions, and transcribing the notes. (See Appendix B for interview questions.) When feasible, interviews were done with the interviewer and the participant sitting side-by-side, because this is more appropriate within the Native-American culture. Transcriptions were made of the interviews. Perceived maternal emotional support, ethnic identity, and demographics of the participants were determined by the IPPA-Mother, the MEIM, and the demographic questionnaire (see Appendix A).

Data Analysis

The purpose of the data analysis was to examine the relationships among perceived maternal emotional support, ethnic identity, completed years in school, and GPA.

For research question 1, the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was used to determine the relationship between ethnic identity level and completed number of years in school. Ethnic identity was measured by the MEIM. The number of years in school was reviewed as the number of years the participant has completed since elementary school. The number of years was grouped into 3 categories: 14-16, 17-18, and 19 and served as the independent variable. Research question 2 used the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient to assess the relationship between perceived maternal emotional support, as measured by the IPPA, and ethnic identity, as measured by the MEIM. Research question 3 used the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient to assess the relationship between perceived maternal emotional support and participant's grade point average (GPA) in high school or college. The categories used for GPA were below 2.0, 2.0-3.0, 3.0-3.5, and 3.5 and above. Research question 4 used the Pearson product-moment coefficient to assess the relationship between ethnic identity and participant's GPA.

Research questions 5 and 6 were answered by the interview data (see Appendix B). The following steps were the procedures for the qualitative method of data analysis (Seidman, 1991; van Kaam, 1959):

Step 1. Transcription of interviews. Observations from the interview were added to the transcription by the interviewer after the participant left the room. The interviews of each participant were transcribed verbatim at the researcher's home.

Step 2. Read and mark important passages. The researcher read all interviews and marked passages that seemed to have meaning and importance to the research questions.

Step 3. Read and code passages. The researcher read passages and coded them according to which interview they came from. P1 indicated participant 1, P2 indicated participant 2, and P3 indicated participant 3.

Step 4. Cut and paste important sections. The researcher cut and pasted all important passages into one computer document.

Step 5. Look for shared themes. The researcher examined all passages for themes that were shared among the participants.

Step 6. Categorization of themes. The researcher took themes that were stated by participants and categorized them according to the focus of the study. Categories were maternal emotional support, ethnic identity development, and factors leading to retention in school.

Step 7. Reflection of what has been learned. The researcher reviewed themes within each category and made inferences about the themes and how they related to the research question. In addition, because the researcher is an "outsider" to the cultural group, special processes were taken in interpreting the data. These processes included routinely reviewing data to ensure proper interpretation with a Native-American researcher and

selected members of the Native-American population with whom she was working. A Native-American researcher also coded the data. Conferences were held between the researcher and the assistant to ensure consistency. The researcher and her assistant discussed codes that they did not initially agree upon until they agreed on one code.

Summary

The research design in the study used both quantitative and qualitative methods to examine the relationships among perceived maternal emotional support, ethnic identity, and completed years in school of Native-American female students. A correlational design and in-depth interviewing were the specific methods used to answer the research questions. Thirty-one participants participated in the pencil and paper measures that included a demographic questionnaire, the IPPA-Mother (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987), and the MEIM (Phinney, 1992). Sixteen participants self-selected to participate in the interview part of the study. The results of the study are presented in the following chapter.

Chapter IV

Results

The purpose of the study was to examine the relationships among perceived maternal emotional support, ethnic identity, and completed years in school of Native-American female adolescents. The quantitative part involved 31 urban Native-American female adolescents who completed a demographic questionnaire, the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA, Armsden & Greenberg, 1987), and the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM, Phinney, 1992). Sixteen of the participants were self-selected for the in-depth interview part of the study.

The first four research questions were answered with quantitative data. Qualitative data were used to answer research questions 5 and 6. The findings are reported following each research question.

Research Question 1

What is the relationship between achieved ethnic identity and completed number of years in school for Native-American female adolescents?

Ethnic Identity Achievement (EIA) scores are derived from a subscale on the MEIM (Phinney, 1992). Mean scores between 3 and 4 on the MEIM indicate high identity achievement. The means and standard deviations for the participants are presented in Table 2. On the EIA measure, scores ranged from 1.42 to 3.85. Completed number of years scores ranged from 8 to 13. Standard deviations were expected to be low due to the small amount of variance on both of these variables.

Table 2
Means and Standard Deviations for EIA, IPPA, and Completed Years in School (n=31)

Variable	M	SD
EIA	3.20	0.64
IPPA	3.92	0.75
Years in School	10.68	1.66

Note. IPPA scores are the combined mean scores of the trust and communication subscales of the IPPA.

Phinney (1992) reported that high-school students from Asian-American, African-American, Latino, European-American, and mixed backgrounds scored a mean of 2.78. College students of the same backgrounds scored a mean of 2.90. The participants in the current research study scored higher than the high-school and college students in Phinney's study. This difference may be due to the number of participants and the little variability in the participants' years in school.

A Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was computed to determine the relationship between ethnic-identity achievement and completed years in school. The results revealed that ethnic-identity achievement and completed years in school have little or no relationship ($r = .07$). These results suggest that number of completed years in school and strong ethnic identities are not related in this sample of Native-American girls.

Research Question 2

What is the relationship between perceived maternal emotional support and achieved ethnic identity for Native-American female adolescents?

As discussed in Chapter 1, maternal emotional support is defined as the level of trust and communication a female adolescent perceives between herself and her mother. Therefore, perceived maternal emotional support is defined as the mean score on the combined trust and communications subscales of the IPPA-Mother (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). The IPPA-Mother is a 5-point Likert-scale inventory. Scores between 4 and 5 indicate high attachment to the mother. Low scores are between 1 and 2. IPPA scores in this study ranged from 1.94 to 4.90 with a mean of 3.92. The standard deviation is low due to the small amount of variance in IPPA and EIA scores. Armsden and Greenberg reported a mean score of 4.04 and a standard deviation of 1.08 for parent attachment in 18- to 20-year-old adolescents using the trust, communication, and alienation scales. Mean scores and standard deviations are presented in Table 2 and represent only the mean and standard deviations for the trust and communication scales of the IPPA-Mother.

A Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was computed to determine the relationship between perceived maternal emotional support and ethnic identity achievement. The results revealed that there is a weak correlation between perceived maternal emotional support and ethnic identity achievement ($r = .17$). Therefore, strong perceived maternal emotional support, as measured by the trust and communication scales on the IPPA-Mother, is not related to ethnic identity achievement in Native-American adolescent females.

Research Question 3

What is the relationship between perceived maternal emotional support and grade point average (GPA) for Native-American female adolescents?

Only 23 of the 31 participants disclosed their current GPA on the demographic questionnaire. GPA scores ranged from 0.75 to 4.00. EIA scores ranged from 1.42 to 3.85. The means and standard deviations are presented in Table 3. Standard deviations are low due to the small amount of variance in the participants' scores.

Table 3
Means and Standard Deviations for EIA, IPPA, and GPA (n=23)

Variable	M	SD
EIA	3.17	0.71
IPPA (T & C)	3.94	0.70
GPA	2.64	0.80

Note. IPPA scores are the combined mean scores of the trust and communication subscales of the IPPA.

A Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was computed to determine the relationship between perceived maternal emotional support and GPA. The results revealed that there is no relationship between perceived maternal emotional support and GPA ($r = .03$). Mother support is not related to Native-American daughters' academic performance.

Correlation coefficients based on a sample of less than 30 participants have been found to be very unstable. Therefore, results can vary radically if a few individuals are added or subtracted from the sample. Because of the small number of participants, the results may or may not reflect the relationship between perceived emotional support and GPA.

Research Question 4

What is the relationship between achieved ethnic identity and GPA for Native-American female adolescents?

The mean scores and standard deviations for EIA and GPA are presented in Table 3. Scores on EIA ranged from 1.71 to 4.00. Again, the standard deviation is low due to the small amount of variance in EIA and GPA scores. The research question was examined because past studies suggest that ethnic identity and school performance are related in African-American students (Oyserman, Gant, & Ager, 1995; Taylor, Casten, Flickinger, Roberts, & Fulmore, 1994). The mean scores for achieved ethnic identity of African-American students who attended either a public or Roman-Catholic school in the Taylor et al. study were 3.67 and 3.88, respectively. The school performance (GPA) mean scores were not computed in the same manner as in the current study and, therefore, no comparison is possible.

A Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was computed to determine the relationship between ethnic-identity achievement and GPA. The results revealed that there is no relationship between ethnic identity achievement and GPA ($r = .02$). Strong ethnic identity is not related to the academic performances of Native-American female adolescents.

Correlation coefficients based on a sample of less than 30 participants have been found to be very unstable. Therefore, results can vary radically if a few individuals are added or subtracted from the sample. Because of the small number of participants, the results may or may not reflect the relationship between ethnic-identity achievement and GPA.

Research Question 5

Do Native-American mothers teach their daughters about ethnic identity and the importance of education? If so, how? What cultural messages do they give their daughters regarding ethnic identity and getting or completing an education?

The results of the interviews revealed that Native-American daughters perceived that their mothers taught them about ethnic identity and the importance of education. Developing ethnic identities for Native-American female adolescents involved having strong knowledge of their Native-American heritage and tribal identity, participation in Native-American cultural events and traditions, and learning to cope with incidents of racism. Mothers were reported to believe that education was important to their daughters' success in life. Further, some of the cultural messages that mothers gave to their daughters were to respect oneself and others and to continue their education.

Quotations of participants are identified as P1, P2, P3, etc., that is, Participant 1, Participant 2, Participant 3.

Knowledge of Native-American heritage and tribal identity. All of the 16 (100%) Native-American adolescent girls interviewed indicated that their mothers talk to them about being Native American. Twelve (75%) of these girls reported that their mothers taught them about their tribal identity. The degree of knowledge about their tribal identities ranged among the young women interviewed. Some responses indicated that daughters had some knowledge of their Indian heritage and tribal identity. "Yeah... She talks about how our tribe used to be... Mostly stuff about my grandfather and everything. Sometimes she teaches me the language." (P14)

A few responses indicated that some mothers spent a great deal of time talking about tribal identity and what it means to be Native American today.

> She talks to me about where we're from, what culture we're from, where our reservation is from, and what type of Indian we are. And she wants me to dance in an Indian group, which I want to do, but it's hard for me to dance and keep up my grades. (P3)

> She tells me that I need to go back to the res [reservation] and live there but I don't want to live there. Sometimes she talks about the inheritance and the past. She was raised on the res [reservation] and then she was sent to Mormon boarding school... Something happened and they didn't want her to live there [on the reservation] anymore. (P7)

> Yeah, it's kind of like a day-to-day thing. We always talk about the things that I have to go through and the things my grandparents have to go through. Some people have to prove to other people who they are. We know who we are and it's been passed down from years of struggles from my ancestors. She said it [Indian identity] is so precious that you should teach it to your kids so they don't lose it because it's going away fast.... especially with urban Natives.... because they're assimilating to the bigger picture. (P12)

Native traditions, ceremonies, dances, pow-wows, conferences, or talking circles. Participation and involvement in cultural events such as traditional ceremonies and dances and attending pow-wows and conferences are important components of ethnic identity formation (Phinney, 1990). Ten (62.5%) of the participants in this study indicated that they participate in or attend Native-American traditions, ceremonies, dances, pow-wows, conferences, or talking circles.

> Yeah, she talks to me a lot about that stuff. I love dancing for Native-American dances, and she'd talked to me about that. She'd ask me if I'd want to go to pow-wows with her. She talks to me about how my grandparents were Native-Americans and how my great grandmother is full-blooded Navajo. (P10)

One participant reported that attending talking circles and cultural events became a power struggle between herself and her mother. Although she values Native-American traditions and ceremonies, she wishes to attend them on her own terms.

> I want to take my kids to pow-wows and I want to dance and all that. I'm not going to force it on them. They're not going to enjoy it... that's the one thing. I don't enjoy going to talking circles because my mom first started forcing me to go and now I don't like them. I won't do that to my kids because then they won't dance if I start forcing it on them. (P9)

Experiencing racism and prejudice. All but one (93.75%) of the interviewees experienced incidents of racism and prejudice. Many of these experiences occurred when the Native-American girls were in school and outside of their Indian communities.

> When I experienced my first instance of racism, I was in sixth grade. It was my graduation and I was dressed in my Navajo clothes. My mom was talking to me before the ceremony. My grandma had made my outfit and everything. People ridiculed me because I was wearing my Native outfit and I didn't know how to deal with it. I went through it a couple of times in my mind about how people might treat me, but I never experienced it first hand. When I did, it was like, "Whoa, my god, that kind of hurts my feelings because I think my people are beautiful." I think all people are beautiful. And just the way they talked about my clothes and stuff... It hurt my feelings a lot and I wasn't ready for it. (P12)

There was one report of reverse racism. This participant shared that it was difficult for her as an urban Native-American to attend a school on an Indian reservation. Her hair and skin color made her appear European American to the reservation Indians.

> I went to the res [reservation] one time, not the one in Cherokee, not the city but the city reservation, and I went to school. I didn't know anybody. Of course, the Indian people were shunning me and they didn't want to talk to me. That's when I felt the most uncomfortable. They didn't really like me and I got in a fight with one of them. I was suspended my first day or second day of school, and my mom had to come to school. Then, everybody was like "I didn't know" because once they saw my mom, [they knew that I was Indian]. We look alike but she's darker and her hair is thicker and longer than mine. Aside from that they could tell [that I was Indian] and they didn't really bother me after that. She tells me not to let it get me down. (P7)

Mother helps with incidents of racism and prejudice. Fourteen (87.5%) of the girls interviewed indicated that their mothers helped them cope with incidents of racism and prejudice. Thirteen (81.25%) of the participants reported that their mothers had

shared their own experiences in order to help them. Eight daughters (50%) were told what to do about incidents of racism, and seven (43.75%) were told what to say during or after these incidents. Advice was often as the following girls recall:

> She didn't shield me at all. She just gave it to me straight, "There are racist people in society." (P12)
>
> She says to ignore them because "it just shows their ignorance," and I basically do. I just ignore them. Sometimes I make a comment back but nothing really to cause a fight or a threat or anything. (P9)
>
> My mom has just basically told me that "that is an ignorant person who has obviously never even read a book." My mom tells me that it's not really worth my time and energy to even focus on somebody like that. (P6)
>
> She'll just tell me to make sure that I was not doing anything wrong. Then she says, "They don't have the right to say anything about you or who you are." She tells me if I can't deal with it to tell somebody because they should not treat me that way. Or she says to tell her and she'll go take care of it. (P1)
>
> People on the street will say "whoooop, whoooop" (hand cupped to mouth, imitating Plains Indian war cry). My mom says, "Don't listen to them!" (P14)
>
> The following girl reported that her appearance caused her to experience racism. Although she did not talk favorably about her mother during most of the interview, this quotation revealed that her mother was a great help at these times.
>
> She helped me because a lot of people say I'm mixed. They think that I'm mixed and then they look at my mom and my mom is Indian and Black. They say, "Well what race are you in?" There are all kinds of people. Race? It doesn't matter what color you are. They'd ask "What race are you?" And they start to harass me saying, "You're not Black or you're not this... You're nobody." And she's helped me a lot. She tells me not to pay any attention to them, because when they see your parents they are going to believe what race you are. (P3)

Daughters' reactions to incidents of racism. The ways in which adolescents react to incidents of racism and prejudice affect their psychological well-being and their ethnic identity (Phinney, Lochner, & Murphy, 1990). Eleven (68.75) of the participants talked about how they react to incidents of racism. Participants reacted to the incidents in five

different ways: ignore the incident, laugh about it, become angry, deny the event, teach others about racism, or experience hurt feelings. The most common response of the girls interviewed was to become angry about being discriminated against. Four (25%) adolescents reported that they become angry about racist experiences.

> I was in 10th grade and my teacher was making remarks about Pocahontas. One of the tribes that I belong to is the *Ponka* tribe. He was saying "*Ponka*hontas" instead. I got mad at him and told him, "Shut up. Don't say that." He kept saying, "Okay *Ponka*hontas... whatever." I was like "You better shut up." And then he kept on saying it, so then I got mad. When I came home, my grandmother asked me, "How was your day? What happened?" I usually tell her what happened at school. And so I told her. I didn't want her to do anything but I also wanted to see what she would say about it. Then she got really mad and upset. So we went to the school, and she got mad at him, yelling at him that he had no right to say anything like that to me. (P1)

Another student reported that she had two different ways of reacting to racist incidents: either laughing or educating others.

> We laugh about it. I don't know what we can do. I'm not going to cry or whatever. You have to deal with that wherever you go because that's just the way it is. It's planned that way. You have to keep your head up high. I don't know, what else can you do? Try to teach as many people as you can. Tell them what's up...(P16)

Daughters' feelings of ethnic identity. The participants revealed two strong themes about their ethnic identity: pride and loneliness. Many adolescents in the study talked about more than one theme in the course of the interview. Eight of the interviewees (50%) reported that they were proud to be Native American.

> I am definitely proud that I am Indian. I wouldn't want to be anything else. My mother wants me to grow up in traditional ways and so do I. That's why I'm really glad she pushed me into dancing because I don't know what I'd be doing now. It gives me a chance to know a lot of people and to learn and enjoy myself too. (P9)

> It's different. I try to hold an example so that people will look at me and say, "Oh, she's Native American. I think highly of Native Americans now that I see

> her. She's very smart, articulate, the way she speaks, her ideas, her views are very clear, the way she speaks... she is a leader".... That's what I want people to think about my people. (P12)

Eight (50%) of the participants indicated that they felt alone in an urban area and disconnected from other Native-American students or a Native-American community.

> I don't see that many [Indians] there [at school]. I don't know, sometimes when I'm there I feel left out. Then there are people that say they're Native American and maybe they are like one fourth [Native American] but that's the only thing [ethnicity] they claim to be. And they have blond hair and blue eyes. And you say, "What else?", and they claim "That's all, that's all." It's like, "Right?!"(P8)

> The school is White. There are probably about three Black people and a couple of mixed kids. It's kind of weird, you know, walking around in the snow. I can find a few people that I can sort of understand who are other minorities. What are there, a handful of them? That's kind of a problem. If a keep my head in a book, it will be all right. (P16)

One girl talks about how even if she did well academically, she would not get the recognition that other minority members receive at her school.

> There is no real holiday or special event that we celebrate for Native Americans and that is kind of bad. We celebrate people who are on the honor roll that are African American and Asian American but there is no special acknowledgment for people from other cultures. You never get acknowledgement by the whole school [as a Native-American student]. (P11)

Two (12.5%) girls felt that it was difficult to be a traditional Indian girl and live in an urban area. Being bicultural was also a challenge for two (12.5%) of the girls interviewed.

> When I was little, I used to always say I was Native American. I used to hang out with other Native Americans. One time they told me that I couldn't be with them because I'm White, and I got really mad. I was like, "Man, that's not fair." (P8)

Four (25%) of the adolescents interviewed had questions about their "ethnic self," such as "Who am I? What race do I belong to? What does being Native American mean?"

> It's confusing because you don't understand where you're from and where you come from, how you got here, or how to keep going on. They [European

> Americans] won't help you.... They don't teach you about your own culture. They teach about other people's cultures, not yours. It feels kind of weird, because you don't know where you're from. Some parents have passed their cultural traditions on. Some parents are dead and some do not talk about culture at all to you. So you're going to have to learn about it by yourself and that's hard. (P3)

> I don't necessarily feel Native American... I've been to pow-wows. Not that people are mean to me but you wouldn't really look at me and say "Cherokee Indian!" with blue eyes and all. I don't look at all Indian with my White skin. At first glance, people don't automatically assume that [I'm Indian]. (P6)

Cultural Messages

In this study, cultural messages are the verbal and nonverbal directions a Native-American mother gives her daughter as to how to become a Native-American woman. Two strong cultural messages consistently were mentioned. Native-American mothers teach their daughters to respect their bodies and be healthy individuals. In addition, mothers encourage their daughters to get a good education.

Being a Native-American woman. Nine (56.25%) participants reported that their mothers have given them advice as to how to be a Native-American woman. This advice included themes such as respecting one's body, respecting others, getting an education, and being comfortable with oneself and one's ethnicity. One girl said that her mother "taught me to be myself and to be my own race and not somebody else's" (P3).

> She thinks it's important because she just took her GED and then went to community college and transferred. But it's hard. She knows that it is really important for women to have an education. I need an education, not only because I'm a woman, but also because I'm Native American. Being a woman and being Native American are two things that people are going to judge us for. She says you've got to work hard for it because once you have an education no one can take it away. She didn't even graduate from a 4-year college; she just went to some junior college. She wants us to do better than she has because she knows that being educated is the way to be. (P7)

> There are struggles in life for women and prejudices against women. Being a colored woman is even harder. It's just harder than for the average White woman.

> There are prejudices against women, and then there are prejudices against women of color. So there are two things against you. You have to be smart and educated. If somebody comes up and says something to you about your culture, about your school, or anything, you have to be able to back yourself up and be strong. People say, "Money is power." Well, education is power. You have to have your own power and be quiet about it. (P13)

Respect for oneself and for others. One cultural message that prevailed for seven (43.75%) girls was respect for oneself and others. These participants reported that knowledge of their Indian heritage and ethnicity included taking care of their bodies, minds, and souls by abstaining from drugs and alcohol, and showing respect for their families and communities.

> The family is a really rich part of our life and respecting each other is a big thing. My Mom has always shown respect to me so that I can show respect to her. So as you learn and grow up, you learn to respect everybody. The first thing my mom taught me was to respect your body. The foods you eat and exercise are examples of how to respect your body. Getting into sports was the number one thing to me when I was a little kid, especially soccer. My little brothers and sisters are into that now too. Eating healthy, staying away from drugs and alcohol, and taking care of yourself when you're sick and everything. ...So that's the nurturing part of my mother and that's what she taught me. (P12)

Mother's view of education. In response to the following question, " What does your mother think about Native-American girls or women getting an education?", 13 (81.25%) girls reported that their mothers thought that getting an education was very important. One of the girls reported that her grandmother, who raised her, thought education was very important, but her mother did not think it was very valuable. Three girls said at another time during their interview that education was important but not imperative to succeeding in life. The remaining three participants stated also that their mothers thought education was necessary.

According to the daughters, mothers want their daughters to be educated for two main reasons. The first is that they, themselves, did not graduate from high school or

college and they feel that they are at a disadvantage in the career world. Seven girls (43.75%) indicated that their mothers want their daughters to exceed them educationally.

> She tries to help me stay in school. She's encouraging me to go back to school because she didn't pass high school. She doesn't want me to follow in her footsteps, and she wants me to get on in my life and not just stay in one place. (P15)

The second reason is to show to the European-American majority and the American-Indian community that Native Americans are educated. Six (37.5%) of the girls interviewed reported that it was important to their mothers and to themselves to prove that Native Americans are educated and capable of having good jobs and careers.

> I want to graduate and go to college because of who I am and because I am Native American and for my grandmother and for my family and for myself. That's mainly it. (P1)
>
> To get a good education because she says a lot of Native Americans don't turn out well because they [European-Americans] don't want us to be successful. So she just wants me to get a good education so that I'll turn out better than their expectations of me. (P14)

Mother's opinion of present school. In response to the following question, "What does your mother think of the school you go to now?", six (37.5%) participants stated that their mother thought highly of their present school, and six (37.5%) participants stated that their mothers liked their school. Four (25%) girls indicated that their mothers were not happy with their school.

Research Question 6

In what ways do Native-American mothers emotionally support their daughters to complete high school? The qualitative data revealed that Native-American daughters felt emotionally supported by their mothers to complete high school. Ways in which mothers

emotionally supported their daughters to stay in school were the friendship, communication, verbal encouragement, and physical support they gave to their daughters.

Mother support. All (100%) participants reported that their mothers were instrumental to them staying in school.

> She tried her hardest to make me stay in school. One time I was going to leave school because I didn't like the kids harassing me. She said "Don't worry about it either, they're jealous or they don't like you because of how you dress or because you're a different race from them." She's helped me a lot. (P3)

"Just that she always told me that's what I had to do. If I needed any help, she was always around to help me." (P16) The following themes indicate how mothers emotionally support their Native-American daughters to stay in school.

Communication. Both the data from the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA; Armsden & Greenberg, 1987) and the interviews revealed that the ability to communicate with their mother was an essential part of the participants' relationships with their mothers. All (n=16) of the Native-American girls interviewed reported that they could talk to their mothers about almost anything. Four (25%) girls reported that the exception to their ability to communicate with their mothers involved topics such as boyfriends and sexual relations.

> I think my mom and I have a great relationship. She can notice when something is wrong. She'll ask me about it and we'll talk. She always knows what to say to me to make me happy. And I think she's a great mom. Being a single parent and having two teenage children is hard. She handles it really well and I think she does really well. (P5)

> I can talk to her about just anything, because she doesn't judge me when I talk to her. She's not just my Mom; she's my friend. I can talk to her easily because she's been through the same stuff as I have so that makes it easier. (P7)

> Talking with my mom helps me feel better, I don't know why. First I'll ask my mom if I have a problem and then I'll ask somebody maybe in her age range or

> someone with her same thought process. Then I'll ask my best friend, and then I'll compare what they say. When they back up what my mom says, it just makes me sure that my mom knows what she is talking about. I already know that she is right, but it just makes me more comfortable to do it this way. (P12)
>
> My mom has been through a lot... I mean a whole bunch. So there's pretty much nothing that I have experienced that she has not already experienced. I can talk to her easily. I don't know if that helps you very much with your report. It's easier to talk to somebody, your mother, your guardian if he or she has been through a lot. It's easier to talk to them when they have been through a lot of things, because they can relate to you and help you through it. (P11)

Friendship. Half (n=8) of the girls interviewed stated that having a friendship with their mothers was one of the most valued parts of their mother-daughter relationship. Being able to talk to their mothers, to trust them, to respect them, and to be emotionally supported by them was very important to the Native-American girls in the study. "It's like we're friends; we have a friendship as well as I respect her as a mother. So we have a type of friendship. We've always been like that." (P11)

> How she treats me. She treats me really nicely. I know she loves me. I love her. Mostly we have to trust each other too. Instead of being just related, you have to be friends too. (P14)
>
> My mom is my best friend, really. We just get along. We like the same things, always have, basically. She is always here, always taking me around. We don't have any problems. We don't fight ... ever. (P16)

Only three (18.75%) of the girls interviewed specifically used the word "trust"; however, it is apparent in the flavor of the words they use that other girls also trusted their mothers. "Well, we're close. She trusts me, and I trust her. We have a real good relationship." (P14)

> Actually a few weeks ago I found out that I was pregnant. She was the first person I told, and she was so supportive. I can talk to her about absolutely anything. She's always been there for me. (P2)

Verbal encouragement. Five (31.25%) of the girls interviewed reported that verbal encouragement was a factor in the continuation of their schooling. Verbal encouragement included statements that are positive or may inspire an adolescent to stay in school.

> Yeah, that's what she (my grandmother) does. She's always wanted me to graduate and go to college. She's always telling everybody, "Oh, she's graduating and going to college. She's going here or there." I'm like "You don't know that. I probably won't even get accepted." She brags about me, and she's proud of me and that makes me feel good. (P1)
>
> Sometimes I tell her that I don't like school. I say, "I don't want to go to school anymore... It makes me sick." She just says, "School likes you. Obviously you're getting good grades." (P5)
>
> I think it was pretty much my mom and my grandma. They never were really mad at me. If I got a "B" in school, my mom and grandma would say "What are you doing? Your grades are dropping." But they always said, "If that's all [you can do]".... If I was already doing my best then that was fine. So they just kind of encouraged me. (P2)
>
> She's just always there to help with whatever I need. I'm stumped on something, and so I tell her. I'm writing this paper, and I'm like "How should I start it?" She'll say, "How about this? How about this? How about this?" She's always got things to throw at me. Things to show me, places to take me. She's just there, I guess, doing her job. (P16)

Physical support. Helping with homework, transportation to school, and volunteering at the school were the ways that mothers behaviorally supported their daughters to stay in school. Four (25%) girls talked about the ways that their mothers physically supported their retention.

> Well, high school sucked too. I had the same kind of situation. Nobody knows what is going on. Constantly hearing stupid things, ignorant stuff. A lot of the time, it's the teachers who say these things, not just the students. I got my GED in the middle of my junior year, because I wasn't learning anything in school. People were stupid. The teachers were stupid. Why sit there? I could be done. I have a year and a half of college done and I'm 18. I started when I was 16. My mom helped out with that. I would go home and complain every day, "The kids are stupid. The teachers are stupid. I wonder if I could take those tests?" She

> said, "Go for it." She helped me get the books, she drove me to Hayward, and she paid for the $45 to take the test. A couple weeks later I was out. I just registered for school. She helped me register for school. She was behind me for whatever I wanted to do. (P16)

Another girl reported that she used to skip school until her mother started volunteering at the school library. She decided she could not take the risk of missing another day, because she never knew what day her mother would be working.

> I figured she wouldn't just volunteer. The next thing I knew, she volunteered in the library. I wouldn't volunteer to just keep us in school, but she did, just to keep us in [school]. (P4)

Additional Findings

The interview data revealed that other factors were important to Native-American female adolescents' completion of school and ethnic-identity development. Although perceived maternal emotional support was found to be a strong factor in these daughters' school retention, findings showed that fathers, grandmothers, and other family members were supporters as well.

Living in an urban area exposes youth to homeless people and people addicted to drugs and alcohol. Encountering these people served as a motivation to some Native-American girls to stay in school so that they can "stay off the streets." Further, the girls in this study were conscious that education was a way for them to improve on the last generation of Native-Americans' financial situation.

Other support. Besides maternal emotional support, participants indicated that other family members were helpful to their completing school. Nine (56.25%) girls reported that their fathers were instrumental to their school retention. "My Dad sort of expects it from me so I don't want to let him down. That's what makes me stay in

school." (P11) Grandmothers were also indicated to be an important support for Native-American girls. Seven (43.75%) participants reported that grandmothers motivated them to stay in school.

> My grandma is always telling me how she can't wait until she sees me graduate and that she'll be so proud. I want to do that for her. And my mom too, because she didn't get to graduate from a university. Like the way she's living, she's living all right but sometimes she struggles and I really wouldn't want to go through that. And my Dad because he graduated from college and law school. He's doing really well, money-wise and everything. He has a nice car too and he's doing his own thing. I want to be like that too. You see, I'm not going to make the mistake of having a kid if I'm not going to be able to take care of it. (P7)

> She thinks graduating from high school is the best thing that teenagers can do because everybody drops out of high school. So many people don't even make it through high school. If I went to college, I would be the only one in the family with a college education, I think. Some of my family have started college but they all dropped out. To even complete high school on time would be great. The only way that I can do well in life is to get a good job and make a career for myself, so I have to go through school and do the whole thing. It's really important to her. I don't know how to say it but it would mean a lot to her if I graduated from high school and went to college. (P1)

Other family members were reported to help seven (43.75%) participants to complete school. As can be expected, peer support was indicated to be a support for seven (43.75%) girls. An important finding was that five (31.25%) girls reported that teachers, mentors, and counselors helped them stay in school.

> I have a lot of support outside of my family. Have you ever heard of Omega Boys Club? ... Jack B. ...I've known him since I was a little kid; he lives right around the same area [as I do]. He helps me. He's strong. He'll tell me how it is; he's not going to sugar coat it like most other people do. He just tells me, "If you want anything in life, you've got to go to school. You've got to go to school!" Another friend of mine, Shelly, she's older. She helps me. These people have watched me grow up and they don't want to see me go out there [on the streets]. They know my family situation. They don't want to see me [end up] like my mom. They want me to progress in life. I guess it's because they care about me. They know me. (P7)

> Actually, I had these two teachers and they really encouraged me a lot to stay in school, but that school was not my kind of school. I didn't like some of the people there, and they didn't like me. The teachers tried. They encouraged me. They told me that if I was to transfer schools, then I should visit them every once in a while so they could help me out. (P11)

Other factors. One of the most significant findings was that nine (56.25%) participants indicated that "staying off the streets and surviving" was a factor in their staying in school. Another factor that motivated the Native-American girls in the study was to find a job or career. The need to prove that Native Americans are educated was strong for seven (43.75%) participants. Part of the means to this goal is the idea that each Native American needs to improve on the last generations' educational and financial situations.

> My parents have always told me if you don't go to school, you can't become anything. What else is there? It's just a game you have to play. There's no way around it now-a-days. That's just how it is. I just know I have to [stay in school] if I ever want to make any money and that's what you need. That's all. I don't want to be a bum. I want a house. I'd like to have a car that runs. (P16)

Seven (43.75%) of the participants indicated that exceeding their mothers' education was necessary in order to improve their own situation and gain respect in their own community as well as the community at large. "My mother thinks that education is great. She went to junior college for a little while. She couldn't finish because she has too many kids to drive and haul around." (P16)

> She definitely wants me to go to college. She's trying to go back to college too because she never went. She wants to major in Native-American studies and she wants me to go too. She wants me to get a job and then go back to work on a reservation. (P9)

Summary

The six research questions in this study were posed in order to understand the relationships among perceived maternal emotional support, ethnic identity, and completed years in school. Quantitative and qualitative research methods were used to collect these data.

Results for the first main research question examining the relationship between achieved ethnic identity and completed years of school revealed that these two variables have little or no relationship. Results for the second main research question revealed that there is a weak relationship between perceived maternal emotional support and ethnic-identity achievement.

The third and fourth research questions asked about the relationship between maternal emotional support and GPA and between ethnic-identity achievement and GPA. Results of these minor research questions revealed that there are no relationships between perceived maternal emotional support and GPA or between ethnic-identity achievement and GPA.

Results of research question 5 revealed that Native-American mothers taught their daughters about ethnic identity and the importance of education. All (100%) daughters in the study reported that their mothers taught them about their Native-American heritage and tribal identity. Some of the ways that Native-American adolescent girls developed their ethnic identity were involvement in their cultural traditions, attendance at specific Native-American cultural events such as pow-wows and talking circles, and experiencing and learning ways to cope with racism. Mothers gave their daughters cultural messages

that value respect for one's own mind and body. Girls were informed that a way to survive, especially in an urban area, was to become well educated.

Research question 6 explored the ways in which Native-American mothers emotionally support their daughters to complete high school. All (100%) of the girls in the study reported that their mothers were essential to their decision to stay in school. All 16 (100%) of the participants stated that they could talk to their mothers about almost anything. Daughters discussed the importance of trust, having a friendship with their mother, and the verbal and physical support they received from their mothers as factors to their staying in school. In addition, the qualitative data showed that fathers, grandmothers, friends, teachers, mentors, and counselors supported Native-American female adolescents to complete school.

Chapter V

Discussion, Implications, and Recommendations

The purpose of the study was to examine the relationships among perceived maternal emotional support, ethnic identity, and completed years in school of Native-American female adolescents. Although the quantitative data were not found to be statistically significant, the qualitative data provided rich information.

The results revealed that there is no statistically significant relationship between ethnic identity and completed years in school. There is a weak relationship between perceived maternal emotional support and ethnic identity achievement. There are no statistically significant relationships among perceived maternal emotional support and GPA or ethnic identity and GPA. In contrast to the quantitative results, however, the 16 interviews revealed that maternal emotional support is very important to Native-American girls completing their education and forming their ethnic identities. In particular, Native-American mothers teach their daughters about tribal identity and cultural traditions and values, as well as help them cope with incidents of racism and prejudice. Daughters indicated that their mothers support them emotionally to complete school by providing open communication, friendship, verbal encouragement, and physical support.

Discussion of the Results

Quantitative and qualitative methods were used to examine the relationships among perceived maternal emotional support, ethnic identity, and completed years in school. The quantitative data did not reveal any statistically significant results. The

qualitative data produced rich results that illuminate the ways that Native-American mothers support their daughters to stay in school. The following section addresses each main variable of the research study and the research questions that pertain to the following variables: maternal emotional support, ethnic-identity achievement, and school retention.

Maternal emotional support. Past research with European Americans and African Americans indicate that mothers have an essential role in the development of their daughters' identities and sense of self-worth (Apter, 1990; Bell & Bell, 1983; Choderow, 1978; Curtis, 1990; Dukes & Martinez, 1994; Flora, 1978; Lackovic-Grgin et al., 1994; LaSorsa & Fodor, 1990; Rollins & White, 1982; Surrey, 1990). The self-in-relations theorists believe that maintaining strong emotional connections to others is essential to girls' emotional development and sense of self (Gleason, 1991; Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver, & Surrey, 1991; Kaplan, Gleason, & Klein, 1991). Because the relationship with mother is one of the primary relationships, adolescent girls want closeness and more intimacy with their mothers (Cauce et al., 1996; Gleason, 1991; Jordan et al., 1991).

In the Native-American population, mothers are a highly valued part of the community (Borman, Mueninghoff, & Piazza, 1988; LaFromboise, Berman, & Sohi, 1994; LaFromboise, Heyle, & Ozer, 1990). In an urban area, daughters often have the challenge of living in their own Indian community as well as attending school with non-Indians (LaFromboise, & Low, 1989). Mothers have been found to be a great source of support for Native-American women's personal and professional development (Brannan, 1979; Brayboy, 1990).

Three of the research questions asked in the study concern maternal emotional support. The quantitative results indicated that there is a weak correlation between maternal emotional support and ethnic-identity achievement. There is no statistically significant correlation between perceived maternal support and completed years in school. The qualitative data, however, clearly indicated that maternal emotional support is important to Native-American girls' ethnic identity and completion of school.

Research questions 2 reads, "What is the relationship between perceived maternal emotional support and achieved ethnic identity for Native-American female adolescents?" The results of the quantitative date revealed that there is a weak relationship between perceived emotional support and achieved ethnic identity. Past research indicates that mothers build self-confidence in their daughters (Apter, 1990; Bell & Bell, 1983; Dukes & Martinez, 1994; Lackovic-Grgin, Dekovic, & Opacic, 1994; LaSorsa & Fodor, 1990; Rollins & White, 1982; Surrey, 1990) and that self-confidence fosters an achieved ethnic identity in minority students (Maldonado, 1979; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990). Therefore, it seemed likely that maternal emotional support and ethnic identity would have a strong relationship in Native-American mother-daughter dyads. Mean scores of the 31 participants are high in both perceived maternal emotional support and achieved ethnic identity. Therefore, the small sample size of the study may have affected the results. A larger sample may have produced more variability and a stronger relationship between perceived maternal emotional support and achieved ethnic identity in Native-American female students.

The qualitative data showed that 100% (n=16) of the mothers talk to their daughters about their tribal identity. Ten (62.5%) of the girls reported that they

participate in cultural events. Fourteen (87.5%) daughters indicated that their mothers teach them about how to cope with incidents of racism and prejudice; by either sharing their own experiences or telling their daughters what to say or do in these cases. All but one of the girls (n=15) interviewed reported that they experience incidents of racism in their schools. One of the fifteen girls recalled an incident of reverse racism. Reactions to these experiences include getting angry, laughing, ignoring or denying the incident, or educating those that caused the incident. Racist experiences affect adolescent's ethnic identity formation by causing self-doubt and feelings of loneliness, and depression (Phinney, 1989). As a result of these racist experiences, daughters reported feeling proud or lonely about their own ethnic identity.

The results imply that, although maternal emotional support helps daughters develop their ethnic identities, there are other factors that also may contribute to the formation of ethnic identities. Emotional connections with others enable female adolescents to gain self-esteem and a better understanding of self (Kaplan, Gleason, & Klein, 1991). Female adolescent girls are more concerned with connecting with others than competing against their peers or classmates (Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan, Lyons, & Hammer, 1990; Jordan et al., 1991). Although the relationship with mother is essential, female adolescents also need strong relationships with their fathers, other family members, peers, and teachers to develop their self (Kaplan et al., 1991).

Furthermore, to Native Americans the importance of how "we" think takes precedence over how "I" think (Sutton & Broken Nose, 1996; Timm & Borman, 1997). Although relationships with mothers are highly valued, other relationships, including those with tribal and family members, also are important. Forming an ethnic identity is a

more collaborative process for Native Americans than for European Americans. Having connections with family members, elders, Indian community members, and her cultural traditions enables a young Indian woman to have a firm sense of ethnic identity.

Therefore, formation of an achieved ethnic identity requires a strong relationship with the mother and other valued females in the Indian community. The relationship the female has with other Indian people is important to her self-esteem and ethnic identity. In addition attendance at cultural events, her sense of belonging to her group and feelings about her own group contribute to ethnic identity development (Phinney, 1989, 1990). Feeling a sense of belonging to a group was not a common experience for the Native-American girls in the present study. Therefore, in order for Native-American girls to develop their ethnic identities, it may be necessary for these students to feel a part of their ethnic group at school.

Interacting with other Native-American students, therefore, would be important for Native-American students' ethnic-identity formation. At school, however, half the daughters reported that they feel alone, and as if they are the only Native-American student in the school. Attending a school with a culture that differs from one's own is challenging for a young person working through identity-formation issues. Further, research has shown that among African-American women who attend European-American schools, support from other African-American women is important to ethnic-identity development and success in school (Tatum, 1997; Turner, 1997). Having the support of other Native-American women may assist Native-American adolescent girls to form their ethnic identities and adjust to an educational system that values a culture different from their own.

In addition to coping with a school system that operates differently from Native-American cultures, many urban youth identify themselves as bicultural. Almost half of the girls (45.1%) indicated that they are bicultural, meaning one parent identifies as Native-American and the other identifies as Mexican American, African American, or European American. These girls may identify with two cultures in their home environment and also must learn a third cultural context in their schools. Knowing three cultural values may make ethnic-identity formation more complicated than it is for individuals who have only one main culture to live by.

Therefore, ethnic-identity formation is a complicated process for urban Native-American female adolescents. Research question 2 was designed because of the evidence in the literature that many Native-American tribes are matrilinear and mothers are particularly important to daughters' development (Brannan, 1979; Brayboy, 1990; LaFromboise, Heyle, et al., 1990; LaFromboise & Low, 1989). Although strong mother support is an asset to a daughter's ethnic identity formation, there are other contributing factors that need to be acknowledged. Daughters need the support of other Native-American women and other Native-American people. Even if she feels strongly supported in her community, a Native-American girl still has the challenge of living and attending school in an urban area that does not reinforce Native-American cultural values and ways of living. Some of the other factors that may affect a Native-American girl's ethnic identity are her knowledge of her ethnicity; her parents' ethnicity; her living environment; her relations with others such as teachers, friends, and family; the curriculum at her school, the school environment; and her own self-awareness and feelings.

Research question 3 reads, " What is the relationship between perceived maternal emotional support and grade point average (GPA) in Native-American female adolescents?" Past research shows a relationship between mother support and self-confidence in European-American and African-American adolescent girls (Apter, 1990; Bell & Bell, 1983; Curtis, 1990; Dukes & Martinez, 1994; Flora, 1978; Lackovic-Grgin et al., 1994; LaSorsa & Fodor, 1990; Rollins & White, 1982; Surrey, 1990) and self-esteem and school performance (AAUW, 1991; Oyserman et al., 1995). Research also indicates that parental support contributes to school achievement (Baker & Entwisle, 1987; Connell, Halpern-Felsher, Clifford, Cricholw, & Usinger, 1995). Mothers' attitudes about school influence their daughters' academic records (Baker & Entwisle, 1987; McLoyd & Jozefowicz, 1996). Therefore, this research question was designed to see if there was a relationship between maternal support and school performance in Native-American adolescent girls.

The results of the quantitative data revealed that there is no relationship between perceived emotional support and grade point average (GPA). High GPA and high academic performance generally identifies students who want to exceed academically. Academic performance, as defined by GPA, is not important for the majority of the girls. Only 23 out of the 30 participants filled out the GPA question on the demographic questionnaire. The mean score for GPA was 2.6 on a 4-point scale. A closer examination of their responses revealed also that at least one of the participants in this study misread a question on the demographic questionnaire that reads "How many school years have you completed? Start with Kindergarten." The responses to "What type of school do you attend?" revealed why these data were not provided: five of the participants responded as

attending "other" or alternative types of schools and two participants left this question blank.

In the qualitative part of this research study, 81.25% (n=13) of the students indicated that their mothers think that getting an education is important. Mothers want their daughters to be educated for two main reasons. The first reason is that they want their daughters to exceed them educationally. The second reason is to prove to European-American and American-Indian communities that they are educated. Although the interview questions did not address directly Native-American girls' desire to perform well academically, only two (12.5%) out of the 16 participants reported that it is important to them to succeed academically. All of the remainder of the girls (n=14) indicated that finishing high school is important to them. Although finishing high school is a goal for the majority of participants in this study, achieving a high GPA may not be necessarily a goal.

Given the history of the U.S. government's take-over of American-Indian education, it is unlikely that Native Americans will feel comfortable attending a European-American school system (Tsosie, 1995). As noted earlier, the participants in the present study have a desire to graduate from high school, but for the majority, GPA may not be as important as obtaining a high-school diploma. Past research indicates that the curriculum does not relate to Native-American students and that they do not have the appropriate resources and advocates for them in the school system (Coladarci, 1983; Herring, 1992; Tsosie, 1995). Also, the value of individual achievement is not a cultural value for American Indians (Timm & Borman, 1997). Achieving a high GPA is a more

individual value that is associated with European-American values. Graduation means enabling a better job and, therefore, producing more resources for their own Indian family and community. Graduating is a more communal goal and may be seen as bettering members of the community. Although mainstream education does not emphasize Native-American cultural values, urban Native-Americans see that education is a means to their succeeding in an urban area.

Another reason why Native-American students do not perform well in terms of GPA may be the low expectations that European-Americans have for Native-American students' academic success. Teachers and administers in their school may expect Native-American students to perform poorly on academic measures. Native-American students internalize these expectations, and, consequently, may perform poorly.

Research question 6 reads, "In what ways do Native-American mothers emotionally support their daughters to complete high school?" The qualitative part of this study indicated that maternal emotional support is an essential factor to Native-American daughters staying in school. In this study, all participants (n=16) stated that their mothers emotionally support them to stay in school. The type of support may be different for each individual dyad; however, various common themes emerged in the 16 interviews.

Friendship, communication, and trust. Past research suggests that friendship, trust, and communication in the mother-daughter relationship is valued by European-American and African-American high-school and college female students (Cauce et al., 1996; Gleason, 1991). In the Native-American population, becoming a mother is a

highly valued part of the culture (Berman, Mueninghoff, & Piazza, 1988; LaFromboise, Berman, & Sohi, 1994; LaFromboise, Heyle & Ozer, 1990). Teenage pregnancy is prevalent also among Native-American females (LaFromboise et al., 1994; Timm & Borman, 1997). In terms of age, Native-American mothers may be young and appear to be more like a sister or a friend to a Native-American daughter. In the current study, friendship is seen as a very important value in the mother-daughter relationship. Half (50%) of the girls stated that this is a highly valued part of their relationship with their mothers.

Further, half (50%) of the girls interviewed indicated that they feel alone because they are the only Native Americans in their schools. Perhaps, having a friendship with their mother proves to be even more important to them as a result. After feeling isolated and different at school because of their ethnicity, it becomes especially important for Native-American girls to come home and share their experiences with their mothers. Their mothers may provide emotional support, and due to the absence of Native-American girls in their school, may need to act as their friends too. Therefore, their relationship with their mothers may be the closest link they have to Native-American people and culture. The mother-daughter relationship provides emotional support, friendship, mentoring, and a connection to their Native-American culture.

Past research in adolescent girls indicates that communication and trust are highly valued in mother-daughter relationships (Cauce et al., 1996; Gleason, 1991). In the present study, the mean score of the communication and trust scales of the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA; Armsden & Greenberg, 1987) is in the high range.

The qualitative data also revealed that an important component of the mother-daughter relationship is trust and communication. With the exception of sexual topics, the participants (n=16) reported that they could talk to their mothers about almost anything.

Verbal encouragement and physical support. The results revealed that mothers verbally support them to continue in school. Encouragement is about academics or about ignoring some of the social problems that school presents to young minority women.

Mothers encourage their daughters to achieve academically by indicating a strong desire for their daughters to exceed their own educational accomplishments. Seven (43.75%) of the participants stated that their mothers want their daughters to accomplish more than they have, both academically and financially. A cultural belief that is indicated is that each generation of Native Americans has to do better than the last one.

Emotional and physical support are critical to Native-American female students' completion of school. For the most part, these girls are accomplishing goals that their mothers did not. In order to stay in school, Native-American female adolescents need the emotional and physical support of their mothers and others to accomplish a goal that has not been accomplished before in their family.

Relationship with others. The results indicated that relationships with other family members are instrumental to Native-American girls' staying in school. Fathers, grandmothers, and other family member were recalled as helping Native-American girls stay in school. Besides family support, seven (43.75%) girls stated that teachers and counselors at their school help them stay in school. These findings infer that, although mothers of all the participants (100%) are supportive in helping them stay in school, that

others, such as fathers, grandmothers, other family members, and teachers and counselors also play vital roles in keeping Native-American adolescent girls in school. The findings in this study are consistent with the research results of Tatum's (1997) and Turner's (1997) research on African-American female students who attended European-American school systems. Like African-American female students, Native-American adolescent girls need the emotional support of other women in order to succeed in European-American schools. Further, Native-American cultures value the influence of elders and community members to help raise their children and youth (LaFromboise & Low, 1989). The stress of attending a school system mainly attended by European-Americans and that operates with European-American cultural values, challenges minority female students emotionally. Maternal emotional support is essential to Native-American female students staying in school. It appears, however, that these girls also need the support of other women and community members to help them cope in a European-American school system.

Summary of Maternal Emotional Support Variable. Maternal emotional support assists Native-American girls to stay in school. These findings are consistent with past research in European-American and African-American populations (Baker & Entwisle, 1987; McCoy & Jozefowicz, 1996). However, the findings in this research study also suggest that other connections and relationships are important to Native-American females staying in school. Relationships with their fathers, grandmothers, peers, teachers, and counselors are also important to school retention.

Ethnic Identity. According to Phinney (1990), ethnic identity is the way members of a minority group self-identify, their sense of belonging to their group, and their attitudes toward their own group. Ethnic identity development is an integral part of the ego identity formation for minority students (Erikson, 1968; Phinney, 1990, 1992). Students who accept and internalize what it means to be a member of their ethnic group have attained ethnic identity achievement (Phinney, Lochner, & Murphy, 1990). Research indicates that students who have an achieved ethnic identity have higher self-esteem and are more psychologically adjusted (Oyserman, Gant, & Ager, 1995; Phinney, 1989; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990).

Further, research shows that self-esteem in European-American and African-American students predicts school achievement (AAUW, 1991; Oyserman et al., 1995). Because ethnic identity achievement is more likely to occur in older students (Phinney & Chavira, 1992), it seemed likely that there would be a relationship between ethnic identity achievement and completed years of school.

Research question 1 asks, "What is the relationship between achieved ethnic identity and completed number of years in school for Native-American female adolescents?" The results revealed that there is no relationship between achieved ethnic identity and completed years in school.

Three participants with low scores on ethnic identity achievement may be explained by the fact that a large percentage are bicultural: one parent is Native American and the other parent identifies with either European-American, African-American, or Mexican-American cultures. Although these participants self-identify as

Native American, their scores on the MEIM indicate that they strongly associate with another ethnic group too. The bicultural students tended to have lower scores on the MEIM. Having to know and understand two cultures may complicate their ethnic identity development. Further, they may not have contact with other Native Americans at their school or in their community, making it difficult for them to develop a strong ethnic identity.

These results indicated that having an achieved ethnic identity does not necessarily ensure completion of school in urban Native-American adolescent girls. The qualitative data revealed that half (n=8) of the participants in this study feel like they are the only American Indians in their school. Two (12.5%) girls acknowledged the difficulties of adhering to their Native-American culture and attending a school that values another culture. In addition, four (25%) participants indicated that they have questions about their ethnic identity. These data revealed that being a Native-American student in a European-American school system presents challenges for these urban Native-American girls. Urban Native-American adolescent girls with an achieved ethnic identity struggle in a school system that is oriented toward European-American values. Emotionally, it is extremely difficult for urban Native-American girls to embrace their culture, then come to school and not even be acknowledged for being Native American. This experience is confusing for urban youth who are developing their ethnic identities.

School systems have taken some steps to welcome and include other ethnicities such as African-American, Asian-American, and Latin-American cultures; however, Native Americans are usually not given very much attention. Beck (1997) calls urban Native Americans who reside in Chicago as "an invisible minority." In urban areas,

there is the false notion that Native Americans only live on reservations or do not exist at all. When Native-American youth identify themselves ethnically, often the response is disbelief.

Further, in order to stay in a European-American school system, Native-American students need to be recognized for being Native American. Because of the false notion that Native-Americans do not exist, Native-American students are often mistaken to be Latin American or European American. Although past research with other minority students indicates that strong ethnic identity leads to high self-esteem and success in school (Oyserman et al., 1995; Phinney, 1989; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Taylor et al., 1994)), these results do not necessarily apply to Native-American students.

For the most part, African-American, European-American, and Latin-American students can be identified immediately as to their ethnic identity make-up. These students may not appreciate the ethnic identification that others impose on them, even though it may provide a sense of belonging to a group. For those students who are not recognizable, they may cluster with students of the ethnicity that they wish to identify with. Because of the false notion that Native Americans do not exist, and because of the small numbers of Native-American students in most urban schools, these students have more internal conflict. They can either migrate toward the group with a similar skin color or they can separate themselves as Native American, and, in essence, feel alone.

Therefore, in order to preserve their ethnic identity and stay in school, Native-American students must be able to function effectively in two ethnic worlds: their Native-American home environment and in their European-American school system (LaFromboise & Low, 1989; LaFromboise, Trimble et al., 1990). In addition, bicultural

skills are particularly helpful to urban Native-American students that attend a non-Indian value- oriented school (LaFromboise, 1984; LaFromboise, Heyle et al., 1990). Having bicultural skills will support Native-Americans to succeed in an urban European-American school system (LaFromboise, 1984; LaFromboise, Trimble et al., 1990).

Research question four asks, "What is the relationship between achieved ethnic identity and GPA for Native-American female adolescents?" Past research indicates that ethnic identity achievement and school performance are related in European-American and African-American students (AAUW, 1991; Oyserman et al., 1995; Taylor et al., 1994). The results of the present study are not consistent with past research for two main reasons. According to the result of the present study, ethnic identity achievement is not likely to assist Native-Americans to perform well as measured by GPA. Instead of a strong ethnic identity, Native-American students need bicultural skills to stay in school. Further, performance on tests and achievement in terms of GPA are not highly valued in the Native-American community. Unfortunately, colleges and universities do value GPA, therefore, Native American students are stuck. They can choose to remain closely tied to their Native-American cultural beliefs and forgo colleges that require an elevated GPA, or they can abandon their cultural beliefs, achieve a high GPA, and attend a more competitive college or university.

Attending a school with different cultural values from their home environment is very frustrating for youth who have an achieved ethnic identity (LaFromboise & Low, 1989). Having the ability to move from one cultural value system to another is desirable for urban Native-American youth (LaFromboise, 1984; LaFromboise & Low, 1989).

Therefore, in addition to ethnic identity achievement, bicultural skills are likely to help school performance in an urban Native-American population.

There are several reasons why GPA scores may not be important to Native-American students. First of all, GPA is an individual achievement that is not valued by Native Americans (Timm & Borman, 1997). Native-American cultures value communal achievements that will benefit a group of people (Sutton & Broken Nose, 1996; Timm & Borman, 1997). The second reason is that Native-American students do not feel emotionally supported in the European-American educational system (Coladarci, 1983; Tsosie, 1995). It seems unlikely that students who feel unsupported by their teachers and the school system would want to perform well academically. Further, Native-American students often feel alone and "invisible" because they may be the only Native-American student in their school (Beck, 1997). The academic work they do may not be recognized and therefore, Native-American students may feel that their contributions are not important in their school. While undergoing this type of stress, high GPA achievement may not be a primary need for Native-American students. Instead, they may desire to feel comfortable and supported in their school environment.

Research question 5 reads, "Do Native-American mothers teach their daughters about ethnic identity and the importance of education? If so, how? What cultural messages do they give their daughters regarding ethnic identity and getting or completing an education?" In this study, all 16 (100%) participants indicated that their mothers teach them about their ethnic identity and the importance of education. Further, daughters indicated that their mothers teach them about ethnic identity by exposing them to a variety of tribal traditions and ceremonies. Besides teaching their daughters about ethnic

identity, mothers give their daughters cultural messages that emphasize education and learning to succeed in systems that emphasize European-American values. In essence, Native-American mothers give their daughters cultural messages that both support their knowledge of Indian culture and traditions and encourage school completion.

Mothers give strong cultural messages that their daughters should respect their bodies and other people. Respect for oneself means abstaining from drugs and alcohol. In addition, the advice that mothers give their daughters about how to be a Native-American woman is to get an education. All (100%) of the mothers indicated that they think getting an education is important for Native-American daughters to succeed in an urban area. Mothers want their daughters to succeed for two reasons. The first is that they themselves did not graduate from high school or college and they want their daughters to develop careers and improve their financial situations. The other reason is that mothers want to show European-Americans and the American-Indian community that their daughters are capable of graduating and finding good jobs and careers.

The demographic data revealed that 100% of the daughters want to graduate from high school and 83.7% of the girls desire to continue their education past high school. The data revealed that according to the participants, only 45.7% of mother continued their education past the high-school level. Therefore, daughters aspire to excel their mothers' educational level.

Despite the fact that Native Americans have not valued European-American education in the past, urban Native Americans are finding that education is a necessary route to a good job and career (Beck, 1997: LaFromboise, 1984; Tsosie, 1995). Urban Native-American adolescents must hold on to their Native-American culture as well as

learn to succeed in an European-American educational system (LaFromboise & Low, 1989; Tsosie, 1995). Having the emotional support of their mothers helps urban Native-American adolescent girls develop their ethnic identities. In addition, mothers give the strong message that getting an education is important to their being an Indian woman. In essence, by giving the message that education is important and providing emotional and physical support, mothers help their daughters cope with the challenges of being bicultural.

Native-American mothers in this study teach their daughters about Indian tribal identity and culture. They also give them strong cultural messages to become educated. Native-American girls who feel emotionally supported by their mothers and others to complete school and also know who they are ethnically may do well in a predominantly Native-American school. Native-American females, like African-American females, need the support provided by people of their own ethnicity to do well in a school system that is unlike their own culture (Tatum, 1997; Turner, 1997). Urban bicultural girls may need even more support. For example, a bicultural girl with parents who self-identify from two different cultures and attends a European-American oriented school has three cultures to live by. As the quantitative data and past research indicates, mother support is not the only factor that is needed to assist Native-Americans to stay in school (Coladarci, 1987; Santo, 1990). In order for students who are bicultural to succeed in a European-American school system, they need a lot of emotional and physical support from their family, friends, teachers and counselors.

Ethnic identity formation is important to minority youth's self-esteem and ego identity formation (Oyserman et al., 1995; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Roberts, Phinney,

Romero, & Chen, 1996). Some of the factors that help an adolescent form his or her ethnic identity are ethnic self-identification, sense of belonging to an ethnic group, attitudes toward his or her own ethnic group, and ethnic involvement (Phinney, 1990). In the present study, all participants self-identified as Native American in order to qualify for participation. Closer analysis of the demographic data indicates that 45.1% (n=16) participants ethnically-identify themselves as being Native American only. Sixteen of the girls in this study (45.1%), however, ethnically identify themselves as bicultural; for example, they have one parent who is Native American and the other parent who identifies as African American, Mexican American, or European American. The Further, bicultural students' mean score on the MEIM (Phinney, 1990) was lower than the mean score for participants who identified themselves as 100% Native American. Therefore, for students who are bicultural, ethnic identity formation may be complicated by the fact that these students have the challenge of straddling two cultures. Daughters may feel fluent in the culture that one parent identifies with but may not feel comfortable with the other parent's culture. Because they may lack knowledge of and comfort with one parent's ethnicity, it may be more difficult for them to form their ethnic identity and receive the benefits that ethnic identity provides such as high self-esteem and school achievement.

Ethnic-identity development may be further complicated for urban bicultural Native-American students. As discussed earlier, all participants reported that their mothers are instrumental to their developmental of their tribal and ethnic identities. According to their daughters, 22.5% of the mothers in the present study identify themselves as bicultural or mixed in their ethnic make-up. These mothers may have

struggled with their own ethnic-identity development too. Their own ethnic identity development may enhance or complicate their daughter's ethnic-identity development. The results of the present study, however, imply that despite differences in ethnic identification, mothers of Native-American, African-American, European-American, and mixed descent, are able to assist their daughters in their ethnic-identity development.

Ethnic involvement assists minority youth in development of an ethnic identity (Phinney, 1990). Ten (62.5%) of the participants indicated that they are active in Native-American cultural events and traditions. They enjoy learning about their culture and meeting other Native-American youth. Two girls (12.5%) indicated that it is difficult to embrace their traditions and still function well in an urban area.

Sense of belonging and attitudes toward one's own ethnic group were not directly measured in the interview. Daughters talked, however, about experiences of racism and feelings they have about their ethnic identities. Attending a European-American school system is difficult for minority students. All but one (93.75%) Native-American girl reported experiencing racism or prejudice. Fourteen (87.5%) of the Native-American mothers helped their daughters cope with incidents of racism. Mothers shared personal experiences and told their daughters what to say or do in these cases. Daughters reacted in different ways to these experiences: getting angry, educating others, laughing about it, ignoring it, or denying it.

These reactions as well as other experiences in school and out of school become part of a person's feeling about their ethnic identity and psychological well-being (Phinney, Lochner, & Murphy, 1990). Experiences of racism are not helpful in forming positive feelings of ethnic identity. As research indicates, ethnic identity affects school

achievement (Oyserman et al., 1995; Taylor et al., 1994) and incidents of racism will negatively affect success in school. Daughters indicated that their mothers teach them about their ethnic identities and about how to cope with racism. Experiences of racism affect daughter's self-esteem and ability to do well in school. In essence, these incidents of racism may prevent daughters from forming a secure sense of belonging and strong ethnic identity. Without these psychological strengths, success in school becomes more challenging.

Despite these incidents, 50% (n=8) of the students reported that they are proud to be Native American. Eight students (50%) indicated that they experience loneliness and feel like they are the only Native Americans in their urban schools. Other themes that are prevalent are feeling torn between traditional Indian values and urban European-American values, being bicultural, and wondering "who am I ethnically?" In sum, although female students may feel proud to be Native American, they still have the challenge of trying to figure out what it means to be an *urban* Native-American female adolescent in a European-American school system.

Urban minority youth are descended often from more than one cultural background. In particular, Native Americans have the highest intermarriage rate among minority groups (Lind, 1998). Urban Native-Americans may be bicultural and have the challenge of attending a school that values a culture different from the cultures represented at their homes. In addition, urban Native-American students need bicultural skills to help them succeed in a system that differs from their value system at home and in their Native-American community. About half of the Native-American students in the present study have the challenge of understanding themselves as an *urban bicultural*

Native-American female adolescent. Native-American female students need bicultural skills, such as assertiveness training and leadership training, in order to complete school and remain true to their culture (LaFromboise,1984; LaFromboise & Low, 1989; LaFromboise & Rowe,1983).

Summary of Ethnic Identity Achievement Results. The quantitative data revealed that participants' mean scores on the Ethnic Identity Achievement (EIA) scale of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM, Phinney, 1992) are high. Qualitative data showed that Native-American adolescent girls experience racism in their schools. In addition to feeling proud about their Native-American ethnic identities, these girls reported also that they feel alone and confused about who they are ethnically. Although EIA scores are high, these Native-American girls are not feeling comfortable at their schools. Therefore, besides a strong ethnic identity, urban Native-American girls need emotional support from others, a school environment that is culturally sensitive, and bicultural skills to succeed in European-American school systems.

Implications of the Study

The results of this research study provide information that mother support is important to Native-American girls completing school. Native-American girls have close ties with their mothers. Whenever possible, counselors and psychologists working with Native Americans need to support the mother-daughter bond. Native-American girls need the emotional and physical support that their mothers provide them to assist in their school retention. Further, Native-American daughters need other support people besides their mothers. Counselors and psychologists also can help to strengthen relationships

with fathers, grandmothers, other family members, and school faculty, in order to facilitate Native-American female students' school retention.

Attending schools that are based on European-American mainstream culture is stressful for urban Native-American children and adolescents. Schools and universities need to understand the cultural lifestyles of urban Native Americans. Native-American students need the support of tutoring, goal-setting programs, and skills-building training. Further, knowledge of the American-Indian worldview will help teachers, counselors and administrators understand and educate Native-American youth. In general, development of a curriculum and school environment that is more consonant with Native-American students' cultural values and educational goals is necessary (Coladarci, 1987; Santo, 1990). Training programs for counselors, teachers, and school administrators should include cultural competence and understanding of urban Native Americans.

Further, 55.8% of Native Americans do not live on reservations (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1996). Often these Indians feel isolated from their families and tribal communities (LaFromboise, 1984; LaFromboise et al., 1994; LaFromboise, Heyle, et al., 1990). According to Lind (1998), Native Americans have the highest rate of intermarriage among minority groups. As a result, many urban youth are bicultural. Therefore, students who are only Native American in their ethnic make-up in urban settings is rare. Accommodations for urban youth who are bicultural also are necessary. Assisting these youth to function and live within two or more cultures is an essential element for their success in school.

Although strong ethnic identity is important and certainly may assist Native-American students to complete high school, urban Native-American students may need

bicultural skills too. Native-American researchers (LaFromboise,1984; LaFromboise & Low, 1989; LaFromboise & Rowe,1983) recommend skills such as assertiveness training, leadership training, cognitive restructuring of stereotypical messages, and role playing academic situations such as class presentations. Educators need to teach these skills to Native-American students in order to facilitate their success in school.

To help Native-American students feel comfortable and confident in school, school districts need to continue funding American-Indian education projects. These programs educate teachers and students about different Native-American tribes and traditions. In addition, these programs recruit Native-American people to educate and mentor American-Indian youth. By providing observational models of educational success and increasing self-efficacy, students may be more likely to see themselves as high-school and college graduates (Bandura, 1997). In one West Coast city, the American-Indian project provided an enriched curriculum to help teachers educate all students about Native-American people, culture, and traditions (M.S. Supnet, personal communication, January 1998). Unfortunately, the few available American-Indian programs have little funding (Beck, 1997). Should these programs end, American-Indian youth may be at risk for experiencing loneliness, depression, and feelings of unworthiness that may lead to them leaving school (LaFromboise & Low, 1989; Garrett & Garrett, 1994; Tsosie, 1995). The current research study provides support for the continuing targeted programs that assist Native-American students to both know their own culture and learn ways to complete school.

Recommendations for Future Research

Further research is needed on how to keep urban Native-American students in school. The participants in the present study were recruited from Native-American organizations. These students, for the most part, had an organization such as a Native-American health center or a American-Indian educational project that advocated for their needs. There are other urban Native-American students, however, who may not be part of these organizations and, therefore, may be at risk for dropping out of school. Finding ways to recruit and study these Native-American students is critical. In particular, future research should include a comparison of parental support and ethnic identity achievement of urban Native-American students who have completed high school with those who have dropped out. Further, a study such as Coladarci's (1987), which involved interviews with 99 Native-American students who had dropped-out of high school, needs to be repeated with West Coast urban Native-American students.

The MEIM (Phinney, 1992) was used in the present study because it was the most valid and reliable measure assessing Native Americans' ethnic identity development. As discussed earlier, however, 45.1% of the participants were bicultural. Native Americans are more likely to marry outside of their ethnic group than Asian Americans, Latin Americans, and African Americans (Lind, 1998). LaFromboise (1984) stated that bicultural skills are important to success in school for Native-American students. Bicultural skills, as measured by the "Living in two worlds survey" (LaFromboise, in preparation) may be more relevant to Native-American students than ethnic identity achievement. A study that examines the relationship between ethnic identity achievement, biculturality, and years of completed school is needed. Further research

should include an examination of the effects of bicultural skills on school completion of Native-American students. Specific research questions that should be addressed are: "In what ways do bicultural skills assist urban Native-American students to stay in school?" and "What is the relationship between bicultural skills and completed years in school for urban Native-American students?"

The present study indicates that Native-American mothers act as supports to daughters. Interviewing both mothers and daughters individually and together, as a dyad, could provide further information as to the specific ways that mothers assisted their daughters to complete school. This method would allow educators and psychologists to understand more completely the perceptions of Native-American mothers and their views on the importance of completing school.

By using both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, the researcher was able to reveal valuable information about Native-American young women. The qualitative results of the current research study revealed rich information about Native-American mother-daughter relationships that would not have been found by paper and pencil measures alone. Therefore, research with Native Americans or other ethnic groups that are not studied often should use multiple measures.

Limitations

The participants in this study were from 21 different Native-American tribes. There are cultural differences between tribes, and this study treated members of different tribes as one ethnic group. Tribal differences were not taken into account in the present study. Further, the results may only apply to the 21 tribes represented in the sample or to

just one subgroup of people in any one tribe and not necessarily to Native Americans from other tribes.

Another limitation of the research is the recruitment procedure for identifying Native-American adolescents. Recruitment was done through two main institutions and, as a result, there was little variability in the participants' years in school, values of school, and educational goals. Students in this study self-selected to be part of the research project. Further, these students may have been motivated to participate in the present study, because they wanted to know more about themselves, their culture, or their relationships with their mothers. Some students may have been motivated to participate in order to receive the stipend that was offered. With the exception of one, participants of this study were enrolled in urban schools or universities and are not representative of Native Americans who reside and attend schools on reservations or who have dropped out of junior-high or high school. Therefore, generalizations of this study to Native-American adolescents in the larger population is not possible.

After analyzing the demographic data and the results of the interview, the use of an instrument such as the "Living in two worlds survey" (LaFromboise, in preparation) may have been more useful in examining Native-American students and years of completed school than the MEIM (Phinney, 1992). As the demographic data revealed, 14 (45%) participants were from mixed backgrounds. Further, living in an urban environment often requires students to be bicultural. Therefore, because 45% (n=14) of the participants in the study identified as being from two ethnicities and they reside in an urban area, LaFromboise's measure may have been more pertinent to them.

Research with Native-Americans

Research with Native American, as a member of a different ethnic group, can be challenging. Native Americans have been studied often by European Americans and the results of these studies tend to focus on psychological disturbances rather than psychological strengths of Native Americans as a group (LaFromboise, 1988; LaFromboise & Low, 1989). As a result, building rapport and credibility with Native-American participants is a long process for European-American researchers.

Further, Native Americans have a different sense of time than European Americans do. In many Native-American languages, time is not measured. Quality of time is more important to Native Americans than being on time (LaFromboise et al., 1994). In addition, adolescents developmentally function very much in the present. Although they have good intentions to attend a scheduled meeting, often their plans change. Therefore, the sense of time for Native Americans coupled with the nature of being adolescence where living spontaneously is the preferred mode of behavior, made commitment to interview times and dates difficult for the students in the present study.

Conclusions

Urban Native-American students are an "invisible minority" (Beck, 1997). Because of financial reasons, more Native-Americans are moving into urban areas (Beck, 1997; LaFromboise, Heyle, et al., 1990). As a result, families are uprooted from their communities and familiar surroundings (LaFromboise, Heyle, et al., 1990). Youth face the difficult challenge of trying to remain true to their Indian heritage and participate in a school environment that does not value their culture (LaFromboise & Low, 1989)

The results of the study revealed that maternal emotional support assists Native-American females to remain in school. In addition, the research revealed that other family relationships, teachers, counselors, mentors, and friends, support Native-American female students to complete school. In past research, strong connections with others have been found to help girls, in particular, succeed in school (Baker & Entwisle, 1987; McCoy & Jozefowicz, 1996). The results of this research study show that strong connections with others are important to Native-American female students too. Schools, educators, and psychologists need to help Native-American students strengthen these support systems.

Ethnic-identity achievement is important to school success (Oyserman et al., 1995; Taylor et al., 1994). In addition, given the extreme stress of living in two cultures, bicultural skills are likely to facilitate Native-American female students remaining in school (LaFromboise, 1984; LaFromboise, Heyle, et al., 1990). Although balancing Native-American traditional ways and bicultural skills can be difficult, urban youth must be taught that they can remain true to their cultural identities and succeed in school.

Urban Native-American students have many challenges as they continue their studies. Some Native-Americans have left their tribes, families, and reservations to live in an urban area where there may be few or no Indians around. Children of these families have the challenge of trying to remain true to their family's traditions and perform well in school. Native-American children are not brought up with the same cultural values that European-American children are.

Further, besides the challenges of living in an urban area and attending school, Native-American students feel they must prove to European-Americans that they are

capable of graduating from high school. They also have to dismantle negative images of Native-American people. These challenges put tremendous amounts of pressure on urban Native-American students. The following quotation is an example of the stress that Native-American students feel:

> For all Indians who are urban, it's really hard to define traditional ways, to keep traditional ways and stuff like that. I think that must be one of the major causes that keep us out of school and from graduation. Because if we don't have any ties anywhere, how can we build from them? And a lot of us don't have any ties anymore. We're all lost, you know. You get away from your reservation and you go into the city. People don't understand you. They don't know you. They don't think you exist. They don't think you're capable of this or that. It breaks you down. If you had other people around who could teach you more [about traditional ways] than what is being done, it would be different. But it's hard to say that because we're doing all we can. I think the whole city environment is really bad spiritually for a lot of kids. We do what we can. That's all. (P16)

In conclusion, it is the responsibility of psychologists, school counselors, and educators to address urban Native-American students' issues and concerns. Teacher and counselor training should include how to work with Native-American students. The school curriculum should be inclusive of Native-American cultural values. Further, normative events should take place at school which give the message that Native-American students as well as other minority groups are valued in the school setting. Urban Native Americans do exist and, in some cities, represent a large minority population. They can no longer be ignored.

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APPENDIX A

Demographic Questionnaire

Demographic Questionnaire

Please fill out the following questionnaire.

1. How old are you? _____
2. What type of School do you attend now? (Circle **one**)

   Public High School

   Indian Charter School

   Private High School

   College

   University

   Other
3. What is your Grade Point Average? _____
4. How many school years have you completed? Start with kindergarten. (Circle **one**)

   8 years or below

   9 years

   10 years

   11 years

   12 years

   13 years

   14 years

5. How far do you plan to go in school? (Circle **all** that apply)

   Will not finish high school

   Will finish high school

   Will go to trade/vocational school

   Will go to a two-year college

   Will complete a two-year college

   Will go to a four-year college

   Will complete a four-year college degree

   Will go to graduate school

   Will complete a graduate degree

Parents

6. Are your parents? (Circle all that apply)

married

divorced

separated

remarried

widowed

never married

not married, but living together

None of the above. Please explain. _____

---

7. How would your mother describe herself ethnically? (Circle **all** that apply)

Native American State tribe _____

African American

Latin American, Latina, or Hispanic

Asian American

White American

Other _____

don't know

8. What is the highest level of education completed by your mother? (Circle **one**)

completed elementary school

completed junior high School

completed high school

completed trade or vocational school

completed two years of college

graduated from college

attended graduate school

completed graduate school

don't know

9. How would your father describe himself ethnically? (Circle **all** that apply)

Native American State tribe

African American

Latin American, Latino, or Hispanic

Asian American

White American

Other

don't know

10. What is the highest level of education completed by your father? (Circle **one**)

completed elementary school

completed junior high School

completed high school

completed trade or vocational school

completed two years of college

graduated from college

attended graduate school

completed graduate school

don't know

Thank you for your responses.

APPENDIX B

Interview Questions

Part II: Interview

I am going to ask you questions about your relationship with your mother, your ethnicity and cultural background, and your education. I would like you to elaborate as much as possible on each question. There are no right or wrong answers. I am interested in your unique personal attitudes and experiences. If you do not understand any question, please ask me to rephrase it for you. Do you have any questions before we start?

I. First, I want to talk with you about your relationship with your mother.

1. Tell me about your relationship with your mother.

Probe: What things do you feel comfortable talking to your mother about? Give an example.

Probe : What don't you feel comfortable talking to your mother about? Give an example.

2. Does your mother talk to you about being Native American (or name of tribe will be used here)? If so, about what?

Probe: Has your mother influenced your feelings about being a Native American girl or woman (or tribe name)? In what ways?

Probe: Has your mother given you any advice as to how to be a Native-American girl or woman? If yes, about what?

3. Has your mother helped you deal with prejudice and racism? If so, how?

Probe: What experiences of hers has she shared with you?

Probe: Does she tell you how to act or what to say?

4. What does your mother think about Native-American girls or women getting an education?

Probe: What does your mother think about the school or college you go to now? What about schools you went to in the past?

5. Are there any specific ways of educating Native-American girls in your culture? If so, what are they?

6. Tell me about what it is like to be Native American (or tribe name) at your school or college?

Probe: What's positive about being at your high school or college?

Probe: What's negative about being at your high school or college?

7. What has helped you to stay in high school or college?

Probe: Does your mother support you to stay in school or college? If so, how?

Probe: Does your father or other family or tribe members support you to stay in school or college? If so, how?

Probe: Do your friends, teachers or others support you to be yourself in high school or college?

Probe: How do your _____ (friends, teachers, or others) support you to be yourself in high school or college?

APPENDIX C

Flyer posted at urban high-schools, colleges,
and universities

Seeking:
Native-American Female Students
Ages 14 - 19

For a Study on Mother-Daughter Relationships,

Ethnicity, and Education

Compensation: $10 for completing questionnaires

and $15 for participating in an individual interview

For more information, please contact Kennon McDonough at -------.

Kennon McDonough Research xxxxx	Kennon McDonough Research	Kennon McDonough Research	Kennon McDonough Research	Kennon McDonough Research	Kennon McDonough Research	Kennon McDonough Research	Kennon McDonough Research

APPENDIX D

Letter to Native-American group leaders at
urban high schools, colleges, and universities

September 1997

Dear (Name of Student Leader),

I am a doctoral student in Counseling Psychology at the University of San Francisco. I am writing my dissertation on Native-American mother-daughter relationships, ethnic identity and education. This research is important, because it may identify ways to increase the number of Native American high-school and college graduates. I would like your help in identifying Native-American female students who might be interested in participating in the project. As a student leader of a Native-American group, you may know of students who may be interested in participating in this research.

Interested participants must be between ages 14 and 19, identify themselves as Native-American, and be enrolled in a high school, college, or university. The research involves two parts. First, participants will fill out questionnaires about their relationship with their mother, their ethnicity, and their demographics. The questionnaires will take no longer than 35 minutes to fill out. Compensation for filling out questionnaires is a cash stipend of $10. The second part of the study will involve a one hour interview about the participant's relationship with her mother, her ethnicity, and her education. Compensation for completion of the interview is a cash stipend of $15.

Interested students should contact the researcher at XXXXXXX ASAP. I have also enclosed a flyer. Please post it near your meeting area.

Thank you in advance for your help.

Sincerely,

Kennon Savage McDonough

APPENDIX E

Parent's Statement of Informed Consent

for Demographics and Inventories

(used with participants under 18 Years)

Part I: Questionnaires Consent Form for Students under 18 years

I agree to allow my daughter to participate in a research project being conducted by Kennon McDonough in conjunction with the University of San Francisco's doctorate program in Counseling Psychology. I have been informed that the research is about mother-daughter relationships and experiences in education of Native-Americans.

Voluntary Participation: I understand that my daughter's participation in the study is entirely voluntary. At any time in the research, I may exercise my right to withdraw my daughter from the study.

Risks and Discomfort: I understand that there is no physical risk as a participant in this study. I have been informed that the questionnaires will take about 30 to 45-minutes to fill out. I understand that the inventories may elicit emotional responses. I have been informed by the researcher that I may contact the psychologist listed below if my daughter should need emotional support:
E. N., MFCC.
Director of the Family and Child Guidance Clinic
Native-American Mental Health Center
His supervisor is M. W., Executive Director of the Family and Child Center.

I understand that the researcher will keep all information about my family's identity confidential to the extent possible under California Law and the ethics of the American Psychological Association (1992). Examples of exceptions to confidentiality are if my daughter discloses information about child abuse, harming herself, or others. In these cases, the researcher is obligated to make appropriate referrals.

The researcher will keep questionnaires in a locked cabinet. At the end of the research project, all questionnaires will be destroyed. My family's name will not be used in the written form of the research. I also know that the researcher will disguise my daughter's identity and the other participants in any publication of the research. For the sake of my daughter's anonymity, the researcher may combine information about my daughter with information of other participants.

Procedures: If I agree to allow my daughter to be in this study, the following will happen: she will fill out three questionnaires which will take her about 35 minutes.

Benefits: My daughter may learn more about herself, her relationship with her mother, and the influence her culture has had on her, but this can not be guaranteed.

Reimbursement: I understand that she will be given a stipend of $10 at the completion of the paper work.

Questions: I understand that if I have further questions about the research, I may contact Kennon McDonough at XXXXXXX. If I do not wish to talk to the researcher, I may contact the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS), which protects volunteers in a research project at 415-422-2417. The address for the IRBPHS is Psychology Department, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco CA 94117-1080.

Again, I have been informed about my rights in this study. I understand that my daughter's participation is entirely voluntary. I understand that the questionnaires may elicit emotional responses. My signature below indicates that I give consent for my daughter to participate in the study. If she feels uncomfortable answering a specific question, she does not have to answer it. At any time, I can withdraw my daughter from the study.

I have been given a copy of this consent form. I have read all the information above, understand it, and give my consent for my daughter to participate in the study.

_____ _____

Parent of Research Participant's Signature Date

_____ _____

Research Participant's Signature Date

_____ _____

Researcher's Signature Date

APPENDIX F

Parent's Statement of Informed Consent for Interview (used with participants under 18 Years)

Part II: Interview Consent Form for Students under 18 years

I agree to allow my daughter to participate in a research project being conducted by Kennon McDonough in conjunction with the University of San Francisco's doctorate program in Counseling Psychology. I have been informed that the research is about mother-daughter relationships and experiences in education of Native-Americans.

Voluntary Participation: I understand that my daughter's participation in the study is entirely voluntary. At any time in the research, I may exercise my right to withdraw my daughter from the study.

Risks and Discomfort: I understand that there is no physical risk as a participant in this study. I have been informed that the interview will take about 60- minutes. I understand that the interview may elicit emotional responses. I have been informed by the researcher that I may contact the clinical psychologist below if my daughter should need emotional support:
E. N, MFCC
Director of the Family and Child Guidance Clinic
Native-American Mental Health Center
His supervisor is M.W., Executive Director of the Family and Child Center.
The interview will take place in my home, or at a Native-American community-based center.

I understand that the researcher will keep all information about my family's identity confidential to the extent possible under California Law and the ethics of the American Psychological Association (1992). Examples of exceptions to confidentiality are if my daughter discloses information about child abuse, harming herself, or others. In these cases, the researcher is obligated to make appropriate referrals.

The researcher has informed me that another person will listen to the audiotapes, but it will not be anyone who knows my family from the Native-American community center. The researcher will keep the audiotapes in a locked cabinet. At the end of the research project, all audiotapes will be destroyed. My family's name will not be used in the written form of the research. I also know that the researcher will disguise my daughter's identity and the other participants in any publication of the research. For the sake of my daughter's anonymity, the researcher may combine information about my daughter with information of other participants.

Procedures: If I agree to allow my daughter to be in this study, the following will happen: she will be asked questions during a 60-minute individual interview which will be audiotaped.

Benefits: My daughter will have the opportunity to discuss her relationship with her mother and her culture with the researcher. She may learn more about herself, her relationship with her mother, and the influence her culture has had on her, but this can not be guaranteed.

Reimbursement: I understand that she will be given a stipend of $15 at the completion of the interview.

Questions: I understand that if I have further questions about the research, I may contact Kennon McDonough at XXXXXX. If I do not wish to talk to the researcher, I may contact the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS), which protects volunteers in a research project at 415-422-2417. The address for the IRBPHS is Psychology Department, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco CA 94117-1080.

Again, I have been informed about my rights in this study. I understand that my daughter's participation is entirely voluntary. I understand that the interview may elicit emotional responses. My signature below indicates that I give consent for my daughter to participate in the study. If she feels uncomfortable answering a specific question, she does not have to answer it. At any time, I can withdraw my daughter from the study.

I have been given a copy of this consent form. I have read all the information above, understand it, and give my consent for my daughter to participate in the study.

_____ _____

Parent of Research Participant's Signature Date

_____ _____

Research Participant's Signature Date

_____ _____

Researcher's Signature Date

APPENDIX G

Participant's Statement of Informed Consent

for Demographics and Inventories

(to be used with participants 18 years and older)

Part I: Questionnaire Consent Form for Students 18 years and older

I agree to participate in a research project being conducted by Kennon McDonough in conjunction with the University of San Francisco's doctoral program in Counseling Psychology. I have been informed that the research is about mother-daughter relationships and experiences in education of Native-Americans.

Voluntary Participation: I understand that my participation in the study is entirely voluntary. At any time in the research, I may exercise my right, to withdraw participation from the study.

Risks and Discomfort: I understand that there is no physical risk as a participant in this study. I have been informed that the questionnaires will take about 30 to 45-minutes to fill out. I understand that the inventories may elicit emotional responses. I have been informed by the researcher that I may contact the clinical psychologist listed below if I should need emotional support:
E. N., MFCC
Director of the Family and Child Guidance Clinic
Native-American Mental Health Center
His supervisor is M. W., Executive Director of the Family and Child Center.

I understand that the researcher will keep all information about my identity confidential and private to the extent possible under California Law and the ethics of the American Psychological Association (1992). Examples of exceptions to confidentiality are if I disclose information about child abuse, harming myself, or others. In these cases, the researcher is obligated to make appropriate referrals.

The researcher will keep questionnaires in a locked cabinet. All questionnaires will be destroyed at the end of the research project. My name will not be used in the written form of the research. I also know that the researcher will disguise my identity and the other participants in any publication of the research. For the sake of my anonymity, the researcher may combine information about myself with information of other participants.

Procedures: If I agree to be in this study, the following will happen: I take three questionnaires which will take about 35 minutes.

Benefits: I will have the opportunity learn more about myself, my relationship with my mother, and the influence my culture has had on me, but this can not be guaranteed.

Reimbursement: I understand that I will be given a stipend of $10 at the completion of the questionnaires.

Questions: I understand that if I have further questions about the research, I may contact Kennon McDonough at XXXXXXX. If I do not wish to talk to the researcher, I may contact the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS), which protects volunteers in a research project at 415-422-2417. The address for the IRBPHS is Psychology Department, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco CA 94117-1080.

Again, I have been informed about my rights in this study. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary. I understand that the questionnaires may elicit emotional responses. My signature below indicates that I give my consent to participate in the study. If I feel uncomfortable answering a specific question, I do not have to answer it. At any time, I can withdraw from the study.

I have been given a copy of this consent form. I have read all the information above, understand it, and give my consent to participate in the study.

_____ _____

Research Participant's Signature Date

_____ _____

Researcher's Signature Date

APPENDIX H

Participant's Statement of Informed Consent

for Interviews

(to be used with participants 18 years and older)

Part II: Interview Consent Form for Students 18 and older

I agree to participate in a research project being conducted by Kennon McDonough in conjunction with the University of San Francisco's doctoral program in Counseling Psychology. I have been informed that the research is about mother-daughter relationships and experiences in education of Native-Americans.

Voluntary Participation: I understand that my participation in the study is entirely voluntary. At any time in the research, I may exercise my right, to withdraw participation from the study.

Risks and Discomfort: I understand that there is no physical risk as a participant in this study. I have been informed that the interview will take about 60- minutes to complete. I understand that the interview may elicit emotional responses. I have been informed by the researcher that I may contact the clinical psychologist below if I should need emotional support:
E. N., MFCC Director of the Family and Child Guidance Clinic
Native-American Mental Health Center
His supervisor is M. W., Executive Director of the Family and Child Center.
The interviews will take place in my home or at a Native-American community-based center.

I understand that the researcher will keep all information about my identity confidential and private to the extent possible under California Law and the ethics of the American Psychological Association (1992). Examples of exceptions to confidentiality are if I disclose information about child abuse, harming myself, or others. In these cases, the researcher is obligated to make appropriate referrals.

The researcher has informed me that another person will listen to the audiotapes, but it will not be anyone who knows me from the Native-American community center. The researcher will keep the audiotapes in a locked cabinet. At the end of the research project, all audiotapes will be destroyed. My name will not be used in the written form of the research. I also know that the researcher will disguise my identity and the other participants in any publication of the research. For the sake of my anonymity, the researcher may combine information about myself with information of other participants.

Procedures: If I agree to be in this study, the following will happen: I will participate in a 60- minute individual interview which will be tape recorded.

Benefits: I will have the opportunity to discuss my relationship with my mother and my culture with the researcher. I may learn more about myself, my relationship with my mother, and the influence my culture has had on me, but this can not be guaranteed.
Reimbursement: I understand that I will be given a stipend of $15 at the completion of the interview.

Questions: I understand that if I have further questions about the research, I may contact Kennon McDonough at XXXXXXXX. If I do not wish to talk to the researcher, I may contact the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS),

which protects volunteers in a research project at 415-422-2417. The address for the IRBPHS is Psychology Department, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco CA 94117-1080.

Again, I have been informed about my rights in this study. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary. I understand that the interview may elicit emotional responses. My signature below indicates that I give my consent to participate in the study. If I feel uncomfortable answering a specific question, I do not have to answer it. At any time, I can withdraw from the study.

I have been given a copy of this consent form. I have read all the information above, understand it, and give my consent to participate in the study.

_____ _____

Research Participant's Signature Date

_____ _____

Researcher's Signature Date

APPENDIX I

Introduction letter to families and potential participants

(included in packet sent by mail)

1900 Ralston Ave., Box 193

Belmont, CA 94002

January 20th,1998

Dear Youth and Families:

My name is Kennon McDonough and I have been a volunteer at the Circle of Strength (COS) Project - Healthy Nations Initiative. I am a doctoral student in Counseling Psychology at the University of San Francisco. I am writing my dissertation on Native-American mother-daughter relationships, ethnic identity, and education. I feel that this research is important, because it may identify ways to increase the number of Native American high-school and college graduates.

I am writing you to invite **Native-American female students from ages 14 - 19** to participate in my study. In short, the research involves two parts. First, participants will fill out questionnaires about their relationship with their mother, their ethnicity, and their demographics. The questionnaires will take no longer than 35 minutes to fill out. **The salary for filling out questionnaires is $10.**
The second part of the study will involve a one hour interview about the participant's relationship with her mother, her ethnicity, and her education.
The salary for completing the interview is $15. You are not obliged to participate in any part of the study. Please read the information in this packet if you think you may be interested.

Thank you in advance for your time. If you have further questions, please call me at: XXXXXXXX. I hope to meet you in person.

Sincerely,

Kennon McDonough

Information about the Research

1. The study is about Native-American mother-daughter relationships, ethnic identity and education.

2. This study is voluntary. You are in no way obliged to participate.
You can withdraw at anytime.

3. There are two parts to the study. The first part involves completing three questionnaires. These questionnaires are enclosed in the packet. To participate, volunteers must complete a **"Questionnaires Consent Form." There are two copies of this form. A signed WHITE one should be returned to the researcher with the questionnaires if you opt to be in the study. The PINK form is for your own files.** The second part of the research will be an interview. Those who wish to volunteer for the interview may indicate so on the third page. **You are in no way obligated to do the interview if you complete the questionnaires.** A completed **"Interview Consent Form"** must be completed before any interview is started. Again, there are two copies of this form. The **WHITE** one is for the researcher, and the **PINK** one is for your own files. Interviews will be audiotaped.

4. There is no physical risk. The inventories or interviews may give you an emotional response. Referral to a Native-American counselor is available.

5. Information will be kept confidential. Questionnaires and interviews will be kept in a locked cabinet. Results of the research will not contain participants' names.

6. The three questionnaires enclosed will take about 35 minutes to complete.
Compensation for completion of questionnaires is $10.

7. If you should opt to be in the interview, it will take about 1 hour.
Compensation for completion of the interview is $15.

8. The researcher will have an assistant help her interpret the interviews. This person will also keep all content of the interviews confidential.

9. If you have any questions, please call the researcher at XXXXXXXX.

APPENDIX J

Form to indicate interest in interview part of the study

Instructions

If you are interested in participating in this study...

1) Complete the Questionnaires. Return only WHITE forms. Keep PINK ones.

Fill out the three questionnaires and the consent forms and return them to the researcher by mail in the enclosed addressed envelope. All information that is needed by the researcher is printed on WHITE paper. Only return completed WHITE sheets. There are two copies of the permission forms - you should keep the PINK copy for yourself. You must remember to send WHITE copy of the **"Questionnaires Consent form"** the three completed questionnaires, and your name and address (if you would like compensation) in the enclosed envelope. Upon receiving these forms, the researcher will send you a $10 check. Please write your name and on the enclosed form and include this in the envelope with your signed consent form and completed questionnaires.

To receive your compensation, return this form with your Questionnaires and Consent Form(s)

Name (that you would like the check made out to)

_____

Address _____

_____

2) **In addition**, for those of you who are interested in the interview part of the research, please mark the space below with an "X" and write your phone number so that I can call you to arrange a time. Interviews can be conducted at your home or at the Circle of Strength (COS).

_____ Yes, I am interested in being a participant in the interview part of this research.

My phone number is _____.

You should also complete the two **"Interview Consent Forms"** and return the WHITE signed one with your questionnaires. Remember if you have questions or doubts, please call me at XXXXXXXXXX. **THANK YOU AGAIN.**

PLEASE MAIL ALL QUESTIONNAIRES BY April 15th, 1998.

THE UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

Dissertation Abstract

Maternal Emotional Support, Ethnic Identity, and Years of Completed School in Urban Native-American Female Adolescents

Statement of the Problem

Among Native-American students, elevated high-school and college drop-out rates are a serious problem (Coladarci, 1983; Herring, 1991; LaFromboise, 1984; Reddy, 1993). Further, studies indicate that the problem becomes more pronounced for urban female Native Americans (Fine & Zane, 1989; LaFromboise, 1984; Reddy, 1993; Tim & Borman, 1997). Research on mother-daughter relationships and ethnic identity in other populations (Baker & Entwisle, 1987; Connell et al., 1995; McCoy & Jozefowicz, 1996; Taylor et al., 1994) suggests that these two variables may assist female Native-American students to complete school. The purpose of the study was to examine the relationships among perceived maternal emotional support, ethnic identity, and completed years in school of Native-American female adolescents.

Procedures and Methods

Thirty-one female Native-American adolescents between the ages of 14 and 19 participated in the study. Demographic data, the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987), and the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992) were used to collect quantitative data. In addition, 16 self-selected girls participated in individual semi-structured interviews.

Correlation coefficients were calculated to determine the relationships among perceived maternal emotional support, ethnic identity, and completed years in school.

Sixteen interviews were transcribed, coded, and analyzed using the methods of Seidman (1991) and van Kaam (1959).

Results

The results of the quantitative analysis revealed that there are no statistically significant relationships among perceived emotional support, ethnic identity, and completed years in school. All of the girls interviewed, however, reported that their mothers were essential to their decision to stay in school. In addition, the results indicated that fathers, grandmothers, friends, teachers, mentors, and counselors provided support for Native-American female adolescents to complete school. All girls also reported that their mothers taught them about their Native-American heritage and tribal identity. About half of the participants identified themselves as bicultural and faced the challenge of living in two worlds: their Native-American homes and their European-American schools.

Conclusions

The qualitative results indicated that maternal emotional support and strong ethnic identity assist Native-American female adolescents to complete school. The qualitative results also suggested that urban Native-American students need the support of educators and psychologists to help them embrace their Native-American heritage and absorb European-American instruction. The results suggested that teaching bicultural skills might impact urban Native-American students' completion of school.

Kennon Savage McDonough, Author

Joan P. Avis, Ph.D.
Chairperson, Dissertation Committee