

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF
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A Study of Some Determinants of Parenting
in American Indian and Non-Indian Families

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An analysis was conducted to test current theories regarding education, income, and marital satisfaction as determinants of parenting in different ways for men and women. The gender specific issues in parenting to be tested were: 1) Education is positively related to parental involvement for both men and women. 2) Marital dissatisfaction is positively related to maternal involvement and negatively related to paternal involvement. 3) Income is positively related to parental involvement for both men and women.

One focus of the test of the above theories was a sample of twenty-five American Indian families primarily recruited with the assistance of the Confederated Tribes of Siletz. Twenty-five non-Indian families with similar education and income characteristics were matched with the

Siletz sample from the larger Oregon Family Study sample for comparison/control group purposes.

Significant gender and ethnic differences in the significance of education, income, and marital satisfaction on paternal involvement are reported.

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Gender and Ethnic Issues in Parenting:
A Study of Some Determinants of Parenting
in American Indian and Non-Indian Families

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INTRODUCTION

As the definition of "the family" has become more elusive, family theorists have come to define a family by its many functions. Many believe that the most important function of families is the healthy development and well adjusted socialization of their children through quality parenting (Barnes & Farrell, 1992). The consequences of the quality of parenting are well documented (Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, 1992). Parenting practices affect children's achievement in school, the likelihood of adolescent delinquency and a wide range of other outcomes (Simons, Whitbeck, Conger, 1991; Steinberg et al., 1992). Sometimes the effects of parental behavior on children are not so overt. Its effects may be more an inner phenomenon, involving such characteristics as self-criticism (Brewin, Firth-Cozens, Furnham, 1992) and self-esteem (Barber, Chadwick, Oerter, 1992), which can lead to severe behavior-disorders (Brand, Crous, Hanekom, 1990). Furthermore, the manner in which a person parents may influence how their children would parent (Simons, Beaman, Conger, 1993). The driving force of the socialization process for children is the parents.

The next question therefore is, what drives the parents? A quick answer to this question is that the same things which affect adults in their various other roles also affect their performance as parents. Things such as their personal history, goals, desires, the community, the world around them, and their very personality affect adult performance.

Entire theoretical schools of thought have been developed to explain the processes involved in the above statement. Developmental theory (Erikson, 1968, 1982), social learning theory (Bandura, 1977), and even sociobiology (Wilson, 1975) have explained how a person's personal history can influence parenting in different ways. In addition, ecological (Bronfenbrenner, 1986) and systems (Hook and Paolucci, 1970) theorists have explained how the community and the world can make a person secure or apprehensive about their children's future. Furthermore, social exchange (Huston & Burgess, 1979) and family management (Edwards, 1970) theorists have discussed how goals and desires influence whether or not a person thinks good parenting is worth the investment it requires. There are also gender differences to be considered (Marsiglio, 1991; Thompson and Walker, 1989).

In addition, ethnic minority families have long been frustrated by studies which claimed to be national in scope, but from which minority families have often been conspicuously absent. In spite of this fact, findings from

these studies have often and mistakenly been used to justify theory and train practitioners who work with these minority families. Larger studies involving mostly Euro-American subjects have sometimes included a few ethnic minority subjects (Perry-Jenkins, Seery, Crouter, 1992). However, researchers and practitioners interested in serving ethnic minority communities have basically had to withhold total confidence in nearly every major theory and development in the social sciences, including family studies, as a result of research. They have had to wait until a similar research study featured a sample of non-Euro-American subjects (Apfel & Seitz, 1991; Nakagawa, Teti, Lamb, 1992). Until theoretical perspectives are based on research featuring subjects of all major ethnic groups, some of them run the risk of only being applicable to a certain segment of society.

Numerous theoretical perspectives are present which discuss the determinants of parental involvement for women and men in children's lives. The determinants for men are especially interesting, since I perceive a real need for men to become more involved in childrearing. Of particular interest are some of the conclusions made by ecological theorists in relation to how contextual factors such as education, marital satisfaction, and income affect parental involvement in childrearing. Education has been found to be positively related to parental involvement for both men and women (Simons et. al., 1990). Marital dissatisfaction has

been found to be positively related to maternal involvement and negatively related to paternal involvement (Brody et. al. ,1986). And income, as a potential stressor when it is low, is generally regarded as positively related to parental involvement for both men and women (Belsky, 1984; Nakagawa, 1992). In this study, I will test whether these links are present in a sample of American Indian families as well as in a sample of Euro-American families.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

American Indian Research

Research is never done in a vacuum. There are numerous contextual elements which surround any given project. In the case of American Indian research, the context is one of a positive new phase. Earlier phases were characterized by an abundance of anthropological studies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which treated American Indian communities as golden opportunities for study of "primitive man" right next door, or by sociological and cultural anthropological studies in the sixties and seventies which lamented the destruction of the few remaining characteristics of American Indian culture by urbanization and governmental termination policies. Nearly all of these studies were conducted by Euro-Americans, and were later found to slightly or extremely reinforce positive or negative stereotypes of American Indians. The positive new phase American Indian research is in today began in the late eighties and early nineties, when a resurgence in the issues pertinent to ethnic minority populations in general led to a renewed interest in American Indian research. Most of the people conducting this research, many of whom are American Indians themselves, have learned from the mistakes of the past. The first three sections of the literature review, in

addition to their specific foci, are offered to give the reader a feeling for the state of American Indian research today.

This first section reviews some of the general findings regarding American Indian families today. While exploring the family strengths of American Indian women living in the Dakotas, Martin and Light (1986) found well developed helping kin networks and a high level of optimism and courage not mentioned in much of the literature.

Lin (1990) divided college students into groups originating from traditional American Indian or modern oriented families. Behavior toward education, GPA's, and hours spent on homework correlated positively with culturally traditional American Indian family backgrounds. Although some wish to create a schism between differing orientations, others are quick to point out that a family can be more or less, "...traditional, transactional, bicultural, and pantraditional. These traits, however, do not appear to measure 'Indianness,'" (Red Horse, 1980, p. 466)

The next two sections consist of literature which detail instances where American Indian populations have been found to be either significantly distinct from the mainstream or to have entirely unique characteristics. Sometimes these distinctions and characteristics were discovered in unexpected areas. This set of literature is offered to illustrate the rationale behind the skepticism with which many people of color view theory, research, and

policy until it is also supported by a sample from their particular ethnic group. This illustration in no way should be misconstrued as a blanket condemnation of the majority of research and theory in existence today, but as an attempt to understand the thinking held by some researchers concerning some theory, research, and policy. By illustrating this skepticism, I also hope to illustrate the logic in checking to see if basic ecological tenets of determinants of parenting also hold for a sample of American Indian families.

Nelson (1992) found that, "...many of the factors that are generally considered to differentiate neglecting from non-neglecting families do not do so among Native Americans." (p. 21). Nelson also determined that both groups of American Indian families had to face the same kinds of stressors as the neglecting rural white families. While many assume that low socioeconomic status leads to low educational aspiration, this assumption did not hold for a study involving 107 Navajo high school graduates. The single greatest factor to which they attributed their success was linked to the family (Rindone, 1988). In a study on the causes of academic performance for American Indian students, the results suggested some of the constructs used to develop the instrument were not appropriate for Indian students (West, 1988).

Napoliello and Sweet (1992) noted that for many American Indians, "Reality must be understood and defined in

terms of the relationship between identity and society" (p. 159). In social contexts such as ceremonies and traditional events, time is reinterpreted in Warm Springs culture in deference to the rules surrounding those social contexts (Philips, 1974). In contexts such as meeting strangers, courting, children coming home, getting reprimanded, being with people who are sad, and others, special kinds of silences in Western Apache culture are observed in recognition of traditionally expected behaviors, (Basso, 1970).

Recognition of differences in learning styles among different children of color has been fashionable for the last few years. Many Indian children have learned to learn in different ways from mainstream children, are more visually oriented, field dependent, and more group oriented (Swisher and Dehyle, 1989; Red Horse, 1980). At the same time, Chrisjohn and Peters (1989) warned researchers and practitioners of the danger in over generalizing trends in Native student characteristics, such as the myth of the "right-brained Indian".

Many Indian children, such as the Crow children on the Montana Reservation, experience traumatic loss of family members at far greater rates than the national average. Responses to this phenomenon include greater interpersonal distancing and a numb kind of sadness without anger (Long, 1983).

Parenthood Research

Another relevant research area is the body of work devoted to the study of the various factors contributing to the quality and frequency of parental involvement. The study of parenthood has inevitably been divided into the study of motherhood and fatherhood. The next two sections specify the context of parenthood research in which this study is being conducted.

Due to my personal interest in the need to improve fatherhood practices, I reviewed more fatherhood literature. Marsiglio (1991) discussed the idea of the "new father", that noble creature called upon in these changing times of the liberated and wage earning mother to be more involved in the care of the children. He reported that fathers' proportion of total housework and child care rose 10% between 1965 and 1981 (Pleck, 1985 in Marsiglio, 1991). Although statistically significant, Marsiglio noted that 10% is far from substantively significant. This finding is consistent with the finding of Coverman and Shelly (1986) that neither unadjusted nor adjusted means (in relation to various sociodemographic variables) of men's housework or child-care time changed significantly between 1965 and 1975.

Many characteristics of the father that might affect engagement such as gender attitude, employment characteristics, and education have been the subjects of numerous studies. One of the studies used in this area was

the Nock and Kingston (1988) study which Marsiglio accepted, "found that the number of hours spent at work, especially evening hours, was negatively related to the amount of time fathers spent with their children." (Marsiglio, 1991, p.975). Coverman and Shelly (1986) identified wage work and leisure time as very important factors in determining paternal engagement. Results from a study by Volling and Belsky (1991) indicated that personality characteristics of the father were important in predicting feelings of paternal responsibility for child-care in single-earner families but not in dual-earner families. Marital and job satisfaction affected paternal engagement in both single- and dual-earner families (Volling and Belsky, 1991)

Marsiglio (1991) suggests that characteristics of the woman in the family will predict involvement of the man more often than characteristics of the man. This led him to the prediction that, "those women who have modern gender role expectations and higher levels of education will be most likely to urge their husband/partner to participate actively in their children's lives" (Marsiglio, pg.975). Barnett and Baruch (1987) found that maternal employment moderates the relationship between determinants and paternal involvement.

Marsiglio's (1991) "Paternal Engagement Activities with Minor Children" examined National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH) data to learn more about why father figures do or do not get involved with the care of children. According to Marsiglio's study (1991), the easy things such

as playing and reading were what most of the men did on an almost daily basis. One item of interest was that neither parent's characteristics significantly predicted the amount that the father played with the children, rather it was the child's characteristics that more significantly predicted the father's behavior. This suggested to him that fathers' attitudes about their children can enable fathers to overcome situational concerns regarding engagement issues. Harris and Morgan (1991) also found a relationship between child characteristics and paternal involvement. They found that daughters with brothers are at a greater advantage relative to other girls with no brothers because their fathers are involved with all the children more than girls in families with no brothers. Harris and Morgan also found that sons are advantaged as the "only boy" because they will receive more paternal involvement than "only girls". In a study by Branch and Newcombe (1986), the sex of the child was a major factor in determining parental practices of African-American parents. African-American parents with boys were more likely to teach a more defensive, Afro-centric outlook on life to their children than parents of girls because of a perceived hostile environment for African-American males.

The only significant racial/ethnic differences in paternal practices recorded in Marsiglio's study (1991) were that African-American fathers were less likely to read to

their children but more likely to play with them than Non-African-American fathers.

Although less substantive, the motherhood literature reviewed details many distinctions from determinants of fatherhood. Thompson (1991) observed that in all aspects of family work, including childrearing, the factors that contribute to many women's sense of fairness are outcome values, comparison referents, and justification. She noted that a woman who gets what she expects from her husband by way of sharing in family work (usually expectations are low) will feel that the family work situation is fair even though the distribution of responsibilities may be seriously unjust when looked at from a more feminist perspective. The persistence of unjust expectations of women, often by women as well as men, is illustrated by Leslie, Anderson, and Branson (1991) who learned that, things such as employment hours and profile and income being relatively equal between husbands and wives, women still carry a much larger share of the childrearing responsibilities. Stafford, Backman, and Dibona (1977) investigated the causes of this persistence in married couples and found that parental modeling plays a key role in the persistence of sexist stereotyping of "women's work". In a review of the literature on the subject of family work, Thompson and Walker (1989) observed that the family work women enjoy and find the most fulfilling, such as cooking and child-care, is also the work men are most likely to volunteer to share in. They also noted that,

"Special structural conditions foster men's family work, while family work is a structural imperative for women." (Thompson and Walker, pg.854, 1989).

The factors contributing to the quality and quantity of motherhood and fatherhood, although varied, seem to be distinct. This study will take the above understanding of distinct determinants into account by testing hypotheses that predict parental involvement of mothers and fathers separately.

Theoretical Perspectives of Parenting and Hypotheses

The Kohn Hypothesis (Luster et. al. 1989) asserts that parental values are related to social class. Specifically, he believes that people who come from lower class backgrounds place greater value on conformity and put a stronger emphasis on obedience to parental and other authority. Conversely, Kohn's hypothesis contends that upper income people place a greater value on self-direction and are more interested in self-control and responsibility as parents. This hypothesis is consistent with Hofstede's dimensions of cultural variability, particularly the area of the Power Distance dimension, which discusses relationships in high power distance societies, found in Intercultural Communication theory (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988).

Social learning theory, and related perspectives, go beyond issues of class when discussing how a person's personal history is related to behaviors such as parenting. One related perspective, the violated expectations perspective, suggests that the key is a person's expectations of parenting. The adjustment to parenting was found to be more or less difficult, especially for women, depending upon their expectations of parenting and not necessarily upon the actual situation (Kalmuss, Davidson, Cushman, 1992).

Ecological parenting factors, whether psychological, social, or physical, are the factors of primary interest to this study (Nakagawa et al., 1992; Napolliello & Sweet, 1992; Reis, Barbera-Stein, Bennett, 1986). I chose to focus on the ecological or contextual aspect of parenting because this basis of inquiry is often utilized by people who study issues of interest to ethnic minorities. I also chose this paradigm because I like how it tries to take a holistic approach and incorporate various other perspectives such as the systems and life course perspectives. Although many other theoretical paradigms are used to study various issues, the ecological perspective has been used in the study of the media (Pristin, 1993), education (Charles, 1989; Slaughter-Defoe, Nakagawa, Takanishi, and Johnson, 1990), racial socialization (Thornton et al., 1990), and integration (Luchins & Luchins, 1985).

Simons et. al. (1990) explored many aspects of the context of a person's personal make-up that affect parenting. It was hypothesized and supported by the study data that education for men and women would be positively related to constructive parenting. The rationale here was that people with more education would be more cognizant of the need to prepare for the important role of parent because they are more aware of the world that their children will be entering. The above finding was from a study consisting entirely of Euro-Americans. The present study will attempt to see if the same relationship exists for men and women in a sample of American Indian parents and their children.

Hypothesis 1: Education will be positively related to parental involvement for both men and women.

Marital satisfaction is a popular factor for ecological theorists to study (Belsky, 1984). One such study found gender differences in parental reactions to marital dissatisfaction. Marital discontent was discovered to be related to an increase in maternal activity and a decrease in paternal involvement (Brody, Pillegrini, Sigal, 1986). The reasoning behind this was that mothers were believed to move from the combative interaction they get with their husbands to the more welcoming interaction they get with their children. Fathers, on the other hand, were believed to move away from the entire family, including the children, in times of marital tension. Again, the Brody et al. (1986)

study consisted entirely of Euro-American subjects. The present study will attempt to see if the same results are true for a sample of American Indian subjects.

Hypothesis 2: Marital dissatisfaction will be positively related to maternal involvement and negatively related to paternal involvement.

Another contextual source of stress, income (Conger et al., 1990; Shinn, Knickman, Weitzman, 1991), is generally regarded as a cross-gender factor in parental involvement. Especially when family income is very low, both parents are relatively uninterested in parenting and sometimes are more inclined to be abusive and neglectful. This has been found to be true in studies featuring Euro-American (Belsky, 1984), Japanese sojourner (Nakagawa et al., 1992), and African-American (McLoyd, 1990) families. The present study will attempt to see if the same kinds of results are true for a sample of American Indian families. The issue of income as a potential stressor for American Indian families is particularly interesting in light of the Nelson (1993) study, which showed that both neglecting and non-neglecting families in a sample of American Indian families (some Siletz) experienced the same stressors, such as low income, as neglecting Euro-American families.

Hypothesis 3: Income will be positively related to parental involvement for both men and women.

METHOD

Subjects

The American Indian Subjects

Most of the subjects of this study are a part of the community of The Confederated Tribes of Siletz (See Appendixes 1, 2, and 3), which consists of twenty-four separate bands and tribes of Native Americans who have come together for one reason or another from all over the Oregon Coast west of the Cascades, as far south as Northern California and as far north as Southern Washington (Siletz Newsletter, 1993).

This study's definition of Indian identity (See Appendix 4) is based on the intercultural communication definition of cultural identity. At the core of this definition is the dialectic relationship between avowed (self definition) and ascribed (definition given by others) cultural identity (Collier, 1993). The various aspects of a person's or family's cultural identity, or system of shared norms, symbols, meanings, and premises historically transmitted, are a delicate balance of inward and outward enactments. Identifying a family as having an ascribed Indian family identity was defined as the act of having been

given the names and addresses of Indian families by authorities in Indian cultural identity such as the Siletz officials who aided this project. An avowed Indian family identity was defined as the act of a family of choosing to be a part of this study knowing that this is a study of American Indian families. The entire process of subject recruitment turned out to also be an elaborate way of determining if a family had an ascribed and an avowed American Indian identity.

The required age of the target child was nine to eleven years old, or third to fifth grade. Participant families were required to be two-parent families, but they could be any form of two-parent families, including biological, step, or adopted. Adopted families were accepted because of the Indian Child Welfare Act policy, which requires American Indian children to be given to American Indian parents for adoption. All these measures were necessary to recruit the desired sample size of twenty-five American Indian two-parent families with at least one pre-adolescent child for comparison with other non-Indian subject families of the Oregon Family Study.

Recruitment tactics utilized nearly every possible way of recruiting subjects from a small, traditionally unrepresented population. Every significant step of the recruitment process and other areas of concern regarding etiquette and protocol of an official or unofficial nature in the Siletz community were brought before either Community

Planner Tina Retasket, Medical Social Worker George Nagel, or Elementary School Principal and Tribal Council member Mike Darcy for advice and consent. An open letter was printed in the June 1992 issue of the Siletz News. A press release was also made by the media relations department of Administrative Services which, in one form or another, was announced in the Oregon State University Daily Barometer, the Corvallis Gazette-Times, and other Oregon newspapers and radio stations. A list of possible questions and their answers was prepared and given to any family or official who wished to have a copy. As names to call or write to began to be used up, the interviewer/recruiter utilized the technique of snowballing and asked families if they knew other Indian families who met project criteria.

Assistance was accepted from various Siletz officials according to the dictates of their own conscience and ethical standards. In the Springfield area, Johnson O' Malley (JOM) Education Outreach Coordinator Lavina Moceikis chose to notify Indian families she knew who qualified for the study. In the Salem area, JOM Education Outreach Coordinator Brian Azule provided names and address of his clients, and a letter was sent to families notifying them about the details and opportunities of the study. Letters were also sent with the assistance of Siletz elementary school principal, Michael Darcy. In Salem and Siletz, updated lists were provided, and a second wave of letters was disseminated. Former JOM Education Outreach Coordinator

Selene Lynch provided addresses and made some personal solicitations of families outside the jurisdiction of Siletz elementary school such as Newport and Toledo. Door to door and phone solicitations were made of some of those who did not respond initially to solicitations in the mail.

The targeted goal of twenty-five participating families in the Oregon Family Study: Siletz Sample, was reached. Each family was visited at least twice. The first visit was to answer questions and demonstrate and drop off the video equipment for the other part of the Oregon Family Study. The second visit was to pick up the equipment and to administer the paper/pen instruments. Earlier a three visit system was tried, but travel expenses necessitated the switch to two visits per family. Data were collected between May 1992 and June 1993.

Fourteen of the participating families (56%) were contacted through lists provided by Salem or Siletz elementary officials, and the remaining eleven were recruited through snowballing with Siletz officials, and friends and family of participating families. Ninety-three names were provided by Salem and Siletz area officials. The official acceptance rate was the number of participating families contacted with mailing lists (14) divided by the number of families provided on lists (93), or slightly more than 15%. A more accurate acceptance rate would be impossible because much of the recruiting was unofficial.

Sixteen families were Siletz tribal members. Thirteen families were living in the town of Siletz. Three of the families living in the town of Siletz were affiliated with other tribes. Eight of the families living in the town of Siletz were living in the Government Hill tribal housing community. Nine of the families were non-Siletz Indian families. Three of the non-Siletz Indian families were affiliated with Oregon Indian tribes. All but one of the participating families was contacted with the assistance of Siletz officials. The preceding observations suggest that this sample for many different reasons does seem to give a good picture of the greater Siletz community.

The average income category for this sample was 2.96 with a standard deviation of 1.17. The modal income level was 3, or an average yearly household income of \$21,000 - \$30,000. (See Table A). The Hall (1985) survey showed only 15.7% of the Siletz respondents with households of three or more reporting a household income equivalent to this category. The Nelson (1993) survey reported an average annual income of the Native American sample of \$12,810. Although inconclusive, these numbers suggest that this sample may consist of families that are more affluent than the average Siletz family.

The average number of years of education for both mothers and fathers in this sample was thirteen. The average for fathers was 13.12 with a standard deviation of 2.54. The average for mothers was 12.80 with a standard deviation

of 1.87 (See Table A). This amount is consistent with the amount of education reported in the Hall (1985) and Nelson (1993) studies.

The average age of the target child was 9.72 with a standard deviation of 1.06. This age was almost exactly at the center of the allowed age range of nine to eleven and/or third to fifth grade, suggesting that the variation in ages was balanced around the optimal age of ten.

Each family that participated was compensated in two ways. They were paid \$135.00 and were given the opportunity to participate in a free family problem solving workshop.

The Non-Indian Subjects

Twenty-Five Non-Indian families were matched with the American Indian sample. The data from these families were pulled from a sample of ninety-five Non-Indian families participating in the Oregon Family Study from Linn and Benton Counties. Both samples were required to have at least one pre-adolescent child to participate. Direct matches were made according to Income and Education data for each family. Six of the Non-Indian families were step-families, and six of the American Indian families were matched for this characteristic as well.

The average income category for this sample was 3.04 with a standard deviation of 1.01. The modal income level was 3, or an average yearly household income of \$21,000 - \$30,000. (See Table A). The average number of years of education for both mothers and fathers in this sample was thirteen. The average for fathers was 13.32 with a standard deviation of 2.77. And the average for mothers was 12.92 with a standard deviation of 1.52 (See Table A). The average age of the target child was 9.32 with a standard deviation of 0.55. All of these numbers, when compared with the demographic data from the American-Indian sample, suggest that the matching was fairly accurate, and that one of the few remaining key differences between the two samples is membership in a Non-Indian or American-Indian family.

These families were also paid and offered free attendance in a family problem solving workshop.

Table A:
Income Frequency

Category	<i>American Indian Families</i>		<i>Non-Indian Families</i>	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1. \$ 1,000-\$10,000	3	12.0	1	4.0
2. \$11,000-\$20,000	5	20.0	7	28.0
3. \$21,000-\$30,000	10	40.0	9	36.0
4. \$31,000-\$40,000	4	16.0	6	24.0
5. \$41,000 or more	3	12.0	2	8.0

Demographic Information	Mean	Std.Dev.	Mean	Std.Dev.
Target Child Age	9.72	1.06	9.32	0.55
Father's Ed.	13.12	2.54	13.32	2.77
Father's Age	39.00	9.00	34.76	4.46
Mother's Ed.	12.80	1.87	12.92	1.52
Mother's Age	35.12	6.15	34.20	4.60
Years Married	10.36	6.97	10.60	5.59
Household Income	2.96	1.17	3.04	1.01

Key Variables	Mean	Std.Dev.	Mean	Std.Dev.
Maternal Involvement	145.40	39.20	171.48	37.99
Paternal Involvement	125.08	36.57	150.72	38.23
Marital Satisfaction for Mothers	110.00	14.11	121.12	13.63
Marital Satisfaction for Fathers	107.28	15.75	118.32	12.30

Instruments

Before going into a description of the instruments which provided the dependent and independent variables, an introduction in the form of a reminder is appropriate. The instruments used were part of a set group of instruments used in the greater Oregon Family Study. Concerns for cross-cultural usefulness in mind, one must also recognize the need to make the best of what you are given. Although the instruments used have varying degrees of research to support them, there was no opportunity for any kind of validity or reliability testing within the American Indian population for use with this study.

The Dependent Variable: Parental Involvement

The dependent variable was a single score for parental involvement created for this study with items from two measures, the Child Behavior Checklist and the Activity Questionnaire. Items were picked which measured in various ways and to what degree parents were involved with the care of their pre-adolescent target child. Each item was weighted equally. The next two sections will feature a detailed description of the items used in the measure.

Child Behavior Checklist (CBC). Most often used with at-risk youth, the CBC (see appendix 5) which is used to

create the Child Behavior Profile, utilizes three social competence sub-scales ("the Activities scale," "the Social scale," and "the School Performance scale"), and as many as nine behavior problem sub-scales (e.g., "Uncommunicative," "Obsessive-Compulsive," "Aggressive"). The behavior problem scales for each sample can also be divided into broad-band groupings which describe internalizing and externalizing characteristics (Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1979).

Achenbach's Child Behavior Checklist has two basic parts which revolve around the target child. The first part, which will not be used for this study, is a ninety-four item list of various child behaviors (e.g., "bragging, boasting," "is cooperative with adults," "fears going to school"). This list is accompanied by the options to circle choices for "not true", "sometimes true", and "often true". The second part of the instrument asks a number of individual questions in varying ways. The four items pertaining to parental behavior are the ones of interest to this study. Items 99 and 100 ask how well the parent and the target child get along and how close the parent and target child are to each other, respectively. Item 101 asks how often the parent and the child spend time alone together. Item 102 asks the parent to identify who does the childrearing. The mother and the father are asked to fill out one of these instruments separately.

Activity Questionnaire (see appendix 5). This instrument has three parts. The first part, which will not

be used in this study, has five items which ask the parent to fill answers to requests for the target child's favorite hobbies, jobs, organizations, etc. and the amount of times in the last two weeks that the child has participated in them. The second part asks the parents to list the number of times in the last two weeks that the parent and the child did certain intimate activities (e.g., "spent time alone together," "given or gotten a hug or kiss," "laughed together about something") and the number of times the two parents and target child and/or children did various family activities (e.g., "played together," "gone out to eat," "rented and watched video tapes"). The third part asks about parental/familial eating practices such as the number of times the parent and children and/or the entire family eat breakfast and dinner together in a given week.

Elements of the last two parts of this instrument, which detail different accounts of parental activity and have been judged to be relatively free of culture or class bias, will be used in the study. Seven of the items from the second section were chosen. The chosen questions were the ones which asked how many times the parent and the target child: "spent time alone together"; "given or gotten a hug or kiss"; "played together"; "talked for ten minutes or more"; "laughed together about something"; "watched TV"; "gotten or given praise or a compliment". The mother and the father are asked to fill out one of these instruments separately.

The Independent Variables

The independent variables came from three sources. The General Information Form provided basic demographic information including the demographic variables used in this study, education and income. The Dyadic Adjustment scale provided a measure of marital satisfaction. An economically, educationally, and structurally (biological or non-biological) matched set of data from twenty-five Euro-American families was used to create a variable of group membership in an Indian or Non-Indian family. The next two sections are more detailed descriptions of the General Information Form and the Dyadic Adjustment Scale.

General Information Form (see Appendix 5). This form provided most of the basic demographic information used in social research. Regarding the parents, it asks their job status, age, education, years married, total income, and relation to the target child (biological or step parent). One preadolescent child, between nine and eleven years old (third to fifth grade), was designated the "target child" for purposes of some of the instruments. Information about the children involved the number of children, their ages, and sex.

Dyadic Adjustment Scale (DAS). The DAS (see appendix 5), developed by Spanier (1976), is a thirty-two item, multiple-domain, instrument that measures marital satisfaction. Scores range from 0 to 151. The adjustment

domains that the DAS covers are dyadic satisfaction, dyadic cohesion, dyadic consensus, and affectional expression (Spanier, 1976). The DAS has been found to correlate with other, previously-used marital adjustment scales, and to have a high degree of reliability (Spanier, 1976). This study will use the one score which measures overall marital satisfaction. The mother and the father are asked to fill out one of these instruments separately.

Analysis

The analysis of the data will be based on a regression analysis. It was decided that a regression analysis would be the best method of analysis for this study because regression can not only identify relationships between variables, but also the degree of relationship compared to other variables. The independent variables will be education, marital satisfaction (as determined by the DAS), and income. Potential problems in multicollinearity between variables such as income and education that could bias the regression results will be addressed by variance inflation factors which SAS commands can calculate (Bradshaw & Mitchell, 1991). The dependent variable will be parental involvement as determined by a new measure consisting of selected items from the Child Behavior Checklist and the Activity Questionnaire. Gender differences will be explored by comparing the regression results of the mother and father

data. Cultural differences will be examined by analyzing a regression that is composed of two groups, American Indian and Non-Indian.

ANALYSIS

Results

This study investigated the relationship between the independent variables, education, income, and marital satisfaction and the dependent variable parental involvement. The sample, twenty-five sets of mothers and fathers in both American Indian and Non-Indian families, provided opportunities for within-group and cross-group comparisons.

The Results section is divided into three parts. The first part is a report on the parental involvement measure created for this study including a discussion of a factor analysis performed on the measure, the second part is a report of the within-group regressions, and the third part is a report of the cross-group regressions.

The Parental Involvement Measure

The parental involvement measure was originally a thirteen-item measure of items from two different instruments that intuitively measured the frequency of parental involvement in a number of categories. A factor analysis of the thirteen items revealed that two of the

items which asked the parent how many times a week he or she eats breakfast or dinner with the target child were not sufficiently related to the other items. These two items were dropped, leaving an eleven-item measure. Each of the remaining items was significantly loaded in at least one of the four sample sub-groups (See Table B).

Table B.

Factor Analysis:

of the Parental Involvement Measure

Loadings for the Single Factor Solution for
the Parental Involvement Measure

Variables	<i>American Indian Families</i>		<i>Non-Indian Families</i>	
	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers
Time	0.74840	0.67957	0.34804	0.60264
Hug	0.77531	0.75638	0.49763	0.79729
Played	0.22638	0.70676	0.63945	0.70695
Talked	0.84128	0.84892	0.49841	0.77432
Laughed	0.74939	0.68760	0.53709	0.64786
T.V.	0.35754	0.68144	0.36559	0.77894
Praise	0.70208	0.76940	0.71032	0.59167
CBC99n	0.71209	0.47773	0.65950	0.41932
CBC100n	0.63315	0.50400	0.73077	0.49955
CBC101n	0.45833	0.40880	0.63972	0.43016
CBC102n	0.55933	0.45106	0.33859	0.14232

A comparison of the parental involvement measure means (See Table A) reveals some very distinct gender and ethnic group differences. The mothers in American Indian families, with an average score of 145.40 and a standard deviation of 39.20, were more involved than the fathers in American Indian families, with an average score of 125.08 and a standard deviation of 36.57. The mothers in Non-Indian families, with an average score of 171.48 and a standard deviation of 37.99, were more involved than the fathers in Non-Indian families, with an average score of 150.72 and a standard deviation of 38.23. Also, Non-Indian mothers and fathers scored higher than American Indian mothers and fathers, respectively.

The Gender/Group Regressions

This set of regressions is particularly important because they are the basis for answering the hypothesis questions in reference to the data gathered from the gender/ethnic sub-groups of the sample.

For the mothers and fathers in American Indian families, only one hypothesis could be supported (See Table C). Hypothesis one: Education will be positively related to parental involvement for both men and women, was supported for the American Indian sub-sample. The mothers in American Indian families supported it with a parameter

estimate of 10.17 and a P-value of 0.0185, and the fathers supported the hypothesis with a parameter estimate of 5.90 and a P-value of 0.0550. The data for both mothers and fathers in the American Indian sub-sample were not significantly supportive of either hypothesis two: Income will be positively related to parental involvement for both men and women (See Table C) , or hypothesis three: Marital dissatisfaction will be positively related to maternal involvement and negatively related to paternal involvement .

For the Non-Indian sub-sample only one relationship was statistically significant. The relationship between marital satisfaction and maternal involvement in the Non-Indian families with a parameter estimate of 2.08 and a P-value of 0.0001 contradicts hypothesis two: Marital dissatisfaction will be positively related to maternal involvement and negatively related to paternal involvement (See Table C). The data for both mothers and fathers in the Non-Indian sub-sample were not significantly supportive of either hypothesis one or hypothesis three.

Table C.

Gender/Group Regressions

Mothers in Twenty-Five American Indian families

Maternal Involvement =
 Mother's Ed. + Household Income + Marital Satisfaction (DAS)

R-square = 0.2518

Adj R-sq = 0.1449

Variable	DF	Parameter Estimate	Prob> T
Intercep	1	-6.416892	0.9398
Education	1	10.170175	0.0185
Income	1	4.335686	0.4999
DAS Score	1	0.080046	0.8809

Fathers in Twenty-Five American Indian families

Paternal Involvement =
 Father's Ed. + Household Income + Marital Satisfaction (DAS)

R-square = 0.1792

Adj R-sq = 0.0619

Variable	DF	Parameter Estimate	Prob> T
Intercep	1	101.900650	0.1101
Education	1	5.901368	0.0550
Income	1	-3.743951	0.5522
DAS Score	1	-0.402354	0.4007

Table C.

Gender/Group Regressions (Cont.)

Mothers in Twenty-Five Non-Indian families

Maternal Involvement =
 Mother's Ed. + Household Income + Marital Satisfaction (DAS)

R-square = 0.5881

Adj R-sq = 0.5292

Variable	DF	Parameter	
		Estimate	Prob> T
Intercep	1	-129.684911	0.0675
Education	1	3.422091	0.3390
Income	1	1.459167	0.7928
DAS Score	1	2.084838	0.0001

Fathers in Twenty-Five Non-Indian families

Paternal Involvement =
 Father's Ed. + Household Income + Marital Satisfaction (DAS)

R-square = 0.0200

Adj R-sq = -0.1201

Variable	DF	Parameter	
		Estimate	Prob> T
Intercep	1	118.366643	0.1638
Education	1	1.859113	0.5794
Income	1	-1.082983	0.9003
DAS Score	1	0.091973	0.8984

Cross-Group Regressions

This set of regressions was useful in determining whether there were any differences between groups.

When fathers from both groups were combined, there were two significant relationships. A trend, with a parameter estimate of 3.98 and a P-value of 0.06, for the relationship between education and parental involvement was indicated by the data. This result supports hypothesis one. In addition, a significant effect, with a parameter estimate of 27.62 and a P-value of 0.019, for the relationship between group membership and parental involvement was also indicated by the data. This result suggests that membership in an American Indian or a Non-Indian family may make a difference in the frequency of paternal involvement in childrearing. The data, when combined for fathers in both the American Indian and Non-Indian sub-samples, were not significantly supportive of either hypothesis two or hypothesis three.

When the Mothers from both samples were combined, there were again two significant relationships. Another significant effect, with a parameter estimate of 7.71 and a P-value of 0.01, for the relationship between education and parental involvement was indicated by the data. As with the combined set of fathers, this result supports hypothesis one. The other significant relationship for the combined set of mothers, with a parameter estimate of 1.001 and a P-value of 0.008, was the relationship between marital

satisfaction and parental involvement. As with the result from the regression performed on the sub-sample of Non-Indian mothers, this result contradicts hypothesis two. The data when combined for mothers in both the American Indian and Non-Indian sub-samples were not significantly supportive of hypothesis two and did not suggest a group membership difference.

Due to the very strong relationship found between marital adjustment and parental involvement, the decision was made to see if there might be an interaction effect between marital satisfaction and the central variable of this study, group membership. There was no significant interaction effect for fathers (See Table D). For the combined group of mothers, however, from American Indian and Non-Indian families there was a very significant relationship between the interaction of group membership and marital satisfaction and the dependent variable, parental involvement, with a parameter estimate of 2.03 and a P-value of 0.0037 (See Table D). Just as intriguing is the change in the group membership relationship with parental involvement when the interaction variable is figured into the equation. The parameter estimate and P-value for this relationship now is -221.85 and 0.0063, respectively. These two results suggest that marital satisfaction is much more important for the Non-Indian mothers than for the American Indian mothers when determining maternal involvement in childrearing.

Table D.

Cross Group Regressions

Fathers in Fifty American Indian and Non-Indian families

Paternal Involvement =
 Father's Ed. + Household Income + Marital Satisfaction (DAS)
 + Group Membership (Indian or Non-Indian Family)

R-square = 0.1756

Adj R-sq = 0.1024

Variable	DF	Parameter Estimate	Prob> T
Intercep	1	106.474431	0.0258
Education	1	3.982241	0.0662
Income	1	-3.036708	0.5435
DAS Score	1	-0.229798	0.5611
Group	1	27.623463	0.0190

With an Interaction variable combining ethnicity and marital satisfaction

Paternal Involvement =
 Father's Ed. + Household Income + Marital Satisfaction (DAS)
 + Group Membership (Indian or Non-Indian Family)
+ Inter (Group * DAS Score)

R-square = 0.1782

Adj R-sq = 0.0848

Variable	DF	Parameter Estimate	Prob> T
Intercep	1	119.59653	0.0469
Education	1	3.899446	0.0761
Income	1	-3.173769	0.5307
DAS Score	1	-0.338171	0.4955
Group	1	-6.228602	0.9462
Inter	1	0.296451	0.7120

Table D.

Cross Group Regressions (Cont.)

Mothers in Fifty American Indian and Non-Indian families

Maternal Involvement =
 Mother's Ed. + Household Income + Marital Satisfaction (DAS)
 + Group Membership (Indian or Non-Indian Family)

R-square = 0.3398

Adj R-sq = 0.2811

Variable	DF	Parameter Estimate	Prob> T
Intercep	1	-78.595110	0.1769
Education	1	7.718140	0.0110
Income	1	5.082789	0.2691
DAS Score	1	1.001435	0.0080
Group	1	13.611241	0.2013

With an Interaction variable combining ethnicity and marital satisfaction

Maternal Involvement =
 Mother's Ed. + Household Income + Marital Satisfaction (DAS)
 + Group Membership (Indian or Non-Indian Family)
+ Inter (Group Membership * DAS score)

R-square = 0.4562

Adj R-sq = 0.3944

Variable	DF	Parameter Estimate	Prob> T
Intercep	1	36.926574	0.5709
Education	1	7.445562	0.0078
Income	1	3.076833	0.4698
DAS Score	1	0.036935	0.9359
Group	1	-221.853160	0.0063
Inter	1	2.034204	0.0037

Discussion

A review of the data indicates that for the sub-samples of mothers and fathers in American Indian families and for the sample as a whole, education, as Simons et. al. (1990) predicted, had a significantly positive association with parental involvement in childrearing. His rationale, that people with more education would be more cognizant of the need to prepare for the important role of parent because they are more aware of the world that their children will be entering, held up across many gender and ethnic lines.

This result implies that sometimes theory, research, and policy based upon mostly Euro-American samples is useful beyond the Euro-American population. An application for this result would be the understanding that while a quality and continued education may have numerous direct benefits, there are other subtle effects such as an apparent increase in parental involvement in childrearing that many people do not recognize. This is certainly something to think about when educational funding and support are always important issues, particularly in American Indian communities.

Aside from the education data in the cross-group comparisons, the other significant results point to group membership differences. Without the interaction variable, fathers in Non-Indian families appear to be more involved with their children than fathers in American Indian

families. If education helps fathers get more involved with their children, then perhaps we have identified a need for fathers in American Indian families to be more educated about the importance of fatherhood.

The story is a little different for mothers across groups. Parental involvement with the child seems to vary greatly for mothers in Non-Indian families depending on the degree of marital satisfaction, whereas marital satisfaction is not much of an issue in terms of parental involvement for mothers in American Indian families. Ideally, parental involvement should be a constant. In good times or bad, educated or not, children should get all the love and attention in the world. Perhaps mothers in Non-Indian families have a little to learn from mothers in American Indian families about not letting the ecological elements of life affect how much time is spent with children.

The only other result to discuss is the fact that the mean parental involvement scores for mothers and fathers in non-Indian families were higher than the respective mean parental involvement scores for mothers and fathers in American Indian families (See Table A). Too little has been written about the cultural differences between American Indian and non-Indian families to make a supposition about this difference in scores based upon the available literature. It has been my experience, however, that many American Indian families have two traditions that might account for the difference in scores. First, there is the

tradition of talking with or engaging with another individual only when appropriate and necessary (Basso, 1970). Second, there is the tradition of valuing lessons taught through independent experience and not through direct one-on-one modelling. On the surface, the noted difference in parental involvement scores might suggest that the parents in non-Indian families were more loving and caring. Actually, the difference in scores only suggests that the parents in non-Indian families were more involved or had more contact with their children.

Limitations

This study hopefully helped to bring a little more to the understanding of American Indian families. But there were many key elements of American Indian family life that this study was not able to address, thus making the parsimony of this study's findings suspect if some of those key elements were not at least mentioned.

Many indigenous families are more consanguineal than the at-one-time, officially endorsed conjugal structures of many Euro-Americans (Atleo, 1990; Goodluck, 1980; Cross, 1986). As recently as 1980, government officials called Indian reverence for and reliance upon their elders and other kin as problematic, a kind of 'family stubbornness' (Red Horse, 1980, 490), and grounds for termination of

parental rights. The cultural value that a child does not only belong to its parents, but also belongs to the extended kin-network, or community, is sometimes linked to the American Indian idea that the land is not owned by one person, but by the entire community (Goodluck and Short, 1980). And many American Indian families today have only one parent present. Also, homosexuals have a very honored and respected place in some American Indian traditions. So the structural constraints put on this study's definition of family requiring a man and a woman and not allowing for the other expanded family members did not take into account the above discussion of the expanded American Indian family.

Although mentioned earlier, it should be acknowledged again that some people might put in doubt the entire study because it is based on instruments created by and for Euro-Americans. But then again, Knight et al. (1992) used several family-oriented measures and found them all to have equivalent validity across a sample of Latino- and Euro-American families.

Because it was easier to measure given the available resources, I chose to create an instrument which measured parental involvement, not necessarily quality of parenting. Intuitively, one can easily make an argument for the equivalence of the two concepts, but some might not agree. Some might even say that such a relationship is culturally biased.

At the same time a strength and a limitation, the measure of parental involvement is based on the parent's frequency of interaction with a pre-adolescent target child. Also, there were not enough cases to take the sex of the child into account for this study. Parental involvement can change for men and women depending on the age of the child and upon the sex of the child.

Perhaps the most significant limitation of this study was the statistical weakness of performing sub-group regressions with three independent variables and twenty-five cases. The only response to this limitation is the realization that to learn statistical techniques one has to perform them on the data available and that with so little data out there on American Indian families, every little bit helps.

Conclusion

A concern that many American Indian communities have is that sometimes researchers come in, get their data, and leave without ever letting the community know what was learned from the data (Ryan, 1980). An important part of the Oregon Family Study is the Family Problem Solving Workshop that is offered to all participating families. Copies of all materials derived from this group of American Indian families will be provided to the appropriate Siletz

officials, and every attempt will be made to share what is learned from the data with the American Indian Behavioral research community and the larger national family research community.

Future studies of American Indian families should take into account an expanded structural definition of the family, explore other cultural perspectives on parental involvement and overall child care quality, investigate different parenting behaviors in relation to the sex and age of the child, explore the validity of established instruments, and utilize a greater sample size.

This study supported and contradicted the suggestion that ethnic minority researchers and practitioners should doubt research, theory, and policy based upon mostly Euro-American populations by supporting and contradicting prior work in parental involvement that is heavily based upon Euro-American samples. This study should not be the last study to test Euro-American based research, theory, and policy with subjects from different ethnic groups, but neither should it cause people to automatically dismiss Euro-American based research.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1

The Oregon Family Study: Siletz Sample and this Project

The process of double checking current theory and research findings relative to ethnic minority populations is what the Oregon Family Study: Siletz Sample is all about. In April of 1992 a National Institute of Mental Health Supplemental Grant for Underrepresented Minorities was awarded to the Oregon Family Study Lab. This grant was for an underrepresented minority graduate student to supplement the data being collected by the Oregon Family Study Lab with a sample of underrepresented minority families. The expressed purpose of the grant was not to make any grand new discoveries, but to see whether findings on Euro-American families could be replicated among a culturally distinct sample.

A large variety of data was obtained for the Oregon Family Study: Siletz Sample, and it would be a impossible to summarize them all in one report. For this Masters Thesis, I have chosen to examine the survey data. All of the decisions regarding the use of the videotape data have as yet, not been made. In addition, many of my Human Development and Family Science, Communication, and Sociology classes have dealt with gender issues in various aspects of society. The set of demographic, parent involvement, and marital satisfaction data collected in the survey portion of the study provided measures that appeared useful in exploring some of the ideas learned from classes.

Appendix 2

Other research done with the participation of the people of the Confederated Tribes of Siletz:

The Confederated Tribes of Siletz has been involved in two studies besides the Oregon Family Study. The 1985 Socio-Economic and Health Survey of the Confederated Tribes of Siletz conducted by Roberta L. Hall of the Oregon State University Anthropology Department for the Tribe provided much needed information about the status and needs of Siletz Indians (Hall,1985). The Family Functioning of Neglectful Families Study conducted by Kristine Nelson and other members of the Northwest Indian Child Welfare Association Inc. for The National Resource Center on Family Based Services compared various characteristics of neglecting and non-neglecting, native and non-native families from Tama County, Iowa (The Sac & Fox and Mesquite tribes) and the eleven Oregon counties the Siletz identify as their service area (Nelson,1992). Nelson reports a sample of 57 native and 83 non-native families, but does not identify which families were from Iowa or Oregon. This suggests that the families from Iowa and Oregon, native and non-native, were decided to be more similar than different, making it acceptable to not separate them into separate groups by state and/or tribe. Demographic data from both studies will be compared to data from the Oregon Family Study Siletz sample.

Another recent study done with the participation of the people of Siletz was, "The Siletz Eels:" (1993) by Downey, Rilatos, Sondenaar, and Zybach. This study, featuring a qualitative report of interviews with Siletz elders talking about Siletz River Lamprey fishing customs was especially exciting because the principal investigators were Siletz Tribal members.

Appendix 3

More about the Confederated Tribes of Siletz

The Confederated Tribes of Siletz includes the Alsea, Chastacosta, Chetco, Chinook, Kusa, Siuslaw, Shasta, Umpqua, Maconotin, Joshua, Coquille, Tutuni, Molalla, Tillamook, Rogue River, Dekubetde, Kwatami (Sixes), Galice Creek, Salmon River, Kalapuya, Naltnatunne, Yaquina, Yuki, and Klickitat (Siletz Newsletter, 1993). Most of the people who would later make up the Siletz were isolated in the Siletz reservation area by the mid-1800's. In 1855 the Siletz ceded nearly 11 million acres of their land in a treaty which they adhered to, but the United States government never totally observed because the treaty was never ratified in Congress (Zucker et. al., 1983). Although the Siletz had already endured many hardships and great loss of land, further disruptions came in 1892 and 1901 when the allotment policy of the U.S. government caused surplus lands not allotted to individual Siletz members to go to the United States. In 1954 the government's termination policy ended all ties between the U.S. government and the people of Siletz (Zucker et. al., 1983). The reservation, which at one time exceeded 1,300,000 acres in size, no longer existed (Siletz Newsletter, 1993). This official loss of identity and legal claim to much of anything (e.g., land, fishing and hunting rights, and sacred artifacts) caused many to move from the Siletz reservation area to more urban areas. Through decades of work, the Confederated Tribes of Siletz was

restored to full recognition in 1977 (Zucker et. al., 1983). Today the Confederated Tribes serves members in eleven Oregon counties and is in the midst of attaining full control of their economic and political destiny through economic developments such as a salmon smokehouse and a gaming center and political changes such as a reworking of their relationship with the federal government as one of twenty-three tribes in the United States to be a part of the Self-Governance Demonstration Project (Siletz Newsletter, 1993).

Appendix 4

The process behind this study's definition of an "American Indian family"

One of the biggest issues facing this project was the criteria item, "Siletz American Indian family". Do all the families need to be Siletz Indian families? Although the National Institute of Mental Health did know of the project's intention to work with the Confederated Tribes of Siletz, funding for this project did not specify that the subjects needed to be only Siletz families. Consisting of many tribes and coming from very different areas already, the people of Siletz have become a very diverse Indian community. Very few of the Siletz surveyed in the Hall survey were full blood Native Americans, most did not know how much they had or had 1/2 or less Indian blood (Hall, 1985). There is also precedent for combining Siletz subjects with seemingly dissimilar Indian subjects (Nelson, 1992). So it was decided that, although most of the families would be tribal members or non-Siletz Indian families from the town of Siletz, it would be acceptable for Indian families from other tribes to be a part of the study in order to achieve the desired sample size of twenty-five.

What is an "American Indian family"? This question goes back to one of the most divisive controversies in the American Indian community today, "What/who is an Indian?". There seem to be as many definitions as there are tribes. (Fay, 1981). The government has its share of bureaucratic

answers to the question of Indian identity. Most of their answers say that if you are recognized by some entity, either a tribe or some other kind of community Indian organization, then you are an Indian (United States Reports, 1977; Title 25, 1990; Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1987). And numerous people have written on the subject (Cohen, 1982; Will, 1988; Wallman & Hodgdon, 1977). So until some kind of consensus is attained, it would seem prudent for research to stay out of this debate and look to a theory and research based definition rather than a governmental or a tribal definition (see Subjects section).

Appendix 5. Instruments

Dyadic Adjustment Scale

ID NUMBER _____
 PARENT _____
 DATE _____

Some couples have disagreements in their relationships. Please indicate below the approximate extent of agreement or disagreement you and your spouse have for each item on the following list.

	Always Agree	Almost Always Agree	Occasionally Disagree	Frequently Disagree	Almost Always Disagree	Always Disagree
Managing family finances						
Methods of recreation						
Religious matters						
Expressions of affection						
Sexual needs						
Sexual relations						
Conventuality (correct or proper behavior)						
Philosophy of life						
Methods of dealing with parents or in-laws						
Values, goals, and things believed in						
Amount of time spent together						
Sharing major decisions						
Household tasks						
Leisure time interests and activities						
Major decisions						

	All the time	Most of the time	More often than not	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
How often do you discuss or have you considered divorce, separation, terminating your relationship?						
How often do you or your mate leave the house after a fight?						
In general, how often do you think that things between you and your spouse are going well?						
Do you confide in your mate?						
Do you ever regret that you married?						

Source pages for the Parental Involvement Measure

6. In the blanks below, list the number of times in the last weeks that you and your target child did the following activities together.
- 1. spent time alone together
 - 2. given or gotten a hug or kiss
 - 3. played together (e.g., with toys, games, sports, etc.)
 - 4. talked for ten minutes or more about school, hobbies, common interests, other activities
 - 5. laughed together about something
 - 6. watched TV
 - 7. gotten or given praise or a compliment
 - 8. gone out to eat
 - 9. gone to a movie
 - 10. gone shopping
 - 11. gone for a snack such as ice cream or a coke
 - 12. other _____
 - 13. other _____
 - 14. other _____
7. In the blanks below, list the number of times in the last weeks that the two parents and target child and/or child did the following activities together.
- 1. played together
 - 2. talked for ten minutes or more about school, hobbies, common interests, other activities
 - 3. laughed together about something
 - 4. watched TV
 - 5. gone out to eat
 - 6. gone to a movie
 - 7. gone shopping
 - 8. gone for a snack such as ice cream or a coke
 - 9. rented and watched video tapes
 - 10. other _____
 - 11. other _____
 - 12. other _____
8. About how many times a week do you eat breakfast with your children?
- 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 ;
9. About how many times a week does your entire family eat breakfast together?
- 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
10. About how many times a week do you eat dinner with your children?
- 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
11. About how many times a week does your entire family eat together?
- 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Compared to other children his age, how well does your target

a. Get along with his brothers and sisters?

Worse About the Same Better

b. Get along with other children?

Worse About the Same Better

c. Behave with his parents?

Worse About the Same Better

d. Play and work by himself?

Worse About the Same Better

Compared to other children his age, how often does your ta

a. Fight with his brother and/or sister

a lot some very little none

b. Play or talk with his brother and/or sister

a lot some very little none

About how many close friends does your target child have?

a. none b. one c. two or three d. four

What was the average grade your target child received last

A B C D F

How well do you get along with your target child?

a. not well at all c. fairly well e. extremely well

b. not too well d. very well

How close are you to your target child?

a. not close at all c. fairly close e. extremely close

b. not too close d. very close

. How often do you spend time alone with your target child?

a. once a day b. more than once a week

c. more than twice a month d. once a month

e. less than once a month

. Who does the childrearing tasks?

a. mother almost entirely b. mother mostly

c. parents share d. father mostly

e. father almost entirely f. person other than parent

How often do you disagree with one another on childrearing

a. almost all the time c. occasionally e. ne