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Differences in the Identity Formation Process of American Indian Adolescents in Urban and  
Reservation Contexts

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## **Differences in American Indian Identity Formation Processes Between Urban- and Reservation-dwelling Adolescents**

American Indian identity is multifaceted with numerous considerations that need to be included such as race, gender, religious affiliation, level of education, and socioeconomic status (Weaver, 2001). Thus, it is not as simple as checking boxes on a census form. Because there are so many possibilities to take into account in defining American Indian identity, to take them all on would be foolish and no one area would be given enough attention to do it justice (Weaver, 2001). The focus of this paper is on the process of identity formation for American Indian adolescents living in urban areas versus those living on reservations.

Within the last half century, the population of American Indians has been steadily increasing, with the majority moving to more metropolitan areas. According to the U.S. Census of 2010 (Norris, Vines, & Hoeffel, 2012), the population of American Indians has dramatically increased by 39 percent. This growth in the American Indian population is almost twice as much as the growth of the total U.S. population (Norris, Vines, & Hoeffel, 2012). The total percentage of American Indian and Alaska Native peoples living outside American Indian or Alaska Native areas is 78 percent (Norris, Vines, & Hoeffel, 2012). Therefore, the majority of American Indians nowadays are residing outside American Indian designated areas, such as on reservations and trust lands, and are now living in more urbanized areas.

Living in an urban environment is different than living in a reservation environment. Accordingly, the differences present in each environment have certain implications for identity formation processes. This paper focuses on the development of

identity formation processes from a theoretical basis consisting of developmental, sociocultural, and acculturation perspectives. More specifically, these perspectives will be combined and applied to American Indian adolescents' identity formation processes through Brit Oppedal's (2006) Acculturation development model and another model formulated by Phinney and Baldelomar (2010). Oppedal's (2006) model explains how a developing child interacts with the majority culture and their minority culture; for American Indian adolescents, the levels of interaction differ for those living in an urban area or on a reservation. Phinney and Baldelomar's (2010) model is used to demonstrate that American Indian adolescents living in an urban environment have a wider range of options in identity development, leading to a broad exploration pathway in identity achievement. On the other hand, American Indian adolescents living on reservations have a more narrow range of options in identity development, leading to a narrow exploration pathway in identity achievement.

The differences of American Indian adolescents living in urban areas and reservations have been studied in relation to constructs such as ethnic centrality. However, specific ethnic identity formation processes have not been as closely examined for American Indian adolescents. This paper will demonstrate how Oppedal's model and Phinney and Baldelomar's model can be applied to show differences in ethnic identity formation processes between American Indian adolescents in urban and in reservation areas, contributing to the literature on adolescent identity development. Additionally, this paper will explore a few areas in which these processes have practical implications such as self-esteem and academic achievement.

This paper begins by giving a historical background of Termination and Relocation policies, which give rise to the distinctions between “urban” and “reservation” Indians. After this section, the sociocultural perspective is presented. Then, acculturation is explained where Oppedal’s Acculturation development model is applied. The following section describes enculturation. Next, the evolution within developmental psychology of how the concept of identity has formed to include ethnic identity is explained, concluding with the application of Phinney and Baldelomar’s model. Subsequently, the discussion will address the practical implications of the differences in identity formation processes, including self-esteem and academic success. The paper concludes by pointing out the limitations of applying both models and other areas future research should further explore.

### **Historical Background**

#### **Termination and Relocation Policies**

During WWII in the 1940s, the U.S. needed to reduce spending on certain domestic affairs in order to organize a final attack on the Axis powers (Fixico, 1986/1992). One of the domestic programs that was reduced included the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which funded areas such as American Indian schools and hospitals (Fixico, 1986/1992). Most of Congress during this time period supported and helped plan efforts to assimilate American Indians (Fixico, 1986/1992).

Two programs that supported the government’s decreased intervention and American Indians’ assimilation were the Indian Claims Commission and the Zimmerman Plan (Fixico, 1986/1992). The Indian Claims Commission was established in 1946 to handle the multitude of Indian claims being brought forth against the United States in the Court of Claims pertaining to fishing, hunting, land, and treaty rights that were broken

(Prucha, 1975/2000). The Zimmerman Plan was the seed of Termination and Relocation policies that was planted; it was a plan strategizing which tribal nations would be terminated during the 1950s and 1960s based on their readiness of survival once the federal government terminated their trust status (Fixico, 1986/1992). A few years after the Zimmerman Plan was created, Congress then passed the two major pieces of termination legislation in 1953: House Concurrent Resolution 108 and Public Law 280. House Concurrent Resolution 108 declared the planned abolishment of all American Indian tribes from federal supervision (Prucha, 1975/2000). Two weeks later, Congress passed Public Law 280. This law gave states jurisdiction over criminal offenses, which dramatically decreased the sovereignty of Native Nations, allowing states more power (Prucha, 1975/2000).

In accordance with these termination policies, a year later in 1954 Congress initiated the Relocation of Indians in Urban Areas (Prucha, 1975/2000). This program called for the relocation of American Indians from reservations to urban areas to support assimilation attempts. In the 1940s, only one-tenth of all American Indians in the U.S. lived in urban areas (LaGrand, 2002). Then, in a span of only forty years, the population of American Indians living in urban areas jumped from one-tenth to more than one-half. American Indians moved to urban areas faster than any other racial or ethnic group since World War II (LaGrand, 2002). Currently, the majority of American Indians still live in urbanized areas (Norris, Vines, & Hoeffel, 2012) compared to those living on reservations, trust lands, or non-trust lands. The differences between living in an urban environment versus on a reservation is discussed next.

### **Urban Versus Reservation**

Traditionally, American Indians have been viewed as anomalous when placed in settings such as cities because Indians have typically been depicted as living away from and not taking part in modernity; they are instead supposed to be living in the woods, in tipis, or on reservations, away from industrialized society (Deloria, 2004). When they are present within urban environments, they seem out of place; therefore, they do not belong. This stereotype, along with many others, remain, permeating all walks of society, and continuously influencing American Indian identity.

Since the 1950s, there has been a shift in what it means to be Indian (LaGrand, 2002). Changes in definitions of Indian identity evolved from not only focusing on one's specific tribal identity but also including a more broad and inclusive identity of pan-Indianism (LaGrand, 2002). Pan-Indianism, or pan-tribalism, is a term meant to describe what it means to be Indian in a broader, more urbanized sense (LaGrand, 2002). Straus and Valentino (1998) describe the views of Bob Thomas, a Cherokee from the University of Arizona in the 1970s; he perceived Indians living in urban areas as negatively affecting American Indians as a people (Straus & Valentino, 1998). They further describe Thomas's view and how he believes pan-Indianism is dislodging traditional knowledge and identity (Straus & Valentino, 1998). Straus and Valentino (1998) disagree with Bob Thomas, defining "urban" as an experience rather than a defining characteristic of American Indian people. Moreover, because there are so many cities or urban areas bordering multiple reservations, there is subsequent contact between the two settings, allowing for the transfer of knowledge of both experiences. Therefore, the gap between urban and reservation is merely imagined (Straus & Valentino, 1998). Straus and Valentino (1998) point out that there is no dislodging of traditional knowledge or identity among urban

Indians. American Indians living in an urban environment are similar to other American Indians living on a reservation; the only difference is that they have a different experience growing up. Therefore, this paper will argue that these different experiences of growing up in an urban or a reservation context influences the way American Indian adolescents form their identity. The sociocultural perspective is discussed next, explaining how contexts do more than play an influential role.

### **Theoretical Foundation**

#### **Sociocultural Perspective**

According to the sociocultural perspective, contexts do more than merely influence an individual (Markus and Hamedani, 2007). Because people exist everywhere in social networks, in relationships with others, in communities, people are actively constructing their contexts (Markus and Hamedani, 2007). Moreover, as people continuously construct their contexts, their contexts influence people in return. Thus, there is a constant reciprocal relationship between people and their context. As people go throughout life, they are actively constructing their contexts with representations, products, and systems, which reflect their previous thoughts, feelings, and actions (Markus and Hamedani, 2007). These representations, products, and systems are called the patterns of contexts (Markus and Hamedani, 2007).

In this way, psychological processes are formed by an individual's participation in society (Markus and Hamedani, 2007). People give birth to ideas, practices, and products that are all filled with meanings, and which are all active and incorporated in the very formation and operation of psychological processes (Markus and Hamedani, 2007). As a result, a context cannot exist without people, and people cannot exist without a context.

Therefore, the context is not separate from the individual; instead the context is the “psychological externalized” (Markus and Hamedani, 2007, p. 4).

In order to become mature and competent in everyday life, an individual must engage and learn the patterning of the different sociocultural contexts where one lives (Markus and Hamedani, 2007). The context or environment one lives in influences the extent to which he or she learns the patterning of the majority culture. In other words, an adolescent living in an urban environment will have learned the patterning of the majority culture differently than adolescents living on a reservation. Learning the pattern of the majority culture can be seen as acculturation, which is described in the following section.

### **Acculturation**

Brit Oppedal (2006) explains that children growing up in multicultural societies must become competent in two different cultural environments in order to feel a sense of belonging, to be a member of their ethnic group and of the majority culture. In other words, they must go through a process of acculturation where they learn the domain-specifics of each environment, or “models of virtue” (Oppedal, 2006, p. 97). Similar to engaging within one’s sociocultural context described above, in order to successfully acculturate, an individual must take part in and learn the models of virtue within his or her own ethnic group and the majority culture (Oppedal, 2006). Oppedal (2006) describes an Acculturation development model in which the adolescent is located in the center of the sociocultural domains of the majority and ethnic group cultures. Within these domains are settings, such as schools and ethnic peer-groups, which can affect the adolescent directly or indirectly (Oppedal, 2006). By engaging within these domains, the adolescent becomes

more knowledgeable of the “working models” (Oppedal, 2006, p. 98) of the majority and his or her minority culture.

Oppedal’s contextual model of acculturation depicts these interactions with the majority and minority culture. The diagram of this is included at the end of this paper as Figure 1. This model can be applied to American Indian adolescents. American Indian adolescents living in urban areas have more interaction with the majority culture. In that way, they have higher levels of acculturation. American Indian adolescents living on reservations have lower levels of interaction with the majority culture. In that way, they have lower levels of acculturation. They interact more with their minority culture; thus, American Indian adolescents living on reservations instead have higher levels of enculturation, which is discussed in the next section.

### **Enculturation**

Enculturation is a lifelong process (Wilbert, 1976, as cited in Zimmerman, Washienko, Walter, and Dyer, 1996). It can be defined as the extent one seeks to learn about and identify with one’s ethnic group (Little Soldier, 1985, as cited in Zimmerman et al., 1996). It also includes a sense of pride in one’s ethnic group, as well as pride in one’s cultural heritage and traditional cultural activities (Wilbert, 1976, as cited in Zimmerman et al., 1996). For American Indians, an enculturation hypothesis was proposed by Zimmerman et al. (1998) stating that American Indians who felt pride within their ethnic group was a predictor of self-esteem; the hypothesis thereby suggests that enculturation plays an important role in their psychological well-being. Self-esteem and enculturation are further explored towards the end of this paper. The next section outlines the major turning

points in psychology, concluding with ethnic identity formation and how it is applied to American Indian adolescents.

### **Identity in Developmental Psychology**

#### **Erik Erikson**

In this section, the theoretical workings of various psychologists are described because they lay the foundation for ethnic identity development. According to Erikson (1968), the most important part of the identity formation process occurs during adolescence (as cited in Kroger, 2007). Erikson said that identity formation cannot begin until an infant establishes a sense of self, and this can only be through introjection (as cited in Kroger, 2007). Introjection is the process by which an infant learns the image of others, and imitates those images, or behaviors, in order to create a sense of security (as cited in Kroger, 2007). Once a sense of security has been achieved, the infant can explore further relationships with others, creating identifications with those the infant admires, subsequently emulating them (as cited in Kroger, 2007). Next, as the child develops, an “intrapsychic structure” (as cited in Kroger, 2007, p. 11) forms that allows the child to facilitate, whereas the now adolescent was facilitated by previously formed identifications throughout childhood.

Within the identity formation process, Erikson (1968) said that the adolescent must go through an identity crisis, which he stated is “a necessary turning point, a crucial moment when development must move one way or another, marshaling resources of growth, recovery, and further differentiation” (as cited in Kroger, 2007, p. 11). Additionally, Erikson said that when the identity formation process has stopped prematurely, identity is considered to be foreclosed (as cited in Kroger, 2007). Erikson also described moratorium,

a period in which an adolescent explores possible identity commitments, postponing adulthood (as cited in Kroger, 2007).

### **James E. Marcia**

Marcia (1966) took Erikson's concepts of exploration and commitment, expanded them, and created an identity status model. A status is a position or outcome within the identity formation process. Within Marcia's (1966) identity status model, high and low levels of exploration and commitment combine to create four possible identity statuses or achievements. A diagram depicting these four statuses is included at the end of this paper as Figure 2. These statuses include identity diffusion, which is when an individual has low levels of both exploration and commitment (Marcia, 1966). In other words, the adolescent does not feel like growing up and is indifferent. The next status, identity foreclosure, is when there are low levels of exploration but high levels of commitment (Marcia, 1966). This means that the adolescent did not explore all of his or her options, and prematurely committed to an identity. Moratorium is when there are high levels of exploration, but low levels of commitment (Marcia, 1966). This means the adolescent is stuck in the explorations stage. Identity achievement is the last status; it is when there are high levels of exploration and also high levels of commitment (Marcia, 1966). This means the adolescent has fully explored all of his or her identity options and made a commitment on his or her own, independently.

This last status, identity achievement, is considered to be the only positive outcome. Marcia's model was developed in the United States, which is a very individualistic society (Kiang and Baldelomar, 2010; Phinney and Baldelomar, 2010). Therefore, the model reflects that perspective in that exploration is meant to be a period of rejecting other

people's wishes in choosing an identity and instead going out on one's own, choosing an identity independently (Phinney and Baldelomar, 2010). Furthermore, identity foreclosure is viewed as a negative outcome because the adolescent commits to an identity based on others' wishes, such as that of his or her parents or community (Phinney and Baldelomar, 2010). Committing to an identity based on other people's wishes is characteristic of collectivistic societies (Phinney and Baldelomar, 2010). In taking into account such cultural differences for the identity formation process, Phinney and Baldelomar proposed the cross-cultural identity status model, which is discussed in the next section.

### **Jean Phinney and Oscar Baldelomar**

Expanding on Marcia's concepts of exploration and achievement, Phinney and Baldelomar (2010) included interdependent cultural contexts and proposed the cross-cultural identity status model. This model is shown at the end as Figure 3. Independent is another term for individualistic societies, in which the focus is on the individual, and one's personal goals are put above those of the group. Interdependent is another term for collectivistic societies, in which the focus is on the unity of the group of community, and where the goals of the group are put above those of the individual. Within Phinney and Baldelomar's model, an independent identity achievement is when an adolescent seeks to become different from others, emphasizing his or her individuality (Phinney and Baldelomar, 2010). An interdependent identity achievement is when an adolescent seeks to embrace identity roles specific to his or her cultural community (Phinney and Baldelomar, 2010). In other words, an interdependent achievement is defined by family connections and their cultural community (Baldelomar, 2013).

In order to develop an achieved identity, the diffused adolescent goes through the process of exploration, which depends on the availability of identity options. For those living in interdependent contexts, the major distinction in this process is explained by the terms “broad” or “narrow” (Phinney and Baldelomar, 2010). Having a broad or narrow identity exploration for ethnic adolescents depends on the identity options available and the cultural community’s expectations (Phinney and Baldelomar, 2010). It is important to point out that within this model, narrow and broad exploration refer to differences in ways of thinking about their identity options (Phinney and Baldelomar, 2010). It is proposed that broad exploration involves critical thinking to compare the multiple options available, and narrow exploration involves little or no critical thinking due to fewer options available (Phinney and Baldelomar, 2010).

For ethnic adolescents living in interdependent cultural groups, or American Indian adolescents living on reservations, it is argued that they will have a more narrow range of identity options available. Since they have fewer options to choose from, they will need little or no critical thinking. For ethnic adolescents living in independent cultural groups, or American Indians living in urban areas, it is argued that they will have a broad range of identity options (Phinney and Baldelomar, 2010). Since they have multiple options to choose from, they will need critical thinking to compare and contrast all of the options.

American Indian adolescents living in an urban environment have many options available, but are also exposed to various negative stereotypes of being Indian. Living on a reservation makes being American Indian much more salient because only American Indians live on reservations. In contrast, American Indian adolescents living in urban areas

have the ability to reject being American Indian because there are many more options available. The environment in which they live is not putting pressure on them to choose.

Adolescents living in cultural groups where identity is interdependently achieved is normative of ethnic communities, or reservations. Because ethnic adolescents usually have ascribed identities, they cannot readily choose from other ethnicities (Kiang and Baldelomar, 2010). This leaves them with limited identity options, unless they can physically pass as being from a different ethnicity (Kiang and Baldelomar, 2010). American Indian adolescents living on reservations have few options than those living in urban areas. Living on a reservation and in that context puts more pressure on identifying with being Indian because it is so salient. They do not have the ability to readily choose. In this way, American Indian adolescents living on reservations develop their ethnic identity more easily, with less critical thinking, and will have stronger American Indian identities earlier than those living in urban areas. In urban areas, there are more identity options available and less pressure to choose; they will, therefore, take longer to choose an identity as they explore and think critically about the various options.

This model of ethnic identity formation takes into account the importance of culture in stating that it is inextricably woven into one's developing sense of identity (Phinney and Baldelomar, 2010). As previously indicated, Phinney and Baldelomar (2010) explain how identity and one's cultural context have a mutual relationship in four ways: identity is relational, identity options are dependent on the cultural context, individuals are influenced by their cultural context in choosing identity options, and identity development is influenced by the values and expectations within the cultural context. Being influenced

by one's cultural context is along the lines of a sociocultural perspective in which an individual's context plays an extremely important role.

### **Discussion**

As discussed earlier, American Indian adolescents growing up in urbanized areas are living in a sociocultural context, or domain, very different from adolescents growing up on a reservation. Consequently, there are differences in identity formation processes. American Indian adolescents growing up on reservations are exposed to a more traditional culture than those living in more developed societies, such as urban cities. Thus, adolescents living in more traditional cultures will have more ascribed identity domains, and will have narrow identity exploration compared to adolescents living in urban areas, who will have broad identity exploration (Phinney and Baldelomar, 2010). Those living on reservations will likely develop American Indian identities more easily, earlier, and with more conviction than adolescents living in urban areas. On the other hand, American Indian adolescents living in urban areas will likely develop identities less easily, later, and with possibly less conviction due to the increased exposure to negative stereotypes.

This increased exposure to negative stereotypes relates to the Acculturation development model, discussed previously. American Indian adolescents living in urban areas interact more with the majority culture than American Indian adolescents living on reservations. Thus, adolescents living in urban areas will have higher levels of acculturation than adolescents living on reservations. As noted before, adolescents living on reservations will have instead higher levels of enculturation as they interact more with their minority culture. Within the next section, psychological effects of acculturation and

enculturation are explored, including self-esteem and academic success, in relation to being American Indian.

### **Practical Implications**

#### *Self-esteem*

Studies looking at self-esteem among American Indian adolescents have considered differences in levels of enculturation and acculturation. One such study was conducted by Teresa D. LaFromboise, Karen Albright, and Alex Harris (2010); their study looked at mental health in relation to levels of acculturation and living environment among American Indian adolescents in urban areas, reservations, and rural areas. Acculturation was defined as competency in domain-specific cultures, and they found that those adept in both American Indian culture and the majority culture had the lowest levels of hopelessness (LaFromboise et al., 2010). Lower levels of hopelessness was associated with various positive outcomes, including higher self-esteem (LaFromboise et al., 2010). Comparing urban and reservation American Indian adolescents, those living on reservations experienced the least amount of hopelessness than those living in urban or rural areas. However, having a higher level of acculturation was more beneficial for those living in urban areas than on reservations or in rural areas (LaFromboise et al., 2010). This study thus showed support for the benefits of being biculturally competent, which is the “ability to function effectively in two cultures without losing one’s cultural identity or choosing one culture over the other” (LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton, 1993, as cited in LaFromboise et al., 2010, p. 69).

In a study by Stumblingbear-Riddle and Romans, higher enculturation levels were seen to be associated with higher levels of resiliency for both American Indian adolescents

living in urban and reservation environments. However, level of enculturation were higher and a better predictor for American Indian adolescents living on reservations. The results indicated that enculturation plays a role for American Indian adolescents, but not necessarily the same role for those living on reservations and those living in urban areas. Enculturation may influence the way American Indian adolescents living in either context view academic success, for example. Additionally, self-esteem was seen to have a strong positive association with academic success for both American Indian adolescents living on reservations as in urban areas. Academic success is discussed in the next section.

### *Academic Success*

The way academic achievement is defined and the way it is valued varies from culture to culture (Trumbull and Rothstein-Fisch, 2011). Depending on which culture one lives in, there are different definitions of what academic success exactly means, and in accordance, different motivations for academic success (Trumbull and Rothstein-Fisch, 2011). Trumbull and Rothstein-Fisch (2011) give an example of people from Western cultures being academically motivated for one's individual success whereas those living in Eastern cultures are academically motivated to bring honor to one's family. Awareness of cultural differences in valuing education can be applied to American Indian adolescents. They may be academically motivated differently than non-Indians: as previously discussed, their differences in identity formation processes may also play a role in their academic motivation. For example, American Indian adolescents living on reservations may be academically motivated more so by family and community; in contrast, American Indian adolescents living in urban areas may be more individually motivated to do well in school.

The discontinuity between cultural contexts is thought to be a cause of American Indian students' low academic performance, and educational school curriculum and interventions are thought to be possible solutions (Powers, 2006). Some curriculum or intervention programs seek to incorporate more cultural aspects of American Indians in order to increase motivations for academic achievement. By combining teachings of both the majority culture and American Indian cultures, it is hoped that students' capabilities in both contexts will increase, thereby increasing their self-esteem as well as their academic performance.

### **Limitations**

The cross-cultural identity status model was only applied to reservation and urban contexts, excluding other possible contexts such as rural settings. Also, similar to other models, they are not inclusive of everyone. Additionally, the focus of this literature was very narrow; only developmental and sociocultural psychology was used, excluding other psychological theories such as social identity theory. More importantly, since people are constantly changing, so do contexts. As contexts change, the application of the cross-cultural identity status model and the acculturation model of development may not hold true for future generations.

### **Future Research**

I propose for future research that studies be designed and conducted that incorporate the application of these theories to American Indian adolescents. This paper only applied theories; thus, the conclusions drawn are only conjectural. Implementing and testing the application of these theories will greatly benefit the identity development psychological literature.

Additionally, future areas that could be further explored include American Indian identity formation processes compared to adolescent immigrant identity formation. People from various countries immigrate to the United States and typically settle in urban areas. Areas such as Chinatowns have a high population of a specific ethnicity. These high ethnic population areas could be compared to reservations and how adolescents are similar or different in forming their ethnic identity. Going further in comparing American Indian adolescents and immigrant adolescents, analyses could include generational similarities and/or differences.

Furthermore, within urban areas there are Indian centers and neighborhoods with a high American Indian population. Future research could examine the identity development processes within these contexts and compare them to reservations and to urban areas where there is a low number of American Indians. Also, studies could examine the possible differences between American Indian adolescents living in suburban areas to those living in the inner city, and to those living on the reservation.

### **Conclusion**

This paper examined the differences in identity formation processes of American Indian adolescents living in urban areas and on reservations. According to the cross-cultural model, those living on reservations will have narrow exploration because they have fewer identity options available. Since they have fewer options, they will require little or no critical thinking in choosing an identity option. They will then ultimately have an interdependent identity achievement, which is a culturally normative process. For American Indian adolescents living in urban areas, they will have broad exploration because they have multiple identity options to choose from. Because they have so many

options, they will need critical thinking in order to choose one. Ultimately, they will have an achieved identity that is an individually chosen process. According to the acculturation model, American Indians adolescents living on reservations will also have higher levels of enculturation while American Indian adolescents living in urban areas will have higher levels of acculturation.

Historically, American Indians were forced to relocate to urban areas as some reservations were terminated. In order to adapt, American Indians living in urban areas had to interact more with the majority culture, becoming more acculturated. Some attitudes towards urban Indians are negative; they are viewed as out of place, instead belonging outside the reach of modernity. However, as the majority of American Indians now live in urban areas, this perspective seems to have little footing.

The complexities of American Indian identity has been debated on multiple occasions, in various periods, and in several academic fields. There are numerous theories and definitions related to acculturation, enculturation, identity development, academic success, and self-esteem. However, little research exists that apply such theories and concepts to American Indian adolescents in urban and reservation contexts. Thus, this area needs to be further explored, and more studies need to be conducted with American Indian adolescents. It is important, though, that the field of psychology does not fall prey to the stereotype that American Indians belong on reservations and outside of modernity. As contexts continually change, and as our societies become more and more urban, this stereotype will no longer have footing. Then, the differences in the identity formation process between urban and reservation contexts may no longer exist. Instead, there may be

more similarities than differences and thus, newer models of identity development will be needed.

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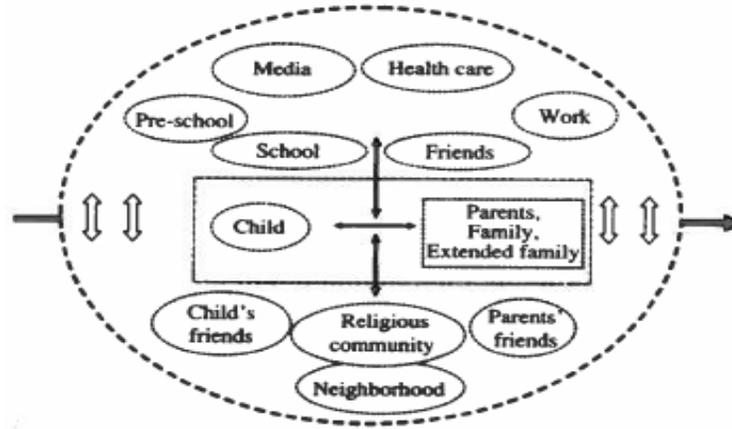
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FIGURE 1

Contextual Model of Acculturation Development (Oppedal, 2006)

Interaction characterized mainly by majority culture



Interaction characterized mainly by minority culture

FIGURE 2

Marcia's Identity Status Model (1966)

		Commitment	
		Low	High
Exploration	Low	Identity Diffusion	Identity Foreclosure
	High	Moratorium	Identity Achievement

FIGURE 3

Cross-cultural Identity Status Model (Phinney & Baldelomar, 2010)

