

The Relationship between Decision-Making Style and Self-Constraint and the
Subjective Happiness of Native Americans

by

Amoneeta Beckstein

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved November 2015 by the
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Richard Kinnier, Chair
Giac-Thao Tran
Leo Killsback

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

December 2015

ABSTRACT

What is the effect of decision-making-style (maximizer versus satisficer) and an interdependent-versus-independent self-construal on the subjective happiness of Native Americans? One hundred seventy-nine Native American adult community members were administered the Maximization Inventory, the Self-Construal Scale, and the Subjective Happiness Scale. Correlations between variables in addition to multiple regression analyses were conducted with predictors of decision making style, self-construal, gender, annual income, traditionalism, and Native language ability with subjective happiness as the dependent variable. These variables explained a significant amount of the variance of subjective happiness for this sample of Native Americans. The most variance was explained by satisficing. Maximizing was associated with unhappiness. Individuals with greater satisficing tendencies also tended to be more interdependent. Higher income was positively associated with happiness and negatively associated with maximizing. Interdependence did not have an effect on happiness. However, independence increased happiness while having no effect on maximizing. No gender differences were found for maximizing. Traditionalism and Native language ability were not associated with satisficing nor interdependence. Limitations, implications for counseling, and future directions are explored.

Keywords: Subjective Happiness, Subjective Well-Being, Maximizers, Satisficers, Individualism, Collectivism, Self-construal, Native American

DEDICATION

To *agidoda*, John Beck

Ema sheli, Yael Beck

Saba sheli, Yosef Shpigel

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project was not possible without the contributions of so many people. One page simply does not do justice to the hard work, sacrifice, and dedication of these people. I particularly wish to thank my adviser, Dr. Richard Kinnier, who tirelessly edited draft after draft, assisted and encouraged with dedication and expertise every step of the way, and helped me navigate the higher education system. Committee members Dr. Alisia Tran and Dr. Leo KILLSBACK (Northern Cheyenne) were also instrumental in making this a much more empirical and culturally appropriate study. Next, each one of my family members has always been there for me and has understood my absence from their lives. My father was part of the inspiration for this study, and he contributed ideas and background history about Native Americans. My mother was always there to tell me everything will turn out *beceder* and to remind me to take breaks. Basant Virdee and Jessica (Eugene) Loesch along with countless other friends have encouraged me, brainstormed ideas, listened to my complaints, and offered to proofread along with other forms of support. Phutsacha Tippanet has assisted in innumerable ways from data collection to stats analysis to ideas generation to formatting advice to emotional support. Finally and especially thank you to all the kind participants who agreed to donate their time and a piece of themselves despite the potential for exploitation and colonization. Thank you to all those who have contributed including those I do not have space here to mention. This study would definitely not be possible without each and every one of you. *Wado* (Thank you)!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	vi
CHAPTER	
1 THE PROBLEM IN PERSPECTIVE	1
Native American Culture & Happiness.....	3
Well-Being & Happiness.....	12
Collectivism & Individualism	20
Interdependent & Independent Self-construal	23
The Maximizer/Satisficer Continuum & Happiness.....	26
Maximization, Happiness, & Culture.....	36
Summary, Rationale, & Hypotheses	48
2 METHOD	51
Participants.....	51
Measures	55
Subjective Happiness.....	55
Maximization.....	56
Self-construal.....	58
Additional Measures.....	60
Native Language.....	60
Traditionalism.....	60
Annual Income.....	61
Procedures	61

CHAPTER	Page
Analyses	62
3 RESULTS	65
Preliminary Analyses.....	67
Primary Analyses of Hypotheses.....	67
4 DISCUSSION	70
Limitations	74
A Note on Decolonization.....	74
Additional Limitations.....	76
Implications for Practice.....	78
Recommendations for Future Research	79
REFERENCES.....	81
APPENDIX	
A COVER LETTER	97
B HAPPINESS SURVEY	99
C EXEMPTION GRANTED LETTER	108
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.....	110

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Actual Post-hoc Power of all Hypotheses	51
2. Means, Standard Deviations, and Cronbach Alphas of all Measures	65
3. Correlation Matrix of All Variables.....	66
4. Unique & Cumulative Variance & Betas of each Predictor Variable in H8.....	69

CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM IN PERSPECTIVE

The scholarly exploration of what makes people happy has been ongoing for thousands of years, particularly in Western cultures. A lot is known about happiness among Euro-Americans, and only more recently have researchers begun to examine this construct among other cultures. Native Americans are a particularly underrepresented culture in the psychological and happiness research, and, among Westerners, very little is known about what makes Native Americans happy. While many studies have been conducted on happiness and subjective well-being (SWB) of Euro-Americans, few studies have examined Native Americans. Decision-making style has been found to influence happiness, sometimes substantially, for some people. Particularly, people who tend to have a maximizing decision-making style often have been found to be unhappier than those who have a satisficing decision-making style (Dar-Nimrod, Rawn, Lehman, & Schwartz, 2009; Iyenger, Wells, & Schwartz, 2006; Polman, 2010; Schwartz et al., 2002; Turner, Rim, Betz, & Nygren, 2012). Maximizers generally are distinguished from satisficers in that when they make a decision they always seek to achieve the very “best” outcome whereas satisficers usually are satisfied with any “good enough” outcome. An example of a maximizer is someone who would constantly flip through TV channels in an attempt to find the very best possible show to watch. During commercials, a maximizer likely would continue searching for a better option. A satisficer, on the other hand, would stop at the first show that meets a minimum threshold of interest and would continue watching that show. Decision-making-style might vary and might have a

differential effect on happiness in different cultures (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010; Roets, Schwartz, & Guan, 2012).

Some of the common variables that researchers use to study cultural differences are collectivism and individualism (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1997; Kitayama & Markus, 2000; Triandis, 1995). Collectivism refers to cultures in which people are interdependent and interconnected with each other and are other-focused. A collectivistic person, for example, likely would make a career decision based on what important others such as family or community members think is best for him or her. Individualism refers to cultures in which people are more independent and self-focused. An individualistic person, in contrast with a collectivistic person, likely would make a career decision based solely on what he or she thinks is best regardless of what family or community members might have to say. When discussing individual levels of collectivism and individualism, self-construal is often used. Interdependent self-construal corresponds to collectivism while independent self-construal corresponds to individualism.

This study will examine the relationship of the following two variables: 1) Decision-making style (maximizer versus satisficer) and 2) The cultural factor of self-construal (interdependent versus independent) on the subjective happiness levels of Native Americans. The study involves multiple, separate hypotheses exploring these variables. The hypotheses include ones that predict the relationships between interdependent/independent self-construal and satisficing/maximizing tendencies and subjective happiness. Additional ones examine gender differences for maximizing tendencies and the contribution of interdependent self-construal, satisficing, annual income, Native language, and traditionalism on subjective happiness. In the following

review I will first present an overview of Native American culture and happiness. That will be followed by an overview of the general literature of well-being and happiness. Next, I will describe research on collectivism versus individualism/interdependent versus independent self-construal and then the decision-making styles of maximizers and satisficers and how these variables seem to be related to happiness. Finally, I will propose how these variables may relate to each other in the Native American population.

Native American Culture & Happiness

Native American is just one term used to refer to the indigenous peoples who have inhabited the United States since prior to the beginning of the European arrival in 1492. The literature also uses the terms American Indian, Native, Indian, and Indigenous. While these terms all have their own historical and sociopolitical significance in referring to indigenous peoples, they tend to obscure “terrific cultural and linguistic diversity” (Gone, 2004 [Gros Ventre], p. 11) and individuals of indigenous descent tend to prefer to be called by their tribal names (Gone & Trimble [Lakota Oyate], 2012). For uniformity, Native American will be used throughout this dissertation unless directly citing a source that uses another term.

After the arrival of Europeans to the American continent in the late 15th century, the population of Native Americans sharply declined dramatically due to plagues, diseases, and genocide (see Thornton [Aniyunwiya], 1987, for a complete history of changes in the Native American population). The religious based Doctrine of Discovery was developed by Europeans in the 15th century to rationalize genocide, enslavement, conquest and the taking away of land and rights from the Native Americans without their consent; this doctrine is seen to continue to negatively affect Native Americans to this

day (see Miller [Shawanwa/Eastern Shawnee Tribe], 2005 for further discussion of the Doctrine). In the 1800s, Manifest Destiny was later used by the United States to rationalize Western expansionism which resulted in massacres of Native Americans in addition to the taking away of their land through often deceptive ways and forcing them onto reservations (see Horsman, 1981, for more details of how Manifest Destiny affected Native Americans). Later, in an attempt to “kill the Indian in him but save the man,” (Adams, 1995, p. 52) the federal government adopted policies that encouraged "civilization" (*sic*) of Native Americans instead of conquering them. These policies involved removing Native American children from their homes, putting them in boarding schools, and forcibly teaching religion, American values, and English while simultaneously punishing cultural and linguistic expression resulting in further cultural genocide (Adams, 1995). Other policies outlawed traditional ceremonies and many practices were exterminated. Prior to the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (see Manz, 2012, for much more on this Act) Native Americans were not legally allowed to practice their traditional ceremonies; therefore, many of these ceremonies were conducted secretly or lost altogether.

Native Americans have a long historical context that is laden with institutional racism [discriminatory practices by organizations leading to disadvantages based on one's color, culture, or ethnicity (MacPherson, 1999)], forced assimilation and removal and displacement from homelands (Garrett [Aniyunwiya] & Pichette, 2000). Colonialism and the associated cultural genocide that accompanied it continues to have a negative impact on modern Native Americans' physical, psychological, and spiritual health through a process called intergenerational trauma (see Duran [Opelousas and Coughatta], E. Duran

[Apache, Tewa, and Lakota], & Brave Heart [Hunkpapa and Oglala Lakota], 1998; Evans-Campbell [Snohomish], 2008). The effects of colonization have drastically changed Native American cultures from the way they originally were, have a negative impact on happiness, and likely contribute to many problems currently faced by this culture (Alfred [Kanienkeha], 1999; 2005). Present day Native American cultures generally do not look the same as they did pre-European contact. Colonialism and imperialism continue to shape modern day Native American experiences (Alfred, 1999) and impact research by and about Native Americans (Tuhiwai Smith [Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Porou iwi], 2012).

Despite this long history of oppression, it is a myth that Native American is a dying race. In fact, although it took about 400 years since the arrival of Columbus for the depopulation of Native Americans to be reversed, the Native American population has been steadily growing since about 1900 (Thornton, 1987). A small but significant part of the US population, 5.2 million people, self-identify as Native American, and there has been considerable growth in this population in all regions of the US from 2000 to 2010 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Of these 5.2 million, 2.9 million claimed Native American and no other race. Approximately 1.9 million belong to one of the 566 federally recognized tribes according to the number of individuals the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) purports to serve (U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, 2014). The validity of self-identification has been questioned and there is significant amount of controversy over what exactly (i.e., cultural experiences, blood quantum levels, ancestors on the rolls) makes someone Native American (see Gone, 2006 and Gone & Trimble, 2012). Present day Native Americans represent a very diverse group who reflect an ancestry with a wide

range of “social, political, and economic diversity” (Gone, 2004, p. 11). There are currently 566 federally recognized tribes (“tribal entity that is recognized as having a government-to-government relationship with the United States, with the responsibilities, powers, limitations, and obligations attached to that designation”) (U.S. Department of the Interior: Indian Affairs, 2015). In addition to vast cultural diversity, there is a great amount of linguistic diversity among Native Americans. Prior to European contact, there was a rough estimate of about 300 Native American languages spoken in the US. There are currently about 210 languages that are being used to some extent today (Krauss, 2009). Questions of self-identification, vast diversity among different tribes, and language differences likely influence happiness. One reason for this is Native Americans are not a homogeneous group (minorityrights.org, 2015).

Very little is known about pre-contact concepts of Native American happiness, but happiness was likely important for Native Americans prior to European contact. In fact, there is documentation that the Iroquois Constitution showed the importance of happiness for their people (Akwesasne Notes, 1991). The United States government even formally acknowledged that the U.S. constitution is based partially on the Iroquois Constitution (H. Con. Res. 331, 1988) which includes the phrase "and the pursuit of happiness" (Akwesasne Notes, 1991).

More recently, psychological research has primarily examined the negative influences on Native American well-being such as high levels of poverty, substance abuse, violence, trauma, unemployment and suicide rates in addition to low levels of educational attainment (Gone & Trimble, 2012; Johnson [Seminole] & Tomren, 1999). Gone and Trimble (2012) point out the urgent need for attention to and solutions for these

issues. Despite these negative influences, Native Americans are often very resilient to poor conditions and colonialism, with social support emerging as the most salient protective factor (Belcourt-Dittloff, [Blackfeet, Chippewa, Mandan and Hidatsa] 2007; King, 2011 [Lumbee]; Willetto [Diné], 2012). While one must live in adequate livable conditions in order to be happy, one can be happy despite hardship and may even thrive due to the challenge (Veenhoven, 2005). In sum, many factors likely contribute and many others detract from Native American happiness. The fact that many Native Americans live in challenging conditions does not necessarily preclude them from being happy. The current study attempts to look at a population's strengths rather than deficits as recommended by positive psychology (Seligman, 2002).

To begin to understand Native American well-being and happiness, it is necessary to understand the role of how funding, particularly the lack of funding, affects their mental health services. Mental health care services (i.e., counseling, social work, alcohol and drug treatment, and psychiatry) for Native Americans was not funded by the federal government prior to the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s (LaFromboise, 1988). The amount spent per capita on Native Americans for health services is only 40% of what is spent on non-Native Americans; less than \$30 a person is spent per year on mental health care services provided by Indian Health Services (IHS) (Goodkind et al., 2010). IHS, a branch of the US Department of Health and Human Services, founded in 1955, is the entity that provides Native Americans with the most mental health services. IHS is “responsible for providing federal health services to American Indians and Alaska Natives” from federally recognized tribes with the goal of raising their well-being “to the highest possible level” (Indian Health Service). Article 1, Section 8 of the U.S.

Constitution established a government-to-government relationship between the federal government and tribes which allows for the IHS to exist and be funded federally. The federal funding IHS receives equates to about 52% of what is needed for “adequate personal health services” (Gone, 2004, p. 10) and only 7% of those dollars is allocated to both behavioral health and substance abuse services combined. Additionally there is a lack of Native American psychologists as either practitioners or role models (LaFromboise, 1988). This lack of mental health services likely influences Native American happiness and well-being.

Well-being and happiness may be perceived differently among Native Americans. The Native American view of mental health tends to be more holistic and incorporates more spiritual and community aspects than the mainstream culture (see LaFromboise, Trimble, & Mohatt [Lakota], 1998 for more on Native American mental health). Religiosity and spirituality are important for many people’s happiness (Lopez et al., 2002), particularly Native Americans (Garrett & Myers, 1996). Spirituality has always, since pre-contact times and presently, been important for Native Americans and plays a key role for general well-being and subjective well-being (McCabe, 2007; Trujillo, 2000; Yoon & Orthelia Lee, 2004). In fact, it is recommended for therapists working with Native Americans to take spirituality into consideration in order to improve their functioning.

Discrimination can affect minority individuals’ happiness (Liang, Nathwani, Ahmad, & Prince, 2012; Yoon, Hacker, Hewitt, Abrams, & Cleary, 2012). Native Americans reported higher stigmatization, which was related to lower subjective well-being (SWB) as compared to Euro-Americans (Harvey, 2001). Native Canadian elderly

were found to have lower SWB than Euro-Canadian Elderly. This was seen to be due to health and social factors and not due to the fact that they were Native First Peoples (Blandford & Chappell, 1990). Facing prejudice, therefore, may be a factor that detracts from Native American happiness.

Willeto (2012) describes happiness among *Diné* (Navajo) Native Americans to vary depending on assimilation level (i.e., how much an individual identifies with mainstream American culture). Happiness likely looks similar to mainstream American happiness for those fully assimilated and those who are bicultural or multicultural are likely to mix traditional conceptions of happiness with more mainstream ones. For more traditional members' who identify more strongly with *Diné* values, happiness will look different and will be related to the traditional philosophy of “*walking in happiness or walking in beauty*” (sic) (p. 379). “Profound happiness” might be achieved through the principle of living in harmony, peace, balance and order with one's significant others, community, nature, the universe, and oneself over the course of one's life (p. 379). Others have stressed the importance of balancing family, clan, tribe, and community life for well-being among Native Americans. Balance of thought, emotions, and behavior is also relevant (Garrett & Myers, 1996). Walking in happiness, therefore, is related to one's lifestyle and behaviors of daily living. Traditional *Diné* ceremonies celebrate happiness or assist physically, mentally or spiritually sick people restore “health, harmony, and happiness” (Willeto, 2012, p. 383). These ceremonies may be overseen by traditional healers whose job is to restore harmony and happiness to the people. An example of a ceremony that allows the people to celebrate and express their happiness is called Baby's First Laugh Ceremony. Attendees of the ceremony will pray for the baby to

experience lifetime happiness. *Diné* happiness (*Hozho*) comes from balance and harmony between body, mind, and spirit. Unbalance and disharmony cause unhappiness.

The current study followed Roets et al.'s (2012) suggestion to examine the role of the cultural variables of collectivism and individualism. Collectivism is defined briefly as a social pattern in which individuals put a greater emphasis on the interdependence with their group whereas individualism is a social pattern in which individuals put a greater emphasis on independence (Triandis, 1995) (this definition is elaborated on more later). Non-Western cultures tend to be more collectivistic; happiness in these cultures is often linked to social relationships (Kitayama & Markus, 2000). Native Americans commonly have been thought to come from a more collectivistic culture. It has been suggested by researchers that Native Americans tend more likely to be collectivistic or have an interdependent self-construal than Euro-Americans and that this influences their well-being (Bobb, 1999; Hossain, Skurky, Joe & Hunt, 2011; Long, Downs, Gillette, Kills in Sight, & Konen, 2006). Native Americans are generally described as coming from a Non-Western society despite living within the United States and are more likely to perceive themselves with an interdependent self-construal (Heine, 2008). Middle class people are more independent than working class people who are usually more interdependent (Na et al., 2010), and Native Americans tend to more often come from working class/lower socioeconomic status (SES) backgrounds (Johnson & Tomren, 1999). In a study of *Newe* Native Americans, those living in city settings were still likely to be collectivistic although they tended to be less collectivistic than those living in country settings, and older participants were more collectivistic than younger ones (Bobb, 1999). *Diné* people from more traditional families were more collectivistic than those in bicultural families.

Family and cultural values shaped these participants' sense of self as interconnected (Hossain et al., 2011).

Collectivism/Interdependence is also important for the well-being of *Inuit* Canadian First Peoples (Kral & Idlout, 2012). For Kral and Idlout, interdependence consists of three tiers: nuclear family, extended kinship, and collaborative partnerships. In interviews asking about the meaning of happiness, the most important theme in relation to happiness was family for *Inuit* respondents. Family was mentioned four times more frequently than the next most important theme (Kral, Idlout, Minore, Dyck, & Kirmayer, 2011). Another important theme included communication and talking both with family members and friends. The third most important theme was related to values and practice of traditional knowledge with “cultural knowledge and identity” being “central to their wellbeing” (p. 393). The Kral et al. study found all three themes were interrelated.

In sum, Native Americans have suffered a long history of cultural genocide, injustice, and discrimination. They represent a population that has been neglected in the psychological literature in general, and in the happiness literature in particular. When they have been studied, the focus has been primarily negative and often the results were not used to help the people but rather to further exploit them. Rarely have researchers looked at what might be going well for Native Americans and what might contribute to their happiness. The extant research shows a possible connection between collectivist values and social relationships and happiness for Native Americans. Next, I will review the general literature on well-being and happiness.

Well-being and Happiness

Well-being and happiness have been of interest to many academic disciplines for millennia (Toussaint & Friedman, 2009). The interest in happiness has burgeoned since the 1980s as more researchers have gotten involved in the quest of understanding and even augmenting happiness (Biswas-Diener, Kashdan, & King, 2009; Boehm & Lyubormirsky, 2009; Diener, 1984; Diener, Oishi, & Lucas, 2009; Lyubormirsky, Sheldon, & Schkade, 2005; Seligman, 2002; Tkack & Lyubormirsky, 2006). Researchers have concluded that happiness is worthy of scientific study (Diener, 1984; Norrish & Vella-Brodrick, 2007) which is likely to have resulted in the birth of the positive psychology movement (Seligman, 2002). Happiness has even been used as the guiding principal for measuring at least some countries' progress as in the case of Bhutan's Gross National Happiness Index (Bok, 2010) and is seen as a very important life goal by at least 41 countries worldwide, including both individualistic and collectivistic nations (Diener, Sapyta, & Suh, 1998). A PSYCINFO search conducted in October 2015 identified 13,375 peer reviewed journal articles containing the subject keyword "happiness." The same search conducted two years earlier in May 2013 identified 6,936. Another one conducted three years prior to that in March 2010 only identified 4,738 articles (Beckstein, 2010), thus demonstrating the rapid growth in the topic.

Well-being is the most all-encompassing, general term used in the literature to refer to many aspects that are related to happiness. Well-being has been defined as "all the things that are important to how we think about and experience our lives" (Harter & Agrawal, 2011, p. 1). The following are five elements that were found worldwide that contribute to thriving lives as opposed to lives of struggle and suffering: "Career, Social,

Financial, Physical, and Community” (p. 1). These elements were positively correlated to six relevant outcomes: “present life evaluation, future life evaluation, daily wellbeing (*sic*), unhealthy days, health problems, and giving” (p. 1). These results were found using the Gallup World Poll which included over 120,000 representative participants from 117 countries, representing approximately 95% of the world’s adult population. These elements might therefore be considered universal.

Based on a review of 2,475 happiness studies, happiness has been defined as “the degree to which an individual judges the overall quality of her/his life as-a-whole favorably” (Veenhoven, 1993, p. 6). *Degree* refers to the amount of happiness a person judges himself or herself to be. *Individual* means that happiness can only be used to describe individual people and not groups. It is subjective: “While a person who thinks s/he has a heart condition may or may not have one, a person who thinks s/he is happy, really is happy” (p. 6). The word, *judges*, relates to people’s overall intellectual and cognitive construction of their happiness that is judged by “assessing past experiences and estimating future experiences” (p. 7). *Overall* refers to all possible criteria of appreciation. *Life-as-a-whole* refers to the general evaluation of all “past, present and anticipated experiences” and is not referring to specific life domains. *His/her* makes the distinction between the individual’s evaluation of her/his own life and not life in general. *Favorably* refers to cognitive evaluations of how much a person likes or dislikes something.

Happiness and SWB are frequently used interchangeably in the psychological literature. SWB has been deemed essential to general well-being by prominent researchers (Diener, Sapyta, & Suh, 1998). SWB refers to when a person experiences

more positive affect than negative affect (Diener, 1984), and is how people affectively and cognitively evaluate their lives. It includes life satisfaction, which is a global life evaluation (Diener, 2000). Diener, Suh, and Oishi (1997) define high SWB as when a person “experiences life satisfaction and frequent joy, and only infrequently experiences unpleasant emotions such as sadness or anger” (p. 25). Myers (2000) emphasizes the subjective aspect which allows each individual to decide what a happy life means to them. Life satisfaction is a subcomponent of happiness; it is the cognitive evaluation of life circumstances (Erdogan, Bauer, Truxillo, & Mansfield, 2012).

Subjective happiness (Lyubormirsky & Lepper, 1999) is the individual’s personal evaluation of how happy he or she feels. It is practically synonymous with SWB, although the emphasis is even more on the subjective aspect (Lyubormirsky & Lepper). This is a very global assessment of how happy or unhappy a person thinks they are. Subjective happiness tends to be less related to recent affect than it is related to more long-term general assessment of happiness. It is also not necessarily related to objective external variables such as income. Instead, how the person perceives those external variables tends to be more relevant to their level of subjective happiness. In the subjectivist approach, individuals broadly evaluate their own happiness and are able to judge for themselves whether they are happy or unhappy (Lyubormirsky & Lepper, 1999).

Generally, happiness and SWB have traditionally been measured by self-report, although alternative measures also have been used to measure happiness on their own or supplement self-report of happiness (Diener, Oishi, & Lucas, 2009). In fact, it has been said that direct questioning is the only way to assess overall happiness. Using peers to

rate happiness, summing up satisfaction of various domains, and comparing to others or the past are seen as ineffective ways of measuring overall happiness because it is generally believed that every person knows his/her own subjective experience the best (Veenhoven, 1993). Global self-report allows individuals to accurately portray their personal interpretation of how happy they are overall in their personally salient life domains. It is considered an appropriate way to measure individual and cultural differences (Diener, Oishi, & Lucas, 2009). Rojas (2012) argues that the subjective approach to happiness is appropriate for multicultural populations due to the sense of empowerment it gives them based on “their own values, their own aspirations, and their own norms” (p. 242).

Diener, Oishi, and Lucas (2009) reviewed the scientific theories of SWB and categorized them into three groups: (1) need and goal satisfaction theories; (2) process or activity theories; and (3) genetic and personality disposition theories. The first group of theories posits that if individuals get first their biological then their psychological needs met, they will more likely be happy. The second group posits that engagement in activity leads to happiness, particularly if the activities are interesting and challenging but not too hard. Csikszentmihalyi calls this state *flow* (Nakamura & Csikszentmihalyi, 2009). These two groups of theorists believe that people can have an influence on their own happiness, particularly if they pursue goals and activities that are meaningful to them. The *authentic happiness theory* encompasses the above two groups with the pleasant life corresponding to the need satisfaction theories and the engaged life corresponding to the activities group (see Seligman, 2002, for more details). The third group of theorists, however, see happiness as more of a set point related to stable personality dispositions and

unchangeable by circumstances. Genetics and personality traits such as neuroticism and extraversion influence happiness to some extent, but they do not seem to be the only determinants (Diener, Oishi, & Lucas, 2009).

Seligman (2002) combined the three groups of theories and introduced the theoretical Happiness Formula which is loosely based on the variances found across large samples: $H=S+C+V$. H stands for long-term happiness level. S represents each person's set range of happiness and is estimated to have approximately a 50% influence on H . C are the circumstances of one's life and is estimated to have approximately a 10% influence on H , despite the popular belief that circumstances are the most important factor. V stands for volition, or factors that each individual can personally control and has approximately a 40% influence on H . V is the area that provides the most hope for both researchers and lay people interested in augmenting their happiness through intentional behavioral, cognitive and volitional activities (Caunt, Franklin, Bodaty, & Bodaty, 2013; Lyubormirsky, Sheldon, & Schkade, 2005).

Despite the absence of any single "key" to happiness (Kinnier, 2013), there are many correlates including "marriage, social relationships, employment, perceived health, religion, and the quality of government" (Bok, 2010). Additional demographic and environmental variables that affect happiness include education (via status and income), social class (via increased income, status, health, and leisure activities), and leisure (Argyle, 1999). Age also has a small impact on happiness. Happiness for many Americans has a U distribution: it decreases as they age until about age 40 and then slowly increases until about age 70 (Yang, 2008). In a review of the literature on aging, López-Ulloa, Møller and Sousa-Poza (2013) also found age to either have a U-shaped or

linear relationship with happiness, but also pointed out that the effect of age tends to be rather small with maximum variation only about .5 on a 7 point scale on average. There also appear to be cohort effects whereby people born in different years report different levels of happiness and or value their happiness in different ways (López-Ulloa, Møller & Sousa-Poza, 2013). Race has been shown to have a significant impact on happiness with Euro-Americans on average being happier than African-Americans (Yang, 2008).

There also appear to be substantial benefits to happiness. These include being more sociable, liking oneself and others more, increased altruism, improved mental and physical health, and even improved conflict resolution skills (Argyle, 2001; Lyubomirsky, King, & Diener, 2005). Additional benefits include having higher success and being more creative (Argyle, 2001). Myers (2000) reported similar and additional beneficial attributes of happy people including the following: “less self-focused, less hostile and abusive, less vulnerable to disease...more loving, forgiving, trusting, energetic, decisive, creative, sociable, and helpful” (pp. 57-58). Although it is unclear which direction these correlations run (Diener et al., 1999), it is clear that happiness serves people in positive ways.

Income and SES are other factors that are necessary to consider as they tend to influence happiness. Income correlates with happiness even after basic needs are met (Diener, Diener, & Diener, 1995) and affects happiness in complex ways. Income has the strongest effect on happiness for the poorest people. An overall increase in prosperity does not tend to have any effect on happiness, but a decrease in prosperity will decrease happiness, and social comparison tends to have a stronger effect on happiness than actual income amounts (Argyle, 1999).

Some of the most interesting findings by the recent flurry of scientific investigation of happiness relate to the economics of happiness and were summarized by Bok (2011). First, while rich people and those in wealthier countries are on average happier than poor people and those in poorer nations, the average level of happiness in the United States has not increased in the past 50 years. This lack of happiness augmentation is true despite a significant increase in the average American's income over those same years. The increased happiness of wealthier individuals may be explained by other benefits associated with wealth such as status, success, and "greater challenge, independence, and intrinsic interests" (p. 13) that wealthier careers offer. Next, most people are not good at judging what circumstances will make them happy and how long that happiness might last, thus far underestimating the effect of adaptation on happiness level (Bok, 2011). For example, many Americans think that more money will make them happier when it is unlikely to do so, possibly due to the hedonic treadmill (Seligman, 2002) whereby people quickly habituate to improved situations. Adaptation also works the other way around: individuals adapt to negative environments too. People can be happy despite hardship (Veenhoven, 2005). Individuals living in the "slums" of Calcutta, India, some of which were prostitutes and or homeless, were found to be happier than expected, particularly in specific domains, possibly due to strong social relationships (Biswas-Diener & Diener, 2001). Social comparison also plays a role on how happy people are with their incomes. The third finding reported by Bok (2011) is that more income inequality in the U.S. has not resulted in average decreased happiness levels. The final finding is that the amount of money that a government spends on social welfare programs is not correlated with happiness. In sum, money clearly has some influence on

happiness, but it is not a direct relationship whereby the more money one has the happier one is. Rather is it a complicated relationship and some people can be happy with relatively little money.

One factor that seemed to emerge from many of the previous studies as important is social relationships which have been found to heavily influence happiness. It appears to be very unlikely for someone to be happy on their own. When Caunt et al. (2012) asked participants to write about the factors that lead to long-term happiness, the most common response was social relationships with 95% of respondents mentioning this category. The three most mentioned categories in the study were all relationship categories: *Family*, *Friends*, and *General and Other* relationships. Other categories, consistent with the literature, were Personality, Circumstances, Behavioral, Cognitive and Volitional Activities. Therefore, in the Caunt et al. study, social relationships appear to be a key factor in happiness. In terms of this study, social relationships, particularly with family members, seem to be important for Native Americans (Kral, Idlout, Minore, Dyck, & Kirmayer, 2011).

In summary, happiness, subjective happiness, and SWB have been a very important topic among researchers, especially since the inception of the positive psychology movement. A lot has been discovered about happiness. We know many of the correlates and benefits of happiness. Operational definitions exist for well-being, life satisfaction, SWB, and subjective happiness. Measures with satisfactory psychometric properties have been developed to measure happiness. We also know that there are cultural variables that influence how happy people are and some of the factors that are important for happiness among different populations. However, much more still needs to

be known about happiness among Non-"WEIRD" (White, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, & Democratic; Henrich et al., 2010) populations, particularly Native Americans.

Happiness is affected by culture (Ye, Ng, & Yian, 2014). One way that cultures differ is related to the constructs of collectivism and individualism. Researchers often compare different cultures using these constructs (Lamoreaux & Morling, 2011; Ye, Ng, & Yian). Collectivism and individualism tend to be broad cultural terms; their corresponding counter-parts are interdependent and independent self-construal, respectively (Kağitçibaşı, 1997; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Self-construal has been used by researchers as a variable to better understand culture's influence on happiness. According to Suh (in Diener & Suh, 2000) examining self-construal can lead to answers about happiness: "The self stands at the junction of subjective well-being and culture. Culture provides form and shape to the self, which in turn influences how individuals feel and think about various aspects of their lives—the central research issue of SWB" (p. 63). Therefore, it may be useful to examine self-construal when considering the happiness of non-"WEIRD" populations. Next, definitions and relevant research on individualism and collectivism are discussed.

Collectivism and Individualism

The concepts of individualism (IND)/collectivism (COL) have existed since at least the ancient Greeks, have been used by many academic disciplines, and have become popular in the psychological literature, particularly among cross-cultural psychologists, since the 1970s (for a review, see Kağitçibaşı, 1997). Cultures are generally seen to differ on their levels of IND or COL (for a review, see Triandis, 1995). IND and COL are human constructs that are found in both individuals and the "physical, interpersonal, and

psychological environment” which influences how people live (Tanaka, 2002, p. 3).

Triandis (1995) defines *individualism* as follows:

A social pattern that consists of loosely linked individuals who view themselves as independent of collectives; are primarily motivated by their own preferences, needs, rights, and the contracts they have established with others; give priority to their personal goals over the goals of others; and emphasize rational analyses of the advantages and disadvantages to associating with others. (p. 2)

Collectivism is similarly defined by Triandis (1995):

A social pattern consisting of closely linked individuals who see themselves as parts of one or more collectives (family, co-workers, tribe, nation); are primarily motivated by the norms of, and duties imposed by, those collectives; are willing to give priority to the goals of these collectives over their own personal goals; and emphasize their connectedness to members of these collectives. (p. 2)

There are also distinctions between horizontal (valuing equality) and vertical (valuing hierarchy) individualism and collectivism (see Triandis, 1994; 1995). The self is divided into four different aspects: interdependent or independent and same or different. These four kinds of self are combined to make the four different types: horizontal individualism, horizontal collectivism, vertical individualism, and vertical collectivism. In horizontal-individualist cultural contexts, people are generally equal to each other but are self-reliant. This is different from vertical-individualist cultural contexts where people compete with each other for higher ranks and show superiority over those below them. In horizontal-collectivist cultural contexts, there is an emphasis on sameness, particularly with status, and interdependence with others. In vertical-collectivist cultural contexts,

there is an emphasis on obligations to the in-group and includes a greater acceptance of inequality (Triandis, 1995).

Generally speaking, there is an assumption that Euro-American culture is the most individualistic (IND) with IND being a primary value that America was founded on (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). Asian cultures, in contrast, are assumed to be collectivistic (COL). Both COL and IND are found, to some extent, within every person and every culture; most people are born more collective and, depending on the environment, become more or less detached from their collectives (Triandis, 1995). How IND or COL a person behaves may be situationally dependent with COL cultures behaving more COL with in-groups and more IND with out-groups and vice versa for IND cultures (Triandis, 1995).

Researchers have traditionally compared different cultural groups based on measuring individual differences of IND-COL (Lamoreaux & Morling, 2011). IND has its origins in Western cultures (e.g., Europe) while COL has its origins in Eastern cultures (e.g., Asia) yet some amount of both can be found in all cultures (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1997; Triandis, 1995). According to Oyserman et al. (2002), Hofstede (1980) defined IND as a “focus on rights above duties, a concern for oneself and immediate family, an emphasis on personal autonomy and self-fulfillment, and the basing of one’s identity on one’s personal accomplishments” (p. 4). IND is a worldview that gives priority to personal over interpersonal. COL is the opposite: it is a worldview that prioritizes social over personal. The main assumption of COL is that “groups bind and mutually obligate individuals” (Oyserman et al., 2002, p. 5). COL societies tend to be much more communal, with a strong focus on in-group goals and values instead of individual ones.

In regard to Native Americans, there appears to be some evidence that they tend to be more collectivistic than individualistic (Bahr, Chadwick, & Day, 1972; Bobb, 1999; Hofstede, 1983). One reason it is suggested that Native Americans tend to be more collectivistic is due to their endorsement of more “other” oriented values. For example, some traditional values include harmony, cooperation, sharing, coexistence, and the importance of extended family and family unity (Alfred, 2009). Trafimow and Smith (1998) found Native American college students to utilize significantly more collective self-cognitions than a primarily Euro-American college student sample yet a similar amount of collective self-cognitions as a Hong Kongese college student sample. Trafimow and Smith suggested that this was evidence of a more collectivist orientation among Native Americans. In sum, the variables of IND and COL may be useful in examining happiness among Native Americans.

Interdependent and Independent Self-construal

In general, people from different cultures construe their self-concepts differently, whether more independent or interdependent of others. For example, Euro-Americans tend to value individual over group needs and have a preference for independence, separation, and autonomy from others. In a literature review, Henrich et al. (2010) report that Americans “are, on average, the most individualistic people in the world” (p. 74). Those from Asian cultures differ in that they value group over individual needs and prefer connection, fitting in and harmony with others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Generally speaking, people from more COL cultures tend to see themselves as more interdependent and those from more IND cultures tend to view themselves as more independent (Cross, Hardin & Gercek-Swing, 2010). While there is a lack of literature on

about the self-construal of Native Americans, Smith, Cech, Metz, Huntoon and Moyer (2014) found that Native American students in the STEM fields had significantly higher communal goal orientation (an aspect of interdependent self-construal) than their Euro-American peers.

IND and COL are the overarching cultural dimensions and are the most frequently used terms (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1997). These terms are even used when discussing individuals, albeit erroneously. Several other terms have also been used, although inconsistently. *Allocentric* refers to people who “believe, feel, and act very much like collectivists,” while *idiocentric* refers to people who “believe, feel, and act the way individualists do” (Triandis, Leung, Villareal, & Clack, 1985; Triandis, 1995, p. 5). Both types are found in all countries. Some researchers (Hardin, Leong, & Bhagwat, 2004; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Miramontes, 2011; Singelis, 1994) commonly use self-construal as a way of referring and measuring allocentric and idiocentric tendencies. *Self-construal* is “an individual’s sense of self in relation to others” (Hardin et al, 2004, p. 327). There are two different types of self-construal: Interdependent self-construal (interSC) corresponds to collectivism while independent self-construal (indSC) corresponds to individualism, with COL cultures tending to influence individuals to more likely have interSC and IND cultures tending to influence individuals to more likely have indSC (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1997; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). People who have interSC see themselves in relation to significant others, as changeable to the needs of the in-group, interdependent, connected and enmeshed in the social context. Those who have indSC, in contrast, see themselves as stable, unique, autonomous, independent, and separate from others (Hardin et al., 2004; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Singelis, 1994). With indSC, people are individuated

and have clear boundaries between themselves and others whereas, with interSC, the boundaries tend to be fluid and much more relational (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1997). Self-construal influences people's psychological experience cognitively, motivationally, and emotionally and are seen to vary culturally (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Markus and Kitayama distinguished two types of emotions that are related to self-construal: *ego focused* emotions aid in developing indSC while *other focused* emotions tend to develop interSC.

People's self-perceptions are largely based on cultural factors and they tend to predict happiness differently for different cultures. For example, happiness for East Asians is predicted to be "related to their perception of other people" (Kim & Tov, 2011, p. 155) whereas happiness for Euro-Americans is predicted by "their own, private self-perceptions" (p. 156). Studying cultural values such as collectivism among people of color may help us understand happiness among diverse populations. Constantine and Sue (2006) noted that,

Although the lines between individualism and collectivism are blurring and the existence of both is found in almost any cultural context, we should consider that many people of color in the United States are viewed as having higher communal or collectivistic value orientations relative to their adherence to more individualistic value orientations. (p. 232)

In sum, researchers have used the IND-COL/indSC-interSC constructs to differentiate between different cultures. This variable is likely to have an effect on subjective happiness. There have been several studies that have examined these variables among both Euro-American and Asian samples. To date, the literature is practically non-

existent in regard to examining self-construal and happiness among Native Americans. As mentioned previously, overall Native Americans tend to be more collectivistic. It therefore seems relevant to include self-construal when studying the cultural aspect of happiness among Native Americans. Hence, self-construal is one of the main variables of the current study. Moreover, the construct of maximizing/satisficing also has been found to influence happiness, and much more needs to be researched about people of color in regards to this variable. Therefore, the literature on the maximization construct and its contribution to happiness is reviewed as follows.

The Maximizer/Satisficer Continuum and Happiness

Everyone makes decisions, some major and some minor (e.g., whether to eat out or in, buy a foreign or domestic car, marry one person over another, or what to major in in college). Some people struggle more than others in making decisions. Regardless of whether one struggles to make a choice, most individuals hope that the decisions they make will contribute to their overall happiness. Some people are happier with their choices than others. This study addresses the idea that having maximizer or satisficer tendencies has an influence on people's happiness. Specifically, the current study examines this decision-making construct among a sample of Native Americans.

One of the ways that people differ on how they make decisions is where they lie on the satisficing/maximizing continuum. Schwartz et al. (2002) describe people who are satisficers as accepting outcomes that are "good enough," meaning that they meet a minimum acceptability threshold whereby the individual is satisfied enough with the outcome that they no longer feel the need to seek out better alternatives. Maximizers, on the other hand, are rarely satisfied with "good enough" outcomes; rather, they strive to

make the “best” choice and tend to pursue many more options in their attempt at reaching it, maybe even requiring “an exhaustive search of all possibilities” (Iyenger et al., 2006, p. 143). Maximizers do not tend to consider their previous experiences when making a choice since they are likely to second guess their previous choices as sub-optimal; instead, it is almost as if they start over with every new choice and thus spend a lot of time and effort trying to decide on the best possible choice (Carrillat, Ladik & Legoux, 2011). This ignoring of previous experience extends to both positive and negative experiences for maximizers. Despite experiencing regret in the past with a purchase, they may still consider repurchasing it in the future.

Iyenger et al. (2006) studied college students during their senior year and after graduation. Students with greater maximizer tendencies expected to apply to more jobs and relied more heavily on external influences during the job seeking process than students with greater satisficer tendencies. Those with higher maximizer tendencies accepted jobs earning an average of \$7,430 more than those with higher satisficer tendencies, with “every one-unit increase in the maximizing composite score associated with a \$2,630 increase in the annual salary obtained” (p. 146). This relationship was found even when accounting for credentials such as university rank and GPA.

Schwartz (2004) and others proposed that in 21st century industrialized America, having more choices may be harmful to maximizers due to the overwhelming number of choices available and the inability to possibly explore every one of them. On the one hand, individual choice is seen as an inalienable right which is associated with freedom, independence and self-determination. Being able to choose has been associated with positive well-being (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Many people in the world do not have a choice

of careers and this is associated with decreased well-being (Whiston, 2011). People in general prefer more options over fewer (Dar-Nimrod et al., 2009). On the other hand, Schwartz (2004) points out that in recent years there has been an increased proliferation of choices and, at least for some, this can be psychologically debilitating, particularly for maximizers, whose happiness may be decreased through adaptation to situations, feeling regret for losing out on possible alternative opportunities, having high expectations, in addition to comparing themselves to others and feeling inadequate. Some researchers go as far as to posit that the proliferation of choices may be one of the reasons why depression rates are on the rise (Markus & Schwartz, 2010; Schwartz, 2004). Markus and Schwartz suggest that having some constraints on personal choice may lead to more enriched and happier lives. Iyenger et al. (2006) found that individuals with more maximizer tendencies tend to be more “pessimistic, stressed, tired, anxious, worried, overwhelmed, and depressed” (p. 147) when making a major life decision regarding choosing a job. Having so many choices may actually be paralyzing to some and can have the effect of putting off making any choice. For example, despite having more potential partners to choose from, New York City has the most single people than any other part of the country besides an island in Hawaii. This was attributed to the phenomenon of individuals having so many choices that they get picky and become unsatisfied with any potential partner (Baumeister & Tierney, 2011). Based on her various readings and conversations with Barry Schwartz, Gottlieb (2010) concludes that there are what she terms toxic maximizers who constantly pass up decent, “good enough” partners thinking that they would be settling in their search for a perfect mate. Gottlieb

thinks that many toxic maximizers end up alone and regretful due to never finding the perfect match they seek.

Not only do maximizers take longer than satisficers to make decisions thereby investing more resources, but they tend to be less satisfied with the choices that they make. Satisficing tendencies were positively correlated with subjective happiness ($r = .44$), while decision difficulty, a subcomponent of maximizing, was negatively correlated with measures of well-being such as optimism ($r = -0.41$), self-efficacy ($r = -0.33$), and self-regard ($r = -0.38$), although uncorrelated with subjective happiness (Turner et al., 2012). Maximizing tendencies lead to experiencing more negative affect (Polman, 2010). Maximizers were found to experience more negative affect than satisficers in a longitudinal study of job seekers, with more dissatisfaction with accepted job despite receiving a higher salary (Iyenger et al., 2006). Maximizers are less satisfied with their decisions when compared to satisficers possibly due to the following three reasons: 1) With more choices there are more chances for regret, particularly because people's standards are likely to raise with the additional choices, 2) There is such an overload of information that it becomes impossible to go through all the possible options which could cause disengagement which makes the choices less attractive, and 3) Maximizers are more likely to engage in social comparison of others (Schwartz et al., 2002), possibly another reason they tend to experience decreased happiness.

Schwartz et al. (2002) compared how satisficers and maximizers make decisions by asking about the participants' recent purchases. The two groups approached decisions differently both during the decision-making and afterward. Maximizers tended to take more time by doing extensive searches of options and comparing themselves more to

others. They were less happy with their choices in the long-term. It has been suggested that after maximizers make a choice, they may continue to be negatively affected by that choice and this in turn may affect overall satisfaction with life (Nenkov, Morrin, Ward, Schwartz, & Hurland, 2008). Sparks, Ehrlinger, and Eibach (2012) found that maximizers were less committed to their choices which led to reduced satisfaction. By being less committed to choices, participants in Sparks et al.'s study did not experience the benefits afforded by cognitive dissonance reduction which allows satisficers to more fully appreciate the outcomes of their decisions.

Dar-Nimrod et al. (2009) call it the “maximization paradox” when maximizers are more willing than satisficers to make more sacrifices of resources such as time, energy, or money in exchange for more options when making choices. Making these sacrifices and having more choices appears to lead to more dissatisfaction with the choices. These results held true across hypothetical situations (participants read a vignette and made a choice), a lab setting (participants chose between 6 or 30 chocolates), and a naturalistic setting (two different ice cream shops offering 20 and 200 flavors respectively). An additional finding in that study was that maximizers were less satisfied with their choices if there were more options than if there were fewer choices. Satisficers, on the other hand, are less likely to make sacrifices for the possibility of having more options and were not dissatisfied with their choices even when faced with more options.

Maximizers generally achieve higher objective outcomes than satisficers (Iyenger et al., 2006; Polman, 2010), yet they subjectively feel worse about these outcomes than satisficers do (Iyengar et al., 2006; Schwartz et al., 2002). When compared to satisficers, maximizers were found to make 7% more decisions that lead to “objectively positive

outcomes” like “beginning a significant new relationship” (Polman, 2010, p. 185). However, the Polman study also showed that, in comparison to satisficers, maximizers made more decisions that lead to “objectively negative outcomes (e.g., “buying new clothes that were never worn”). For the participants in Polman’s study, it was the negative outcomes that had a greater impact on happiness than the positive ones. Iyengar et al. (2006) followed graduating college seniors from 11 different schools through their job search process and found high maximizers pursued more opportunities and ended up obtaining jobs paying 20% more in starting wages than low maximizers in the year after graduating college. Despite higher pay, they were less satisfied with their jobs and reported more negative feelings about the job search. Additionally, in terms of the information obtained from the job searches, the maximizers relied more heavily upon external sources of information. Maximizers also attended high-ranking universities more often than lower ranking ones.

It seems that the effect of maximizing on decreasing satisfaction is not due to happiness set points. The idea of set points is that people are born with a certain level of happiness that is difficult to change (Headey, 2008). Iyengar et al. (2006) found that maximizers were still less satisfied with the outcomes than satisficers were even accounting for initial negative affect, thus leading the researchers to believe that “the contribution of maximizing tendencies to subjective evaluations is independent of dispositional happiness” (p. 148). Instead, the decreased satisfaction seems to be attributed to regret, high affective cost, and unrealistically high expectations.

While the majority of studies point out that those with higher maximizer tendencies tend to be unhappier with life, there is some counter evidence indicating that

they may be similar to those with satisficer tendencies. Diab, Gillespie, and Highhouse (2008) studied 210 Midwestern college students using an alternative maximizer scale that they developed (satisfactory psychometric properties were reported). Maximizers did experience significantly more regret than their counterparts, but did not differ significantly on other measures of well-being. They were not found to be more indecisive, neurotic, nor avoidant. Based on a review of relevant literature, Diab et al. (2008) present a convincing argument that, at the very least, questions the idea that maximizers are unhappier than satisficers. Therefore, they urge researchers to look into this phenomenon more carefully, particularly at the decisional process of maximizers and satisficers and how that process affects satisfaction. In summarizing the literature, Diab et al. reported that both job seekers and high school students who carefully deliberated before making a decision were more satisfied with the outcomes of those decisions.

Maximizers were found to engage in more rather than less spontaneous decision-making, showing that they actually may not benefit from a more deliberate decision process (Bruine de Bruin, Parker, & Fischhoff, 2007). Could this be because maximizers experience decisional fatigue due to having to make too many decisions every day that they deem to be important? Decisional fatigue occurs after people have made a string of other decisions and this often results in them making poorer decisions or deliberating less about a decision (Baumeister & Tierney, 2011). The more decision fatigued individuals are, the more likely they are to rely on shortcuts or to go with a default in making a choice instead of fully calculating the pros and cons of the decision (Augenblick & Nicholson, 2009). When people are faced with more choices, they often experience decisional fatigue much faster than when they are faced with fewer choices at first

(Baumeister & Tierney, 2011). Additionally, Baumeister and Tierney point out that people with lower SES tend to experience more decisional fatigue, especially when faced with all of the modern day options when shopping. This could partly be because, for someone with lower SES, every decision they make may have larger financial consequences than for someone with higher SES. Some of the consequences of decisional fatigue include poorer choices such as impulse buys and eating unhealthy foods, especially those high in sugar.

There are other possible explanations for why maximizers are less satisfied than satisficers. Some evidence exists that contradicts the idea that maximizers achieve better outcomes (Polman, 2010). For example, Bruine de Bruin et al. (2007) found those who tended to maximize in trivial situations (such as when watching TV and flipping channels) actually tended to undermine other positive outcomes of maximizing. Bruine de Bruin et al. (2007) followed up with these results and found that self-reported maximizers reported problematic decision-making skills in addition to poorer life outcomes. This included poorer coping, depending more on others, decision avoidance, and higher regret when making decisions. Maximizers were found to always maximize (even when it did not matter), whereas satisficers actually did maximize, just under certain conditions such as when a purchase price was higher (Carrillat, Ladik & Legoux, 2011). Maximizers who participated in a gambling study actually won less money than satisficers, showing poorer outcomes (Polman, 2010). Polman points out that maximizers have more opportunities to experience both positive and negative outcomes due to their pursuit of so many alternatives and therefore end up making some of the best *and* worst decisions. When compared to individuals with more satisficer tendencies, those with

more maximizer tendencies made a total of 7% more positive decisions and 13% more negative decisions. What this means is that the negative decisions can outweigh the positive decisions, even if the maximizer makes more choices that lead to more positive outcomes. This held true across the following three different situations: 1) participants were asked to generate alternatives 2), were asked to pick alternatives in a gambling game, and 3) they had to remember past decisions they had made. Poor decisions led to negative affect, which tended to trump the positive affect received from making good decisions. Polman concluded that maximizing can have both harmful and beneficial effects.

The discrepancies in research results may be accounted for by the influence of how maximization was measured (Turner et al., 2012). Turner et al. suggested that high standards were related to maximization and has often been included in maximization scales. However, it was suggested that high standards do not fit the maximization concept and therefore should not be included in measuring maximization. Instead, alternative search and decisional difficulty concepts should be included along with the concept of satisficing, the opposite of maximizing, which is often neglected in the literature. High standards were actually found to be positively correlated with happiness and optimism (Rim, Turner, Betz, & Nygren, 2011).

Many decisions are steeped in radical uncertainty; there are so many possible dimensions of decisions that it makes outcomes unclear (Schwartz, Ben-Haim, & Dasco, 2011). Schwartz et al. argue that taking a robust satisficing strategy in decision-making is better than a maximizing strategy in a constantly changing, uncertain world because

through satisficing one is trying to have a good enough outcome despite the many possible outcomes that might occur.

Dar-Nimrod et al. (2009) found that the Maximization Paradox (which occurs when one feels less satisfied with one's own choices when faced with more options) occurred when participants faced everyday decisions (e.g., choosing a store to shop at). They encouraged researchers to determine if the Maximization Paradox would occur when making important life decisions. Having more rather than fewer choices led to more dissatisfaction with decisions for maximizers (Dar-Nimrod et al., 2009). Previous research has shown that maximizers are less satisfied with their careers (Iyenger et al., 2006).

Schwartz et al., (2002) purports that maximizers experience poorer well-being (more depression and increased stress) when compared to satisficers, although it is not clear if overall satisficers are subjectively happier than maximizers. Research as detailed previously has pointed out that maximizers (when compared to satisficers) are usually more dissatisfied with their decisions (Schwartz et al., 2002) and more dissatisfied with outcomes (Iyengar et al., 2006), yet they do not necessarily differ when it comes to measures of well-being (Diab, Gillespie, and Highhorse, 2008). Long-term negative effects of being dissatisfied with decisions and outcomes may lead to decreased satisfaction with life (Nenkov et al., 2008). For maximizers, negative outcomes have a stronger diminishing effect on happiness than the augmenting effects of positive outcomes on happiness (Polman, 2010). Additionally, maximizers invest more than satisficers in decisions and therefore have more to lose and are more likely to be disappointed in outcomes (Dar-Nimrod et al., 2009). This continual investment, which

tends to result in dashed high expectations would seem to lead to overall decreased happiness. This evidence seems to point to maximizers subjectively perceiving their happiness to be lower than satisficers. This is consistent with previous research showing that maximizers are more successful yet less happy about that success than are satisficers (Iyengar et al., 2006; Schwartz et al., 2002).

As can be seen, maximization is an important construct for the study of happiness. Researchers have addressed many questions about maximizing/satisficing and happiness, however rarely has this research been conducted with people of color. This study proposed to begin to address this gap by examining these variables with a Native American sample. To date, there have not been studies that have examined the maximization construct among this population. Next, relevant research that combines culture, happiness, and the maximization construct is explored.

Maximization, Happiness, and Culture

Few studies have examined happiness constructs with people of color; many current theories tend to be based on Euro-American models (Constantine & Sue, 2006). The lack of literature leaves many questions unanswered. There has been a call for research to focus on the unique needs of diverse individuals due to changing demographics (Henderson, 2000). As an example of the rapidly changing demographics in this country, the U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012) predicts that people of color will be the majority by the year 2050. The majority of the growth of the over 27 million people in the US population from 2000 to 2010 was people who reported being a race other than White, with large increases reported for the American Indian, Asian, and Hispanic categories. Populations of color grew in all 50 states. The overall percentage of

the White population in the country went from 69 percent to 64 percent of the total population during those years (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Definitions of happiness and applicability of current Euro-centric theories and whether they can even be compared from one culture to the next have been questioned (Constantine & Sue, 2006). Happiness may be culture bound. For example, people of color tend to be slightly less happy even after controlling for income and education (Argyle, 1999).

Chowdury, Ratneshwar, and Mohanty (2009) encouraged researchers to determine specific characteristics of maximizers and satisficers, including ethnicity, stating that very little is known about this variable. In some samples, men have been shown to have more maximizer tendencies than women (Bruine de Bruine et al., 2007; Schwartz et al. 2002), but virtually nothing is known about how other cultural variables might play a role in the maximization construct (Schwartz et al., 2011). What we do know about the construct may not be generalizable to other cultures (Nenkov, 2008). Lower income and less education appear to also be factors in increasing the likelihood of maximizer tendencies (Bruine de Bruine et al., 2007). Bruine de Bruine et al. suggest that negative life experiences and recognition of decision limitations related to low SES could influence these individuals to maximize in order to improve their outcomes. Schwartz et al. (2011) also suggested examining cultural differences in terms of the use of utility maximization versus robust satisficing as normative strategies. They suggest that maximizing may not be a norm in some cultures and instead these cultures would be more likely to satisfice; they point out that this is a gap in the literature that needs to be examined. Clearly more research is needed regarding the role of culture on the maximization construct.

Markus and Schwartz (2010) corroborate the need for more research about the influence of culture on the maximization construct. The amount of choice and personal freedom available to individuals relates to maximization and culture. Freedom and choice are variables across cultures and are not as available in all cultures (Henrich et al., 2010; Markus & Schwartz, 2010). Additionally, some cultures may perceive both choice and freedom in different ways than Euro-Americans do. Markus and Schwartz (2010) encouraged researchers to consider the role of choice and freedom on well-being. Particularly, they pose the question of whether there are any cultural differences in the right amount of choice and freedom to achieve the greatest well-being. People in non-Western nations perceive choice differently, tend to have less choice, and generally place less concern and importance on choice than people in Western nations (Henrich et al., 2010). Choice and freedom are important to both happiness and the maximization construct. Since choice and freedom are perceived differently and have different influences for different cultures, it appears to be important to study these aspects among diverse populations.

Henrich et al. (2010) argue that the populations that researchers usually base psychological research on (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich and Democratic: WEIRD) are the outliers of the world, representing less than 5% of the world's population. The North American Undergraduate (NAU), the most common convenience sample for psychological research, represents between .1 and .2% of humanity (Rozin, 2010). Henrich and colleagues claim that this population is not representative of the majority of the world and therefore should not be used to generalize. They point out that people in non-Western societies value personal choice less and view it differently,

therefore their motivation and behavior surrounding choice also differs. Henrich et al. point out that for researchers who wish to understand the human condition, it would be better to conduct research with samples that are not WEIRD. Results from "small-scale societies" should not be dismissed as unusual; instead, they can shed a lot of light on human psychology. Rozin (2010) also urges researchers to focus on studying different cultures now before globalization homogenizes them to be more like NAUs. Since happiness is relevant to all human beings, it makes sense to study it with diverse populations such as Native Americans.

To date very few studies have considered the maximizing variable with diverse groups. Roets et al. (2012) studied the effects of maximizing and society level on well-being. Their study included participants from the U.S., China, and Europe. No differences were found between the U.S. and European samples with both showing a negative relationship between maximizing and well-being. However, significant differences were found between these samples and the Chinese sample where no negative relationship was found between maximizing and well-being. In all three societies, a significant relationship was found between regret and maximizing. Regret had a negative effect on well-being in all three societies, but the relationship was much weaker in China than in the Western societies. They concluded that in societies where choice is less common and where individual choice is not linked directly to one's happiness, maximizing does not have a strong influence on well-being. These researchers encouraged future research on the topic of societies' influence on the relationship between well-being and maximizing. They particularly suggested conducting research with more diverse Western and non-Western samples "in order to delineate specific societal parameters that influence the

degree to which maximizing and well-being are related” (p. 698). One such parameter that they suggest is the societal structure of individualism and collectivism which might “determine the abundance of choice and the number of options in a society, and/or the value attached to individual choice and the standards for what is believed to be a satisfactory outcome” (p. 698). Roet et al.’s study has certainly shone light on the relationship of culture, maximization, and happiness. While they did find maximizing tendencies among a stereotypically collectivistic culture (Chinese), they did not report the frequency of this phenomenon. Additionally, they did not consider whether collectivism predicts more satisficing tendencies than individualism. Therefore, this is a gap in the literature.

The above research demonstrates that much more needs to be learned about the relationships between culture, maximizing versus satisficing, and happiness. Culture appears to play a role in these variables, but just what that role is and how it influences happiness via the maximization construct is much murkier. Taking Henrich et al.’s (2010) suggestion to consider these variables among "small scale societies", the present study looked at a non-Euro-American sample within the United States: Native Americans. Native Americans are generally underrepresented and underserved in the psychological literature and therefore more research is needed in order to better understand and serve them (Brown & Gibbons, 2008; Gone, 2004).

The literature indicates that it is important to consider culture in the attempt to understand maximization’s effect on happiness, and collectivism/individualism is likely to be an important construct for doing that. The research that has considered the influence of individualism/collectivism and maximizing/satisficing on happiness is lacking,

especially among people of color. Furthermore, there certainly has not been a study of this type conducted with Native Americans. This gap in the literature coupled with the general lack of research on Native Americans seemed to be a strong rationale for exploring this topic further with this population.

Previous research points to the fact that some people of color may experience emotions differently than the majority culture leading to the possibility that happiness may be different among different groups. Suh, Diener, Oishi and Triandis (1998) studied emotions and life satisfaction among over 61,000 individuals in 61 different nations. They found that emotions were more important than cultural norms for life satisfaction in individualistic cultures both on the individual and national level. For collectivistic cultures, on the other hand, both cultural norms and emotions had similar predictive value of life satisfaction (Suh et al., 1998). Tsai, Knutson, and Fung (2006) found that European Americans, who tend to endorse more individualistic values, prefer high-arousal positive affect such as excitement, enthusiasm, and elation over a low-arousal positive affect such as feeling calm, collected, peaceful, and relaxed. Individuals from Hong Kong, who tend to endorse more collectivistic values, on the other hand, prefer low-arousal over high arousal positive-affect. Culture was found to have a large influence on ideal affect more than for actual affect. Ideal affect is what individuals aspire to feel, not necessarily how they actually feel, and is expected to be comprised of positive affective states. Therefore, culture was found to influence how people want to feel with those from more collectivistic culture valuing positive affective states that are calming and those from more individualistic cultures valuing positive affective states that are exciting. The Tsai et al. (2006) study indicated that low-affective positive states may

have the same influence on life satisfaction for collectivistic cultures as high-affective positive states do for individualistic cultures. Put simply, different types of positive emotions seem to increase happiness in collectivistic cultures than in individualistic cultures.

Uchida and Kitayama (2009) found that positive hedonic experience differed for Japanese and American participants in their study. Personal achievement had a greater association with positive hedonic experience than did social harmony for the American participants and vice versa for the Japanese participants. Happiness was found to be personal and positive for Americans. Happiness was found to be social and ambivalent for Japanese. This study shows a link between happiness and a more independent self-construal for Americans and a more interdependent self-construal for Japanese. The previous research demonstrates that there is likely a connection between interdependent self-construal and happiness in collectivistic cultures and between independent self-construal and happiness in individualistic cultures.

It seems likely that if individuals construe themselves as interdependent, they would more likely fall closer to the satisficer end of the continuum. Since maximizers appear to be driven more to achieve individual goals, this seems to be contrary to the values of more collectivistic cultures. When compared to chimpanzees, humans appear to consider fairness, cooperation and other people's interests more when making decisions (Jenson, Call, & Tomasello, 2007). It is expected that people with a more interdependent self-construal would adhere more strongly to these norms than people with a more independent self-construal. Indeed, collectivistic cultures tend to value in-group focused, adjustment goals ("conformity and tradition") while individualistic cultures tend to value

independent, influence goals ("stimulation, self-direction, power, and achievement") (Triandis, 1995; Tsai et al., 2006, p. 290). In-group goals would seem to be counter to the goal of maximizing which seems to be focused on maximizing personal success. People with interSC are "more likely to be motivated by socially oriented goals" (Cross, Hardin, & Gercek-Swing, 2010, p. 146) than are people with indSC. For Euro-Americans, pursuit of self-oriented goals is one predictor of happiness (Kim & Tov, 2011). Euro-Americans tend to focus on goals that maximize gains while East Asians focus on goals that minimize losses.

Thus, it appears that collectivistic cultures tend to be more cooperative with others than individualistic cultures, and cooperation seems to be counter to a maximizer's goals. Cooperation is often tested by playing the ultimatum game whereby a proposer decides to split an amount of money with the receiver and if the receiver accepts they both get to split the money (Eckel & Grossman, 2001). On the other hand, if the receiver rejects the offer, neither party gets anything. Not a lot has been reported about people of color playing this game, however there is evidence that African-Americans are significantly more generous than are Euro Americans when playing, and women are more generous than men (Eckel & Grossman, 2001). No research was found about Native Americans and the ultimatum game. The Eckel and Grossman study appears to support the idea that those with a more interdependent self-construal prefer cooperation over non-cooperation with others, and vice versa for those with a more independent self-construal. Again, there appears to be support for the argument that those with a more interSC will more likely be satisficers.

Self-esteem also seems to have a differential effect on SWB for people from different cultures. Diener et al. (1995) found that self-esteem correlated much stronger with SWB in Western Nations (.60) than in Asian Nations (.40). Therefore, having higher self-esteem is more important to the happiness of people with indSC than for those with interSC. This stacks the evidence more towards the argument that people who have more indSC would be more motivated to pursue self-interest over community interest in order to improve their own happiness than those with more interSC. This seems to reinforce that those with more interSC would be less likely to engage in maximizing behaviors that are more self- rather than other-interested.

Yet another reason those with more interSC may have more satisficer tendencies may be related to personal choice. When it comes to the effect having choices has on happiness, it may be different for different cultural groups. Having personal freedom is slightly more related to positive well-being in individualistic societies than in collectivistic societies (Helliwell, Barrington-Leigh, Harris, & Huang, 2009). For Americans, having personal freedom and choice is highly valued. In fact, the necessity for Americans to have these two in order to be happy is deeply ingrained into their society (Markus & Schwartz, 2010). For Euro-American culture, having autonomy and choice is seen as having a positive effect on well-being (Ryan & Deci, 2000). In a study of 43 nations, Veenhoven (1998) found that individualization is related to increased life enjoyment. Individualization was measured by levels of appreciation for individualism, availability of choices, and capability of choosing. Individualism was also correlated with SWB in 55 nations (Diener et al., 1995). For most college educated Euro-Americans, having personal choice seems to be fundamental to their identities (Markus & Schwartz,

2010). However, working class Americans and those from non-Western cultures (approximately 95% of the world's population), do not view personal choice and freedom in the same way as formally educated Westerners do. Instead, they have an interdependent self-identity that relies on the cultural context: influences, expectations, and hopes of significant other people when making choices. For these people, well-being is not as much a derivative of getting what one wants, rather it “comes from being part of normatively good relationships” (Markus & Schwartz, 2010, p. 346). Therefore, making independent choices seems to go against cultural values for non-Euro-American individuals and therefore would seem to decrease their well-being if they were to go against the preferences of important people in their lives.

Culture appears to have a strong influence not only on happiness but also career decision; satisfaction with work is often important for overall happiness (Kiziah, 2004; Judge & Klinger, 2008). An individualistic or collectivistic endorsement has an effect on career decision among American college students (Carrero, 2002). When making a career decision, collectivists rely much more heavily upon other important people in their lives such as family and friends than do individualists. Collectivists' families also tend to be more involved in their careers than individualists' families are. For Asian Americans, family has a strong influence on career choice; they may not be as likely to pursue their own personal interest when it comes to careers (Tang, Faoud, & Smith, 1999). Latinas were also found to be strongly influenced by family when making a career decision (Gomez, Fassinger, Prosser, Cooke, Mejia, & Luna, 2001). The evidence shows that those with more collectivistic tendencies are more likely than those with more individualistic tendencies to consider family obligations and desires over their own self-

interests when choosing a career. Once again, this points to the fact that those with more interSC value goals and pursuits that are related to the desires of others, while those with more indSC value goals and pursuits in alignment with their own personal desires.

Therefore, maximizing personal goals and desires is likely to be counter to the happiness of someone with high interSC.

Due to the expected greater likelihood of endorsing an interSC, it seems likely that people of color such as Native Americans will perceive that they have less personal choice due to having stronger family influences and expectations. Diversity issues such as race/ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation for people in the United States often constrains career choices for various reasons (Miller & Brown, 2005). In general, Asians more than Americans value others' perceptions of themselves more and such perceptions have a stronger effect on their SWB (Kim & Tov, 2011). Those with more interdependent self-identities are more likely to do what is expected of them by other important people in their lives who know what is best for them (Markus & Schwartz, 2010). Having less personal choice in career options will make them less likely to be looking for the "best" career and therefore make them more likely to be satisficers. If they have chosen a major congruent with what their family expects of them, they are likely to be happier since congruency with family expectations is predictive of happiness for Asians (Kim & Tov, 2011). Indeed, East Asians tend to pursue goals that help maintain positive collective self-perceptions" (p. 162). In sum, it appears that a relationship might exist between self-construal and maximizing/satisficing with indSC likely to be more related to the former and interSC likely to be related to the latter.

Ethnicity has an influence on career decision-making. Worthington, Flores, and Navarro (2005) cite many contextual issues that need to be considered regarding the career development of people of color. These issues include the changing demographics, many within group differences, a history of oppression, and income, employment, and educational disparities. These factors can influence the types of careers that people of color might pursue. Gloria and Hird (1999) found that racial and ethnic "minority" students had lower career decision-making self-efficacy than did Euro-American students. Their decision-making self-efficacy was more positively related to other-group orientation than it was for the Euro-Americans in addition to reporting higher anxiety with regards to making a career decision. Creagh-Kaiser (2003) found that stronger ethnic identity helped empower students when career planning and making career decisions.

Achieving more interdependent goals has been shown to be more predictive of happiness for Asians (Kim & Tov, 2011). Indeed, East Asians tend to pursue goals that help maintain positive collective self-perceptions. Based on this, it is predicted that Native Americans with stronger interSC will report being happier overall. Social relationships seem to be pertinent to one's happiness (Caunt et al., 2012), and people who endorse an interSC tend to put greater emphasis on interpersonal relationships (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1997; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Therefore, it is likely that people who have a stronger interSC endorsement will be happier than those with a stronger indSC endorsement. Lower income may be more likely to predict the chance of being a maximizer. Individuals with lower income may need to be able to take into account more options, especially when making purchases (decisional fatigue), because they likely need

to be more careful about spending. Middle class Americans have more and better quality options to choose from than do lower class Americans. The proliferation of choices available in American society may actually be detrimental to the well-being of lower income individuals. Additionally, the interdependent context in which lower class people live tends to be similar to the interdependent context of East Asian cultures (Markus & Schwartz, 2010).

No studies have reported whether people of color differ from the majority culture in terms of their endorsement of the maximizing/satisficing construct. In fact, a PsycINFO literature search including the terms “ethnic”, “minority”, “multicultural,” “individualism”, “collectivism,” “self-construal,” “people of color” and “race” combined with either “maximizer” or “satisficer” revealed no articles. Therefore, this study will attempt to fill this gap in the literature by looking at a specific group of people of color in the U.S., Native Americans.

Summary, Rationale, and Hypotheses

Very little research has been conducted with Native Americans in general and even less has been conducted specifically on their well-being. No studies have considered the effect of decision-making strategy and self-construal on happiness among any population. Little is known about the characteristics of maximizers and satisficers except that men and those with lower SES and education tend to have a greater chance of being maximizers. Even less is known about the cultural factors that might influence the likelihood of being a maximizer or satisficer, although in Western societies the decision strategy of maximizing is more associated with well-being than in Eastern societies. Western societies are generally more individualistic and Eastern societies are generally

more collectivistic. Native American society tends to be more collectivistic. The literature indicates the importance of collectivistic values on happiness for indigenous people. Studies from diverse indigenous cultures show that interdependence with others is more important to their well-being than independence. Collectivism is related to traditional Native American values and satisficing may also be related to both. The literature also points in the direction that self-construal is an important construct in understanding maximizing and satisficing among non-European samples. There seems to be good reason to believe that greater indSC would be related to greater maximizing tendencies and greater interSC would be related to greater satisficing tendencies. No studies have examined the maximization construct among Native Americans.

Additionally, Pavai and Inglebret (2007) note that satisficing coincides nicely with traditional Native American teachings such as being happy with what one has and not being greedy for more. Higher interSC has been found to be related to higher traditionalism among *Diné* (Hossain et al., 2011). This seems to indicate the possibility that if a Native American is more traditional, he or she might be more likely to endorse a satisficing profile. Therefore, traditionalism will also be considered in this study under preliminary analyses.

All of the above leads to the main question addressed by this study. How do each of the following variables affect the happiness levels of Native Americans: self-construal, decision-making style, income, gender, and traditionalism? It is predicted that as interSC increases, subjective happiness and satisficing will increase. The next prediction is that as indSC increases subjective happiness will decrease but maximizing will increase. Lastly, it is predicted that women will be less likely to have maximizing tendencies than men. It

is the purpose of this study to examine how these variables may affect the well-being of Native Americans. Specifically, the following hypotheses are tested with a Native American sample:

Hypothesis 1

Interdependent Self-Construal will be positively related to Subjective Happiness.

Hypothesis 2

Satisficing will be positively related to Subjective Happiness.

Hypothesis 3

Independent Self-Construal will be negatively related to Subjective Happiness.

Hypothesis 4

Maximizing will be negatively related to Subjective Happiness.

Hypothesis 5

There will be a positive relationship between Interdependent Self-Construal and Satisficing.

Hypothesis 6

There will be a positive relationship between Independent Self-Construal and Maximizing.

Hypothesis 7

Men will have greater Maximizing tendencies than women.

Hypothesis 8

It is predicted that the following variables will account for a large amount of the variance of subjective happiness for Native Americans: Interdependent Self-Construal, Satisficing, Annual Income, Language and Traditionalism

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Participants

In order to determine how many participants would be needed to have sufficient statistical power, an *a priori* power analysis utilizing the statistical tool G*Power was conducted to determine the minimum *N* required to detect an effect if a difference exists. Standard Cohen's medium effect size of .30 was used with Power set at .80 and an alpha of .05, all standard practice in psychological research (Cohen, 2003). It was found that, for a two tailed correlation test, the minimum number of participants needed was 82. The goal, therefore, was to recruit as many participants as realistically possible over 82. The actual, post-hoc power of the different hypotheses can be found in Table 1.

Table 1

Actual Post-hoc Power of all Hypotheses (N=179)

<u>Hypothesis</u>	<u>Power</u>	<u>Hypothesis</u>	<u>Power</u>
Hypothesis 1	.05	Hypothesis 5	.87
Hypothesis 2	.99	Hypothesis 6	.16
Hypothesis 3	.95	Hypothesis 7	.68
Hypothesis 4	.74	Hypothesis 8	.97

The participants were 179 self-identified Native American community members aged 18 or older. Gone & Trimble (2012) recognize that basing Native American status solely on federally recognized tribal enrollment is limited and arbitrary. The Gone Model of Cultural Identity (Gone, 2006) recognizes identity as being actively and socially constructed in addition to being “products of dialogic interaction with others” (p. 66). Therefore, the broader, more encompassing self-identification was used by asking

participants how they self-identified despite the risk of a few participants possibly being “wannabes” or individuals who do not have the shared cultural experiences of Native Americans. There is great linguistic and cultural diversity among the many Native American tribes along with some "pan-Indian" similarities (Alfred, 2009; Gone, 2004; Krauss, 2009). Therefore, lumping all Native Americans into one group and expecting a homogenous group is admittedly limited. Trimble (1990) describes ethnic gloss, the phenomenon of using the broad label of Native American to allude to homogeneity when the population is far from homogeneous. Despite this limitation, self-identification was still chosen due to convenience, the ability to collect data within the metropolitan area of Phoenix, AZ, and to not exclude potential participants. Phoenix was ranked third in terms of places with the largest number of Native Americans and Alaskan Natives, with a total of 43,724 in 2010 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Tempe, Arizona (the suburb of Phoenix where the majority of data was collected) was ranked as the ninth place in the U.S. with the highest percentage of total population being Native American or Alaskan Native (3.9%). Statistics on the actual tribal composition of the population were not readily available. DeWeaver (2013) points out the dearth of accurate population data for Native American tribes and how this is problematic for effective research.

Demographics were collected including gender, age, race/ethnicity/tribal affiliation, whether they were working or not, and approximate income. Additionally, following Hossain et al.'s (2011) lead, asking participants to rate their self-perceived Native language proficiency and self-perceived level of traditionalism was also obtained to measure traditionalism. Participants were also asked to check one box to indicate their SES. Choices provided were the following: Unstable, Stable, or Well-off. These terms

were used instead of Lower, Middle, and Upper class because the researcher and a committee member (Killsback, PhD, personal communication, January, 2014) decided these terms would likely be more appropriate for the population. Killsback is of Native American heritage and an academic researcher on Native American issues. The SES question was only used for demographic purposes, not for analyses.

One hundred eighty-five surveys (see appendix B) were distributed and collected. The surveys were examined for missing data or invalid answers (i.e., the same number was circled for the majority of answers, including contradictory items). If only a few items were missing from any particular subscale, the researcher and dissertation chair decided to use the averaging and input method (i.e., the average of answered items for that subscale was input for missing items). Several surveys were missing one or more pages and therefore it was decided to not include these in the analyses. Six surveys were excluded from analyses due to being incomplete (2) or containing invalid answers (4). The final sample was 179.

The participants included 67% female ($n=120$) and 33% male ($n=59$). Ages ranged from 18 to 79 ($M=37.89$, $SD = 15.77$). Approximately 24.6% ($n=44$) were 18-24, 24% were 25-44 ($n=44$), 16.8% ($n=30$) were 35-44, 15.6% ($n=28$) were 45-54, 10.6% ($n=55-65$), and 8.4% ($n=15$) were over 65 years old. Three participants did not indicate their ages. Participants were asked to write in how they self-identified themselves in terms of race/ethnicity. Participants self-identified in the following ways: 35.8% ($n=64$) by their own tribe, 31.8% ($n=57$) as Native American, 11.7% ($n=21$) as American Indian, 10.1% as Native ($n=18$), 7.3% ($n=13$) as Other, 2.2% ($n=4$) as Own Tribe plus another race, and .6% ($N=1$) as Indigenous. The Other category ($n=13$) included the

following: "100%", "First Peoples/Native American," "Hispanic," "Mexican," "Human", "I treat others the way I want to be treated", "Mixed, Multicultural", "NDN", "Proud", and "White". It should be noted that all participants who self-identified as Other in the race category indicated one or more Native American tribes when asked about their tribal affiliation(s) in a separate question.

In terms of self-identified tribes, 49.7% identified as Navajo/Diné, 14.5% indicated two tribes, 8.4% identified as Cherokee/Aniyunwiya, 5.6% indicated three or more tribes, 4.5% Hopi, 3.4% Tohono O'odham, 2.2% Pueblo, 2.2% Apache, 1.7% Lakota, 1.1% Pima. Less than 1% (one participant each) were from the following tribes: Blackfoot, Purepecha, Ho-Chunk, Zuni, Seneca, Yaqui, Kiowa, Mi'kmaq, Ojibwe, Mohave, and Chippewa. Participants were asked to indicate whether they were enrolled in a state or federally recognized tribe. Eighty-six percent indicated federally recognized, 1.1% state recognized, and 10.6% were not recognized. Four surveys (2.2%) were missing this information due to researcher error of using an older version demographics sheet that did not include this item.

In terms of relationship status, 58.7% ($n=105$) reported being single, 25.7% ($n=46$) were married, 14.5% ($n=26$) indicated that they had a partner, and 1.1% ($n=2$) did not respond to this question.

Employment status was reported as follows: 35.8% ($n = 64$) of participants reported not having a job, 43.6% ($n = 78$) reported working full-time, and 20.7% ($n = 37$) reported part-time work. The range of self-reported approximate income was \$0-\$750,000. Without the one outlier, the range was \$0-\$150,000 ($M=\$32,592$, $SD=\$30,507$). Eighteen participants (10.1%) did not answer this question. As for SES,

26.3% ($n=47$) reported being Unstable, 66.5% ($n=119$) reported being Stable, 5% ($n=9$) reported being Well-off, and 2.2% ($n=4$) participants did not respond to this question.

Measures

Subjective happiness. Subjective happiness (SH) as defined by Lyubormirsky and Lepper (1999) refers to how individuals psychologically appraise their own global subjective level of happiness. The Subjective Happiness Scale (SHS; Lyubormirsky & Lepper, 1999) was used to measure subjective happiness. The SHS is comprised of four self-report items that assess global happiness on a 7-point Likert-like scale. Respondents are asked to answer the questions in a way that best describes them [e.g., “In general, I consider myself: 1 (*not a very happy person*) or 7 (*a very happy person*)”]. A total score can be derived by adding the scores of each individual item after reversing the score of the last item. This scale was evaluated across 14 college and high school student samples in addition to samples of community members and elderly people both in the US and Russia. Lyubormirsky and Lepper (1999) reported the SHS to have satisfactory psychometric properties including high internal consistency (Cronbach's $\alpha=0.86$); correlational agreement between self and other reports among four different samples ranged from 0.41 to 0.66 ($M = 0.54$); and test-retest reliability in five samples ranged from 0.55 to 0.90 ($M = .72$). Convergent validity, using four different samples, was evaluated by Lyubomirsky and Lepper who found correlations of 0.52 to 0.72 ($M = 0.62$) with other happiness measures (the Affect Balance Scale, the Delighted-Terrible Scale, the Global Happiness Item, the Recent Happiness Item, and the Satisfaction with Life Scale). Moderate correlations of .36 to .60 ($M = .51$) were also found between the SHS and dispositional constructs that are related to happiness including optimism, self-esteem,

extraversion, neuroticism, and positive and negative emotionality. Additionally, roommates and spouses were asked about participants' happiness revealing a medium correlation between self and other report (Lyubomirsky & Lepper, 1999). Overall, the psychometric properties are good.

Since SH is each individual's personal appraisal of their own happiness, it appears to be appropriate when considering the happiness of diverse populations. In fact, many researchers have successfully used the SHS in their studies of various populations including Germans and Filipinos (Swami et al., 2009), Russians (Lyubomirsky & Lepper, 1999), Malay (Swami, 2008), Japanese (Otake et al., 2005), Mexican Americans (Barnecllo, 2008), Hong Kong people (Kasdan & Yuen, 2007), and American ethnic youth including Asian American, Hispanic American, and African American (Le, Lai, & Wallen, 2009). Due to this scale having been used with diverse samples and the fact that a more culturally appropriate measure is not readily available, it seemed appropriate to use it with Native Americans.

As suggested by Lyubormirsky and Lepper (1999), each individual's Subjective Happiness score was calculated in the following way: First, the score on the fourth item was reversed using SPSS (1=7, 2=6, 3=5, 4=4, 5=3, 6=2, 7=1). Next, a total score was calculated by adding the new reversed score on item 4 to the raw scores of the other three items to give a subjective happiness score for each participant. Higher scores indicated greater subjective happiness and lower scores indicated lower subjective happiness.

Maximization. The maximization variable was measured by the Maximization Inventory (Turner et al., 2012) which was designed to improve previous maximization scales. According to the authors, this scale was successful at achieving both

improvements in terms of better operationalizing the concept and psychometric properties. This inventory includes 34 self-report items which cover the following three components: satisficing (e.g. “I usually try to find a couple of good options and then choose between them”), decision difficulty (e.g., “I usually have a hard time making even simple decisions”), and alternative search (e.g. “I can’t come to a decision unless I have carefully considered all of my options”). Participants answer on a 5 point Likert-like scale (1 *strongly disagree* to 5 *strongly agree*). The scores of all the items on the first component, satisficing, can be summed to get a total score of satisficing. The scores of the items of the second two components, alternative search and decision difficulty, can be summed to get a total score of maximizing. The scale was developed with undergraduate college students. Cronbach’s alpha for the three subscales were satisfactory (.72, .89, and .82 respectively). Convergent validity was evaluated by correlating the scale with other known maximization measures including the Maximization Scale and the Maximization Tendency Scale. The Maximization Scale was positively correlated with the maximizing subscales (decision difficulty and alternative search) with $r = 0.48$ and 0.35 respectively, showing a medium effect size. The Maximization Scale was not significantly correlated with the satisficing subscale ($r = .12$). The Maximization Tendency Scale was moderately correlated with the alternative search subscale (.38) but not with decision difficulty (.04) and satisficing (.24). The reported psychometric properties were better than the original Maximization Scale according to Schwartz et al. (2002). This is also the first scale that directly measures satisficing instead of simply assuming that it is the opposite of maximizing. Turner et al. (2012) discovered that

satisficing is not negatively related to maximizing and therefore suggested measuring it with an independent scale.

As the measure's authors (Turner et al., 2012) recommend, for the current study, each participant's maximizing score was calculated in the following way: A total score was calculated by adding the individual scores for the 24 "decision difficulty" and "alternative search" items to give a maximizing score for each participant with a higher score indicating greater maximizing tendencies and a lower score indicating lesser maximizing tendencies.

As the measure's authors (Turner et al., 2012) recommend, for the current study, each participant's satisficing score was calculated in the following way: A total score was calculated by adding the individual scores for the 10 satisficing items to give a satisficing score for each participant, with a higher score indicating greater satisficing tendencies and a lower score indicating lesser satisficing tendencies.

Self-construal. The self-construal variable was measured by the Self-Construal Scale (SCS; Singalis, 1994). The SCS was designed to assess the cultural variables of individualism and collectivism for individual participants (independent and interdependent self-construals respectively). It includes 24 self-report items (split into two subscales) that are answered on a Likert-like scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". The scale developer, Singalis (1994), originally used a 7 point Likert-like scale which included a "disagree" option. Miramontes (2011) suggested cutting this option out due to sometimes the overuse of that response by some cultural groups, however it was decided to use the original scale to make the study more comparable to other studies that have used the original one. The SCS includes the

independent self-construal subscale consisting of 12 items (e.g., “I enjoy being unique and different from others in many respects”) and interdependent self-construal subscale consisting of 12 items (e.g., “My happiness depends on the happiness of those around me”). The reliability and validity were found to be adequate both by the original author and others and has included samples from diverse populations including Asian and Euro-Americans from Hawaii (Singelis, 1994) or the continental United States (Hardin et al., 2004), and samples from Australia, Mexico, Philippines, Malaysia, Japan (Miramontes, 2011), and China (Huang, Liu, & Yao, 2009). Singelis evaluated the reliability and validity when designing the SCS. Cronbach’s alpha was found to be 0.70 for the indSC subscale and 0.74 for the separate interSC subscale. In order to address construct validity, Singelis (1994) compared Euro-Americans and Asian Americans and found the Euro-Americans to be significantly more independent and Asian Americans to be significantly more interdependent. Predictive validity was also examined by evaluating how Asian Americans and Euro-Americans were situationally and contextually influenced. Asian Americans were found to attribute more influence to the context than Euro-Americans (Singelis) which is consistent with the theoretical literature about self-construal (Miramontes, 2011). Based on factor analysis, Singelis concluded that the SCS measures the two distinct dimensions of indSC and interSC. The participants in the present study received two scores based on the two subscales of the SCS (an indSC score and an interSC score).

Following the author of the Self-Construal Scale's instruction (Singelis, 1994), each participant’s interSC score was calculated in the following way: A total score was calculated by adding the individual scores for the 12 interSC items to give a total interSC

score for each participant with a higher score indicating greater interSC and a lower score indicating lesser interSC.

Each participant's indSC score was calculated in the following way: A total score was calculated by adding the individual scores for the 12 indSC items to give an indSC score for each participant with a higher score indicating greater indSC and a lower score indicating lesser indSC.

Additional Measures

The following were simple, one item measures designed by the researcher with input from a committee member (Killsback, PhD, personal communication, 2013). They were included on the first page of the survey after the demographics section.

Native Language. Hossain et al. (2011) used self-rated language ability as a measure of traditionalism. The current study followed suit. This item asked participants to self-rate how well they speak their Native Language on a scale of 1 to 7. One indicated "not at all" and 7 indicated "completely fluent." This 1 to 7 scale was created by the researcher since the Hossain et al. study did not specify the kind of scale they used in their study.

Traditionalism. Similar to Native language ability, traditionalism has been measured by asking participants to self-rate their perceived traditionalism level (Hossain et al., 2011). The current study used this method of self-rating as a measure of traditionalism. This question asked participants to self-rate how traditional they view themselves in terms of Native American values on a scale of 1 to 7. One indicated "not at all" and 7 indicated "completely traditional." Once again, the 1 to 7 scale was created by the researcher.

Annual Income. This measure simply asked participants to write in their annual income level.

Procedures

First, approval from the university's Institutional Review Board was obtained (see Appendix C for exemption letter). Participants were recruited at the annual ASU Pow-Wow (Native American Festival ($n=127$), the Cal Seciwa Fest and Feast ($n=38$) (an end of year of year Native American Banquet), and a graduate level American Indian Studies class ($n=9$) in April, 2014 at Arizona State University (ASU) Tempe. Additionally, participants were also recruited at the monthly gathering of the Valley of the Sun Cherokees ($n=11$). At the Pow-Wow and the Cal Seciwa Fest, a table was set up with a sign that read "WIN \$20.00." Participants either approached the table voluntarily, or they were approached by the researcher or a research assistant as they walked by. In either case, they were asked if they would like to complete a survey and to be entered into a lottery drawing for a cash prize of \$20. As for the class and the monthly gathering, first permission was obtained from the professor and the organization leader (respectively). Next, the researcher attended the class and gathering and made an announcement asking attendees if they would be willing to participant in the survey. They were informed that it was voluntary and the only benefits might be a chance to win a \$20 prize and contribute to research. If individuals agreed to participate, they were first asked if they self-identified as Native American and if they were at least 18 years old. If they answered "no" to either of these questions, they were politely informed that they did not qualify for the study. Participants who did qualify and agreed to continue received a paper and pencil version of the survey (see appendix B) which included a cover letter (see appendix A)

that detailed informed consent. Participants were also orally informed about the details of informed consent. Participants were asked to complete the survey while they were not distracted. Participants sat at a table or desk and completed their surveys.

After participants completed their surveys, the surveys were placed in a locked wooden box. Participants were then asked to put their name, email address, and phone number on a small slip of paper which was put into a separate locked wooden box. These slips were used solely for the lottery drawing and were not associated with the participants' surveys in any way. At the end of each respective event, public drawings were held and announced using the events' PA systems. One slip was drawn for every 20 participants and a total of nine \$20 prizes (\$180) was awarded to winners. If a winning participant was no longer present during the event, they were contacted via telephone and/or email and arrangements were made to either meet the principal investigator to retrieve their prize or for a check to be mailed to their address.

Analyses

The three main measures (Subjective Happiness Scale, Maximization Inventory, and Self-Construal Scale) were counterbalanced to control for ordering effects. This means that of the three full measures, 1/3 of the time each measure appeared either as the first, second, or third measure on the survey.

Correlations were conducted using subjective happiness, the maximization construct, self-construal, gender, income, language, and traditionalism. An independent samples *t*-test was used to compare men and women on maximizing tendencies. A final multiple regression was conducted utilizing the following as predictor variables:

interdependent self-construal, satisficing, income, and traditionalism. Subjective happiness was the criterion variable.

The following analyses were conducted for each hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1

Interdependent Self-Construal (InterSC) will be positively related to Subjective Happiness (SH). A Pearson correlation was run between InterSC and SH.

Hypothesis 2

Satisficing (SAT) will be positively related to Subjective Happiness. A Pearson correlation was run between SAT and SH.

Hypothesis 3

Independent Self-Construal (IndSC) will be negatively related to Subjective Happiness. A Pearson correlation was run between IndSC and SH.

Hypothesis 4

Maximizing (MAX) will be negatively related to Subjective Happiness. A Pearson correlation was run between MAX and SH.

Hypothesis 5

There will be a positive relationship between interdependent self-construal and satisficing. A Pearson correlation was run between InterSC and SAT.

Hypothesis 6

There will be a positive relationship between independent self-construal and maximizing. A Pearson correlation was run between IndSC and MAX.

Hypothesis 7

Men will have greater Maximizing tendencies than women. An independent samples *t*-test was conducted to examine this hypothesis. Men were compared to women on Maximizing scores.

Hypothesis 8

It is predicted that the following variables will account for a large amount of the variance of happiness for Native Americans: Interdependent Self-Construal, Satisficing, Annual Income, and Traditionalism. A multiple regression was conducted.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

The means, standard deviations, and Cronbach alphas for all measures are displayed in Table 2. Cronbach Alphas did not apply for Native Language, Traditionalism, and Income. Cronbach Alphas ranged from "acceptable" to "excellent" according to George and Mallery's (2005) guidelines (.9 = excellent, .8 = good, .7 = acceptable). For hypotheses 1 through 6, correlations are listed in Table 3.

Table 2

Means (M), Standard Deviations (SD), and Cronbach Alphas (α) of all Measures (N=179)

Measure	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α
Subjective Happiness Scale	177	22.51	4.62	.89
Maximizing Subscale	177	79.94	16.04	.90
Satisficing Subscale	178	43.29	4.79	.80
IndSC Subscale	179	65.61	8.85	.73
InterSC Subscale	179	61.15	10.15	.78
Native Language	177	3.50	2.06	NA
Traditionalism	178	4.88	1.87	NA
Annual Income	161	\$33,592.60	\$30,507.22	NA

Table 3

Correlation Matrix of All Variables (N=179)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Language	--							
2 Traditionalism	.49**	--						
3 Income	-.038	-.020	--					
4 Independent Self Construal	.219**	.183**	.152*	--				
5 Interdependent Self Construal	.079	.084	-.031	.228**	--			
6 Satisficing	.045	.026	.103	.461**	.253**	--		
7 Maximizing	.057	.098	-.306**	-.048	.314**	.039	--	
8 Subjective Happiness	.130*	.140*	.156*	.289**	.000	.331**	-.218**	--

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (1-tailed).

Preliminary Analyses

Preliminary analyses were conducted examining the variables of Annual Income, Traditionalism, and Native language. Income was found to be positively correlated with Subjective Happiness, $r(177) = .157, p < .05$, and negatively correlated with Maximizing, $r(177) = -.306, p < .01$. Traditionalism was not found to be significantly correlated with Satisficing, $r(177) = .026, p > .05$, nor Interdependent Self-Construal, $r(177) = .084, p > .05$. Native language was also not found to be significantly correlated with Satisficing, $r(177) = .045, p > .05$, nor Interdependent Self-Construal, $r(177) = .079, p > .05$.

Primary Analyses of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. *Interdependent Self-Construal will be positively related to Subjective Happiness.* These two variables were not correlated $r(177) = .00, p > .05$. This hypothesis was rejected.

Hypothesis 2. *Satisficing will be positively related to Subjective Happiness.* These two variables were positively correlated, $r(177) = .331, p < .01$. This hypothesis was supported.

Hypothesis 3. *Independent Self-Construal will be negatively related to Subjective Happiness.* These two variables were positively correlated instead of negatively correlated, $r(177) = .289, p < .01$. This hypothesis was rejected.

Hypothesis 4. *Maximizing will be negatively related to Subjective Happiness.* These two variables were negatively correlated, $r(177) = -.218, p < .01$. This hypothesis was supported.

Hypothesis 5. *There will be a positive relationship between Interdependent Self-Construal and Satisficing.* These two variables were positively correlated, $r(177) = .253$, $p < .01$. This hypothesis was supported.

Hypothesis 6. *There will be a positive relationship between Independent Self-Construal and Maximizing.* These two variables were not correlated $r(177) = -.048$, $p > .05$. This hypothesis was rejected.

Hypothesis 7. *Men will have greater Maximizing tendencies than women.* An independent samples t -test was conducted comparing men to women on maximizing scores. Men ($M=77.68$, $SD=16.11$, $n=57$) and women ($M=81.02$, $SD=15.97$, $n=120$), $t(175) = -1.29$, $p = .198$ were not significantly different in their maximizing tendencies. Therefore, this hypothesis was rejected.

Hypothesis 8. *It is predicted that the following variables will account for a large amount of the variance of subjective happiness for Native Americans: Interdependent Self-Construal, Satisficing, Annual Income, Language and Traditionalism.* A hierarchical linear regression was run with all five of the above mentioned variables as predictors and subjective happiness as the criterion variable. Each variable was subsequently added one at a time to the regression in five subsequent blocks in the following order: InterSC, Satisficing, Annual Income, Native language, and Traditionalism. The unique contribution of each variable above and beyond the previous variable(s) was obtained by looking at the R^2 Change after each new block was added to the regression. The unique contributions, their corresponding Beta weights, and cumulative contributions are listed in Table 4. The data support the hypothesis that those constructs significantly contribute to subjective happiness ($R^2=.151$, $p<.001$), meaning approximately 15% of the variance

was explained by these factors. All variables contributed some to the total amount of variance explained in the overall model. Therefore, all variables were included in the final model. The greatest contributor to subjective happiness among these variables was satisficing, explaining approximately 11% of the variance. This hypothesis was supported.

Table 4

Unique and Cumulative Variance and Betas of each Predictor Variable in H8 (N=179)

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Unique Contribution (R² Change)</i>	<i>Cumulative Contribution (R²)</i>	<i>Beta</i>
InterSC	.00	--	-.086
Satisficing	.116	.116	.328
Annual Income	.017	.132	.134
Native Language	.015	.148	.094
Traditionalism	.003	.151	.063

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The results of this study will next be discussed along with how they tie into previous research, limitations of the study, implications for practice, and recommendations for future research. First, I will discuss the results that were in alignment with the hypotheses and then look at some that were not. The findings indicate that a small but significant amount of the variance of subjective happiness for Native Americans in this sample was explained by the variables in this study. Those participants with higher incomes and those who endorsed a satisficing decision making strategy tended to be happier than those with lower incomes or who endorsed a maximizing decision making strategy. Satisficing was found to have the strongest predictive value for SH. Those participants who endorsed a stronger satisficing orientation tended to also endorse an interdependent self-construal. Maximizing, on the other hand, significantly detracted from the happiness of this sample. Native Americans who endorsed greater maximizing tendencies, also tended to have lower incomes.

Next, there were some surprising and unpredicted results. Despite the prediction that Native Americans with higher interdependent self-construal would be happier, interSC was actually found to not have any influence (neither positive nor negative) on SH for this sample. It was also predicted that Native Americans who endorsed a higher independent self-construal would be less happy. However, the opposite was found in that those who endorsed an independent self-construal also reported being happier. It was hypothesized that Native Americans with a greater independent self-construal would have a greater likelihood of having maximizing tendencies. However, indSC seemed to have

no influence on maximizing for this sample. Although hypothesized otherwise, Native American men in this sample did not have greater maximizing tendencies than Native American women did. Also, contrary to prediction, Native Americans who self-described themselves as being more traditional or being more fluent at their Native language, were not more likely to endorse satisficing tendencies nor an interdependent self-construal.

Next, I will discuss how the results from this study either fit or are incongruous with the existing literature. Based loosely on previous research, it was predicted that interdependent self-construal would likely be positively related to happiness among collectivistic cultures (Kim & Tov, 2011; Uchida and Kitayama (2009), satisficing (Cross, Herden, & Gercek-Swing, 2010; Tsai, Knutson, & Tung, 2006; Triandis, 1995), traditionalism and language (Hossain et al., 2011). Only one of these variables, satisficing, was found to be positively related in this sample. No previous studies have examined the relationship between interdependent self-construal and satisficing, so this is a new contribution to the literature. Because interdependence has been found to be related to happiness among Asians (commonly considered a collectivist culture) (Kim & Tov, 2011), social relationships are important for happiness (Caunt et al., 2012), and there is an emphasis in collectivist cultures on social relationships, it was predicted that Native Americans who endorsed a strong interdependent self-construal would be happier. However, this was not found to be the case. Traditionalism (and Native language ability which was linked to measuring traditionalism), has previously been found to be related to interdependent self-construal (Hossain et al., 2011), however this was not replicated in this study.

Some previous studies found that men have greater maximizing tendencies than women do (Bruine de Bruine et al., 2007; Schwartz et al., 2002). The results of this study found this not to be the case for this sample. Perhaps the small number of males in the sample can account for not finding such an effect. Another possible explanation may be related to Native American culture. Schwartz et al. (2011) pointed out that not all cultures have the norm of maximizing. It may be that maximizing among Native American men is not a norm.

People with lower income have also been found to have greater maximizing tendencies (Bruine de Bruine et al., 2007). The results of this study were consistent with previous findings in that those with lower incomes were more likely to have higher maximizing scores. Previous researchers (Iyengar et al., 2006; Roets et al., 2012; Schwartz et al., 2002) have also found a negative relationship between happiness and maximizing and a positive relationship between happiness and satisficing. Both of these findings were also replicated in this study. However, Roets et al. (2012) found that maximizing was not negatively associated with happiness within a stereotypically collectivistic culture (Chinese). The results of this study were not consistent with the Chinese sample in Roets et al.'s study, but rather they were more consistent with the Euro-American and European samples.

It was predicted that independent self-construal would be negatively related to SH and positively related to maximizing. Because Native Americans were assumed to be more collectivistic (Constantine & Sue, 2006), it was predicted that if they had a stronger indSC they would be less happy. However, the opposite was the case. Native Americans in this sample who endorsed a higher indSC were actually found to be happier rather than

less happy. In this case, it appears that they are much like people found in many other nations and cultures where individualism is related to increased happiness (Diener, Diener, & Diener, 1995; Veenhoven, 1998). While both individualistic and collectivistic traits are found among most people, one's environment is likely to influence which one becomes stronger (Triandis, 1995). Bobb (1999) found that Native Americans in cities tended to be less collectivistic than those in the country. While this study did not assess where the participants lived, it is likely that many of them resided within the Metro Phoenix area and thus made them susceptible to individualistic influences. Age is also related to level of individualism/collectivism, with older individuals more likely to be collectivistic (Bobb, 1999). This study did not control for age nor location of residence/upbringing.

Additionally, since having more personal choice is related to individualism and possibly maximizing (Henrich et al., 2010; Markus & Schwartz, 2010), it was predicted that indSC would be positively related to maximizing. However, no relationship was found between these two variables. Since no other studies have looked at these two variables together, this study may contribute some to this question. Age has been found to be negatively correlated with maximizing (Kliger & Schwartz, 2005) (Found in Iyengar et al 2006), however this study did not control for age.

Paval and Inglebret (2007) indicated that traditional Native American values are likely to be positively related to satisficing, however this relationship has never been tested before. According to Hossain et al. (2011), self-perceived Native language proficiency is related to traditionalism. Therefore, it was expected that Native language would also be positively related to satisficing. However, neither language nor

traditionalism were related (neither positively nor negatively) to satisficing. This may have been due to poor, one item measures.

Finally, it was found that annual income and satisficing jointly explained approximately 12% of the variance in subjective happiness. This was in line with previous research. Previous researchers have found that income, at least up to a certain level, tends to contribute to happiness (Argyle, 1999; Diener et al., 1995). Satisficing has also been found to be correlated with happiness in previous research (Dar-Nimrod et al., 2009; Iyenger et al., 2006; Turner et al., 2012).

Limitations

A note on decolonization. Anytime research is conducted with Native Americans, the question about whether it is decolonized scholarship or not is important to ask since research itself is colonizing, imperialistic, and "one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary" (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012, p. 22). Tuhiwai Smith would likely note that much of the current study was within a colonized research paradigm and did not follow the suggestions she makes for a truly decolonized methodology. Much of this occurred due to limitations of time, resources, and knowledge. This project was able to shift somewhat from the standard/conventional way research is often conducted with Native American/indigenous people (i.e., non-indigenous people researching indigenous people) since the researcher is Native American, a relative anomaly in scientific research. Tuhiwai Smith suggests that indigenous people researching indigenous people is a necessary but insufficient step towards a decolonized methodology, yet is rare (p. 21). It is acknowledged that much of the current researcher's experience and training have been in colonized settings and classrooms. Taiaiake Alfred points out that colonial thinking is

still likely in academia even for Native American scholars (Gorelick, 2005). Additionally, I come from a place of relative privilege in relation to many indigenous peoples (Tuhiwai Smith, p. 49). Another important acknowledgement that influenced this project was that I am not only a Native American, but I am a part of the community which I studied. This insider position afforded me knowledge of customs, practices, and formalities in addition to giving me access to the population and possibly biasing my perspective. The pre-established networks, relationships, and trust with the Native American community at Arizona State University facilitated the ability to collect data. Due to the aforementioned factors, I took precautions not to manipulate and or exploit the population. For example, I asked some people that I was acquainted with to fill out the survey, however I did not try to coerce them into taking it in any way. If someone told me "no" or seemed to hesitate, I reminded them it was voluntary and OK to not complete the survey if they did not wish to.

At a minimum, I attempted to keep from participating in further colonization and ethnocentric assumptions about the population. Additionally, when conducting this study, I tried to be conscious and aware of colonization, exploitive practices, and other problems (e.g., distrust) involving research with indigenous peoples. In a small way, this study may be an act in decolonization. Alfred (2005) points out that colonization is likely one of the main contributors to unhappiness among Native Americans. Therefore, simply contributing to the knowledge and conversation about Native American happiness may be one small step towards transcending colonization. Another small step towards decolonizing is when an author cited in this study identifies as Native American, their

tribe, when readily available, was listed in parentheses after their name first appears as suggested by Alfred (2009).

Additional limitations. Another limitation of this study was that the data were collected from any self-identified Native American rather than those that are associated with a particular tribe. As previously mentioned, there is a vast diversity among Native Americans and assuming that they would all be similar is erroneous. Collecting data from one particular tribe is often accomplished by going to that tribe's reservation. A better design may have been to collect data from one particular tribe and only include those who are enrolled members of that tribe. However, conducting research on a reservation requires additional IRB approval, time, and money that was beyond the resources of this researcher.

The measures can also be criticized. These may have been the best measures available at the time, however they were not designed to be used for Native American samples. Designing measures that are geared specifically for the population would have been more appropriate. For example, the Subjective Happiness Scale appears to be written for a more individualistic culture (e.g., “In general, I consider myself... a very happy person”). A more appropriate question for a Native American population may be, “In general, my grandparents would say I am a very happy person.” The Traditionalism and Language measures were both simple, one item measures that have not been validated. An issue with the Maximization Inventory and the Self-Construal Scale was the ordering of questions. Both of these scales were presented with all the questions of the subscales lumped together. This may have primed the participants to think a certain way about themselves before they even got to the second subscale. In retrospect, I should

have counterbalanced the order of the subscales in addition to randomizing the question order.

The locations for the study was not ideal. While the locations were chosen for convenience, many of the participants may have been distracted due to being in a public place.

An additional limitation relates to statistical power. Power is generally the ability of a study to detect an effect if there is indeed an effect present. The power of the various hypotheses ranged from as low as .05 (hypothesis 1) to as high as .99 (hypothesis 2). Two things may have affected the power of some of these hypotheses. First, flaws in the design may have lowered the power on some of the hypotheses. For example, for hypothesis 7, the power was relatively low (.36). This may have been attributed to the uneven number of participants obtained for the two comparison groups. Second, the power may have been low for some hypotheses due to there not being an effect or there only being a very small effect to be detected. For example, hypothesis 1 had the lowest power (.05). Indeed, no effect was found for that hypothesis.

Many of the variables studied are likely to be influenced by factors such as age, tribal affiliation, gender, and location of residence/upbringing (e.g., urban, rural, or reservation). As mentioned previously, data on the location of residence/upbringing was not collected. While gender was collected, there was not a balance between the two genders with almost twice as many women as there were men included in this study. Tribal affiliation was collected, but only for demographic purposes; it was not used to examine differences between tribes because there were not sufficient participants from

different tribes for conducting comparisons. The ages also ranged from 18 to 79 ($M = 37.89$, $SD = 15.77$), making this far from a homogenous group.

Implications for Practice

Counseling psychologists and therapists who see clients may find the results of this study useful to their work. For example, practitioners can help clients explore their decision making strategies and help them consciously change those if said strategies are not contributing to their happiness. This study replicated other studies, but this time with a Native American sample, showing that a satisficing decision making strategy tends to contribute to happiness while a maximizing decision making strategy tends to detract from happiness. Practitioners working with Native American clients can help them understand this relationship.

The additional finding that interdependent self-construal was related to satisficing may also be useful for practitioners. Since satisficing was correlated with happiness, encouraging clients, particularly those who come from a more collectivistic culture, to foster their interdependence may increase their happiness.

The finding that annual income is positively related to happiness may have broader implications than just for individual clients. Tribal leaders and even non-Native American politicians may be interested in this information for increasing the well-being of Native American populations. Given that many tribal members have been shown to live in poverty, increasing their average income is likely to increase their overall subjective happiness.

Recommendations for Future Research

Much research remains to be done. There are several ways that this study could be improved. I believe that this study should be replicated with samples that are more homogenous (i.e., similar age, location, tribal affiliation). Additionally, attempting to get an equal number of women and men would be important. Next, it would be helpful to design measures that are more culturally appropriate for Native Americans. Mixed methods such as including ethnographic research (participant observation, direct observation, focus groups, cultural domain interviews, etc.) could be employed in order to design measures that are based on Native American ways of life and philosophies. Subjective happiness, maximizing, satisficing, and self-construal could all be defined from a decolonized, Native American perspective. Future ethnographic research may be less colonizing than the current study. Following Tuhiwai Smith's (2012) suggestions for decolonizing research might improve future studies. One of Tuhiwai Smith's major suggestions is to involve indigenous people in the research as both researchers and participants so their experiences and worldviews can be told accurately and in less biased ways. It will be important for future researchers, Native American or not, to examine their backgrounds and research training that may come from a colonized paradigm and attempt to not let those factors influence the research.

Some of the hypotheses had very low power to detect a difference. Improving the study design would likely increase the power. One way to improve the design would be to re-examine the variables used in this study and others to determine which variables theoretically would have a greater effect on subjective happiness. Other ways of increasing the power might be to use measures that more accurately measure the

variables of interest and to ensure any comparison groups are more equally matched.

Additionally, longitudinal studies could shine more light on some of the possible causal relationships. Finally, it might be useful to replicate these findings with other Native American samples and also with other people of color to discover if similar or different results are found.

REFERENCES

- Adams, D. W. (1995). *Education for extinction: American Indians and the boarding school experience, 1875-1928*. Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas.
- Akwesasne Notes (ed). (1991). *Basic call to consciousness* (Rev ed.). Summertown, TN: Book Publishing Company.
- Alfred, G. R. (1999). *Peace, power, righteousness: An indigenous manifesto*. Don Mills, Ont.; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Alfred, G. R. (2009). *Peace, power, righteousness: An indigenous manifesto* (2nd ed.). Don Mills, Ont.; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Alfred, G. R. (2005). *Wasase: Indigenous pathways of action and freedom*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Argyle, M. (1999). Causes and correlates of happiness. *Well-being: The foundations of hedonic psychology* (pp. 353-373). New York, NY, US: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Augenblick, N., & Nicholson, S. (2009). Choice fatigue: The effect of making previous choices on decision making. *April. Typescript*.
- Bahr, H. M., Day, R. C., & Chadwick, B. A. (1972). *Native Americans today: Sociological perspectives*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Barneclo, N. A. (2008). *El laberinto del exito: A mixed methods investigation of resilience within the context of Mexican-American late adolescents lives* (Doctoral dissertation, New Mexico State University). Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Full Text. (304525958).
- Baumeister, R. F., & Tierney, J. (2011). *Willpower: Rediscovering the greatest human strength*. New York, NY, US: Penguin Press.
- Beckstein (2010). Balance between salient life domains and needs satisfaction and its contribution to subjective happiness. (Unpublished master's thesis, Arizona State University).
- Belcourt-Dittloff, A. E. (2006). *Resiliency and risk in Native American communities: A culturally informed investigation* (Doctoral dissertation, The University of Montana Missoula).
- Biswas-Diener, R., Kashdan, T. B., & King, L. A. (2009). Two traditions of happiness research, not two distinct types of happiness. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, 4(3), 208-211.

- Blanchflower, D. G., & Oswald, A. J. (2011). International happiness: A new view on the measure of performance. *The Academy of Management Perspectives*, 25(1), 6-22. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.5465/AMP.2011.59198445>
- Blandford, A. A., & Chappell, N. L. (1990). Subjective well-being among Native and non-Native elderly persons: Do differences exist? *Canadian Journal on Aging*, 9(4), 386-399. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1017/S0714980800007492>
- Bobb, B. E. (1999). *Cohort differences in the acculturation of a Native American Indian population: Individualism/collectivism, locus of control, attributional style, epistemological assumptions, and spirituality*. (Master's thesis, Pennsylvania State University). Available from PsycINFO. (619552623; 2000-95004-259).
- Bok, D. C. (2010). *The politics of happiness: What government can learn from the new research on well-being*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Boehm, J. K., & Lyubomirsky, S. (2009). The promise of sustainable happiness. *Handbook of positive psychology*, 2, 667-677.
- Brown, C. M., & Gibbons, J. L. (2008). Taking care of our elders: An initial study of an assisted-living facility for American Indians. *Journal of Applied Gerontology*.
- Bruine de Bruin, W., Parker, A. M., & Fischhoff, B. (2007). Individual differences in adult decision-making competence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92(5), 938-956. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1037/0022-3514.92.5.938>
- Carrero, M. R. (2002). *The influence of individualism-collectivism on the career development of ethnic minorities in the United States*. (Doctoral dissertation). Available from PsycINFO. (620258726; 2003-95006-168).
- Carrillat, F., Ladik, D., & Legoux, R. (2011). When the decision ball keeps rolling: An investigation of the Sisyphus effect among maximizing consumers. *Marketing Letters*, 22(3), 283-296.
- Eckel, C. C., & Grossman, P. J. (2001). Chivalry and solidarity in ultimatum games. *Economic Inquiry*, 39(2), 171-188.
- Caunt, B. S., Franklin, J., Brodaty, N. E., & Brodaty, H. (2013). Exploring the causes of subjective wellbeing: A content analysis of peoples' recipes for long-term happiness. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 14, 475-499.
- Cheng, C., Jose, P. E., Sheldon, K. M., Singelis, T. M., Cheung, M. W. L., Tiliouine, H., . . . Sims, C. (2011). Sociocultural differences in self-construal and subjective well-being: A test of four cultural models. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*,

42(5), 832-855.

doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1177/0022022110381117>

- Chowdhury, T. G., Ratneshwar, S., & Mohanty, P. (2009). The time-harried shopper: Exploring the differences between maximizers and satisficers. *Marketing Letters*, 20(2), 155-167.
- Cohen, J. (2003). *A power primer*. Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association, Washington, D.C.
- Constantine, M. G., & Sue, D. W. (2006). Factors contributing to optimal human functioning in people of color in the united states. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 34(2), 228-244. doi:10.1177/0011000005281318
- Creagh-Kaiser, M. G. (2003). *The influence of ethnic identity, gender and trait anxiety on career decision-making self-efficacy for white and racial/ethnic minority students*. (Doctoral disseration, Seton Hall University). Available from PsycINFO. (620257429; 2003-95024-008).
- Cross, S. E., Hardin, E. E., & Gercek-Swing, B. (2010). The what, how, why, and where of self-construal. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*.
- Croucher, S. M. (2013). Self-construals, conflict styles, and religious identification in India. *International Journal of Conflict Management*, 24(4), 421-436.
- Dar-Nimrod, I., Rawn, C. D., Lehman, D. R., & Schwartz, B. (2009). The maximization paradox: The costs of seeking alternatives. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 46(5-6), 631-635.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1016/j.paid.2009.01.007>
- DeWeaver, N. (2013). Assessing the challenges in American Indian population data. In *The state of Indian country Arizona*. Retrieved November 11, 2015 from http://outreach.asu.edu/sites/default/files/SICAZ_report_20130828.pdf
- Diab, D. L., Gillespie, M. A., & Highhouse, S. (2008). Are maximizers really unhappy? the measurement of maximizing tendency. *Judgment and Decision Making*, 3(5), 364.
- Diener E. (1984). Subjective well-being. *Psychological Bulletin*, 95, 542–75.
- Diener, E. (2000). *Subjective well-being: The science of happiness and a proposal for a national index* (Vol. 55, No. 1, p. 34). American Psychological Association.

- Diener, E., Diener, M., & Diener, C. (1995). Factors predicting the subjective well-being of nations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *69*(5), 851-864.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1037/0022-3514.69.5.851>
- Diener, E., & Lucas, R. E. (1999). Personality and subjective well-being. *Well-being: The foundations of hedonic psychology* (pp. 213-229). New York, NY, US: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Diener, E., Oishi, S., & Lucas, R. E. (2003). Personality, culture, and subjective well-being: Emotional and cognitive evaluations of life. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *54*, 403-425.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1146/annurev.psych.54.101601.145056>
- Diener, E., Oishi, S., & Lucas, R. E. (2009). Subjective well-being: The science of happiness and life satisfaction. *Oxford handbook of positive psychology (2nd ed.)* (pp. 187-194). New York, NY, US: Oxford University Press, New York, NY.
- Diener, E., Sapyta, J. J., & Suh, E. (1998). Subjective well-being is essential to well-being. *Psychological Inquiry*, *9*(1), 33-37.
doi:http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1207/s15327965pli0901_3
- Diener, E., Suh, E. M., Lucas, R. E., & Smith, H. L. (1999). Subjective well-being: Three decades of progress. *Psychological Bulletin*, *125*(2), 276-302.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1037/0033-2909.125.2.276>
- Diener, E., Suh, E., & Oishi, S. (1997). Recent findings on subjective well-being. *Indian Journal of Clinical Psychology*, *24*(1), 25-41.
- Duncan, E., Ornaghi, V., & Grazzani, I. (2013). Self-construal and psychological wellbeing in Scottish and Italian young adults. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, *14*(4), 1145-1161. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1007/s10902-012-9372-0>
- Duran, B., Duran, E., & Brave Heart, M. Y. H. (1998). Native Americans and the trauma of history. *Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects*, 60-76.
- Erdogan, B., Bauer, T. N., Truxillo, D. M., & Mansfield, L. R. (2012). Whistle while you work a review of the life satisfaction literature. *Journal of Management*, *38*(4), 1038-1083.
- Evans-Campbell, T. (2008). Historical trauma in American Indian/Native Alaska communities. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *23*(3), 316.
- Gamse, S. S. (2005). *Independence/interdependence, social anxiety, and adjustment to college: A longitudinal analysis*. (Doctoral dissertation, Catholic University of America). Available from PsycINFO. (621046762; 2005-99010-130).

- Garrett, M. T., & Myers, J. E. (1996). The rule of opposites: A paradigm for counseling Native Americans. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 24(2), 89-104.
- Garrett, M. T., & Pichette, E. F. (2000). Red as an apple: Native American acculturation and counseling with or without reservation. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 78(1), 3-13. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1002/j.1556-6676.2000.tb02554.x>
- George, D., & Mallery, P. (2005). *SPSS for windows step by step: A simple guide and reference 12.0 update (5th ed.)*. Auckland, New Zealand: Pearson Education.
- Gloria, A. M., & Hird, J. S. (1999). Influences of ethnic and nonethnic variables on the career decision-making self-efficacy of college students. *The Career Development Quarterly*, 48(2), 157-174.
- Gomez, M. J., Fassinger, R. E., Prosser, J., Cooke, K., Mejia, B., & Luna, J. (2001). Voces abriendo caminos (voices foraging paths): A qualitative study of the career development of notable Latinas. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 48(3), 286-300. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1037/0022-0167.48.3.286>
- Gone, J. (2006). Mental health, wellness, and the quest for an authentic American Indian identity. *Mental health care for urban Indians: Clinical insights from Native practitioners* (pp. 55).
- Gone, J. P. (2004). Mental health services for Native Americans in the 21st century United States. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, 35(1), 10-18. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1037/0735-7028.35.1.10>
- Gone, J. P., & Trimble, J. E. (2012). American Indian and Alaska Native mental health: Diverse perspectives on enduring disparities. *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology*, 8, 31-60. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1146/annurev-clinpsy-032511-143127>
- Goodkind, J. R., Ross-Toledo, K., John, S., Hall, J. L., Ross, L., Freeland, L., . . . Lee, C. (2010). Promoting healing and restoring trust: Policy recommendations for improving behavioral health care for American Indian/Alaska Native adolescents. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 46(3-4), 386-386-394. doi:[10.1007/s10464-010-9347-4](http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1007/s10464-010-9347-4)
- Gorelick, M. (2005, Nov 9, 2005). Writer Taiiiake Alfred urges freedom from colonial thinking. *Indian Country Today*, pp. C4.
- Gosling, S. D., Sandy, C. J., John, O. P., & Potter, J. (2010). Wired but not WEIRD: The promise of the internet in reaching more diverse samples. *Behavioral and Brain*

Sciences, 33(2-3), 94-95.

doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1017/S0140525X10000300>

Gottlieb, L. (2010). *Marry him: The case for settling for Mr. good enough*. New York: Penguin Group.

H. Con. Res. 331 (1988). United States Senate. Retrieved November 9, 2014 from <http://www.senate.gov/reference/resources/pdf/hconres331.pdf>

Hardin, E. E., Leong, F. T. L., & Bhagwat, A. A. (2004). Factor structure of the self-construal scale revisited: Implications for the multidimensionality of self-construal. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 35(3), 327-345.

doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1177/0022022104264125>

Harper, F. D., Guilbault, M., Tucker, T., & Austin, T. (2007). Happiness as a goal of counseling: Cross-cultural implications. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, 29(2), 123-136.

doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1007/s10447-007-9030-0>

Harter, J., & Agrawal, S. (2011). Workers in bad jobs have worse wellbeing than jobless. *Downloaded on May 21, 2013 from www.gallup.com/poll/146867/Workers-Bad-Jobs-Worse-Wellbeing-Jobless*.

Harvey, R. D. (2001). Individual differences in the phenomenological impact of social stigma. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 141(2), 174-189.

doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1080/00224540109600545>

Headey, B. (2008). The set-point theory of well-being: Negative results and consequent revisions. *Social Indicators Research*, 85(3), 389-403.

doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1007/s11205-007-9134-2>

Heil, D. (2012). Happiness in an aboriginal Australian community: What it means 'to be well' and 'to enjoy life' in central-western New South Wales, Australia. *Happiness across cultures: Views of happiness and quality of life in non-western cultures* (pp. 195-207). New York, NY, US: Springer Science + Business Media.

Heine, S. J. (2008). *Cultural Psychology*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Helliwell, J. F., Barrington-Leigh, C. P., Harris, A., & Huang, H. (2009). *International evidence on the social context of well-being* (No. w14720). National Bureau of Economic Research.

Henderson, S. J. (2000). "Follow your bliss": A process for career happiness. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 78(3), 305-315.

doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1002/j.1556-6676.2000.tb01912.x>

- Henrich, J., Heine, S. J., & Norenzayan, A. (2010). The weirdest people in the world? *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 33(2-3), 61-83.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1017/S0140525X0999152X>
- Herring, R. D. (1992). Seeking a new paradigm: Counseling Native Americans. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 20(1), 35-43.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1002/j.2161-1912.1992.tb00560.x>
- Hilpert, J. C., Husman, J., Stump, G. S., Kim, W., Chung, W., & Duggan, M. A. (2012). Examining students' future time perspective: Pathways to knowledge building. *Japanese Psychological Research*, 54(3), 229-240.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1111/j.1468-5884.2012.00525.x>
- Hofstede, G. (1983). National cultures in four dimensions: A research-based theory of cultural differences among nations. *International Studies of Management & Organization*, 13(1,2), 46.
- Horsman, R. (1981). *Race and manifest destiny :The origins of American racial Anglo-Saxonism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hossain, Z., Skurky, T., Joe, J., & Hunt, T. (2011). The sense of collectivism and individualism among husbands and wives in traditional and bi-cultural Navajo Indian families on the Navajo reservation. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 42(4), 543-562.
- Huang, R., Liu, M., & Yao, S. (2009). The self-construal scale: An examination of its reliability and validity among Chinese university students. *Chinese Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 17(3), 306-308.
- Indian Health Service. *About IHS*. Retrieved October 1, 2014 from <https://www.ihs.gov/aboutihs/>
- Iyengar, S. S., Wells, R. E., & Schwartz, B. (2006). Doing better but feeling worse: Looking for the "best" job undermines satisfaction. *Psychological Science*, 17(2), 143-150. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2006.01677.x>
- Jain, K., Bearden, J. N., & Filipowicz, A. (2013). Do maximizers predict better than satisficers? *Journal of Behavioral Decision Making*, 26(1), 41.
- Jensen, K., Call, J., & Tomasello, M. (2007). Chimpanzees are rational maximizers in an ultimatum game. *Science*, 318(5847), 107-109.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1126/science.1145850>

- Johnson, T. & Tomren, H. (1999). Helplessness, hopelessness, and despair: Identifying the precursors to Indian youth suicide. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 23(3), 287-301.
- Johnson, E. J. (2008). Man, my brain is tired: Linking depletion and cognitive effort in choice. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 18(1), 14-16.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1016/j.jcps.2007.10.003>
- Judge, T. A., & Klinger, R. (2008). Job satisfaction: Subjective well-being at work. *The science of subjective well-being* (pp. 393-413). New York, NY, US: Guilford Press, New York, NY.
- Kağitçibaşı, C. (1997). Individualism and collectivism. In J. W. Berry, Y. H. Poortinga, J. Panday, P. R. Dasen, T. S. Sarawathi, M. H. Segall & C. Kağitçibaşı (Eds.), *Handbook of cross cultural psychology: Social and behavioral applications* (3rd ed., pp. 2-41). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Kashdan, T. B., & Yuen, M. (2007). Whether highly curious students thrive academically depends on perceptions about the school learning environment: A study of Hong Kong adolescents. *Motivation and Emotion*, 31(4), 260-270. doi:10.1007/s11031-007-9074-9
- Kenyon, D. B., & Carter, J. S. (2011). Ethnic identity, sense of community, and psychological well-being among northern plains American Indian youth. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 39(1), 1-9.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1002/jcop.20412>
- Kim, Y. H., & Tov, W. (2011). Cultural Processes Underlying Subjective Well-Being. *Cultural Processes: A Social Psychological Perspective*, 154.
- King, J. (2011). Reclaiming our roots: Accomplishments and challenges. *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs*, 43(4), 297-301.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1080/02791072.2011.628921>
- Kinnier, R. T. (2013). *The point of it all*. North Chelmsford, MA: Erudition Books.
- Kitayama, S., & Markus, H. R. (2000). The pursuit of happiness and the realization of sympathy: Cultural patterns of self, social relations, and well-being. *Culture and subjective well-being* (pp. 113-161). Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Kiziah, J. E. (2004). *Job satisfaction vs. work fulfillment: Exploring positive experience at work* (Doctoral dissertation). Available from PsycINFO. (620622056; 2004-99008-016).

- Krakovsky, M. (2011). Field guide to the maximizer. Retrieved from <http://www.psychologytoday.com/articles/201110/field-guide-the-maximizer>
- Kral, M. J., & Idlout, L. (2012). It's all in the family: Wellbeing among Inuit in arctic Canada. *Happiness across cultures: Views of happiness and quality of life in non-western cultures* (pp. 387-398). New York, NY: Springer Science + Business Media.
- Kral, M. J., Idlout, L., Minore, J. B., Dyck, R. J., & Kirmayer, L. J. (2011). Unikkaartuit: Meanings of well-being, unhappiness, health, and community change among Inuit in Nunavut, Canada. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 48(3-4), 426-438. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1007/s10464-011-9431-4>
- Krauss, M. (2009). The condition of Native North American languages: The need for realistic assessment and action. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 132(1), 9-22. doi:10.1515/ijsl.1998.132.9
- LaFromboise, T. D. (1988). American Indian mental health policy. *American Psychologist*, 43(5), 388-397. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1037/0003-066X.43.5.388>
- LaFromboise, T. D., Trimble, J. E., & Mohatt, G. V. (1998). *Counseling intervention and American Indian tradition: An integrative approach*. New York, NY, US: McGraw-Hill, New York, NY.
- Lamoreaux, M., & Morling, B. (2011). Outside the head and outside individualism-collectivism: Further meta-analyses of cultural products. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 0022022110385234.
- Le, T. N., Lai, M. H., & Wallen, J. (2009). Multiculturalism and subjective happiness as mediated by cultural and relational variables. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 15(3), 303-313. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1037/a0015507>
- Liang, C. T. H., Nathwani, A., Ahmad, S., & Prince, J. K. (2010). Coping with discrimination: The subjective well-being of south Asian American women. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 38(2), 77-87.
- Long, C., Downs, A. C., Gillette, B., in Sight, L. K., & Konen, E. I. (2006). Assessing cultural life skills of American Indian youth. *Child & Youth Care Forum*, 35(4), 289-304. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1007/s10566-006-9017-8>
- López Ulloa, B. F., Møller, V., & Sousa-Poza, A. (2013). How does subjective well-being evolve with age? A literature review. *Journal of Population Ageing*, , 1-35. doi:10.1007/s12062-013-9085-0

- Lyubomirsky, S., King, L., & Diener, E. (2005). The benefits of frequent positive affect: Does happiness lead to success? *Psychological Bulletin*, *131*(6), 803-855. doi: <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1037/0033-2909.131.6.803>
- Lyubomirsky, S., & Lepper, H. S. (1999). A measure of subjective happiness: Preliminary reliability and construct validation. *Social Indicators Research*, *46*(2), 137-155. doi: <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1023/A:1006824100041>
- Lyubomirsky, S., Sheldon, K. M., & Schkade, D. (2005). Pursuing happiness: The architecture of sustainable change. *Review of general psychology*, *9*(2), 111.
- MacPherson, W. (1999). *The Stephen Lawrence inquiry: Report of an inquiry by Sir William MacPherson of Cluny, advised by Tom Cook, the right reverend Dr. John Sentamu, Dr. Richard Stone; presented to parliament by the secretary of state for the home department by command of her majesty*. The Stationery Office.
- Manz, W. H. (2012). *American Indian religious freedom act: A legislative history of public law no. 95-341 and 103-344*. Buffalo, N.Y.: Hein.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, *98*(2), 224-253. doi: <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1037/0033-295X.98.2.224>
- Markus, H. R., & Schwartz, B. (2010). Does choice mean freedom and well-being? *Journal of Consumer Research*, *37*(2), 344-355. doi: <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1086/651242>
- McCabe, G. H. (2007). The healing path: A culture and community-derived indigenous therapy model. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training*, *44*(2), 148-160. doi: <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1037/0033-3204.44.2.148>
- Miller, R. (2005). The doctrine of discovery in American Indian law. *Idaho Law Review*, *42*(1), 1.
- Miller, M. J., & Brown, S. D. (2005). *Counseling for career choice: Implications for improving interventions and working with diverse populations*. Hoboken, NJ, US: John Wiley & Sons Inc.
- Minorityrights.org (2015). Retrieved July 15, 2015 from <http://www.minorityrights.org/2616/united-states-of-america/native-hawaiians.html>
- Miramontes, L. G. (2011). *The Structure and Measurement of Self-Construals: A Cross-Cultural Study of the Self-Construal Scale* (Doctoral dissertation, Washington State University).

- Misuraca, R., & Teuscher, U. (2013). Time flies when you maximize — maximizers and satisficers perceive time differently when making decisions. *Acta Psychologica*, *143*(2), 176-180. doi:10.1016/j.actpsy.2013.03.004
- Myers, D. G. (2000) Funds, faith and friends of happy people, *American Psychologist*, *55* (1), 56-67.
- Na, J., Grossmann, I., Varnum, M. E. W., Kitayama, S., Gonzalez, R., & Nisbett, R. E. (2010). Cultural differences are not always reducible to individual differences. *PNAS Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, *107*(14), 6192-6197. doi:
<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1073/pnas.1001911107>
- Nakamura, J., & Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2009). Flow theory and research. *Handbook of positive psychology*, 195-206.
- Nauta, M. M. (2007). Assessing college students' satisfaction with their academic majors. *Journal of Career Assessment*, *15*(4), 446-462.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1177/1069072707305762>
- Nenkov, G. Y., Morrin, M., Ward, A., Schwartz, B., & Hurland, J. (2008). A short form of the maximization scale: Factor structure, reliability and validity studies. *Judgment and Decision Making*, *3*(5), 371-388.
- Norrish, J. M., & Vella-Brodrick, D. A. (2008). Is the study of happiness a worthy scientific pursuit? *Social Indicators Research*, *87*(3), 393-407.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1007/s11205-007-9147-x>
- Otake, K., Shimai, S., Ikemi, A., Utsuki, N., Peterson, C., & Seligman, M. E. P. (2005). Development of the Japanese version of the values in action inventory of strengths (VIA-IS). *Japanese Journal of Psychology*, *76*(5), 461-467.
- Oyserman, D., Coon, H. M., & Kemmelmeier, M. (2002). Rethinking individualism and collectivism: Evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta-analyses. *Psychological Bulletin*, *128*(1), 3-72.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1037/0033-2909.128.1.3>
- Pavel, D. M., & Inglebret, E. (2007). *The American Indian and Alaska Native student's guide to college success*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press.
- Polman, E. (2010). Why are maximizers less happy than satisficers? Because they maximize positive and negative outcomes. *Journal of Behavioral Decision Making*, *23*(2), 179-190. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1002/bdm.647>

- Rim, H. B., Turner, B. M., Betz, N. E., & Nygren, T. E. (2011). Studies of the dimensionality, correlates, and meaning of measures of the maximizing tendency. *Judgment and Decision Making*, 6(6), 565-579.
- Roets, A., Schwartz, B., & Guan, Y. (2012). *The tyranny of choice: A cross-cultural investigation of maximizing-satisficing effects on well-being* Society for Judgment & Decision Making.
- Rojas, M. (2012). Happiness in Mexico: The importance of human relations. *Happiness across cultures: Views of happiness and quality of life in non-western cultures* (pp. 241-251). New York, NY, US: Springer Science + Business Media, New York, NY.
- Rozin, P. (2010). The weirdest people in the world are a harbinger of the future of the world. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 33(2-3), 108-109.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1017/S0140525X10000312>
- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2000). Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being. *American Psychologist*, 55(1), 68.
- Schwartz, B., Ben-Haim, Y., & Dasco, C. (2011). What makes a good decision? Robust satisficing as a normative standard of rational decision making. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 41(2), 209-227.
- Schwartz, B. (2004). *The paradox of choice: Why more is less*. New York, NY, US: HarperCollins Publishers.
- Schwartz, B., Ward, A., Monterosso, J., Lyubomirsky, S., White, K., & Lehman, D. R. (2002). Maximizing versus satisficing: Happiness is a matter of choice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83(5), 1178-1197.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1037/0022-3514.83.5.1178>
- Seligman, M. E. P. (2002). *Authentic happiness: Using the new positive psychology to realize your potential for lasting fulfillment*. New York: The Free Press.
- Singelis, T. M. (1994). The measurement of independent and interdependent self-construals. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20(5), 580-591.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1177/0146167294205014>
- Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples* (2nd ed). Zed books.
- Smith, J. L., Cech, E., Metz, A., Huntoon, M., & Moyer, C. (2014). Giving back or giving up: Native American student experiences in science and engineering. *Cultural*

Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 20(3), 413-429.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1037/a0036945>

Sparks, E. A., Ehrlinger, J., & Eibach, R. P. (2012). Failing to commit: Maximizers avoid commitment in a way that contributes to reduced satisfaction. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 52(1), 72-77.

doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1016/j.paid.2011.09.002>

Stumblingbear-Riddle, G., & Romans, J. S. C. (2012). Resilience among urban American Indian adolescents: Exploration into the role of culture, self-esteem, subjective well-being, and social support. *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research*, 19(2), 1-19.

doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.5820/aian.1902.2012.1>

Sue, D. W., & Constantine, M. G. (2003). Optimal human functioning in people of color in the united states. *Counseling psychology and optimal human functioning* (pp. 151-169). Mahwah, NJ, US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Suh, E., Diener, E., Oishi, S., & Triandis, H. C. (1998). The shifting basis of life satisfaction judgments across cultures: Emotions versus norms. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(2), 482-493.

doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1037/0022-3514.74.2.482>

Swami, V. (2008). Translation and validation of the Malay subjective happiness scale. *Social Indicators Research*, 88(2), 347-353. doi:10.1007/s11205-007-9195-2

Swami, V., Stieger, S., Voracek, M., Dressler, S. G., Eisma, L., & Furnham, A. (2009). Psychometric evaluation of the Tagalog and German subjective happiness scales and a cross-cultural comparison. *Social Indicators Research*, 93(2), 393-406.
doi:10.1007/s11205-008-9331-7

Syn, J. L. (2014). *Social anxiety and subjective well-being in the context of self-construal and modesty for east Asian Americans and European Americans* (Ph.D.). Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global: Health & Medicine, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global: Social Sciences. (1562515885).

Syn, J. L. (2014). *Social anxiety and subjective well-being in the context of self-construal and modesty for east Asian Americans and European Americans* (Doctoral dissertation). Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global: Health & Medicine, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global: Social Sciences. (1562515885).

Tanaka, C. A. N. (2003). *Individualism and collectivism within the United States*. (Doctoral dissertation). ProQuest Dissertations Publishing. Available from PsycINFO. (620241607; 2003-95006-131).

- Tang, M., Fouad, N. A., & Smith, P. L. (1999). Asian Americans' career choices: A path model to examine factors influencing their career choices. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 54(1), 142-157.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1006/jvbe.1998.1651>
- Thornton, R. (1987). *American Indian holocaust and survival: A population history since 1492* (Vol. 186). University of Oklahoma Press.
- Tkach, C. & Lyubomirsky, S. (2006). How do people pursue happiness? Relating personality, happiness-increasing strategies, and well-being. *Journal of Happiness Studies* 7, 183–225.
- Toussaint, L., & Friedman, P. (2009). Forgiveness, gratitude, and well-being: The mediating role of affect and beliefs. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 10(6), 635-654.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1007/s10902-008-9111-8>
- Trafimow, D., & Smith, M. D. (1998). An extension of the "two-baskets" theory to Native Americans. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 28(6), 1015-1019.
doi:[http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1002/\(SICI\)1099-0992\(1998110\)28:6<1015::AID-EJSP900>3.0.CO;2-S](http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1002/(SICI)1099-0992(1998110)28:6<1015::AID-EJSP900>3.0.CO;2-S)
- Triandis, H. C. (1994). *Culture and social behavior*. New York, NY: McGraw Hill.
- Triandis, H. C. (1995). *Individualism & collectivism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Triandis, H. C., Leung, K., Villareal, M. J., & Clack, F. I. (1985). Allocentric versus idiocentric tendencies: Convergent and discriminant validation. *Journal of Research in personality*, 19(4), 395-415.
- Trimble, J. E. (1990). Ethnic specification, validation prospects, and the future of drug use research. *The International Journal of the Addictions*, 25, 149-168.
- Trujillo, A. (2000). Psychotherapy with Native Americans: A view into the role of religion and spirituality. *Handbook of psychotherapy and religious diversity* (pp. 445-466). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1037/10347-018>
- Tsai, J. L., Knutson, B., & Fung, H. H. (2006). Cultural variation in affect valuation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(2), 288-307.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1037/0022-3514.90.2.288>
- Turner, B. M., Rim, H. B., Betz, N. E., & Nygren, T. E. (2012). The maximization inventory. *Judgment and Decision Making*, 7(1), 48-60.

- Uchida, Y., & Kitayama, S. (2009). Happiness and unhappiness in East and West: Themes and variations. *Emotion, 9*(4), 441.
- U.S Bureau of Indian Affairs (2014). *2013 American Indian Population and Labor Force Report*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary Office of the Assistant Secretary – Indian Affairs.
- U.S. Census Bureau (2012). *The American Indian and Alaska Native Population: 2010* (Publication no. C2010BR-10). Washington, D.C.: U.S. U.S. Department of Commerce Economics and Statistics Administration.
- U.S. Department of the Interior: Indian Affairs (2015). *Frequently asked questions*. retrieved from <http://www.bia.gov/FAQs/> on 9/24/15.
- Updegraff, J. A., & Suh, E. M. (2007). Happiness is a warm abstract thought: Self-construal abstractness and subjective well-being. *The Journal of Positive Psychology, 2*(1), 18-28.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1080/17439760601069150>
- Veenhoven, R. (1993). *Bibliography of happiness: 2,472 contemporary studies on subjective appreciation of life*. Rotterdam, Netherlands: Erasmus University Rotterdam, Rotterdam.
- Vera, E. M., Vacek, K., Coyle, L. D., Stinson, J., Mull, M., Doud, K., . . . Langrehr, K. J. (2011). An examination of culturally relevant stressors, coping, ethnic identity, and subjective well-being in urban, ethnic minority adolescents. *Professional School Counseling, 15*(2), 55-66.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.5330/PSC.n.2011-15.55>
- Vliert, E. V. d. (2012). Climate, cash, and culturally embedded happiness. *Happiness across cultures: Views of happiness and quality of life in non-western cultures* (pp. 399-416). New York, NY: Springer Science + Business Media.
- Whiston, S. C. (2011). Vocational counseling and Interventions: An exploration of future “big” questions. *Journal of Career Assessment, 19*(3), 287-295.
- Willeto, A. A. A. (2012). Happiness in Navajos (*Diné ba' hózhó*). *Happiness across cultures: Views of happiness and quality of life in non-western cultures* (pp. 377-386). New York, NY: Springer Science + Business Media.
- Worthington, R. L., Flores, L. Y., & Navarro, R. L. (2005). *Career development in context: Research with people of color*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

- Yang, Y. (2008). Social inequalities in happiness in the united states, 1972 to 2004: An age-period-cohort analysis. *American Sociological Review*, 73(2), 204-226.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1177/000312240807300202>
- Ye, D., Ng, Y., & Lian, Y. (2014). Culture and happiness. *Social Indicators Research*,
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1007/s11205-014-0747-y>
- Yoon, D. P., & Othelia Lee, E. (2004). Religiousness/Spirituality and subjective well-being among rural elderly Whites, African Americans, and Native Americans. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 10(1), 191-211.
doi:http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1300/J137v10n01_05
- Yoon, E., Hacker, J., Hewitt, A., Abrams, M., & Cleary, S. (2012). Social connectedness, discrimination, and social status as mediators of acculturation/enculturation and well-being. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 59(1), 86-96.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1037/a0025366>

APPENDIX A
COVER LETTER

STUDY TITLE: The Relationship between Decision-Making Style and Self-Constraint and the Subjective Happiness of Native Americans

6/20/2013

Dear Participant:

I am a doctoral student under the direction of Professor Richard Kinnier in the Department of Counseling and Counseling Psychology in the School of Letters and Sciences.

I am conducting a research study to examine how Native Americans perceive their happiness as related to their culture and decision making style. I am inviting your participation, which will involve filling out a short, anonymous survey that will take approximately 10 to 20 minutes. You must be at least 18 years old and self-identify as Native American to participate in this study.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty. There are no direct benefits to you for participating besides the \$5.00 cash incentive you will receive after completing the survey.

There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to your participation. Should you feel unduly distressed by answering any or all of the questions in this survey, you are encouraged to contact EMPACT, a 24 hour crisis hotline, at (480) 784-1514.

Your confidentiality is important. Therefore, your answers will be completely anonymous. You are not to put any identifying information on the survey and will not be asked provide any. Your anonymous responses will be kept confidential, and only the primary investigator and co-investigator will have access to them. Any electronic copies of data will be password protected; only the co-investigator will know that password. The results of this study will be used in reports, presentations, or publications; however these results will only be presented in aggregate form.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact the researchers at: amoneeta@asu.edu or kinnier@asu.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.

Return of the questionnaire will be considered your consent to participate.

Sincerely,

Amoneeta Beckstein

Doctoral Student, Counseling Psychology, School of Letters and Sciences

Arizona State University

APPENDIX B
SURVEY

HAPPINESS SURVEY

Sex/Gender: Male Female Transgender Other _____

Age: _____

Partner Status: Single Married Partner (boyfriend/girlfriend)

How do you identify yourself in regards to race/ethnicity? _____

What is (are) your tribe(s)? _____

Are you ENROLLED:

In a federally recognized tribe?

State recognized tribe?

NOT enrolled?

On a scale of 1 to 7, how well do you speak your Native Language with 1 being NOT at all and 7 being completely FLUENT? _____

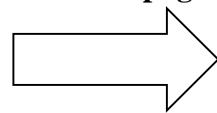
On a scale of 1 to 7, how TRADITIONAL are you in terms of Native American values with 1 meaning NOT at all and 7 meaning completely TRADITIONAL? _____

How do you rank yourself financially?: Unstable Stable Well-off

Approximate annual income: \$ _____

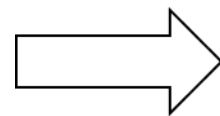
Work: Not applicable Full Time Part Time

Please continue survey on the next page

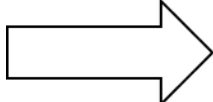


Instructions: Below are some statements with which you may agree or disagree. Use the scale below to show your agreement with each item. Please circle the number that best corresponds to your response. Please be open and honest in your answers.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I'd rather say "No" directly, than risk being misunderstood.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Speaking up during a class or meeting is not a problem for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Having a lively imagination is important to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. I am comfortable with being singled out for praise or rewards.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. I am the same person at home that I am at school/work.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Being able to take care of myself is a primary concern for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. I act the same way no matter who I am with.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. I feel comfortable using someone's first name soon after I meet them, even when they are much older than I am.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. I prefer to be direct and forthright when dealing with people I've just met.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. I enjoy being unique and different from others in many respects.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7



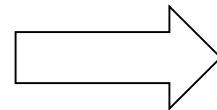
Instructions: Below are some statements with which you may agree or disagree. Use the scale below to show your agreement with each item. Please circle the number that best corresponds to your response. Please be open and honest in your answers.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
11. My personal identity independent of others is very important to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. I value being in good health above everything.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. I have respect for the authority figures with whom I interact.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. It is important for me to maintain harmony within my group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. My happiness depends on the happiness of those around me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. I would offer my seat in a bus to my professor or boss.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. I respect people who are modest about themselves.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. I will sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the group I am in.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. I often have the feeling that my relationships with others are more important than my own accomplishments.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
							

Instructions: Below are some statements with which you may agree or disagree. Use the scale below to show your agreement with each item. Please ***circle*** the number that best corresponds to your response. Please be open and honest in your answers.

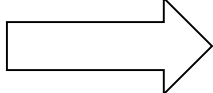
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
20. I should take into consideration my parents' advice when making education/career plans.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. It is important to me to respect decisions made by the group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. I will stay in a group if they need me, even when I'm not happy with the group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. If my brother or sister fails, I feel responsible.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. Even when I strongly disagree with group members, I avoid an argument.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Please continue survey on the next page



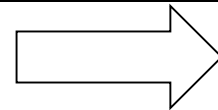
Happiness Survey (Continued)

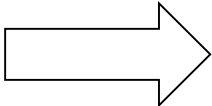
Instructions: Below are some statements with which you may agree or disagree. Use the scale below to show your agreement with each item. Please **circle** the number that best corresponds to your response. Please be open and honest in your answers.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I usually try to find a couple of good options and then choose between them.	1	2	3	4	5
2. At some point you need to make a decision about things.	1	2	3	4	5
3. In life I try to make the most of whatever path I take.	1	2	3	4	5
4. There are usually several good options in a decision situation.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I try to gain plenty of information before I make a decision, but then I go ahead and make it.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Good things can happen even when things don't go right at first.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I can't possibly know everything before making a decision.	1	2	3	4	5
8. All decisions have pros and cons.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I know that if I make a mistake in a decision that I can go "back to the drawing board."	1	2	3	4	5
10. I accept that life often has uncertainty.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I usually have a hard time making even simple decisions.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I am usually worried about making a wrong decision.	1	2	3	4	5
13. I often wonder why decisions can't be easier.	1	2	3	4	5
					

Instructions: Below are some statements with which you may agree or disagree. Use the scale below to show your agreement with each item. Please circle the number that best corresponds to your response. Please be open and honest in your answers.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree
14. I often put off making a difficult decision until a deadline.	1	2	3	4	5
15. I often experience buyer's remorse.	1	2	3	4	5
16. I often think about changing my mind after I have already made my decision.	1	2	3	4	5
17. The hardest part of making a decision is knowing I will have to leave the item I didn't choose behind.	1	2	3	4	5
18. I often change my mind several times before making a decision.	1	2	3	4	5
19. It's hard for me to choose between two good alternatives.	1	2	3	4	5
20. Sometimes I procrastinate in deciding even if I have a good idea of what decision I will make.	1	2	3	4	5
21. I find myself often faced with difficult decisions.	1	2	3	4	5
22. I do not agonize over decisions.	1	2	3	4	5
23. I can't come to a decision unless I have carefully considered all of my options.	1	2	3	4	5
24. I take time to read the whole menu when dining out.	1	2	3	4	5
25. I will continue shopping for an item until it reaches all of my criteria.	1	2	3	4	5
26. I usually continue to search for an item until it reaches my expectations.	1	2	3	4	5



27. When shopping, I plan on spending a lot of time looking for something.	1	2	3	4	5
28. When shopping, if I can't find exactly what I'm looking for, I will continue to search for it.	1	2	3	4	5
29. I find myself going to many different stores before finding the thing I want.	1	2	3	4	5
30. When shopping for something, I don't mind spending several hours looking for it.	1	2	3	4	5
31. I take the time to consider all alternatives before making a decision.	1	2	3	4	5
32. When I see something that I want, I always try to find the best deal before purchasing it.	1	2	3	4	5
33. If a store doesn't have exactly what I'm shopping for, then I will go somewhere else.	1	2	3	4	5
34. I just won't make a decision until I am comfortable with the process.	1	2	3	4	5
<p>Please continue survey on the next page</p> 					

Happiness Survey (Continued)

Instructions: For each of the following statements and/or questions, please circle the point on the scale that you feel is most appropriate in describing you.

1. In general, I consider myself:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not a very						a very
happy						happy
person						person

2. Compared to most of my peers, I consider myself:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
less						more
happy						happy

3. Some people are generally very happy. They enjoy life regardless of what is going on, getting the most out of everything. To what extent does this characterization describe you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at						a great
all						deal

4. Some people are generally not very happy. Although they are not depressed, they never seem as happy as they might be. To what extent does this characterization describe you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at						a great
all						deal

Thank you very much for completing this survey and returning it to the researcher.

APPENDIX C
EXEMPTION GRANTED

Richard Kinnier

SLS - Counseling and Counseling Psychology
480/965-3592
kinnier@asu.edu

Dear Richard Kinnier:

On 4/16/2014 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review: Initial Study

Title: The effect of decision-making style and self-construal
on the subjective happiness of Native Americans

Investigator: Richard Kinnier

IRB ID: STUDY00000955

Funding: None

Grant Title: None

Grant ID: None

Documents Reviewed: • Native Happiness Cover letter, Category: Consent
Form;

- Native Happiness Protocol, Category: IRB Protocol;
- Native Happiness Survey, Category: Measures
(Survey questions/Interview questions /interview
guides/focus group questions);

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal
Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 4/16/2014.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the
INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc:

Amoneeta Beckstein

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Amoneeta's *edoda* (father) is Eastern Band *Aniyunwiya* (Cherokee) and *ima* (mother) is Israeli. Prior to college, he was primarily educated informally via various communities, travel and homeschooling. He received his bachelor's degree in Psychology with minors in East Asian Civilization and Creative Writing at Southern Illinois University Carbondale. He went on to receive a master's degree in passing in Counseling Psychology at Arizona State University (ASU) Tempe. This dissertation is the final project for a doctoral degree in the same field at ASU. His research interests are multicultural psychology, international psychology, and how to augment ethnic happiness. Other areas of interest include leadership development, advocacy, and integrating Native American traditional healing practices into modern counseling. In his free time, he enjoys socializing, horseback and bike riding, traveling, studying languages and about cultures, and reading and writing literary fiction and poetry/spoken word.