

Cultural Efficacy: Satisfaction with Native American Indian Reservation Tribal Services and Reporting Violent Victimization

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Abstract

Much rhetoric surrounds reported violent victimization occurring within Indian Country. Official government statistics, for example, are too fraught with challenges to their validity thus leading to grave discrepancies in reported victimization occurring among Native American Indians. It is hypothesized that tribal group members who reside on an Indian reservation and who report higher levels of satisfaction with tribally-provided services (such as the tribal police, tribal court and crime victim services) are more likely to report violent victimization than those who negatively perceive these services because of internalized cultural values and a unified cultural identity, known as cultural efficacy. Within this work, I use mixed methods to measure the associations between reports of high / low satisfaction with tribally-provided services to reports of violent victimization from members of a Native American Indian tribal group residing on a reservation. Individuals who reported a high level of satisfaction with tribal criminal justice services were more likely to report violent victimization than others. It may be beneficial for facilitating victimization reports if common perceptions of the tribal criminal justice system were improved.

Keywords: cultural values, mixed methods, reporting victimization / crime, Native American Indian, satisfaction with tribal services, tribal police / court

Introduction

Much rhetoric surrounds reporting violent victimization occurring within Indian Country (Basile, Smith, Kresnow *et al.*, 2022). Official government statistics, for example, are fraught with challenges to their validity (Abril, 2003). This situation has resulted in grave discrepancies in reported victimization between Native American Indians who live on rural reservations and those residing in urban areas. Measures used by social scientists to correlate reporting victimization with social and community-level-derived theoretical constructs, such as collective efficacy and social cohesion, may not be applicable to Native American Indian tribal groups who reside on reservations, although there have

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been attempts to correlate these reports within different ethnic populations (Sampson *et al.*, 2005 & 1997; Yagnik & Teraiya, 1999). Within this report, I hypothesized tribal group members who reside on an Indian reservation and who reported higher levels of satisfaction with tribally-provided services (*e.g.*, tribal police, tribal court and crime victim services) are more likely to report victimization than those who negatively perceive these services. Within this work, I use quantitative and qualitative methods to measure and highlight associations between reports of high / low satisfaction with tribally-provided services to reports of violent victimization from members of a Native American Indian tribal group residing on an Indian reservation.

Previous Work

Validity of Institutions Tied to Trust and Social Identity Among Public

Much work has been conducted on public trust in governmental agencies in general and in the institution of police, in particular, when the public decides to report a crime. Heredia-González, Fondevila & Massa (2022:410), for example, in their examination of the institutional reputation of police in Mexico discovered “social influence partly determined by levels of *justice perceived* (emphasis added) in treatment.” That is, the *perceived* level of procedural justice (the idea justice will be reached through fair and impartial processes), was a critical factor when a crime victim decided to report a crime to police in Mexico, a country with a large indigenous population. These researchers cited Lind & Taylor (1998) who earlier reported “the effects of procedural justice are a function of the processes of social identity” (Heredia-González, Fondevila & Massa, 2022:401). Social identity, among Native American Indians, is a direct reflection *cultural identity* developed when group members live among each other to develop, validate and reinforce tribal group norms, values and behaviors, as is the situation of tribal members who live together on an Indian reservation, as many anthropologists have previously discovered (see, *e.g.*, Gans, 1979; Kroeber & Kluckholm, 1952; Spicer, 1980; Tumbaga, 2018). Fair and impartial treatment by the police is thus necessary for strengthening not only the social connections between the public and police, but also strengthening the social and *cultural* ties between tribal group members. Thus, as Murphy *et al.* (2015) found, social and *cultural identity* is “related to an improvement in the institutional reputation of the police and judiciary” (González, Fondevila & Massa, 2022:401).

The relevance of *cultural values* – which are central to a *cultural identity* – were discovered by Abril (2015) to be more robust predictors of reporting victimization in a tribal community than were measures based on Sampson *et al.*'s (1997) oft-studied notion of collective efficacy (the idea that disparate community

members who share a set of common values based on urban survival will come together to take action to improve the community). Abril's (2015) was an important finding central to the present discussion because Fisher *et al.* (2003), in their study of reported sexual victimization found sexually violent crimes are "38.9% ($n = 511$)" occurred in the "living quarters" of the victims, while "46.8% ($n = 616$)" occurred in "other locations" (p. 21). Moreover, 79.2% ($n = 1,037$) of the 4,446 study participants questioned involved offenders/victims to be of the "same race/ethnicity" (p. 20), which is more likely than not to be the same social circumstances in which many tribal members who live on Indian reservations find themselves when confronted with violent situations that must be reported to the police. Finally, as reported by Hamway & Hambly (2023) of the police in England and Wales, community participation in functions that enhance social interactions with police rely on community participation that is built on "trust and confidence" (p. 23). Such trust and confidence in a tribal community is built upon millennia of cultural practices and values which are passed down through the generations to subsequent tribal members. Native American Indian tribal cultural values have developed over multiple generations that currently influence behavioral norms among tribal people today.

Historic Responsibility of a Tribal Government to Provide for Entire Tribal Membership

It is well-understood a core responsibility of tribal leadership (often the tribal council) is to provide for the safety and well-being of the entire tribal community, not unlike the U.S. government's responsibility to provide for the well-being of its citizenry. From historically providing for food, shelter and safety from attack and harm by rivalries, protection of tribal members has always been paramount to most tribal groups in the United States, as well as among other indigenous groups outside the U.S. This is the core purpose of any government, to care and protect its citizens.

Care for Tribal Elders

Among Native American Indians and other indigenous groups around the world, care for and respect of tribal elders (and children) is paramount, and a well-established hallmark of indigenous people. Children are viewed as the future of the tribal group, while elders are viewed as the holders of the cultural knowledge the tribe needs to survive into the future (see, *e.g.*, RedHorse, 1983 & 1983; Weibel-Orlando, 1989). Indeed, it could be argued that without such cultural knowledge and those who will eventually bear the burden of passing this same cultural knowledge down to subsequent generations of the tribe, is the very essence of

what is needed for cultural survival. These same cultural values are reflected in the history of the Southern Ute Indian tribe and are carried forward into modern practice today.

History of the Southern Ute Indian Tribe

The Southern Ute Indian tribe is a federally-recognized American Indian tribe with a formal relationship with the United States government forged through the *Brunot Agreement with Ute Nation of 1873* (Felix R. Brunot, chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners, *Letter to Columbus Delano, Secretary of the Interior, May 24, 1873*, Washington, DC: National Archives, Microcopy 234, Roll 203). The Southern Ute tribe is one of four Ute tribes (the Northern Ute, the Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation, and the Ute Mountain Ute) whose ancestral home is located in the areas now known as Utah and Colorado (the origin of the state name Utah is Ute), although traditional territories extend into New Mexico and Arizona. While each tribe has distinctive location-based practices, they each share several core characteristics that make the Ute culture distinctive among other Native American Indian tribes, such as the mating ritual known as the Bear Dance. Historically, criminal justice practices (policing, courts and criminal punishments) were the supervisory and operational domain of the Ute war-subchief (personal interview, 2003), carried out under the authority of the sitting Tribal Chief (Abril, 2009). The war subchief received all tribal members' complaints of wrongdoing (acts that would today be both criminal and civil in nature). Out of the position of war subchief arose the modern position of Chief Tribal Court Judge (Abril, 2009). Acts that could be classified as 'cultural offenses' and thus detrimental to the welfare of the entire Ute tribe as a people, such as killing a white buffalo calf or cowardice in wartime were heard by the tribal medicine people (spiritual leaders) who would interpret the consequences of the bad act(s) to the entire tribe and recommend an appropriate sanction to the Tribal Chief and entire Tribal Council, who would then order punishment(s) carried out by the war subchief. Culturally-based punishments might include banishment from the tribe or, more commonly, intergenerational tarnishing of an entire family's reputation, often carried through to today's tribal members from actions taken by previous generations (Abril, 2009). Intergenerational transmission of culturally-based punishment is not uncommon among other ethnic-based groups (see, *e.g.*, Spicer, 1980). More information on the transformation of this tertiary power source within the Southern Ute tribal culture is available in Abril (2009).

Culture of the Southern Ute People

Among the Southern Ute people, reverence for and respect of tribal elders is prominently displayed in such tribally-supported priorities as sponsoring the Committee of Elders, the Elders' Services program for elderly and disabled members (food, transportation, home modification services, social supports, etc.) and other home-based services provided to tribal elders, as well as special retirement benefits when an individual tribal member attains the age considered to be a tribal elder (Abril, 2009). By outside observations alone, respect for and reverence of the Southern Ute tribal elders is of critical priority. This culturally-based value is also evident among other Native American Indian tribes and was on full display during the recent COVID-19 global health pandemic as it spread across Indian Country threatening the lives and cultures of Native people, as it did in other parts of the world. The Diné (Navajo – *The People*) Nation, for example, was just one of many tribal communities that enacted a complete reservation closure to outsiders to prevent the spread of the disease to the elderly, who were most susceptible to catching the deadly virus. It is from this culturally-based foundation that the present study was conceived.

Methodology

Southern Ute Indian Community Safety Survey

The *Southern Ute Indian Community Safety Survey* (SUICSS) was a study of crime and violence occurring on and around the Southern Ute Indian reservation, located in rural southwest Colorado, USA.² The nearest municipality to the reservation is Durango, CO. The SUICSS consisted of a 72-item survey questionnaire completed by 667 residents of rural southwest Colorado and 85 1-2 hour structured personal interviews conducted with American Indian tribal members only. The survey instrument was mailed to all adult tribal members (those over the age of 18) whose addresses were obtained from the Southern Ute Tribal Council. Each survey respondent was paid USD\$10.00 for return of a completed survey questionnaire, while interviewees were paid USD\$50.00 for their time. A control sample of non-Indians was derived from the La Plata County voter registration list that contained only adults over the age of 18. The sample contained 312 tribal members and other people who self-identified as Native American Indian, as well as 355 non-tribal members who reported membership in varying ethnic groups, with the dominant group being Euro-American.³⁴ As tribal

² This study was sponsored by the United States Department of Justice, Office of Justice Assistance / Bureau of Justice Statistics Award 2001-3277-CA-BJ. All views and opinions are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the United States Department of Justice.

³ Within this report, Euro-American and all others are generally denoted as being non-Indian.

services are provided predominantly to tribal members, within this report only the perceptions of tribal members will be analyzed and discussed.

Interviewees

While a total of 85 personal interviews were conducted with Southern Ute tribal members only, only 67 self-selected tribal members were used in the analysis within this report, as 15 interviewees were interviewed about their employment responsibilities as related to the tribal criminal justice system, while the remaining 3 interviews were unusable due to tape recorder malfunction (likely a result of operator error). The qualitative interviews were coded into common variables and entered in an MSExcel spreadsheet for later development into a usable SPSS (v24) computerized file for statistical analysis. The cultural values (CV), Indian identity (ID), and cultural efficacy (CE) measures were created *post hoc* to the study and specifically for this report, as well as for analyzing other data emanating from this study. The measures of cultural values (CV) and identity (ID) were taken from the interview data were used to create a new score for each new variable and are presented in Table 1 below. A composite *cultural efficacy* score was derived from the combined scores of the ID and CV measures, creating a range of values from 1 (low *cultural efficacy*) to 22 (high *cultural efficacy*). These new measures were then re-coded into dichotomous variables “0 / 1” for use in various statistical analyses reported herein and elsewhere (Abril, 2025; Abril, *no date*). As has been reported elsewhere, dichotomization of continuous variables may provide some additional benefits for detecting anomalies within data that might go undetected when tested as continuous variables alone (see, *e.g.*, Farrington & Loeber, 2006). Within this report, *cultural efficacy* means the ability of an personal internalized culturally-based value structure and a corresponding internalized cultural identity to both (a) motivate one’s behavior to comport to the social and behavioral conventions of the culture and (b) to restrain one’s behavior when faced with criminogenic opportunities, while also motivating one to act when deviations of the proscribed behaviors are witnessed within the tribal community (Abril, 2025; Abril, *no date*).

⁴ For a complete discussion of the methodology used to gather the original data, see Abril, J.C. (2024 / 2009). *Cultural Values: The Strength and Power of a Modern Native American Indian Tribal Nation* Revised (Kindle Direct Publishing: USA, revised and retitled from *Crime and Violence in a Native American Indian Reservation: A Criminological Study of the Southern Ute Indians*. Forward by Gilbert Geis, Past President American Society of Criminology. VDM Publishing House: Mauritius.

Table 1.
Southern Ute Indian Community Safety Survey (Interviewees Only)
Measures of Identity and Cultural Values
(N = 67)

Measures of Identity (Range 0 – 11)		Measures of Cultural Values (Rank Offensiveness) (\bar{X}) (CV Question was Offensive) (Range 0 – 11)		
Measure	n(%)	Measure	Asked?	Offensive
Are you Indian?	67(100)	CV 1 – How much Indian are you?	39 (58.2)	19 (28.3)
IDs name of tribe?	67(100)	CV 2 – You don't look Indian?	34 (50.7)	22 (32.8)
Are you enrolled?	67(100)	CV 3 – Where are burial grounds?	20 (29.8)	47 (70.1)
Any family enrolled?	67(100)	CV 4 – Asked to have “real” Indian?	18 (26.8)	46 (68.6)
Family attend Indian school?	67(100)	CV 5 – All Indians are drunks	64 (95.5)	59 (88.0)
Any contact with tribe?	67(100)	CV 6 – Asked for photo?	17 (25.3)	35 (52.2)
When last visited reservation?	67(100)	CV 7 – Asked for cultural artifacts?	10 (14.9)	53 (79.1)
Currently living on reservation	67(100)	Uses Medicine People / Traditional Healers		23 (32.3)
Considered a Tribal Elder?	9(12.6)	Harsh View of Disrespecting Tribal Elders		59 (83.1)
Harsh View of Disrespect of Elders	59(83.1)	Would Act if Witnessed Disrespect of Elder		36 (50.7)
Not wanting family shame	26(36.6)	Involved in Cultural Activities		41(57.7)
Involved in Cultural Activities	36(50.7)	\bar{X} COMPOSITE CULTURAL VALUES SCORE		5.68
Uses Medicine People	24(33.8)			
Mentioned Spirits/Witchcraft	35(49.2)			
Time Living on Reservation	≈ 20.6 yrs			
\bar{X} COMPOSITE IDENTITY SCORE	15.25			

Ethical Considerations

As all Native American Indian populations are considered ‘highly vulnerable’ to researcher misconduct, the ethical protections instituted for this population were significant. Before any research commenced, I addressed the entire Southern Ute Indian Tribal Council and requested permission to conduct the study on their reservation. I am of Yaqui / Cherokee descent, which might have influenced acceptance of this study by the Tribal Council and its larger membership. The Tribal Council authorized this study on January 17th, 2001. The University of California, Irvine IRB approved this study under number HS2001-1605. All survey forms and interview tapes were labeled with serial numbers to protect the identities of study participants. The United States Department of Justice has classified this dataset as “Restricted Access / Confidential.” The study author has never authorized access to these data since they were filed with the USDOJ. When not in use, the dataset is stored in a locked bank vault.

Measures***Demographic Variables***

ETHNICITY, GENDER, AGE, TRIBAL ELDER, and INCOME were used as demographic variables in this analysis. Except for TRIBAL ELDER, these demographic variables are commonly requested of all study participants across many different scientific domains. Tribal elder status was requested because being considered a tribal elder is considered a higher status level in tribal communities than in other communities (Jervis, 2010). Tribal elder status was indicated by the item that asked for a yes or no response to the question, “I am considered a tribal elder.” To understand if having a phone in the home (PHONE) and home population density (CROWDED) were associated with reporting violent victimization, the items were recoded into new variables: PHONE and CROWDED. The CROWDED variable was derived from responses to the item that asked about the number of people living in the home and then divided by the number of bedrooms reported in the home ($\# \text{ people} / \# \text{ bedrooms} = \text{crowding}$). A LOWCROWD level was indicated by 1 or more rooms per person per home. MEDIUMCROWD was indicated by reports of 1.5 people per bedroom, whilst HIGHCROWD was indicated by 2 or more people per bedroom. ETHNICITY was measured by reports of an Indian identity. Those claiming an Indian identity were identified as INDIAN. All others were classified as NON-INDIAN. Non-Indians were excluded from this analysis because many of these services are only provided to tribal members or other Indians living on the reservation. AGE was measured by checking a box that indicated the respondent’s age in increments of about ten years (such as 17 *or younger*, 18 - 29, 30 - 40, 41 – 50, 51 – 60, and *over*

60 years). ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME was measured in increments of about USD\$10,000 from *less than* USD\$5,000 to USD\$75,000. Gender was measured by the respondent indicating either MALE or FEMALE.

Evaluation of Tribal Services

Satisfaction with tribal services was measured by seven (7) items that asked the respondents to evaluate several of the tribally-provided services offered to reservation community residents. The seven items were as follows: *How satisfied are you with the Southern Ute police department?*; *How satisfied are you with the Southern Ute tribal court?*; *How satisfied are you with the Southern Ute crime victim's services?*; *How satisfied are you with the Southern Ute Community Action Program (SUCAP)?*; *How satisfied are you with the Southern Ute Tribal Council?*; *How satisfied are you with the Southern Ute per capita payments?*; and, *How satisfied are you with the Southern Ute retirement benefits?* Each item asked the respondents to rate each service with a Likert-style scale ranging from 1 to 5; with 3 indicating *neither satisfied nor dissatisfied / no opinion*; "1" indicating *satisfied*; "2" indicating *very satisfied*; "4" indicating *dissatisfied*; and "5" indicating *very dissatisfied*. Potential responses were next collapsed into two dichotomous categories: *satisfied / very satisfied* = 1; *dissatisfied / very dissatisfied* = 2. Responses of *neither satisfied not dissatisfied / no opinion* were recoded as SystemMissing in SPSS (v24) for data analysis. A new variable for all tribal services combined was created and then labeled "SWTS" (Satisfaction with Tribal Services).

These measures were next stratified into two additional groups to measure *services for crime victims* and *quality of life*. Items used to measure *services for crime victims* were the police department (POLICE), the tribal court (COURT), and the crime victim services (CRMVICSRVIC). Items used to measure *quality of life* (QOL) were: community action program (SUCAP), tribal council (TRIBALCOUNCIL), per capita payments (PERCAP), and retirement benefits (RETIRE). The quality of life (QOL) measures were also combined into one composite (QOL) measure. Because these services are available only to tribal members, I will focus only upon the views of such by the INDIANS within this report.

Victimization

Reports of victimization were measured by asking the respondents to report if they had been victimized by various forms of violence within the previous 12 months. Respondents were asked to report if they had been victimized by specific *types* of violent crime including: (i) threatened with a weapon (THREATS), (ii) slapped or hit (SLAPPEDHIT), (iii) beaten (BEATEN), (iv) kicked or bitten (KICKEDBIT), (v) pushed, grabbed or shoved

(PUSHEDSHOVED), or (vi) raped (i.e., forced to have sexual intercourse) (RAPED). Any positive indication of a report of violence was marked as one report of victimization per type of violent crime. The individual victimization reports were then calculated together and then tabulated into a corresponding number of reports per respondent. For example, if a respondent marked that they had experienced being slapped/hit and have been threatened, they would be marked as reporting (2) violent victimizations in total. The measure of victimization then became a binary measure of “0” indicating no victimization and “1” indicating victimization. Four additional categories of reporting victimization were created next. The first category developed was “NOREPORT” for those not reporting any victimization experiences. The second category was “ANYREPORT,” for those reporting any violent victimization. The third category was “MULTIPLEREPORTS” to indicate 1 or 2 reports of violent victimization. The fourth category was “MANYREPORTS” to indicate 3 or more reports of violent victimization. An alpha (α) level was set at .05 (for 2-tailed tests) for rejection of the null hypothesis, as this alpha level is commonly used for rejection found within criminological research, although it is not likely to be optimal (Maier *et al.*, 2022), but will suffice for use with these original data.

Data Analysis

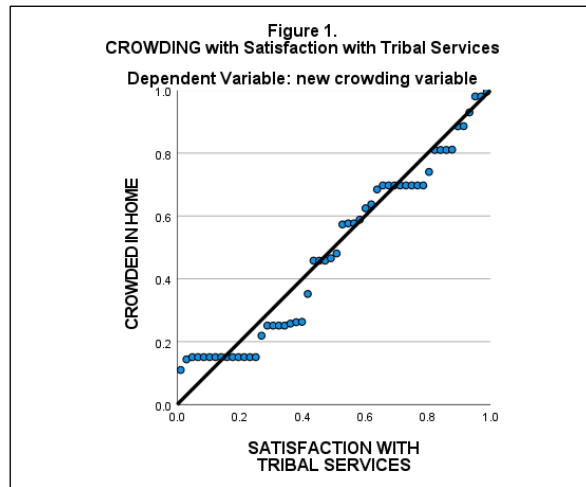
The first level of analysis included identifying and describing the data. Of the overall population sample ($N = 667$), only those indicating a Native American Indian identity ($n = 312$) were included in these analyses. Of the selected sample, most were female ($n = 188$, 60.3) which might have reflected the female-based hierarchy of this tribe, as reported earlier (Abril, 2015). Many ($n = 51$, 16.3) reported they were tribal elders, an elevated social status within this tribe, as is found in other indigenous groups around the world (RedHorse, 1983 & 1983; Weibel-Orlando, 1989). The elevated level of study participation by tribal elders might be explained by the higher level of personal investment in the welfare of the entire tribal group, a burden often unequally borne by many elders in other similar indigenous groups around the world (RedHorse, 1983 & 1983). The age of study participants ranged from under 17 years to under 60 years, with the average being between 30 and 40 years of age. Study participants reported an average annual household income of USDO\$31,419, with incomes that ranged from under USD\$5,000 to under USD\$75,000 annually. Table 1 below presents these descriptive data.

Table 1.
Descriptive Statistics

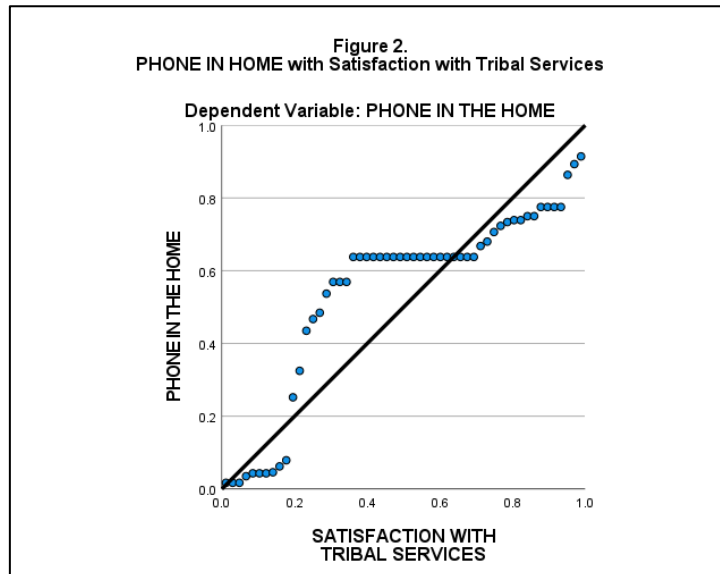
ETHNICITY (N = 667)	GENDER	TRIBAL ELDER	AGE
Indian <i>n</i> = 312 (46.7)	Female <i>n</i> = 188 (60.3)	Yes <i>n</i> = 51 (16.3)	< 17 - > 60
Non-Indian <i>n</i> = 355 (53.2)	Male <i>n</i> = 124 (39.7)	No <i>n</i> = 261 (83.7)	
CROWDED	PHONE IN	INCOME	
Low = 271 (86.9)	HOME	< USD\$5,000 -	
Medium = 34 (10.9)	YES = 261 (83.7)	>USD\$75,000	
High = 7 (2.2)	NO = 51 (16.3)	Mean USD\$31,419	
REPORTS OF VICTIMIZATION			
Total Reports of Victimization <i>n</i> = 118			
NO Reports of Victimization <i>n</i> = 194 (62.2)			
1 report of victimization <i>n</i> = 43 (13.8)			
2 reports of victimization <i>n</i> = 22 (7.1)			
3 reports of victimization <i>n</i> = 19 (6.1)			
4 reports of victimization <i>n</i> = 17 (5.4)			
5 reports of victimization <i>n</i> = 11 (3.5)			
6 reports of victimization <i>n</i> = 6 (1.9)			
ANY REPORT (1 - 6 reports of victimization <i>n</i> = 65 (20.8)			
MULTIPLE REPORTS (1 - 2 reports of victimization <i>n</i> = 35 (11.2)			
MANY REPORTS (2 or more reports of victimization <i>n</i> = 18 (5.8)			
Satisfaction with Tribal Services (range 1 – 4)			
Overall (Combined)	Satisfaction	\bar{x} = 2.732 (<i>n</i> = 312)	
	Tribal Police Department	\bar{x} = 2.985 (<i>n</i> = 211)	
	Tribal Court	\bar{x} = 3.157 (<i>n</i> = 178)	
	Crime Victim Services	\bar{x} = 2.946 (<i>n</i> = 132)	
Program	Community Action	\bar{x} = 2.539 (<i>n</i> = 165)	
	Tribal Council	\bar{x} = 3.030 (<i>n</i> = 230)	
	Per Capita Payments (“per cap”)	\bar{x} = 2.531 (<i>n</i> = 239)	
	Retirement Benefits	\bar{x} = 2.217 (<i>n</i> = 179)	
† Median household income for La Plata County, CO USA at time of study USD\$39,313.			

Crowding within the Home

To determine if crowding within the home was associated with satisfaction with tribal services, a crowding variable (CROWDED) was developed by asking the participants for the number of people in the home divided by the number of bedrooms in the home ($\# \text{ people} / \# \text{ bedrooms} = \text{crowding}$). Most ($n = 271, 86.9$) study participants reported living in homes with adequate personal space (LOWCROWD), while a smaller number ($n = 34, 10.9$) reported medium crowding (MEDUIMCROWD), and a smaller number ($n = 7, 2.2$) reported high crowding (HIGHCROWD). It was found low crowding in the home was significantly correlated with satisfaction with each of the tribal criminal justice services (SWTS): POLICE ($p = .013$), COURT ($p = .021$), CRMVICSVC ($p = .022$), whereas CROWDING was not significantly associated with TRIBALCOUNCIL ($p > .05$), SUCAP ($p > .05$), PERCAP ($p > .05$), or RETIREMENT ($p > .05$). This is likely a reflection of the reality that many people who reside in crowded living conditions tend to have more contact with the criminal justice system due to the higher likelihood of conflicts with others that require police intervention than those individuals who feel they have adequate personal space in which to retreat from potential violence and, subsequently, their use of the police and court. Within the scatterplot illustrated in Figure 1 below, the observations are scattered about the lowest crowded (LOWCROWD) values. This indicates those who do not report feeling crowded in their homes (*i.e.*, they reported having adequate personal space) are most satisfied with tribal criminal justice services. Most ($n = 49, 73.1$) interviewees reported they did not feel crowded in their homes, whereas a smaller number ($n = 13, 19.4$) reported they did feel crowded. Of those who felt crowded in their homes also indicated it was either from temporary situations, such as the annual *Four Corners Bike Rally*, which draws motorcycle enthusiasts from across the United States to the reservation, or from residing in semi-temporary mobile homes (*i.e.*, trailer park living).



Most ($n = 261, 83.7$) study participants reported having a phone in the home, whereas fewer did not have a phone ($n = 51, 16.3$). Within the scatterplot illustrated in Figure 2 below, are the observed values of satisfaction with tribal services in relation to having a phone in the home. In the correlation analyses, however, GENDER, AGE, INCOME, PHONE, satisfaction with the POLICE, COURT, CRMVICSTVC, SUCAP, TRIBALCOUNCIL, PERCAP, and RETIRE benefits indicated older females with annual household incomes averaging about USD\$31,000 and having a phone in the home were most correlated with satisfaction with tribal services (SWTS) than others in this study, but not at a significant level ($p > .05$).



Satisfaction with Tribal Services and Reports of Victimization

The second level of analyses involved conducting linear regression analyses using the combined composite measures only. In the first regression model, it was found satisfaction with all combined tribal services (SWTS) were significantly associated with reporting victimization ($n = 303$, $\bar{X} = 2.73$, $SD = 1.11$, $R = .211$, $F = 3.477$, $p = .009$). As illustrated in the regression scatterplot in Figure 3 below, the observations are scattered about the regression line, indicating a positive relationship between satisfaction with tribal services and reporting victimization, as originally hypothesized would occur. When tested alone, the combined composite quality of life (QUALITY) measure was not significantly associated with reporting victimization on any level ($n = 293$, $\bar{X} = 2.60$, $SD = 1.18$, $R = .127$, $F = 1.17$, $p > .05$), although some significant associations were found between satisfaction with the TRIBAL COUNCIL ($R = .138$, $F = 4.365$, $p = .038$), RETIRE benefits ($R = .152$, $F = 4.092$, $p = .045$) and MUTIPLEREPORTS. However, when the combined composite criminal justice system (CCJS) measure was tested with reporting victimization, significant associations were detected ($n = 242$, $\bar{X} = 3.02$, $SD = 1.26$, $R = .273$, $F = 4.772$, $p > .001$). It then became imperative to test each of the criminal justice system measures, specifically (POLICE, COURT, CRMVICSRVC) separately to understand what effect each individual service has on reporting victimization. Table 3 below reports the significant associations found from testing each criminal justice system service individually with the various levels of reporting.

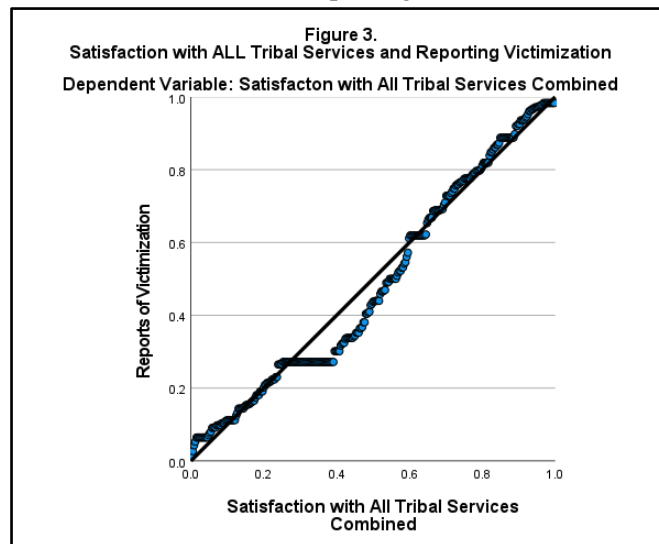


Table 3. Linear Regression Analysis
Satisfaction with Tribal Services and Reports of Victimization – R values

Satisfaction	No Reports of Victimization BASE	Any Report	Multiple Reports (+ 1)	Many Reports (>2)
Police (SWP)	.261 ($F = 15.257, p = .000$)	.190 ($F = 7.844, p = .006$)	.282 ($F = 18.089, p = .000$)	.269 ($F = 16.274, p = .000$)
Court (SWC)	.180 ($F = 5.862, p = .016$)	.051 ($F = .458, p > .05$)	.147 ($F = 3.913, p = .049$)	.138 ($F = 3.398, p > .05$)
Crime Vict. Svc (CVS)	.175 ($F = 4.000, p = .048$)	.054 ($F = .376, p > .05$)	.163 ($F = 3.471, p > .05$)	.136 ($F = 2.387, p > .05$)

In this third level of analyses, the variables were satisfaction with police (SWP), satisfaction with court (SWC) satisfaction with crime victim services (CVS), and three demographic variables: AGE, INCOME and GENDER. These measures were placed together in each of the regression models with reports of victimization (NOREPORT, ANYREPORT, MULTIPLEREPORTS, and MANYREPORTS). A separate regression analysis was then conducted for each individual service. It was found that higher satisfaction with tribal police (POLICE) was significantly associated with reporting violent victimization on all levels of reporting. However, satisfaction with tribal court (COURT) was only significantly associated with NOREPORT ($p = .016$) and MULTIPLEREPORTS ($p = .049$). Satisfaction with crime victim services was only significantly associated with NOREPORT of victimization ($p = .048$). Furthermore, these tests revealed that as AGE and INCOME increased, there was a slightly higher number of reports of victimization, although not at a significant level ($p < .05$). Table 3 above presents the results of these regression analyses.

When all services were measured together, only those reporting NOREPORT ($p = .036$) and MANYREPORTS ($p = .041$) were significantly associated with satisfaction with services. Similarly, when satisfaction with crime victim services (CVS) was tested with NOREPORT and with each of the various levels of reports of victimization, only NOREPORT was significant ($p = .048$). Likewise, when satisfaction with COURT was tested with NOREPORT and each of the levels of reports of victimization, only NOREPORT ($p = .016$) and MULTIPLEREPORTS ($p = .049$) were significant. When satisfaction with tribal police (SWP) was tested with NOREPORT ($R = .261; p = .000$), ANYREPORT ($R = .190; p = .006$), MULTIPLEREPORTS ($R = .282; p = .000$), and

MANYREPORTS ($R = .269$; $p = .000$) each of the various levels of reports of victimization were statistically significant. The corresponding and increasing R values for the tribal police (POLICE) might reflect (1) increased level of contact a respondent reported having with the police necessitated by reporting more than one victimization, and (2) satisfaction the respondent had with handling of their report(s) of victimization by the police (an indication of *perceived justice*), or (3) a respondent's overall perception of tribal law enforcement on the reservation. Finally, when satisfaction with SUCAP ($p > .05$), TRIBALCOUNCIL ($p > .05$), PERCAP ($p = .05$) and RETIRE ($p = .05$) were tested separately with NOREPORTS ($p > .05$), ANYREPORT ($p > .05$), MULTIPLEREPORTS ($p > .05$), and MANYREPORTS ($p > .05$), only satisfaction with TRIBALCOUNCIL ($p = .038$) and satisfaction with RETIRE ($p = .045$) benefits were statistically significant and likely to reflect the views of *perceived justice* many elders have toward the tribal justice system, which is the umbrella responsibility of the tribal government.

Relevance of Cultural Efficacy

When tested in a regression analysis, it was found as *cultural efficacy* (CE) scores increased a corresponding increase in reported victimizations (ANYREPORTS) occurred thus cultural efficacy was positively related to reporting victimization, but this relationship was not significant ($p > .05$). Likewise, as *cultural efficacy* (CE) increased, positive relationships between POLICE, CRMVICSRVS, and RETIRE were also observed, but these relationships were not significant ($p > .05$). The relationship between *cultural efficacy* and SUCAP was negative and significant ($p = .05$). However, when testing *cultural efficacy* and all QUALITY variables as one combined measure, the relationship was both positive and significant ($p = .035$). All other combinations for testing *cultural efficacy* were negative and not significant ($p = .05$). The positive relationships between *cultural efficacy*, identity and cultural values necessitated testing each of these core measures separately. To contextualize these findings within the Southern Ute cultural milieu it is helpful to examine interview data, as most interviewees ($n = 54$, 80.5) reported they would turn to the police first to solve a neighborhood problem, while a smaller number ($n = 21$, 31.3) reported they would turn to the tribal court second, leaving the remainder ($n = 24$, 35.8) stating they would turn to the tribal council only as a last resort. These responses indicate the tribal police are indeed perceived by tribal reservation residents to be responsible for addressing neighborhood problems. Many expressed sentiments that the police are “gonna enforce the laws” and that the police “are the authority out here.” Finally, most ($n = 37$, 55.2) reported they

had used the tribal court for a variety of reasons from civil matters (adoptions, probate and civil judgements), while a large number ($n = 26, 38.8$) reported never having used the tribal court. It was interesting to note that most people who used the tribal court did so for matters that were not criminal in nature, such as because of “bill collectors” and for “mom’s probate.” Likewise, fewer ($n = 52, 77.6$) people reported using crime victim services, with most stating the reasons were for non-crime related matters, such as auto accident assistance or for help with a deceased relative.

Southern Ute Cultural Identity

When testing (cultural) identity (ID) with the combined criminal justice services (CJSVC) only, and then each of the three services separately (POLICE, COURT, CRMVICSVC), the relationships were negative, but not significant ($p = .05$). These data are further supported by information from the interviewees who reported the police and court have historic culturally-based positions within oral Southern Ute tribal narrations. The role of the war subchief, for example, to monitor the tribal community and deliver punishments for transgressions is a clear indication a policing function of some variety has served the tribe well throughout the history of these people. An historic form of policing (a formal social control mechanism) is also found among other Native American Indian tribal groups, as evidenced in the anthropological literature (Malinowski, 1933 & 1942; Spicer, 1980). Moreover, when greeting one tribal elder in her home, she said to me, “*I’ll tell you about law and order on this reservation,*” thus indicating she was thoroughly versed in the locally-based tribal criminal justice system operating within her reservation home. Indeed, it may be “an Indian thing” and, therefore, a *culturally-based value* to have had some sort of policing agency to enforce behavioral norms among tribal members since time immemorial; and not simply a late development derived from the early Indian Agents who were assigned by the U.S. Cavalry to police tribal people (Abril, 2024). When identity (ID) was tested with the combined quality-of-life (QOL) variables, perfect positive correlations ($1.000, p = .000$) were detected among IDENTITY, PERCAP and RETIRE, but were not significant ($p = .05$). All other combinations of these variables revealed negative relationships that were also not significant ($p > .05$). The positive views of the quality-of-life measures among this tribe are likely reflective of the historic characteristic of tribes to provide care and concern (including sustenance and supports) for the entire tribal membership, a hallmark of many other tribal groups in the U.S.

Southern Ute Cultural Values

When testing *cultural values* (CV) with the combined criminal justice services (CJSVC) only, and then each of the services separately (POLICE, COURT, CRMVICSRVC), a perfect positive correlation (1.000, $p = .000$) was revealed between cultural values and satisfaction with all combined services (CJSVC) ($p > .05$). A positive relationship between *cultural values* and CRMVICSRVS was also revealed ($p > .05$). This means satisfaction with all tribal criminal justice services may be influenced by the level of internalized *cultural values* one reports. When tested separately, the relationships between *cultural values* and POLICE, COURT, CRMVICSRVC were negative, however ($p > .05$). The relationship between *cultural values* and tribal criminal justice services might also reflect the desire to fulfill the concept of tribal self-determination and to have its own justice system, as was in existence prior to contact with Europeans at the beginning of the nation's history. This finding is not likely to be reflective of how tribal members feel about non-tribal (non-Indian) policing agencies, which have a confrontational history with tribes (see, *e.g.*, Abril, 2024).

Finally, when testing *cultural values* (CV) with the combined quality-of-life (QOL) measures, perfect correlations (1.000, $p = .041$) between *cultural values*, SUCAP and PERCAP were revealed ($p > .05$), SUCAP and RETIRE were also correlated (.604, $p = .005$), as were TRIBALCOUNCIL and RETIRE correlated (.485, $p = .024$). As expected, there was a perfect correlation (1.000, $p = .000$) between *cultural values* (CV), PERCAP and RETIRE ($p > .05$). While the correlation between *cultural values* and SUCAP was perfect (1.000, $p = .000$), the relationship was negative ($p = .05$). Positive correlations were revealed between *cultural values* and TRIBALCOUNCIL (1.000, $p > .05$), PERCAP (1.000, $p > .05$) and RETIRE (1.000, $p = .043$), as might be suggested upon further examination of the cultural values intrinsic to the Southern Ute culture. Significant positive correlations between *cultural values*, PERCAP (1.000, $p > .05$) and RETIRE were also revealed (.604, $p = .005$), but the relationship was negative. To better see the relationships between what the interviewees perceived and why these views are held, the interview data can shed light. Most ($n = 49$, 73.1) approved of the tribal council and provided reasons including “*trust funds for children*,” “*paying the dividends*,” the education plan, jobs for tribal members, the elders’ group, and healthcare access. Mostly, the interviewees were appreciative of the tribal council “*moving the tribe into the 21st century*.” Finally, examining sources of a tribal person’s income was necessary, as all ($n = 67$, 100) reported income from a combination of per capita payments and work (employment), while some ($n = 12$, 17.9) older folks also receive retirement

benefits from the tribe. Most ($n = 35$, 52.2) non-elders, however, reported this combined income was not adequate for their monthly needs thus highlighting the need for the tribal government to provide financial assistance to its membership.

Findings

In this study of satisfaction with tribal services and reporting violent victimization, it was found that those individuals who reported a higher level of satisfaction with tribal criminal justice services (police and court) and greater satisfaction with the quality-of-life services provided to reservation residents, were more likely to report violent victimization than those who negatively perceived the tribal services, as hypothesized. Moreover, as the study participants aged and their incomes grew, they became more satisfied with the tribal services, especially with retirement benefits, and were more likely to report victimization. These findings suggest that it may be beneficial for receiving accurate reports of victimization if common perceptions of the tribally-provided services were improved among the Native population.

Policy Relevance

Alternative methods than those provided to non-Indian community members for increasing crime reporting by Indians may require intensive ethnically-based and culturally-focused strategies, such as increased efforts by the police to represent the communities in which they work. Other strategies might include open public sessions with those who are younger and have lower incomes to raise awareness of the benefits of accessing criminal justice services; in doing so, increasing reporting of violent victimization that younger people might experience. Certainly, current methods used by mainstream social scientists to correlate phenomena occurring among Native American Indian groups may need to be better aligned with the characteristics found within the many distinctive cultural groups that make-up Native American Indian tribes.

Modernity, too, may help to improve crime victimization data collection efforts. Modern technological advances now common within American society have led to the reality that crime victimization data may now be collected via alternative means not available at the time these data reported herein were collected. Text messaging and other “smart” mobile cellular phone-based crime victimization surveys are ripe for development to improve both victim access to services geared toward their unique culturally-based needs, but also direct researcher access to crime victims to better understand the unique needs of reservation-based crime victims. Tribally-collected crime victimization statistics bifurcated from those collected from urban-based non-reservation communities

are better reflective of levels of victimization occurring within Native American Indian reservation populations, a problem of conflation now occurring in the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) and the Uniform Crime Report (UCR), the two major crime data reports published by the United States Department of Justice (USDOJ). Perhaps the future of crime data collection rests with expanded efforts to establish more accurate reporting mechanisms for each tribal group to report their own statistics, as opposed to those compiled by the USDOJ. Reservation-specific crime data will allow for targeted crime victim services to be provided to more needy reservation communities now lacking for these critical services. Advances in computer-based artificial intelligence (AI) and expanded use of computer-generated avatars (cartoon-like figures) may be used to facilitate video interviewing with crime victims, thus removing deleterious interviewer-effects often occurring in other crime data collection efforts, especially those involving sexually-based crimes and child victims of all crimes. Moreover, use of computer-based culturally-specific avatars with embedded cultural attributes may help to reduce cultural conflicts between researchers and ethnic others who currently refuse to participate in victimization studies based on previous culturally-based conflicts.

Conclusion

This study found support for the idea that improving community perceptions of the variety of tribally-provided services to reservation community members (especially police, court and crime victim services) are likely to increase the current level of reporting victimization, now known to be severely under-reported, as in other populations (Chilton & Jarvis, 1999; Skogan, 1975). Increased reporting of victimization occurring within Indian reservations will lead to more accurate reflections of crime victim statistics now lacking in modern victimization statistics in the United States, such as the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) and the Uniform Crime Report (UCR).

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