A Study of Meaning in Life, Social Well Being and Resilience Among Indigenous People

Shailendra Kumar Sharma	Pragyendu	Monica Gangmei
Asst. Professor, Applied Psychology Department , Sri Aurobindo College (Eve.) , University of Delhi	Asst. Professor , Applied Psychology Department , Sri Aurobindo College (Eve.) , University of Delhi	Student, Applied Psychology, Sri Aurobindo College, University of Delhi

ABSTRACT   The present study examines the Meaning in Life, Social Well Being and Resilience among Indigenous Peoples. A total of 104 Indigenous peoples (tribes) and six communities, three each from both India and South East Asian countries respectively were randomly selected. Outside India participants: 26.9% belongs to Myanmar, 6.7% from Cambodia, 18.3% from Taiwan. The average or common age of the participants is around 26 years. And the majority participants are students. Various tools were used such as Meaning in Life's questionnaire, scale of Social wellbeing and Brief resilience scale. In this study we find that Indian participants scored higher in present as well as future dimensions of Meaning in Life as compared to outside India indigenous peoples. This means that, Indian tribal have more clear sense of meaning in their life and at the same time, they are continuously searching for something which makes their life significant. However in Social wellbeing, indigenous peoples outside India score more in the dimensions of Self-acceptance, Autonomy and Environmental mastery while in India, indigenous peoples (tribal) have higher Personal growth and higher Purpose in life. A positive correlation was found between Meaning in life and Social wellbeing, it shows that if future dimension of Meaning in Life is decreased or increased, then the dimensions of Social wellbeing will also be decreased or increased respectively. And present dimension of Meaning in life is positively correlated with Resilience. Whereas, future dimension of Meaning in life and total Wellbeing is positively related with Resilience but correlation/coefficient is not significant. Significant mean differences were found and discussed.

Introduction

The Indigenous peoples

Indigenous peoples are those groups of community who have a historical distinctiveness from other major communities, in terms of culture, and territory. However, it does not mean that they claim to be the only native in their countries. In most cases indigenous peoples are "aboriginal" or "native" to their land they live in, where later, people come to settle there and these communities live together in same territory, the later settlers are usually dominant people with economic and political power.

In some cases communities of indigenous peoples were relocated from their land due to internal conflicts, within and sometimes to other countries, in this case they are clearly not native people but they still remain Indigenous Peoples.

Most of the Indigenous peoples are small in numbers ranging from just few thousands or even sometimes few hundreds. But each community has their own distinct language, culture, customary laws and social and political institutions that are entirely different from the dominant ethnic groups in their country.

While different indigenous communities are enormously diverse, the common aspects are the strong cultural attachment and dependence of their livelihoods on land, forest or the sea and the natural resources.

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of societies now prevailing in those territories or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop, and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories and their ethnic iden-

tity as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems."

INDIAN TRIBALS:

Zeliangrong tribe

Geographically, the Zeliangrong people are divided by the political boundaries and placed in three administrative units - Assam (North Cachar Hills), Nagaland (Paren district) and Manipur (Tamenglong district). The Zeliangrong people are comprised of 3 sub-tribes; Zemei, Liangmei and Rongmei with a population of more than 300,000 and live in over more than hundred villages. The social and cultural features and practices of the Zeliangrong people are determined to a great extent by the physical environment that surrounds their habitation. They live in close communication with nature, and their natural environment has a major influence on their lifestyle. Traditionally the social system of the Zeliangrong people is based on patrilineal and patriarchy. Politically, the Zeliangrong people follow democratic political system. Each village is an independent unit administered by the village Chief and his Council of members, who are the representatives of different clan in the village. Each clan enjoys equal rights and status. However, there is no presence of women representatives in the village council. The judiciary is based on customary laws. Social problems and are expressed and disputes are settled in the house of common called 'Pei'.

Tangkhul tribe

The Tangkhuls, along with other tribes, came to Manipur, Nagaland, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh from China through Myanmar entering their present habitats in successive waves of immigration. Tangkhul Naga tribe has one common language known as the Tangkhul (Hunphun) dialect despite each village having different dialects of their own. Christianity plays a huge role of current Tangkhul Naga culture. **Kuki Tribe**

The **Kukis**, also known as the **Chin** (The name "Kuki" is used in India, "Chin" in Burma) are a number of related Tibeto-Burman tribal peoples spread throughout the northeastern states of India, northwestern Burma, and the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh. *Religion:* Kuki Tribes of Manipur are mainly followers of Christianity and Judaism. Along with the modern religions the tribe has great belief on superstition and witchcraft that mold their local religion. In spite of its traditional background this community is facing a number of challenges in the battle between tradition and modernity.

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OUTSIDE INDIA
Taiwan- Papora and Taokas
The indigenous peoples of Taiwan, constitute about two percent of the island's population, or more than 500,000 people. The indigenous peoples of Taiwan face economic and social barriers, including a high unemployment rate and substandard education. The revival of ethnic pride is expressed in many ways by aborigines, including incorporating elements of their culture into commercially successful pop music.

Karen tribe (Myanmar)
Karen people are an ethnic group living in South East Asia with their own distinct languanges and culture. Primarily resides in Burma (Myanmar). The Karen makes up approximately 7 percent of the total Burmese population with approximately 7 million people. The Karen people have been fighting for more than 60 years civil war against the Burmese military regime for autonomy and cultural rights.

Religious beliefs: The majority of Karens are Theravada Buddhists who also practice animism, while approximately 25% are Christian. Karen animism is defined by a belief in klar (soul), 37 spirits that embody every individual. Misfortune and sickness are believed to be caused by klar that wander away, and death occurs when all 37 klar leave the body. Karen Buddhists are the most numerous of the Karens and account for around 65–75% of the total Karen population.

Cambodia: Bunong, Kruong, Pov
Cambodia is home to 24 different indigenous peoples, who speak either Mon-Khmer or Austronesian languages. More commonly, these people are referred to as "ethnic minorities" or "indigenous ethnic minorities".

With an estimated population of 200,000 to 400,000 overall, indigenous peoples are generally estimated to account for 1 to 2% of the national population although they are not clearly disaggregated in national census data.

.Concept of Meaning in Life
Meaning in life defined as the sense made of, and existence felt regarding, the nature of one's own existence. It deals with a person overall happiness.

According to Frankl (1963) will to meaning is an innate drive which deals with finding meaning and their significance in one's lives. Day & Rottinghaus (2003) emphasized importance of meaning in life in determining individual's health and wellbeing. This concept, determine individual's happiness. Individual having high meaning in life will involve in continuous search for deeper purpose of life by using already available resources within them. According to Steger, Frazier, Oishi (2004) found that meaning of life plays important role in the development of individual identity and it runs parallel to the identity formation. Those high in such for meaning in life experience more satisfying lifestyle and are able to resolve existential crisis. Steger & Oishi 2004 found that for those searching for meaning of life, the presence of meaning in life was more important to life satisfaction, than for those whose life satisfaction is present.

Study conducted by Battista & Almond, (1973) found that individuals having less meaning in life will need more psychological therapies. Debats, van der Lubbe, & Wezeman (1993) shows low meaning in life is directly associated with suicidal ideation and substance abuse. Bonebright, Clay, & Ankenmmann (2000) found that individual having high meaning of life will show positive relation to their work, having High life satisfaction, happiness and healthy psychological functioning (Chamberlain & Zika, 1998, Debats et al, 1993)

Wellbeing
The concept of well-being can be defined in two forms-subjective well-being and psychological well-being. Subjective well-being is the balance between positive and negative affect of emotional component (Linely, Maltby, Wood, Osborne & Hurling 2009) and about one's perception on life's satisfaction, whereas psychological well-being means –engagement with empirical challenges of life (Keyes, Shmotkin&Ryff, 2002)

United Nations (1961) gave nine aspects to determine an individual's wellbeing and these are consumption of food, occupational conditions, health, shelter, education, social security, clothing, recreational leisure, and human rights. According to the world health organization, quality of life is a perception of an individual's position in life regarding culture and value systems where they live and their connection with their goals, expectations, standard and concerns. It is affected in a complicated way by the individual's health, psychological state, beliefs, social relationships and their relationship to prominent features of their environment. (WHO, 1997)

Resilience
The term *resilience* has many meanings in academic discourse. It is derived from the Latin word *resilio*, meaning "to jump back" (Klein, Nicholls, and Thomalla 2003, Manyena 2006). Resilience is an individual's or community capacity for 'positive adaption despite adversity' (Fleming and Ledogar, 2008)

Psychological resilience is defined as an individual's ability to properly adapt to stress and adversity. Stress and adversity can come in the shape of family or relationship problems, health problems, or workplace and financial stressors, among others. Individuals demonstrate resilience when they can face difficult experiences and rise above them with ease. Resilience is not a rare ability; in reality, it is found in the average individual and it can be learned and developed by virtually anyone. Resilience should be considered a process, rather than a trait to be had.

Being resilient does not mean that a person doesn't experience difficulty or distress. Emotional pain and sadness are common in people who have suffered major adversity or trauma in their lives. In fact, the road to resilience is likely to involve considerable emotional distress.

LITERATURE REVIEW:
Well-being and Culture of Indigenous Peoples
Based on the international and Australian literature, for in-

digenous peoples, culture and traditions is the foundation for their wellbeing. It is proven that indigenous peoples' wellbeing is enhanced when they maintain their traditional and cultural practices. The more attached or engaged they are with traditional culture; they seem to have stronger sense of identity, and improvise resilience and sense of community.

Acculturation according to Zimmerman et al. (1994), or what Berry (1986) terms assimilation, is associated with intermediate levels of psychological stress. The greatest acculturative stress can be found among those who are marginalized. Marginalization occurs when 'there is little possibility of or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), and little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination)' (Berry, 1997).Later studies of Native American Indians found evidence that enculturation guards against alcoholism among parents (Whitbeck, Chen, Hoyt and Adams, 2004) and suicide ideation among adolescents (Yoder, Whitbeck, Hoyt and LaFromboise, 2006), and promotes school success (Whitbeck, Hoyt, Stubben and Lafromboise, 2001). Enculturation, it is argued, provides resilience by preventing individuals from internalising stress associated with historical loss and trauma. Bals, Lene Turi, Skre and Kvernmo (2011) also draw upon the enculturation hypothesis in a study of Indigenous youth in Arctic Norway. They find enculturation factors, notably native language competence and participation in cultural activities, to be associated with decreased mental health problems, attributable mainly to fewer internalising symptoms of anxiety and depression. Some evidence of a significant role for interaction effects between self-efficacy and enculturation factors was also apparent.

Health and Well Being
Wellbeing is part of a holistic understanding of life. The Social and Emotional Well Being Framework, based on indigenous definitions of health, recognizes that a holistic and whole-of-life view of health is essential to achieve positive life outcomes for Indigenous peoples. Notions of health are encompassed in the broader concept of wellbeing. Consequently, studies of the social determinants of health are useful in considering influences on wellbeing. Broadly speaking there are two models of health – the biomedical model and the social determinants model. The biomedical model of health focuses on isolating the specific cause of illness. Medical research centres on the different levels of the human body and the way these interact in order to explain although this approach has been successful it is limited. In contrast, the social determinants of health model focuses on societal structure and psychosocial factors, such as socioeconomic status, housing and gender.

Wellbeing of Indigenous people
Generally speaking, the idea of wellbeing is broader and more inclusive than conceptions of health. Arguably, however, the Indigenous conception of health is actually a holistic understanding of wellbeing. For example the National Aboriginal Health Strategy (NAHS) defines health as:

Not just the physical well-being of the individual but the social, emotional and cultural wellbeing of the whole community. This is a whole-of-life view and it also includes the cyclical concept of life-death-life. Nevertheless, notions of wellbeing are considered more holistic and adopt a whole-of-life view of health. It is, however, difficult to find definitions of wellbeing. Rather the common approach is to describe components of wellbeing.

Objectives of the Present study:
This study was planned to understand and assess the meaning in life, resilience and social well being of various tribal communities /Indigenous peoples of India and South East Asian countries. In details, following objectives were formulated to achieve.

- To assess the meaning in life, resilience, and social wellbeing of different types of Indigenous or tribal communities
- To understand the mean differences among various types of tribal communities on meaning in life
- To examine the mean differences among various types of tribal communities on social wellbeing.
- To explore the relationship between Meaning in life and social well being wellbeing
- To examine the correlation of meaning in life and resilience

Methodology
Participants: Study comprised 104 participants, from each 6 different ethnic groups both, India and Outside-south East Asia. The average or common age of the participants was around 26 years. And the majority participants are students. Data were collected using simple random sampling. Demographic details of participants are mentioned in following table:

Table No. 1 Demographic Details of Participants, N=104

Demographic Detail	Types	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male Female	69 35	66.3 33.7
Country	Indian Outside India*	50 54	48.1 51.9

Table shows that out of total participants (N=104), male participant were 66.3%, and female's participants were 33.7. The country wise distribution shows that Indian participants were 48.1%, and outside India were 51.9%.

*Outside India participants: 26.9% belongs to Myanmar, 6.7% from Cambodia, 18.3% from Taiwan.

Measures:
Meaning in Life questionnaire:
This questionnaire was developed by Steger, M. F., Frazier, P., Oishi, S., & Kaler, M (2006). It has 10 questions-statements regarding what makes life and existence feel important and significant to the participants. Each question has a scale from 1 to 7. 1 is 'absolutely untrue' and 7 is the 'absolutely true.'

Brief Resilience Scale:
This questionnaire is developed by Smith, B.W., Dalen, J., Wiggins, K., Tooley, E., Christopher, P., & Bernard, J. (2008). This scale have 6 questions regarding resilience, in this the participants response in the degree for how much they agree with the statements from 1 to 5 scales. Where, 1 is 'strongly disagree' to 5 'strongly agree'.

Well being
For measuring Wellbeing, questionnaire developed by Ryff, C.D., & Singer, B. (1998) is used. It consists 18 items, and having six different dimensions like positive relation

with others, self-acceptance, autonomy, personal growth, environmental mastery, purpose in life. It is a 7 point Likert scale ranging from 1(Strongly disagree) to 7(strongly agree).

Results and Discussion

In order to achieve the objective of study data were analyzed and following results were found.

Table No. 2 Mean and Standard deviation of Meaning in life and its dimension, N=104

Dimension of Meaning in life	Indian tribal (N-50)		Outside India tribal (N-54)		t-value
	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D	
Present	27.86	5.47	25.88	6.84	1.61
Future	30.04	5.35	28.53	3.37	1.72
Total	57.90	7.46	54.42	7.98	2.28*

*Significance at level p < 0.05

Table indicates that participants who belonged to Indian tribes scored higher on future dimension of meaning in life (30.04), in comparison to present dimension (27.86) .Participants of outside India tribal community scored also higher on future dimension of meaning of life (28.53) than present dimension on meaning of life (25.88). t value (2.28) suggests that there is significant mean differences between participants of Indian tribal communities and outside Indian tribal communities on total score on meaning in life . This may be because of their cultural values and principles of life. Another reason may be their spiritual orientation towards attitude of life.

Indian participants scored higher in present as well as future dimensions of Meaning in Life as compared to Outside India tribals. It means Indian tribal participants are more futuristic and looking on bright side regarding meaning in life. And are quite certain what their life meaning is. Outside Indian Tribals are lacking on present dimension on meaning in life as well as future dimension of meaning in life. Therefore, Indian tribal participants have slightly clear sense of meaning in life in perceiving their meaning in life

Table No. 3 Mean and Standard Deviation of Social Wellbeing and its Dimensions, N=104

Dimension of Social Wellbeing	Indian Tribal (N-50)		Outside India tribal (N-54)		t-value
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Positive relation with others	14.20	3.20	14.92	3.04	1.17
Self-acceptance	14.88	3.40	15.42	3.80	.76
Autonomy	13.82	2.37	14.22	2.71	.80
Personal growth	17.84	2.75	17.14	2.57	1.32
Environmental mastery	13.60	3.16	14.88	3.08	2.10*
Purpose in life	14.96	2.99	13.81	2.699	2.05*
Total social wellbeing	89.30	10.45	90.42	13.07	.48

*Significance at level p < 0.05

The table indicates that participants belonging to Indian tribe, scored slightly lower on total social wellbeing (89.30) in comparison with tribes of outside India on same (90.42). It may be also observed that t values of environmental mastery dimension and purpose in life are significant at (0.05 level of significance). It means, there are significant mean

differences between both ethnic types of participants on two dimensions of social well being as environmental mastery and purpose in life. The possible reasons could be the like nature and strengths of interpersonal relationship, cultural values, adaptation and survival process of life.

Table shows that, tribals of outside India scored higher than Indian tribal on Positive relation with others (14.92) in social wellbeing Dimension. This means that Outside India tribals have better relation with others than Indian tribals do. This could be because they are more positive minded due to their environment. In the dimension of Self-acceptance (15.42), tribals of outside India scored higher than Indian tribals (14.88). That means Outside India tribals are more accepting and contended with themselves.

In the dimension of Autonomy (14.22) , it shows that Outside India tribals scored higher than the Indian Tribal, Outside India tribals are more independent.

In personal growth dimension (17.84), we could see that Indian tribals score higher than Outside tribals, the reason could be that Indian tribals are more determined to do better in improving their personal growth due to their cultural inheritance and values system of their socialization process.

It is shown that Outside India tribals scored higher in environmental mastery (14.88) than Indian tribals (13.60). Outside India tribals are more adaptive and more efficient in dealing with their surrounding than Indian tribals. This may be because their cultural freedom and style of living.

Indian tribals besides scoring low on almost all the dimension of social wellbeing except for personal growth, table shows that they have social well being in life than the participants belonged to Outside India tribal communities.

Table No. 5 Interrelation between meaning of life and social wellbeing, N=104

Dimensions of Meaning in Life	Dimensions of Social Well Being					
	PRO	SA	AUO	PG	EM	PL
Present	-.104	-.183	.030	.084	.073	.029
Future	.446**	.455**	.272**	.271**	.508**	.266**
Total	.296**	.258**	.233*	.263**	.445**	.228*

**Correlation is significant at the level of 0.01

* Correlation is significant at the level of 0.05

Table indicates that, future dimension in meaning in life is strongly positively correlated with Positive Relation with others (.446) , self-acceptance (.455), Autonomy (.272), Personal Growth (.271), Environmental Mastery(.508), Purpose in Life (.266). Also, the total dimension of meaning in life is strongly correlated with Positive Relation with Others, Self-Acceptance.

The positive correlation between future dimension of meaning in life and social wellbeing shows that if future dimension of Meaning in Life is decreased or increased, then

the dimensions of social wellbeing will be also decreased or increased respectively.

If we try to explain the positive relation with other dimension of wellbeing with future dimension of meaning in life then we may say that if an individual has a social network and support then he / she might be optimistic and hopeful about their meaning in life. Therefore correlation has been found significant. Similarly, various studies show that if an individual's self-acceptance will be high then his/her locus of control will be internal and as a result he / she will have a bright futuristic orientation towards his meaning in life.

Study done by Zika et al (1992) on the relation between meaning in life and psychological well-being using several meaning measures and both positive and negative well-being dimensions and they found a strong association is found between meaning in life and well-being, which is replicated in two different samples. Meaning in life is found to have a stronger association with positive than with negative well-being dimensions, suggesting the value of taking a salutogenic approach to mental health research. Implications and suggestions for future research are discussed. In another study similar results were found. Meaning in life has been found to be a strong and consistent predictor of psychological well-being. Shek (1992) conducted a study on Chinese secondary students and found that students who scored highest in terms of quality of existence as well as purpose of existence also scored highest in psychological well-being.

Table No. 6 Interrelation between meaning in life and resilience, N=104

Dimension of Meaning in life	Resilience	
Present	Pearson Correlation	-.101
	Sig. (2 tailed)	.307*
	N	104
Future	Pearson Correlation	.200
	Sig. (2 tailed)	.042
	N	104
Total	Pearson Correlation	.033
	Sig. (2 tailed)	.738
	N	104

**Correlation is significant at the level of 0.01*

* Correlation is significant at the level of 0.05*

Table shows that, present dimension of meaning in life is positively correlated (correlation coefficient =.307) with resilience at 0.05 level. Whereas, future dimension of meaning in life and total wellbeing is positively related with resilience (correlation coefficient: .04) but correlation coefficient is not significant. Hass and Graydon (2009) studied the sources of resiliency among successful foster youth. They identified such protective factors as a sense of competence, future goals, social support, and involvement in community services. The implication for improving foster youth services includes nourishing supportive relationships and empowering youth to help others.

The results of hierarchical regression analysis of a study on Hope and the Meaning of Life as Influences on Korean Adolescents' Resilience show that the school adaptation variance was largely accounted for by protective factors rather than by risk factors. In addition, the results of logistic regression analysis indicate that the hope, teacher support, and meaning of life variables significantly distinguished the resilient group from the maladaptive group. (Ho-Kim et. Al 2005)

Conclusions

In conclusion we may say that with respect to objectives, present study reveals some significant findings. Significant mean differences were found between participants of Indian tribal community and outside Indian tribal community on meaning in life. This may be because of their cultural values and principles of life. Another reason may be their spiritual orientation towards attitude of life. Results also suggest significant mean differences between both ethnic types of participants on two dimensions of social well being as environmental mastery and purpose in life. The possible reasons could be the like nature and strengths of interpersonal relationship, cultural values, adaptation and survival process of life. Participants who belonged to Indian tribes scored higher on future dimension of meaning in life, in comparison to present dimension and participants of outside India tribal community scored also higher on future dimension of meaning of life. Future dimension of meaning in life is strongly, positively correlated with dimensions of wellbeing like Positive Relation with others, self-acceptance, Autonomy, Personal Growth, Environmental Mastery and also with Purpose in Life.

Limitations of Study:

There are two main limitations of the study. First limitation is concerned with the sample size of the study. A sample of 104 participants is not sufficient for any generalization. Second limitation is that the sample was drawn from a particular locality, it would be more acceptable and representative if the samples are taken from diverse localities with tribal participants of diverse backgrounds.

Future Scope:

Further in depth data can be gathered through qualitative research methods and various other tribal communities can be undertaken in research. It may be also investigated why there are differences between both ethnic type communities with respect to meaning in life and two dimensions of social well being as environmental mastery and purpose in life . Therefore different specific reasons could be explored .

REFERENCE Bals, M., Lene Turi, A., Skre, I., Kvernmo, S. (2011), 'The relationship between internalizing and externalizing symptoms and cultural resilience factors in Indigenous Sami youth from Arctic Norway. International Journal of Circumpolar Health 70(1): 37-45 Battista, J., & Almond, R. (1973). The development of meaning in life. Psychiatry, 36, 409 – 427. Berry, J. W. (1997).Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation', Applied Psychology: An International Review, 46: 5-68. Berry, J.W. (1986). Multiculturalism and psychology in plural societies' in L.H. Ekstrand (ed.) Ethnic minorities and immigrants in a cross-cultural perspective Lisse, The Netherlands. Bonebright, C. A., Clay, D. L., & Ankenmann, R. D. (2000). The relationship of workaholism with work–life conflict, life satisfaction, and purpose in life. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 47, 469 – 477. Chamberlain, K., & Zika, S. (1988a). Measuring meaning in life: An examination of three scales. Personality and Individual Differences, 9, 589 –596. Chamberlain, K., & Zika, S. (1988b). Religiosity, life meaning, and wellbeing: Some relationships in a sample of women. Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 27, 411– 420 Day, S., & Rottinghaus, P. (2003). The healthy personality. In W. B. Walsh (Ed.), Counseling psychology and optimal human functioning . Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum. Debats, D. L., Van der Lubbe, P. M., & Wezeman, F. R. A. (1993). On the psychometric properties of the Life Regard Index (LRI): A measure of meaningful life. Personality and Individual Differences, 14, 337–345. Fleming, J. & Ledogar, R. (2008b). Resilience and indigenous spirituality: A literature review. Pimatisiwin, 6(2), 47-64. Frankl, V. (1963). (I. Lasch, Trans.). Man's search for meaning: An introduction to logotherapy. New York: Washington Square Press Keyes, C. L. M., Shmotkin, D., & Ryff, C. D. (2002). Optimizing wellbeing: The empirical encounter of two traditions. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82, 1007–1022. Klein, Richard J.T., Robe J. Nicholls, and Frank Thomalla. 2003. Resilience to natural hazards: How useful is this concept? Environmental Hazards. 5(1-2): 35-45. Shek, D. (1992). Meaning in life and psychological well-being: an empirical study using the Chinese version of the purpose in life questionnaire. Journal of Genetic Psychology, 153, 185-190. Whitbeck, L.B., Chen, X., Hoyt, D.R. and Adams, W. (2004). Discrimination, historical loss, and enculturation: culturally specific risk and resiliency factors for alcohol abuse among American Indians, Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 65(4): 409-18. Whitbeck, L.B., Hoyt, D.R., Stubben, J.D. and LaFromboise, T. (2001), 'Traditional culture and academic success among American Indian children in the upper Midwest', Journal of American Indian Education, 40(2): 48-60. Yoder, Y.J., Whitbeck, L.B., Hoyt, D.R. and LaFromboise, T. (2006) 'Suicidal ideation among American Indian Youths', Archives of Suicide Research, 10(2): 177-90 Zimmerman, M.A., Ramirez, J., Washienko, K.M., Walter, B. and Dyer, S. (1994), 'Enculturation hypothesis: Exploring direct and positive effects among native American youth', in McCubbin, H.L., Thompson, E.A., Thompson, A.L. and Fromer, J.E. (eds.) Resiliency in ethnic minority families, Vol I: Native and immigrant American families, Maddison Wi., Centre for Excellence in Family Studies, University of Wisconsin: 199-220.