The pain experience of traditional Crow Indian
by Norma Kay Krumwiede

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Nursing
Montana State University
© Copyright by Norma Kay Krumwiede (1996)

Abstract:
The purpose of this qualitative research study was to explore the pain experience of the traditional Crow Indian people. An understanding of the Crow people's experience of pain is crucial in order to provide quality nursing care to members of this population. As nurse researchers gain understanding of these cultural gaps and report their findings, clinically based nurses will be better equipped to serve and meet the unique needs of the traditional Crow Indian.

Ethnographic interviews were conducted with 15 traditional Crow Indians currently living on the reservation in southeastern Montana. The informants identified themselves as traditional utilizing Milligan's (1981) typology. Collection of data occurred through (a) spontaneous interviews, (b) observations, (c) written stories, (d) historical landmarks, and (e) field notes. Spradley's (1979) taxonomic analysis method was used to condense the large amount of data into a taxonomy of concepts.

The taxonomy of Crow pain evolved into two indigenous categories of “Good Hurt” and “Bad Hurt”. The Crow view “good hurt” as being embedded in natural life events and ceremonies, rituals and healing.

The Crow experience "bad hurt” as emanating from two sources: loss and hardship. The Crow believe that every person will experience both “good hurt” and “bad hurt” sometime during their lifetime. The Crow gain knowledge, wisdom and status as they experience, live through, and learn from painful events throughout their lifetime.

The research results can be used by health care professionals to better understand the Crow Indian people. Greater understanding of the cultural dimensions of pain will help health care professionals develop an effective approach to providing quality pain management to the Crow Indian population.
THE PAIN EXPERIENCE OF TRADITIONAL
CROW INDIAN

by
Norma Kay Krumwiede

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
of
Master of Nursing

MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY-BOZEMAN
Bozeman, Montana

May, 1996
APPROVAL

of a thesis submitted by

Norma Kay Krumwiede

This thesis has been read by each member of the thesis committee and has been found to be satisfactory regarding content, English usage, format, citations, bibliographic style, and consistency, and is ready for submission to the College of Graduate Studies.

Dr. Helen Lee
Signature Date

Approved for the Department of Nursing

Dr. Kathleen Chafey
Signature Date

Approved for the College of Graduate Studies

Dr. Robert Brown
Signature Date
STATEMENT OF PERMISSION TO USE

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a master's degree at Montana State University–Bozeman, I agree that the Library shall make it available to borrowers under rules of the Library.

If I have indicated my intention to copyright this thesis by including a copyright notice page, copying is allowable only for scholarly purposes, consistent with "fair use" as prescribed in the U.S. Copyright Law. Requests for permission for extended quotation from or reproduction of this thesis in whole or in parts may be granted only by the copyright holder.

Signature __________________________
Date 4-14-96

iii
The thesis is dedicated to the family and friends of Clara Bends. The inspiration and motivation for master's study and investigation of this master's thesis was initiated when working for Clara Bends.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The continuous support and encouragement from family, friends, and professional acquaintances were greatly appreciated. The support of my family brought hope and humor to an often intense process. Thanks to my parents, Maralyn and Gary Krumwiede, to Kurt and Kelly Krumwiede, and to my grandmother, Elsa Suter, for not allowing me to quit and start raising chickens! A heartfelt thanks is extended to the 15 participants in the study whose valued thoughts, openness, and time not only provided a rich source of data, but also enriched my life.

The thesis committee members included Dr. Helen Lee, Dr. Jan Buehler, and Wendy Blakely. I am grateful for your understanding, patience, and mentorship. I also thank Dr. Robert Snider who remains a steady and accurate reality check and offered exposure and insight to research. Your kindness and encouragement never fell on deaf ears.

Recognition is extended to Lucille Hill for dependable and excellent secretarial help. Your understanding of time frames and your caring were greatly appreciated. I thank Isaac and Mary Jane Birdinground for time spent at Crow Fair and exposure to the Crow way of life.

Finally, I want to thank my close friends, Robert Hector, Art Jacobson, Carol Tenny, Lori Sherry, the Wolfe and Meiers families for participating in the chaos and transitions. Your devoted friendship and support along the way was greatly needed and appreciated.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION ................................................................. 1
   Purpose of Study ......................................................... 1
   Conceptual Framework .............................................. 2
   Pain ................................................................. 2
   Culture .......................................................... 3
   Personal Experience ............................................. 4
   Definitions .......................................................... 5
   Pilot Study .......................................................... 5
   Significance of Study ................................................. 8

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE ...................................................... 10
   The Crow .......................................................... 10
   The Crow of the Buffalo Days .................................... 12
   Tribal Origins ......................................................... 12
   Crow Rituals and Customs ....................................... 16
   The Arrival of Strangers in Crow Territory ............... 20
   The Crow of Modern Days .................................... 23

3. METHODOLOGY ................................................................. 26
   Design of Study ......................................................... 26
   Human Subjects ....................................................... 26
   Population .......................................................... 27
   Sample ............................................................. 28
   Data Collection ....................................................... 29
   Data Analysis ......................................................... 32
   Validity and Reliability ............................................. 35
# TABLE OF CONTENTS — Continued

4. ANALYSIS OF DATA ................................. 37  
   Qualitative Analysis ............................... 37  
   Findings ........................................... 39  
    Good Hurt ....................................... 40  
    Natural Life Events ............................ 40  
     Childbirth ...................................... 40  
     Death .......................................... 41  
    Healing .......................................... 42  
     Traditional Practices ....................... 42  
     Modern Medicine ............................ 48  
    Bad Hurt ....................................... 49  
    Loss ............................................. 50  
     Mass Annihilation ............................ 50  
     Death .......................................... 51  
    Former Way of Life ........................... 52  
    Future of Children ............................ 56  
    Hardship ...................................... 59  
     Historical Transitions ...................... 59  
     Social Problems ............................... 62  
     Illness and Disease .......................... 69  
   Summary of Findings ............................ 72  

5. DISCUSSION ............................. 74  
   Summary of the Study ......................... 74  
   Findings and Implications .................... 75  
   Benefits ....................................... 80  
   Limitations ..................................... 81  
   Recommendations for Further Study ........ 82  

REFERENCES .................................. 84  

APPENDICES ................................. 88  
   A. Research Questions ......................... 89  
   B. Taxonomy of Crow Pain .................... 90
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Main Study Taxonomy of Crow Pain</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

The purpose of this qualitative research study was to explore the pain experience of the traditional Crow Indian people. An understanding of the Crow people's experience of pain is crucial in order to provide quality nursing care to members of this population. As nurse researchers gain understanding of these cultural gaps and report their findings, clinically based nurses will be better equipped to serve and meet the unique needs of the traditional Crow Indian.

Ethnographic interviews were conducted with 15 traditional Crow Indians currently living on the reservation in southeastern Montana. The informants identified themselves as traditional utilizing Milligan's (1981) typology. Collection of data occurred through (a) spontaneous interviews, (b) observations, (c) written stories, (d) historical landmarks, and (e) field notes. Spradley's (1979) taxonomic analysis method was used to condense the large amount of data into a taxonomy of concepts.

The taxonomy of Crow pain evolved into two indigenous categories of "Good Hurt" and "Bad Hurt". The Crow view "good hurt" as being embedded in natural life events and ceremonies, rituals and healing. The Crow experience "bad hurt" as emanating from two sources: loss and hardship. The Crow believe that every person will experience both "good hurt" and "bad hurt" sometime during their lifetime. The Crow gain knowledge, wisdom and status as they experience, live through, and learn from painful events throughout their lifetime.

The research results can be used by health care professionals to better understand the Crow Indian people. Greater understanding of the cultural dimensions of pain will help health care professionals develop an effective approach to providing quality pain management to the Crow Indian population.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Nursing researchers and practitioners recognize the concept of culture as a major variable that influences an individual's reaction, expression, and definition of pain. Early childhood teachings form the basis of the individual's attitudes and reactions to pain. The individual learns how to express pain, react to pain, and seek relief for pain.

An individual's pain experience is culturally based (Villarruel & Ortiz de Montellano, 1992). Harding (1981) conveys that traditional beliefs and behaviors continue to influence the modern Crow people:

Culture is viewed as a major variable in the determination of health and in the utilization of health care services. Culture influences the development and maintenance of many health practices. The present Crow Indian culture consists of diverse contrast between traditional and modern life styles (p. 1).

Thus, to provide culturally congruent nursing care to the Crow people, it is essential to first identify and understand the cultural background of the traditional Crow people.

Purpose of Study

No studies which report the pain experience of Crow people were located. Lack of cultural knowledge contributes to misunderstandings
between Native Americans and non-Native Americans. The specific purpose of this qualitative research study was to describe and define the experience of pain for traditional Crow.

Conceptual Framework

Pain

McCaffery (1968) has stated, "Pain is whatever the experiencing person says it is, existing whenever the experiencing person says it does" (p. 95). Jeans and Melzack (1992) and the members of the International Association for the Study of Pain (1979) support McCaffery's definition that pain is a personal and subjective experience. The pain experience consists of physiological and psychological aspects which are influenced by cultural teachings, cognitive variables, and psychological variables. The focus of this study is the effect of culture on the experience of pain.

Members of the Crow Tribe are at great risk of inadequate pain assessment and pain management. As a whole, the tribe has a cultural tradition vastly different from the general patient population. Many members of the Crow Tribe, particularly elderly persons, speak only the traditional Crow Language. Consequently, the Crow population fits the definition of a vulnerable rural population (Bushy, 1991).
Culture

Culture is a complicated linkage of values, beliefs, practices, laws, traditions, customs, artifacts, knowledge, language, and patterns of behavior passed down from generation to generation within a cultural group (Branch & Paxton, 1976; Hartog & Hartog, 1983). Through the socialization process, the cultural setting shapes the individual's thoughts and actions in relation to a pain sensation. The socialization process teaches the individual the following about pain: (a) what is expected; (b) what is acceptable behavior; (c) which responses are appropriate; (d) who should be told about the pain sensation; and (e) which pain sensations need immediate attention (Abu-saad & Tesler, 1986).

Watson (1979) believes that culture has a strong influence on the individual's pain threshold and that the most noticeable difference between cultures relate to pain tolerance. The research conducted by Zborowski (1952, 1969) demonstrates that individuals raised in different cultural settings perceive and express pain differently.

The experience of pain is culturally specific. Perception of pain is an individual process which depends on the unique factors of that individual. Thus, the cultural beliefs of the Crow Tribe greatly influences the pain experience of the individual Crow person. The individual's response to pain is based on personality, social/cultural influences and
personal experience. As nurses provide care, it is important to understand the effect that culture has upon the individual.

**Personal Experience**

Working as a Registered Nurse at a regional medical center, I first became aware that the behavior patterns of Native American and non-Native American patients differ in regard to pain. The Native Americans I cared for seldom verbalized pain and did not take as much medication for pain as did non-Native American patients. Many Native Americans also requested that traditional "medicine men" be present to assist with healing and dealing with pain.

The second awareness occurred while conducting research on patients with low back pain for an orthopedic surgeon. One of the research questions utilized during the intake interview for a low back pain study was, "If '0' is no pain, and '100' is pain so bad you could live for only a few minutes, what number says how bad your pain usually is?" (Snider Evaluation Tool, 1992, unpublished). The Native American patients were unable to answer this question. It soon became clear that the linear scale of 0-100 proved to be an ineffective way to determine pain level for the Native American population.

These experiences motivated me to attempt to fill the lack of cultural information pertaining to pain in hopes of providing improved nursing care to patients. I chose to study the Crow Native Americans of southeastern
Montana because of location and personal experiences while working with Crow patients and their families.

Definitions

Milligan's (1981) Belief and Behavior Typology has been adapted for the study. Milligan's typology consists of three categories: (a) Modern: Developing the new beliefs and behaviors which are consistent within the current life style; (b) Traditional: Maintaining the belief and behaviors that have persisted for generations; (c) Transitional: Maintaining some of the beliefs and behaviors that have persisted for generations but also developing some of the new beliefs and behaviors that are consistent with the current life style.

The following definitions by Wood (1993) have been provided to clarify the terminology in Chapter 2. These definitions include (a) Band: A small group of Crows who lived and traveled together; (b) Clan: A group of Crow families, the members of which believed themselves to be very closely related; (c) Reservation: A tract of land set aside by the U.S. Government for use by a specific group of Native Americans; and (d) Tribe: A group of people that share a language, culture, and religious beliefs.

Pilot Study

As part of an ethnographic studies nursing course at Montana State University-Bozeman, an initial ethnographic study of Crow Pain was
conducted during the fall of 1992. The purpose of the study was to explore the pain experience of Crow people.

The cultural group studied was the Montana Crow Indians currently living on the Crow Indian Reservation. Individual interviews were conducted in the towns of Lodge Grass, Garryowen, and Crow Agency. My goal was to seek out and learn from the "wise ones" and to become aware of their perspective of the pain experience. The "wise ones have lived many years and have learned about the many hurts of life" (personal communication with key informant, October 1992).

The study design consisted of ethnographic interviews and analysis (Spradley, 1979). I became deeply involved in the Crow cultural scene and this involvement enabled me to interview Crow people who had expert knowledge. In the unfamiliar cultural setting, I became the student and established the role of the informant as an expert teacher.

Collection of data occurred through (a) spontaneous interviews, taped when allowed; (b) general observations; (c) written stories; (d) historical landmarks; and (e) field notes. Examples of questions asked appear in Appendix A.

The response from a very elderly key informant to the question "What is pain?" formed the two main headings of the Crow pain taxonomy. The answer was "Pain is good hurt and bad hurt" (personal communication,
October 1992). The resulting taxonomy of Crow pain evolved into two contrasting sets - Good Hurt and Bad Hurt (see Appendix B).

Spradley's (1979) taxonomic analysis method was used to condense the large amounts of information from interviews into a taxonomy of concepts. The taxonomic method searches for an interval framework of domains to lead the researcher to identify contrasting sets. Each interview transcript was coded and pertinent information related to pain was extracted and placed onto cards. A card sort method was then used to break the data into categories. As each category collected more cards, a cultural theme evolved. The taxonomy of Crow pain evolved from the data collected.

It was evident from the initial ethnographic study that the primary focus of the follow up study needed to be extended. Themes were identified but complete saturation had not occurred. Further refinement of the taxonomy was needed through further study of (a) Crows' expression of pain, (b) Crows' experience of acute and/or chronic pain, and (c) Crows' perceptions of acute and/or chronic pain. Directions from this initial research include (a) inquiring about the "wise ones", (b) "sending word" to the key informant, and (c) allowing time for interviews to evolve.
Significance of Study

According to Leininger (1978) the holistic view of nursing directs the profession toward a transcultural approach. The nurse must consider the cultural uniqueness of the patient when establishing a plan of care. Nursing must be sensitive to individual needs. Nurses must also be knowledgeable about the cultures from which their patients originate. A broader knowledge, appreciation, and understanding of diverse cultures will bridge the communication difficulties between care giver and the care receiver.

An understanding of the Crow people's experience of pain is crucial in order to provide quality nursing care to members of this population. As nurse researchers gain understanding of cultural gaps and document findings, clinically based nurses will be better equipped to serve and meet the unique needs of the Crow people. Nurses take pride in providing holistic care; however, until this cultural gap is filled, nurses lacking a true understanding of Crow culture may be less effective at caring for the Crow people.

This study provides a basic understanding of the role of pain as a major variable as it pertains to the Crow people. Descriptive data were gathered about traditional beliefs and behaviors that affect the experience of pain. The research results can be used by health care professionals to
better understand the Crow people. Greater understanding of the cultural dimensions of pain will help health care professionals develop an effective approach to providing quality pain management to the Crow population.
CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The Crow

In the pilot study, it became apparent that the pain and hardship that Crow ancestors had experienced, the modern Crow also consider their pain and hardship to this day. Therefore, it was necessary to fully understand the culture of the Crow people from a historical perspective in order to thoroughly research the meaning of pain to the Crow people.


The Crow are an indigenous tribe of North American Plains Indians. The Crow are essentially plainsmen who have lived in southeastern Montana for generations. In literature, the Crow have been referred to as "Absarokee", "Apsaalooke", "Apsaruke", and "Kite". The Apsaalooke name translates to "the children of the long-beaked bird" (Lowie, 1993, p. 1).
The Indian country had a wealth of natural resources and the Europeans were very interested in the resources and material items that existed in this country. When Europeans began to occupy the Indian country, problems developed as these very different cultures came together. The Europeans did not recognize nor understand the importance of the spiritual, cultural, and intellectual riches which the Native Americans exhibited. The Europeans' religious bigotry, cultural biases and materialistic world view prevented the Europeans from understanding the Native Americans.

The Native Americans were confused with the various views of the dominant society. Francis Parkman, a 19th century historian, stated "Spanish civilization crushed the Indians; English civilization scorned and neglected him; French civilization embraced and cherished him" (Hoxie, 1989, p. 7). The pressures of all the colonial expansion forced the Crow as well as other Native American tribes to move westward. The tribe had to change from being a settled group to a nomadic people, who relied on hunting and followed game in order to support the diet instead of raising corn and squash. Native Americans actively and passively resisted annihilation and refused to relinquish the unique identity of Native American culture and be assimilated into the dominant society.
The Crow of the Buffalo Days

Tribal Origins

Native American tribes in North America spent much of the past 12,000 years hunting antelope for meat, gathering edible seeds and berries, planting and raising squash and corn and being very attuned to living in harmony with nature. In the years following the Ice Age, the receding of the glaciers left abundant game and plant life. Native Americans traveled the great plains in small bands, hunting game and gathering plants for food. The tribe moved from place to place with the seasons determined by the availability of the food sources.

Originally, the entire Crow Tribe lived together in small villages of dome shaped dwellings made from wood, grass and mud. Each lodge housed several families living in very close quarters. As the tribe became more nomadic, it became necessary to split into smaller, more efficient groups, called bands. These small nomadic bands then lived, traveled, and hunted independently throughout the area. The camps consisted of tepees constructed from a wooden frame covered with animal skins, well suited to the lifestyle of such a nomadic people. The tepees could be easily set up and quickly taken down.

In the winter, bands of Crow camped along the upper Missouri River in the valleys of the Rocky Mountains. The topography of these regions
protected the Crow from cold winters and the heavy snows. In the spring, the bands would travel to areas where rhubarb, strawberries, and wild turnips grew. Later the bands would search for chokecherry bushes, plum trees and other wild plants covered with ripe fruit. All year long the Crow hunted in small parties for rabbit, deer, and elk. Each summer all the bands would unite for a great buffalo hunt. This was a special occasion which allowed the Crow to meet with families, visit with friends, exchange stories, and couples were married.

The ideals of generosity, bravery and loyalty contributed to the strength and character of the Crow people. The Crow's utilitarian philosophy to do what was best for the entire group is the essence of Crow way of life.

At that time, the religious leaders controlled the ceremonies and the elders made all the political decisions. The elderly women owned and farmed the garden plots that provided food. The early villagers were less attracted to the Plains territory than to the rich farmland on the Missouri River. However, the villagers soon came to know the importance of game in the grasslands and began to hunt the buffalo for food and for hides.

The Crow Tribe made the transition from farming to a hunting and gathering tribe (Hoxie, 1989). The tribe traded with the French traders and trappers, established trade networks, and communicated information to the dominant society. Techniques and skills were passed from the dominant
society to the Crow tribe. Some Crow learned new techniques of agriculture and sought fertile land and good sources of water in which to establish communities. Trying to live harmoniously on the same land was one of the major conflicts between the dominant society and Native American tribes.

The Crow people worked, traveled, and developed a unique way of life, one distinct from other groups, both Native American and non-Native American. The Crow maintained all important institutions in mobile form; for example, instruction was not provided in school houses, but in tepees. The Crow did not find spirituality in the building as did the dominant people, but rather in sacred places or in special objects that would be carried from camp to camp. The true meaning of life was not to be discovered in a permanent settlement with materialistic objects, but was found in the hearts and minds of the Native American people.

An important dimension of Crow culture is that each tribal member belongs to a clan. Each clan is composed of a group of related families, thus the groups in the Crow societies include many more people than the small nuclear families typical of the dominant society. Clan members have a very special and close relationship with one another. In fact, each clan is so intimately related, that a man and woman from the same clan cannot marry.
Historically, the clan system provided many role models for the children. Members of the same clan assisted one another with special religious ceremonies and hunting trips, and shared pride in each other's good fortunes in battle. While members of the dominant society place emphasis on an individual's occupation or personal accomplishment, the Crow people value family ties. The Crow are bound together by a strong kinship and by a uniform set of cultural beliefs.

To this day, the Crow observe a strict code of behavior based on relationship to one another. The youngsters are expected to respect the elders within the clan, known as clan uncles and clan aunts, who are often called mother or father. Adults would honor these relatives by giving special gifts, addressing these relatives with special dignity, and by sharing meat from hunting expeditions. Each Crow relationship calls for different behavior.

The Crow believe that certain relatives must be avoided; for instance, married men and women are not permitted to speak with parents-in-law. Children of men who belong to the same clan are called joking cousins. These cousins are expected to keep each other in line through constant ribbing and joke playing. The Crow believe this form of discipline is much more effective than harsh punishments such as the dominant society inflicts. Historically, these customs were all very important to the Crow society as cooperation among the tribe's people was essential for survival.
as the tribe traveled from camp to camp. Even though the family structure and the customs are very confusing to outsiders, notable is that these customs still have great practical value to the Crow.

Crow Rituals and Customs

Historically, the most prominent societies were comprised of young men who had gained honor in battle and had acquired skills needed to defend the Crow homeland. Members within each warrior society competed for honor and glory. The societies participated in public parades and took great pride in group successes, established unique customs, and chose a society leader. To be a warrior society leader, a man had to do four things: lead a war party, capture an enemy horse, be the first to touch an enemy in battle, and snatch an enemy's weapon. The warrior who achieved these great feats was called "Eacheeitchë", which meant "big man". The non-Native Americans called these men chiefs. The Crow leaders were given different responsibilities. For example, the elders of the clan settled family disputes and advised the chief, holy men and women performed the ceremonies, and Medicine Men knew the medicinal properties of herbs and other means of curing illnesses.

A ceremony practiced by the male Crow is the "vision quest" during which a man traveled alone to a remote area. The man prayed to the creator asking for guidance through a spiritual vision. Upon successfully seeing a vision, a spirit would appear and offer instructions or directions
on how to live. The spirits often took the form of an animal such as a bear or buffalo and this animal would then become his guardian. Sometimes the man would make an offering of his flesh to the creator to ensure that the vision quest would be successful.

Another ritual important to the Crow people was the original sun dance. This ceremony was usually held in the summer and centered around warriors who wanted revenge for a friend or a close relative who died in battle. The skin of the pledger was pierced with leather thongs. As other participants danced, beat drums and sang, the dancer would fall into a trance during which a vision would appear, providing confidence to be successful in avenging and punishing the enemies for the death of a friend or relative.

Several days were spent preparing for the sun dance. The ceremony was usually assisted by a holy man and an elder who became the man's sun dance father. The men organized the dancers, singers, drummers and fellow warriors, and helped build the sun dance lodge. Sacred objects were assembled and placed in the lodge. The organizers made special costumes, gathered buffalo tongues to feed the participants, and prepared the pledger for the ordeal throughout the following days. The organizers also made a sun dance doll, believed to possess great spiritual power. These sun dance dolls were usually made to match whatever was seen
during the vision quest. The dolls were kept protected and then passed on from one generation to the next.

The young warrior (pledger) would emerge from his tepee and move stoically and solemnly to the sun dance lodge at which time an elaborate dance would begin. The pledger was continually encouraged by family, friends, sun dance father, and fellow warriors to dance rhythmically with the beating of the drums. Most of the dancers stopped from time to time, but the pledger continued to dance. The pledger was never allowed to rest, and needed to dance continuously. An eagle bone whistle was blown in time with the drum beats. The sun dance father's doll was suspended before the pledger throughout the dancing. The pledger would stare at the doll until falling into a deep trance. It was in this trance-like state that the pledger would receive a vision.

The Crow had specific tasks which were linked to women's work and to men's work. The girls were instructed on how to butcher buffalo, how to process the buffalo hides, and how to make tools. The girls learned how to sew leather into moccasins, tepees, and clothing. Women were also the guardians of the husband's shields and were in charge of most of the day-to-day activities within the Crow camp. The boys were taught how to scout for enemies and to track game and were encouraged to do this at a very early age. The boys were then prepared to defend the camp, go on enemy raids, and provide food for the clan. However, there was no strict
division of labor. If a woman showed specific skills in a man's task, the woman was allowed to proceed with it. If a man showed interest in women's work, it was acceptable to engage in that work. It was important that each individual do whatever particular skill or activity that the person was well suited to do.

The Crow's traditional form of government was well suited for the customary way of life and maintained the cohesiveness of families and communities. Leforge was able to observe how this historical political system operated through the tribe (Hoxie, 1989). Leforge reported that the Crow "had among themselves law and order, more effectively prevalent than among any community of white people I have known. Their laws were few, but they were well enforced" (Hoxie, 1989, p. 42).

One aspect of Crow tribal life most difficult for people to appreciate was the religious life. Larocque (Hoxie, 1989) interpreted the Crow's beliefs as good and bad spirits and the supreme master of life. Larocque considered the Crow a very deeply religious people, despite the fact that the Crow did not have any permanent churches. Sunday was not the only day that one observed religion. The Crow believed that the tribe was blessed by the creator of the earth, and that the creator was never far away. Crow religious beliefs were a part of the Crow individual each and every day, whereas non-Native American people built monuments for religion and reserved Sunday as a day to be religious. As stated earlier, the Crow
regarded their homeland as proof of the creator's presence. Because the creator was nearby, the Crow people believed that the creator could be contacted through special ceremonies such as the vision quest and the sun dance.

While special ceremonies were important religious rituals to the tribe, the time taken for these rituals to occur was minimal compared to the time spent in everyday religious life. Crow religion and visions were sought on a consistent basis. The Crow carried "medicines" which ranged widely in size and power. The objects could be very small articles such as a tooth of an animal or a rock, or very large bundles that held a variety of sacred objects for an individual. Some of these items had been "told" to the Crow man during a vision quest. These items were thought to have special power, required special care, and were carried with the tribe from camp to camp.

The importance of this discussion is to understand how outsiders believed the Crow lived a very free and unstructured way of life, yet outsiders failed to appreciate the very deep sense of group responsibility that the Crow people felt and demonstrated.

The Arrival of Strangers in Crow Territory

Strangers entered Crow territory for several reasons. Some fur traders came seeking trade with the Native Americans while some came just for the sense of adventure. Settlers then followed the fur traders,
traveling westward in covered wagons seeking a new way of life. These strangers introduced the Native Americans to new customs, new ideas, and basically changed the Native Americans' way of life forever. The fur trade business seemed to be very good for the Native Americans, but unfortunately, the non-Native Americans not only introduced foreign goods but also foreign diseases such as smallpox and measles. These diseases spread quickly among the Crow and were usually worse during the winter when bands shared very close quarters. However, the Crow quickly learned to adapt and also how to contain an outbreak of smallpox or an outbreak of measles. When an individual became infected in the group, the Crow would split off into very small groups and scattered in different directions. In this way these very small groups were able to isolate themselves from the virus.

In 1887, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe honored Sword Bearer for bravery shown during a sun dance ceremony. Sword Bearer was given increased authority and the support of the Crow people. Later on that summer, Sword Bearer led a successful raid and upon returning, as was the custom, celebrated victory by running through the camp, yelling and firing rifles into the air. The celebration got carried away and later Army troops attempted to arrest Sword Bearer. When Sword Bearer would not submit the soldiers opened fire, killing Sword Bearer and eight other Crow warriors.
With the death of Sword Bearer vanished the Crow's last hope for returning to the old way of life. After this last act of bravery, Washington officials became very strict and wanted to divide the Crow Indian reservation into individually owned plots, or allotments. The dominant society thought that this would allow so much land for each Native American to farm in order to support the family. However, most Native American people were reluctant to drastically alter the family lifestyle, and lacked the necessary knowledge to farm successfully. With the land broken into allotments, the Crow people who were not proficient at farming were able to sell portions of land to the settlers, which explains how they came to live and are currently farming within the boundaries of the Crow reservation.

There are many documented accounts of the difficulties Crow people faced in adapting to reservation life. Many Crow could not accept the reality of being restricted to such a small territory as the reservation. There were a few Crow who did take the government seriously and attempted to learn how to farm like the settlers. Some Crow tried to position the tribe in a politically advantageous stance so that no additional homelands would be lost to the government.

Chief Plenty Coups was born in the summer of 1848 and became a chief of the Crow Tribe at a very young age. According to Linderman (1962), Plenty Coups was known for his impressive speech and commanding
presence. His youth was an advantage in envisioning the future of the Crow tribe in a rapidly changing environment. Plenty Coups was able to maintain dignity and a strong sense of pride, which gained the respect of the officials in Washington. Plenty Coups was very effective in efforts to protect the Crow people's way of life. He encouraged the Crow to join the United States Army as soldiers and as scouts and by so doing, the Crow were subsequently scorned by other tribes. Plenty Coups stressed the importance of education and believed that the Crow's future power would be directly linked with knowledge. The last of the traditional Crow Chiefs, Plenty Coups died in 1932 at age 84.

The Crow of Modern Days

In 1934 the Crow people took charge of their own tribal affairs. By 1935, the tribe had developed a General Council which still governs the reservation today and works to improve the Crow standard of living. The Council has tried to increase the tribe's independence by improving the Crow economy. The council encouraged farming and ranching, but in today's world, the Crow people find it difficult to be successful in agriculture. Part of this is due to the local non-Native American controlled banks which are reluctant to lend funds to the Native American people. Thus, the Native American people lack money to buy cattle, tools, seed, tractors and equipment.
There are few jobs available on the reservation. Even though the Tribe has tried to solve this by starting programs and businesses on the reservation, the results have been unsuccessful. Crow people find it difficult to compete with non-Native American businessmen. Most of the reservation income comes from Crow workers hired by the tribal government for enforcing laws, managing programs to improve the tribe's health care, education, and housing. There are other primary sources of seasonal jobs off the reservation as cowboys, farmhands, and at the coal companies, resulting in a high level of unemployment during winter months. According to Hoxie (1989) the unemployment rate escalated to greater than 50%.

Reservation schools have not effectively dealt with Crow children. Many Crow children drop out of school, although the number of college graduates has increased over the years. Little Big Horn Community College was established on the reservation in 1980 to enable Crow students to gain education to better compete for jobs (Hoxie, 1989).

The Crow people are trying to establish a greater sense of unity by banding together to collectively fight political battles. The Crow people continue to work hard to defend individuals and homes from outsiders. The battleground has changed from Plains skirmishes to courtrooms. The Crow people have adapted and learned very well how to work within the dominant society's system. These successes have helped to keep the Crow
spirit strong and will continue to help the Crow people thrive in the years to come.

The review of literature provided a historical account and perspective that are imperative to the basic understanding of the Crow people. The literature provided insight into the pain experience of the traditional Crow which helped formulate the questions utilized for the data collection.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the research methods utilized to study the experience of pain by traditional Crow persons. Design of study, human subjects, population, sample, data collection, data analysis, validity and reliability are described in this chapter.

Design of Study

The purpose of this research study was to describe the experience of pain for traditional Crow people, utilizing the ethnographic approach. Spradley (1979) describes ethnography as "the work of describing a culture" (p. 3). The essential perspective of the ethnographic approach is to understand another way of life from the point of view of the indigenous members.

Human Subjects

Montana State University-Bozeman, College of Nursing's Human Subjects Review was completed during the summer of 1994. The consent form was read to each informant. I answered all questions related to informed consent and the research study. I emphasized that participation
was strictly voluntary, confidentiality of their identity would be maintained, and the informant could stop the interview or withdraw from the study at any time. Each informant signed the consent and permission to tape the interview was verified. No informants withdrew their interviews from this study.

Population

One of Montana's many Plains Native American tribes, the Crow Tribe is located on a reservation in southeastern Montana. The Crow villages include Crow Agency, Wyola, St. Xavier, Pryor, Garryowen, Fort Smith, and Lodge Grass. The population of the Crow Reservation is 6,366 according to the U.S. Department of Commerce (1990) and the size of the reservation is listed as 1,554,253.87 acres. However, there is current disagreement over the accuracy of surveying done on the 107th Meridian. If the land is returned to the Crow, this would increase the current size of the reservation. The Crow people take great pride in the fact that 79% of the Crow population speaks the native language (Bryan, 1985).

All categories of Milligan's (1981) cultural typology can be identified in Crow people. The "traditional" category consists of practicing Crow people. The traditional Crow hold fast to the old ways. The typology of "transitional" consists of the Crow who are positioned on the continuum between "modern" and "traditional". The Crow categorized in the
transitional group consist of those who blend both the old and new beliefs and behaviors. The “modern” Crow are viewed as the furthest removed from the old life ways.

Sample

The purposive sampling technique allowed me to locate key informants who were cultural experts. The informants were indigenous Crow persons who possessed cultural knowledge. Two criteria were developed to identify potential informants. First, the eligible participant self identified as “traditional” Crow according to Milligan’s (1981) cultural orientation scheme. Secondly, the participant was at least 50 years of age. Keeping in mind the need for enculturation, current involvement, and adequate time for the informant to participate, the informants were then approached.

The initial access to a Crow informant was initiated by calling a nursing home located in Hardin, Montana. I asked the director of nursing if there were any Crow residents. The director then approached the initial informant and inquired if it would be all right for me to come and speak with the resident. I traveled to Hardin and spoke with the resident, who then identified another possible informant who lived in Lodge Grass, Montana.

I traveled to Lodge Grass to locate this potential informant. The directions were sketchy and no house numbers were visible on the
government housing. After several unsuccessful attempts, I located the second informant. This informant also identified several other Crow people who would be able to assist me with this project.

As I drove through Lodge Grass, I noticed five older men obviously engaged in social conversation while leaning on the hood of an old truck. I pulled over, introduced myself, and explained my purpose. The men were intrigued with my interest to learn more about the experience of pain in the Crow population. All of the men participated as informants. One of the men took me to visit Custer's Battlefield, which has now been renamed Little Bighorn Battlefield.

The sample continued to snowball until a total of fifteen Crow individuals were interviewed. Nine male and six female informants participated in this study. The participants ranged from 50 to 101 years of age. All participants lived on the Crow Indian Reservation and identified themselves as traditional Crow. The difficult task was to stop the momentum of the snowball when I had obtained enough informants from whom to collect data.

**Data Collection**

Each potential informant was informed of the study, asked to identify cultural orientation (Milligan, 1981) and age. If the two criteria were met,
an informed consent was obtained from the informant. The interview was then conducted.

The semi-structured interview was developed to elicit responses from traditional Crow about the concept of pain. Three types of questions were utilized to collect the data. The first type was descriptive questions. Descriptive questions elicited data about terms, perspectives, and situations. Examples of questions asked include: "Could you describe a painful situation?" "Could you describe the pain of surgery?" "Could you tell me what you do at a sun dance?" The second type was structural questions, which elicited data about the relationships and "how's" of the terms identified from the descriptive questions. Examples of questions asked include: "What are all the different kinds of 'good hurt'?" "Can you share any other type of 'good hurt'?" I found it important to repeat the structural questions in order to elicit multiple answers. The final type was that of contrast questions. The contrast questions elicited data about the differences in terms. Examples of contrast questions asked include: "What is the difference between 'good hurt' and 'bad hurt'?" "What distinguishes death as a good or a bad hurt?"

The interviews were conducted on the Crow Indian Reservation during the late summer and early fall months of 1994. The informants participated in individual and/or group interviews. The interviews ranged from one to six hours in length, and gradually increased as the data collection
progressed. I learned that the time spent in initiating, developing, and maintaining the researcher/informant relationship was important to the Crow person. The Crow informants also taught me the importance of patience while waiting for answers to questions and the need to take a more passive approach during the interview process.

Data began to reoccur by the second interview. Terms, relationships, and the similarities and differences became very apparent during the sixth interview. Interviews continued to progress to what Lincoln & Guba (1985) have defined as the point of redundancy when only repeated stories, issues, and themes were being communicated.

Interviews were audio taped with the permission of the informant. No names were associated with the tapes. Each human subject was assigned a letter of the alphabet. Initial interviews were labeled as A-1, B-1, C-1, etc. Subsequent interviews with the same informant were labeled A-2, B-2, C-2, and so forth. A professional typist with 35 years experience in working with confidential information transcribed the audio tapes. When the transcription was completed, the audio tapes were erased.

Field notes containing direct quotes, ideas, summaries, general observations, and insights were taken during the interview. The field notes were further expanded following the conclusion of the interview. I would drive a short distance from the home of the informant and stop to record my reflections of the interview.
Data collection also occurred while participating in recreational, holiday, and special events. Written data from informants were also made available to me.

**Data Analysis**

The first step in the data analysis was to develop a method for controlling and organizing the data. I decided to use a card system to control the large amount of data, and then developed a coding method which consisted of colored dots and symbols which identified the specific interview. Additional dots were then added as the surface, domain and taxonomic analyses evolved. In order to keep the information gained from interviews, field notes, and ideas separate and organized, I cut excerpts from the transcribed interviews and placed them on cards. I then reviewed my field notes and made notations of the important data and insights. Finally, I utilized colored cards to identified linkages, categories, and taxonomic boxes.

A card sort method was used to separate the data into categories. As each category built up more cards, a cultural category or theme evolved. The development of the cards took a large amount of time and energy, but later allowed me to easily manipulate and rearrange the groups of information. I filed the cards into groups until the final stages of development of the taxonomy. During the final analysis I designated an
entire wall in my home to display the multitude of cards and attached
notations. The ability to visually display the cards allowed the identified
themes to telescope into larger groups. The larger groups were then
arranged by related categories, until the final grouping of categories
was condensed into a taxonomy of concepts. The card sort method was
extremely useful in this process.

Data analysis began after the completion of the first interview.
Each interview was analyzed independently and then compared with
previous interviews. Once the data of the interview and field notes
were placed on cards and coded, the in-depth analysis could begin.

After reading the response to a question, I would place the response
into one of three categories. The first category would be a definite yes
(it does fit, support, and further develop the category). The second
category would be a definite no (it does not fit, support, or develop the
category). The third category was uncertainty (it seems to be important,
but will have to be clarified during a subsequent interview). The raw data
were organized, condensed, and placed into specific groups through the
phases of surface, domain, and taxonomic analysis.

The first phase, surface analysis, was performed on each of the
transcribed interviews and accompanying set of field notes. A surface
analysis identified cultural terms and provided insight into the pain
experience of the traditional Crow. The indigenous terms of "good hurt"
and "bad hurt" were identified during the surface analysis. Questions related to the variables identified during the surface analysis were generated and utilized with the next interview.

The second phase was domain analysis. The groups of "cover terms" and "included terms" as described by Spradley (1979), were reanalyzed, rearranged and re-grouped into themes. The semantic relationships of the themes, linkages, and boundaries of the themes evolved during the domain analysis. Additional questions were generated and asked of the informants, which further clarified the themes and validated how the theme was defined. Through careful domain analysis, the potential groups of themes were identified for the taxonomic analysis.

The final phase was taxonomic analysis. The discovery of cultural meaning was solidified during the taxonomic analysis phase. The relationships among the themes were grouped by similarities and differences. The similar groups were matched with other similar dimensions resulting in the identification of categories. The categories were designed to be inclusive of domains that fit tightly together. From these categories, I then constructed a preliminary taxonomy. The relationships of the categories located in this taxonomy were then analyzed and matched as a whole. The utilization of structural questions was extremely important during this phase of analysis. The outcome of
the taxonomic analysis resulted in the final taxonomy shown in Figure 1, the pain experience as described by traditional Crow.

Validity and Reliability

In qualitative research, validity refers to obtaining knowledge and understanding all the factors and dimensions related to a phenomenon being studied. Leininger (1985) defined the importance of validity in qualitative research as "qualitative validity is concerned with confirming the truth or understandings associated with phenomena" (p. 68). Validity was determined by meeting the goal of knowing and understanding the concept under study—the experience of pain by traditional Crow people.

In relation to qualitative research, Leininger (1985) stated

Reliability focuses on identifying and documenting recurrent, accurate, and consistent or inconsistent features, as patterns, themes, values, world views, experiences, and other phenomena confirmed in similar or different contexts (p. 69).

Stern (1985) further clarified that reliability is best substantiated by the participants. The participants serve as "the most reliable judges of their reality" (p. 151). The data for this study is reliable based on the assumption that the informants met the inclusion criteria and were reliable experts.

Patton's (1990) triangulation process was utilized to enhance integrity of the research. The first triangulation was that of sources. The same interview questions were asked of more than one informant and the
questions that elicited data were kept while other questions were eliminated or changed. The second form of triangulation was that of methods. Individual and group interviews were conducted, field study notes were recorded following each interview session, and the findings were presented to the 1994 convention of the Montana Gerontology Society. The data were validated by the Crow participants attending the gerontology conference presentation. The data were positively validated during the follow-up interviews. The Crow participants listened and shared how the data impacted them. The third form of triangulation was that of analysis. Multiple analysts reviewed findings, including the thesis committee, one Crow informant and one non-Crow. Utilizing Patton's process of triangulation, the data were corrected.
CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF DATA

The purpose of the qualitative study was to explore and describe how traditional Crow people experience the phenomenon of pain. Meaningful insight is enhanced by knowledge of Crow history and culture, while a lack of this knowledge contributes to misunderstanding. Unfortunately there is often a significant Native American/non-Native American cultural gap.

Qualitative Analysis

A qualitative analysis was appropriate to provide a method to generate and ground concepts. The raw data were organized, reduced, and placed into specific groups. These groups then formed the taxonomy as shown in Figure 1, which categorize the pain described by traditional Crow people. The main taxonomic analytical method was developed by Spradley (1979). A surface analysis identified cultural themes and provided insights into the pain experience of the traditional Crow. Through careful domain analysis, I identified the taxonomic boxes or domains of knowledge.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concept</th>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Components</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GOOD</td>
<td>Natural Life Events</td>
<td>Childbirth</td>
<td>Indigenous Healers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HURT</td>
<td>Healing</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>Rituals/Ceremonies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional Practices</td>
<td>Indigenous Healers</td>
<td>Modern Medicine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modern Medicine</td>
<td>Surgery</td>
<td>Medical Interventions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAIN</td>
<td>Mass Annihilation</td>
<td>Un timely Deaths</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>Separation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Former Way of Life</td>
<td>Nature</td>
<td>Tradition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Future of Children</td>
<td>Economic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAD</td>
<td>Assimilation</td>
<td>Bicultural Adaptation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HURT</td>
<td>Government—Reservation Days</td>
<td>Missionary Days</td>
<td>Boarding School Days</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Historical Transitions</td>
<td>Discrimination</td>
<td>Alcohol and Drugs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social Problems</td>
<td>Deprivations</td>
<td>Illness and Disease</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emotional Pain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1. Taxonomy of pain as described by traditional Crow.
Findings

The concept of pain experienced by Crow people evolved into the categories of "Good Hurt" and "Bad Hurt." These indigenous terms were articulated by the key informant who was the oldest of all the informants. These two distinct categories then served as the cornerstone of the analytic process. I then reviewed the interviews in which pain was discussed, identifying common themes and consistency of statements. The main themes were subsequently linked and placed in relation to the two categories of good and bad hurt.

The Crow view "Good Hurt" as being embedded in Natural Life Events and Healing. The Crow experience of "Bad Hurt" emanates from two primary sources: Loss and Hardship. The first source of Bad Hurt, which evolved into the dimension of Loss, includes the four themes of Mass Annihilation, Death, Former Way of Life and Future of Children. The second source of Bad Hurt evolved into the dimension of Hardship, and is associated with the four themes of Historical Transitions, Laws and Regulations, Social Problems and Illness and Disease. The following paragraphs reveal how the traditional Crow view the experience of pain. A discussion of Good Hurt is followed by the discussion of Bad Hurt.
Good Hurt

The most significant and intriguing category is that of Good Hurt. Crow informants experience good hurt with the philosophy that pain is good if the pain serves a purpose and will lead to a favorable outcome. The themes developed into the dimensions of Natural Life Events and Healing. Childbirth and Death are the themes which comprise the Natural Life Events dimension of Good Hurt. The second dimension of Good Hurt is that of Healing which includes the two themes of Traditional Practices and Modern Medicine.

Natural Life Events. Natural Life Events is the first dimension of the Good Hurt category and includes the themes of Childbirth and Death. Crow view childbirth and death simply as natural events that occur in one's lifetime. The Crow are able to disregard the pain, focusing only on the end result.

Childbirth. The first theme of the dimension Natural Life Events is that of Childbirth. Crow view childbirth as having two aspects, the first of "being born" and the second of "giving birth." One informant talked about a person's own birth as being the first and the best good hurt experienced in one's lifetime even though one cannot remember the event, stating, "It must be wonderful to come out of the mother and start your own life as an independent person."
The Crow consider the pain experienced during childbirth as a good hurt. As two mothers explained, "you get rewarded" and "you get a precious gift after the pain." The pain of childbirth is also considered a good hurt because children bring wealth to the family. The Crow measure wealth in the number of children in a family, rather than in the possession of material items. One informant believed that Crow women experience more difficulty in childbirth saying: "we have a hard time having babies. We are all small hipped and are built like the buffalo - broad shouldered, narrow hipped, with long skinny legs." Crow women accept this fact and willingly endure the pain.

*Death.* The second theme of the dimension Natural Life Events is Death. Death is a universal experience and some Crow informants believe that death is good. One informant exclaimed, "Death! Now there's a good hurt!" However, other informants consider death to be a bad hurt. Whether death is considered good or bad seems to depend on the situation, the experience, and whether death is good for a particular person. The Crow viewed the experience of pain as bad if the pain did not serve a purpose or was associated with emotional pain. Death as a good hurt is discussed in this section, and death as a bad hurt will be discussed later.

The Crow believe that both life and death serve a purpose. All key informants expressed the thought, "death is natural. It is part of life." Every life is considered sacred - the life of each tree, animal or bird, or
the life of a Human. One informant explained, "death is good if you use up more resources than you return or you become a bother." Another added, "If the person's time has come - if they are elderly. I never feel bad about a death except for some young person whose time hasn't come." Death is considered good if the person is suffering from diabetes or cancer and is consequently experiencing intense pain. The Crow feel that it is good to end the person's suffering and that death is good when one is no longer able to enjoy life. The Crow have a perspective that death is a natural process based on strong spiritual ties. As clearly articulated by an elderly Crow man, "We do not fear death, but embrace and experience it." The Crow anticipate crossing over to the "other side camp" without fear, as it is believed that the spirit continues and deceased loved ones are waiting.

**Healing.** The second dimension of the category Good Hurt is Healing. The Healing dimension developed into the themes of Traditional Practices and Modern Medicine.

*Traditional practices.* The first theme of Healing is that of Traditional Practices. Traditional practices are strongly linked to ancestral teachings of traditional medicine prior to reservation days. Traditional practices such as Rituals/ Ceremonies have evolved but still remain an inherent part of the Crow culture. The first component of traditional Healing is that of Indigenous Healers. Indigenous Healers consist of "medicine men" and
Clan Aunts/Uncles. Medicine men are essential to the traditional healing practices of the Crow.

The Crow medicine men receive knowledge of traditional methods of alleviating pain from visions and through oral communication with mentors. Some traditional ways to treat pain include "special roots . . . white mud . . . a drink of tea to alleviate pain." All Crow informants support the belief in traditional ways. Also, it should be explained that to the traditional Crow, "medicine" can mean not only the medicinal properties of herbs and other remedies, but also describe medicine as a source of power. For example, "A magnificent eagle appeared and communicated with this man. The eagle then became his medicine [power] throughout his lifetime."

Pain is an accepted and integral part of rituals and ceremonies. An example of a painful ritual utilized by medicine men is that of the vision quest. During vision quest ceremonies a person would travel to a remote high altitude area to seek a vision to provide direction and guidance. Medicine men seek visions for guidance and to gain further knowledge of medicine. One informant described a typical vision quest:

Medicine men would travel to a high point and stay by themselves for three to four days without water and food. They would build an oval rock formation, lay their buffalo robe down and sleep there. They would get up and go to the rim to pray and meditate. When young Crow men are seeking a vision - this guardian angel would guide and communicate with them throughout their lives, and then they are ready to seek a medicine. Even in these days, many Crow go to a sacred place to meditate and pray, and leave offerings of sage. They do a lot of praying using tobacco. They bring sage
and smudge themselves, because the smoke carries our prayers to the Almighty.

The Crow believe that the Medicine Man has the power to cure people suffering from physical, mental, or spiritual pain. One informant talked about a Native American diagnosed with liver cancer. The Medicine Man, using medicine and eagle whistles, was able to drain off the poison from the liver and heal that person even though the process was very painful. This example of Crow people willingly accepting and enduring the pain of traditional medicine is typical, strengthened by strong cultural beliefs.

The second type of Indigenous Healer is that of the Clan Aunts/Uncles. The clan aunts and uncles hold powerful "medicine." One informant talks about the "medicine of the little people." The informant's clan uncle utilized the "little people" to administer healing. The clan uncle would place the little people in the homes of the Crow person to protect the individuals living there from harm.

The second component of traditional practices is that of Rituals/Ceremonies. The rituals and ceremonies discussed by the informants consisted of the sun dance, sweats, and peyote meetings. The sun dance will be discussed first, followed with a discussion of sweats and peyote meetings.

Historically the sun dance was utilized to measure the individual's ability to overcome pain and suffering. This rite of passage established
the individual's ability to be a leader. All the informants shared the view that “the pain people experience in the rituals is a good pain.”

Government restrictions prohibit Crow people from practicing the pure form of the sun dance. The sun dancers would pierce their skin with thongs anchored to the center pole and then pull back while dancing until the thongs tore through the flesh. One informant related, “When I was a kid those men would bare themselves from the waist up. They had large scars on their chests. Some would place the thong in their back and had scars there.” Through sacrifice and endurance of pain, the dancers demonstrated courage and the ability to withstand any pain that will be experienced throughout life. Today, the dancers inflict suffering upon themselves by withholding water and food during the entire sun dance, and are allowed a very minimum amount of sleep. The exertion and denial of sustenance to the sun dancer's body causes physical pain and a mental trance-like state which facilitates a vision experience. The Crow feel that during rituals, sincere sacrifice leads to favorable outcomes such as vision, medicines and the acquisition of knowledge. It is interesting to note that the original sun dance excluded women, but it is currently acceptable for women to participate and experience the pain and sacrifice of the sun dance. Deprivation of food and water induces pain and suffering and is described by a sun dancer:
You don't appreciate water until you've been in the sun dance. You remember every time you didn't finish a glass of water and poured half out! Water is basic to all life and without it, you have nothing.

One of the more common rituals is participation in the sweat lodge, often referred to as the small lodge. Most traditional Crow have constructed a personal sweat lodge where "heated rocks are placed in a pit and water is sprinkled on them, creating a lot of steam. They rub themselves with sage and this combined with the steam cleanses their body." It is commonly believed that regular use of the sweat lodge will heal most ailments. One informant related the experience of being in a sweat lodge:

The sweat lodge causes intense burning, and to go through the process of that intense burning is so important because it cleanses your mind, it cleanses your spirit, cleanses your spiritual body. It takes all your ailments away so that you don't have that inside your body anymore. But at the same time it's very painful for the participants.

The extreme heat, as described by participants, makes flesh feel like it is on fire. The hot humid air nearly suffocates the participant, making the verbalization of prayers a painful experience.

Peyote meetings are the final example of Rituals/Ceremonies. Peyote is a hallucinogenic substance that some traditional Crow use during special ceremonies, religious gatherings, and for treatment of pain. Only members of the Native American church are able to legally possess peyote. Peyote meetings at the Native American church last for many hours and would be
intolerable if not for the use of peyote. One Native American church member relates “Peyote makes you real numb when we sit in the church for hours on end and helps with visions. Sometimes we sit in one spot cross-legged for 12-16 hours and peyote helps keep us free from pain.”

Another key informant told about a peyote meeting held for the informant's mother. The mother remained in severe pain following surgery for cancer. Members of the family arranged a “peyote meeting” and the meeting was recalled by the informant:

One of her uncles was a Medicine Man and he doctored her and told her it was in her stomach. The Medicine Man held a bone whistle to her stomach and from that whistle came out black water which filled up about five to seven big coffee cans, of whatever it was. It was thrown away and she went into remission for five or six years before she had to go in for another operation.

Many Crow actively participate in the sun dance, sweats, and the Native American Church. The Crow also understand when Crow members choose not to participate, and have the unique acceptance of the wide variation of practicing historical healing with contemporary healing. Crow families will sometimes invite respected indigenous healers to visit hospitalized family members. The healers (traditional and contemporary) blend resources to assist with healing. Some individual Crow incorporate both traditional practices with modern medicine but internally struggle through the transitions of melding both healing methods.
Modern Medicine. The second theme of Healing is that of Modern Medicine. Suffering from a brain tumor, an informant stated, "I would try to stay alive, believing that my mind would control my body. I would do everything in the world possible to heal myself inside - like any type of treatment [traditional or modern] to stay alive."

Surgery is the first component of the Modern Medicine theme. One informant discussed painful experiences with surgery:

I've had a few surgeries and they were all for something. I had successful lung cancer surgery that didn't bother me, as you've got 3-4-5, 10 days of pain maybe. I lost the use of my hand from a pinched nerve and I had a doctor operate and he gave me back the use of my hand. It was one of the best things I ever did. Had my elbow operated on and then prostate surgery, but they were all to achieve an end. I never looked at surgery as being something real detrimental and the pain didn't last long - it goes away.

All key informants believe that if the pain serves a purpose and the end result will be better, then the pain is viewed as a good hurt. One informant explained, "Pain after surgery would be a good hurt, it serves a purpose - to cure you." Another informant suffering from bone cancer openly discussed the anticipation of undergoing a painful injection of Astronium, a new chemotherapeutic agent. Astronium is infused, seeks out and destroys cancer cells, but causes intense pain throughout the body. Surprisingly, the informant stated, "I'm looking forward to the injection and to experiencing what it will do to me. And the pain is a part of it."

One area of dissention was that of the utilization of pain medications. The old traditional view is that you must experience the pain and let the
pain become a part of you, but this is balanced with the modern view that "if the pain gets more than I can handle, all I have to do is call the doctor and I'll have something immediately."

Medical Interventions is the second component under Modern Medicine. Even though the younger Crow are viewed as more willing to utilize pain medication, the traditional Crow choose not to utilize pain medication. "There are pain medications now so that a person doesn't have to suffer." One very traditional elder stated, "In the old days we were taught to deal with pain. Now, young people don't deal with pain. They take pills and treatments." One informant shared that, "The only problem is the medicine can raise hell with you mentally - put you in a fog." The informant further clarified the utilization of medication by justifying its use as follows, "when that time comes and you're just waiting for death anyway, you'd probably relish the fog just to get rid of the pain." On the other end of the continuum, one informant related a personal observation of her sister's death, "She just decided to die at home and didn't linger. She accepted her death and did not want any treatment for pain."

Bad Hurt

The second major category of pain is that of Bad Hurt. This category developed into two dimensions - that of Loss and Hardship. The first dimension of Bad Hurt is that of Loss, which consists of four themes:
Mass Annihilation, Death, Former Way of Life, and Future of Children.

The second dimension of Bad Hurt is Hardship consisting of four themes: Historical Transitions, Laws and Regulations, Social Problems, and Illness and Disease.

All key informants support the belief that emotional pain is always considered a bad hurt. The Crow believe that one cannot shield oneself from emotional pain, but one must simply experience it. It is felt that the Crow person must learn from the experience, and then rid themselves of it.

Loss. The first dimension of the category Bad Hurt is that of Loss, which consisted of four themes: Mass Annihilation, Death, Former Way of Life, and Future of Children. Loss is considered an inherent part of daily life. The pain encompasses all losses, not only in the present but historical events and future events yet to occur.

Mass annihilation. The first theme of Loss is that of Mass Annihilation. The Crow first experienced mass annihilation with the introduction of European diseases. The most notable was the smallpox epidemic which took a great toll on the Native American population, causing near extinction of the Crow people. This historical event causes great emotional pain to the Crow informants in recalling the loss of so many ancestors and the scarcity of valued tribal elders. The effect of the smallpox epidemic was told by a tribal historian:
On the reservation, you will see very few old people. You have to go back historically from the time the Crow met Lewis and Clark back in 1805. Until that time there was not much interaction. In about 1830, the diseases started coming in. Once a year all the four bands of the tribe would meet for a rendezvous. In 1847, the entire tribe congregated right where the Metra is! [Metra Park Center-Billings, Montana]. At 12,000, it was the largest the tribe has ever been. They formed a great big camp area. One of the trading parties had gone to Fort Union by North Dakota where one Crow picked up the smallpox bug. The guy was already sick with smallpox when they got back to camp and the virus spread like wildfire. Within a space of seven days, we went from 12,000 people to only 3,800. It practically annihilated us! The tribe tried to slowly build back and by 1876 during the Custer campaign the tribe numbered about 6,000. After the tribe moved on to the reservation, they only numbered 1,104. I mean, we almost died off! During World War I, there were less than 1,500, during World War II, we numbered less than 2,500, and today there's almost 9,000. Somehow we survived and have come up to what we are today. The Crow lost many of their wise people and with these cultural experts went much knowledge of rituals, medicine and secrets, and also the ability to maintain tribal roles. That's why there are very few older people, with the average Crow man at age 45 and the average Crow woman about 60. Our median age is about 20 and yours is about 28.

Death. The second theme of the Loss dimension is that of Death. Death as a bad hurt consists of two components, that of Untimely Deaths and Separation.

The untimely death of any Crow person is considered a "waste", as each individual is considered a valuable resource to the tribe. The Crow Tribe continues to suffer the loss of members as explained, "There are many deaths of young people from car wrecks, hunting accidents, and I suppose some from abuse. Every week they lose another young person. Many are killed in car wrecks because of alcohol."
brings not only emotional pain to family members, but also despair to the entire tribe.

Separation is the second component of the theme of Death. The emotional pain associated with death is always considered a bad hurt because of the loss of a relationship, "To be without relatives is to be poor." This loss is most acutely felt with the death of a "Wise One", as much treasured knowledge, wisdom, and especially traditional resource, is lost as well.

Former way of life. The third theme of the Loss dimension is that of Former Way of Life, which the Crow consider a bad hurt. With the occupation of the Native American country by the Europeans, the Native American people initially accommodated them. However, the Crow people had an abundance of rich natural resources, and many Europeans realized the economic value of these natural resources. The Crow viewed tribal resources not as a possession to be bought or sold, but rather an integral part of each Crow person's being. A very fundamental belief is that "land is alive and it is the source of all life."

Nature is the first component of the Former Way of Life theme. One of the most valued aspects of the Crow's former way of life was that of living harmoniously with nature. The loss of a free and independent life style, the essence of traditional Crow life during the days of the buffalo, still
causes continuing anguish and is frequently referred to when discussing bad hurt. The essence of being a Crow was explained by a tribal historian:

Being a Crow person meant they are a part of the land and not separate from it and that the land was the source of all life. As you moved from place to place, you needed to move with the land, not just over the land. It is at this point that the Crow people recognize wisdom, because you became wise when you knew when and how to work with the land.

Crow people communicated with nature, respected natural items, and protected the environment.

The Crow were very attuned to the seasons and could travel around in total freedom. A male informant related:

Warriors and hunters would travel over the Crazies and the Beartooth mountains for food, for visions, for guidance. They were very physically active – they had a lot of fresh air – and were a very nomadic people.

Those days were gone forever after the Crow were confined to reservations.

The Crow people experienced the heart-wrenching loss of tribal space and territory. Crow land was taken by the United States Government through treaties and then sold to the settlers through the allotment process, by which the lands were broken into parcels. Lands not apportioned to the Native American people were made available for purchase by the settlers. The battle over land rights still rages to this day.

As one informant reported with obvious frustration:
In fact, we just went through it again. After the Cheyenne returned to Montana from Oklahoma the government had no place to put them. A Crow chief named Crazy Head agreed to give them that area by Ashland, Busby, Lame Deer. He moved over and the Cheyenne took that. A government surveyor was sent to define the boundary, known as 107th Meridian. He came out drunk, made a mistake a mile wide and 120 miles long, so all that land we lost for all those years. We also lost a great deal of land when they initially set up the reservation system.

Another significant loss to the Crow people was that of the buffalo, the main staple of Crow life, which provided shelter and a source of meat. The Crow still favor the buffalo meat and have continued to fight for the right to hunt the buffalo as Crow traditions are frequently celebrated with a feast of buffalo meat. The Crow worry about the possibility of losing this right and it is felt that "the government came in and took everything away after the loss of the buffalo." The Crow were forced to change their diet from low cholesterol buffalo meat to that of beef. One informant discussed the impact that the changing diet had on the Crow:

The buffalo were gone and Indian people were starving. The commodities that were brought to them were sugar, coffee, flour and lard. The meat consisted of beef and bacon which is very high in cholesterol. Their diet was not used to these foods and their bodies were unable to adjust very well to that.

The Crow became increasingly dependent on the commodities as their main source of food. The government viewed the Crow people as "sub-human" and corrupt agents would sell off the commodities for their personal gain, leaving many Crow to die of starvation. A Crow historian shared the following view regarding the impact of the loss of the buffalo:
During the buffalo days, the roles for both men and women were very distinct. Men were warriors and hunters. Warriors protected the tribe and hunters provided food for the people. The female role was to be nurturer and care for others. When the buffalo were killed and we were placed on the reservation, the roles became confused.

The loss of roles led to a spiraling decrease in self respect and dignity.

No new roles evolved for the Crow men. This painful loss of dignity and respect are closely linked to the loss of Crow tradition.

The second component of the Former Way of Life theme is that of Loss of Tradition. The dominant society wanted the Crow people to abandon traditional ways and assimilate. The government attempted to assimilate the Crow through mass annihilation; however, when killing all the Crow was unsuccessful, the government began to establish oppressive laws and regulations.

The government prohibited the Crow from practicing traditional rituals and ceremonies, threatening severe penalties and imprisonment. If caught, the Crow faced losing the family's allotment of food, the possibility of torture, perhaps even death. During this period of time, the government basically controlled every facet of the Crow's existence.

As a result of this oppression, the Crow became increasingly dependent on the government for meeting all needs for existence. Some Crow felt totally powerless, because by trying to sustain the Crow cultural heritage, losing needed government support was a big risk. Being restricted from practicing traditional rituals and ceremonies reduced the unique identity
of the Crow and diminished individual self-respect. Thus began the vicious cycle of increasing dependence upon the government. One informant remembers asking about the traditional ways and the parents' firm resistance, saying "no, you can't do that. The government will cut you off." Often causing internal family conflict, however, grandparents would continue to teach traditional ceremonies, rituals, and healing practices. The desire to hold on to traditional ways, while respecting family admonitions, and still realizing the need to adapt to the dominant society causes continual emotional turmoil. The Crow people continue to be regulated by a complex system of Federal, state and tribal regulations which often cause confusion and continue to suppress the Crow people.

The last component of the Former Way of Life theme consists of economic losses. The Crow considered themselves wealthy in terms of natural resources and rich heritage. With the arrival of traders, the Crow became a strong economic force and were able to develop valuable trade routes between the Great Plains and Northwest territory tribes. As time progressed, the Crow became more and more oppressed, forced onto reservations to live in poverty.

*Future of children.* The final theme of the Loss dimension is that of the Future of Children. Until the advent of the reservation days, the Crow never had to worry about the future of the children, however, one of the
greatest and perhaps most profound losses to Crow people occurred with the assimilation of the Crow children into the dominant society.

The first component under the theme Future of Children is that of Assimilation. While assimilation was accepted in the beginning, the danger of losing the traditional Crow culture soon became apparent. Today older Crow people are frustrated with the lack of respect shown by younger members. One informant is worried about this trend, saying, "Young people do not listen to the old ones as they did when I was young. They know nothing about our old customs and if they wish to learn, there is nobody now to teach them."

Bicultural Adaptation is the final component of Future of Children theme. With the loss of so many elderly Crow people and many of the Crow traditions, the Crow are truly at a bicultural crossroad. Crow people are facing a struggle about values which leads to great emotional pain. This is associated with choosing the right direction - whether to totally abandon traditional roots and assimilate into the dominant society, or to hold fast to traditional culture and beliefs, enduring the emotional pain that comes with this social isolation. Many traditional Crow believe that blending and compromising traditional values is not possible and that one must choose to travel one direction or the other. One key informant, when asked about the future of children, hypothesized that "if the White people just wait, assimilation will truly happen unless the Crow choose to take a different
road and go back to their basic traditional roots, back to being with the buffalo." And, the informant said "... all the White people would disappear. That just ain't gonna happen." Even with the full realization that Crow can never return to the buffalo days, one informant stated that the young people have a difficult choice:

The traditional roots adhere to those strict philosophies, values, and teaching those things that come through in the old traditional ways - the storytelling, those themes and philosophies, and build their future world around those. There is a fork in the road that they need to take - either left or right - they either need to totally go to the White world and the White ways or not.

This informant believes that if the tribe does nothing, that within the next four generations there will be no true Native American people left, that all Native Americans will be absorbed into the "White world" and into the "White ways". Several Crow informants believe

The Crow need to improve themselves, not just pick up their government checks. They need to work hard at their education, get more people in the academic world, get people in positions where they can change the system. Once they've broken into the White system, to not just be satisfied and stay at one level - they need to continue to move up through the ranks and keep improving themselves even if it gets harder and takes more energy. Each higher level broken into by Indian people will make it easier for the next generation to move up to that level and progress even higher.

Many Crow dream of a future where the traditional ways can be passed on and practiced and where each child can learn what is "inside himself."

Some Crow dream for the romantic days of the buffalo. Other Crow hope for industry, education, and facilities within the boundaries of the
reservation. All key informants want to see a decreased use of alcohol and drugs, improved health status for all Crow, and education (traditional and formal) for the young people. It is believed that in an ideal environment free from all forms of discrimination, all children could reap the benefits from both cultures.

**Hardship.** The second dimension of the category Bad Hurt is Hardship, which contains three themes: Historical Transitions, Social Problems, and Illness and Disease. The hardships faced by the Crow people are an unending source of emotional pain.

*Historical transitions.* The first theme of Hardship is that of Historical Transitions. There are major differences in how the dominant society and Crow people experience pain. Whatever experiences the ancestors have gone through become a part of each traditional Crow person. Crow pain is never forgotten and is communicated in oral tradition and remains a part of the traditional Crow person into the present day. The dominant society seem to separate themselves from ancestral heritage, but the Crow people continue to carry the emotional pain of ancestors. Crow are a very proud people and traditionally pass stories, information, and this shared pain down from generation to generation. Even though Caucasians learn about history, an informant observed “that White people separate themselves from historical events, but the Indian people adopt
their history unto themselves and that history then becomes part of the Crow person."

The most significant historical source of emotional pain for the Crow people emanated from the Battle of the Little Bighorn, and was explained, "Crows scouted for the White man and were considered traitors to other tribes." Then another informant reinforced this view, adding, "Crows led Custer and some scalped Sioux and Northern Cheyenne who were fighting Custer. Lots of tales are carried down generation to generation and that's how the hard feelings and animosity have grown and developed over the years." How ironic for the government to subsequently place the Crow and Northern Cheyenne together on reservations which share a common border.

Government-Reservation Days is the first component under Historical Transitions. Those days when cultural practices were all but extinguished, still bring painful memories:

During the reservation days the government prohibited the Indians from practicing their religion and outlawed the sun dance. The government completely stopped the sun dances in the 1870's and didn't let them start up again until 50-60 years later. They [Crow] lost it, but they are getting it back now.

One informant summed a feeling of loss by stating, "Pride, dignity and respect . . . we lost a lot of that when we were put on reservations."

Missionary Days is the second component under Historical Transitions. Beginning in the late 1800's, during the missionary days, the Crow people were regarded as uncivilized heathens. Missionaries believed it their duty
to "civilize" and "elevate" the Crow people to the standard of the dominant society. Painful childhood memories of one informant:

There's the psychological pain that is associated with religion. The Protestant pastors, Catholic priests, and nuns shared a philosophy that by imposing strict rules and shaming the Indian children they could rid them of their 'diseased' Indian ways and make them truly White children.

The final component of Historical Transitions is that of Boarding School Days. In the early 1900's the government launched plans for mass indoctrination of Native American children through the development of boarding schools. The children were exposed to basic educational principles and Christian teachings. The government paid bounty hunters $5.00 for each Native American child delivered to the boarding schools for assimilation. Often, the children were forcibly taken from their homes.

Upon arrival, the children suffered the humiliation and trauma of having the long black hair cut short, familiar clothing replaced with school-issued attire, and "even their names were changed . . . to make them American." Children were given such names as Adams, Washington, and Jefferson. The lack of Native American history taught at the boarding school caused emotional pain. The Crow children were taught the dominant culture perspective of history, that indigenous people are ignorant and it was bad to be an Native American. One informant recalls:

We were taught nothing about Indian history. Nothing about who or what WE were. All the personal respect and pride that we had was about [holding index finger and thumb one inch apart] that big.
The fear and trauma of being torn away from familiar family surroundings haunt many Crow to this day, as poignantly expressed, "There is no greater pain than to be orphaned." Children were restricted from having any contact with their families. Remembering boarding school days, one informant recalled a painful memory, "I was not allowed to speak my language. It was a written rule . . . 'you will not speak anything other than English!'" The informant's mother had also attended a boarding school and when caught speaking the Native American language was severely punished. The informant said "my mother and her sister had to stand in the hallway. The nuns drew a circle on the wall and they had to stand with their noses in the circle all night until the next morning." The traumatic experience of being uprooted as a young child, forced to comply with strict rules under threat of severe punishment, combined with the humiliation of being considered somewhat 'sub-human' still affects some Crow individuals to this day.

Social problems. The second theme of the Hardship dimension is that of Social Problems, and Discrimination comprises the first component of Social Problems. The pain of discrimination was first experienced in the failure of the Europeans to recognize and value the importance of the spiritual traditions and intellectual riches of the Crow people. This lack of understanding began the first stage of discrimination against the
Crow people. One informant was adamant when discussing the results of discrimination:

If people feel lost dignity, they do withdraw. They try to hide and stay on the reservation. Then once they come out, they have to face discrimination every day and because of their pride, dignity, and respect - it's tough. You walk into a store and try to apply for credit, or a job. 'Uh uh, you're an Indian'.

Another informant told of first encountering a non-Native American person at a very young age, being coaxed into an alley by the offer of a candy bar and subsequently beat up. Memories of a bloody nose, threats, and told in very graphic words that Native American people were not supposed to come to town and to stay on the reservation.

The media promotes discrimination and lack of understanding of the true essence of Native American culture, not just the Crow people. One example was adamantly expressed, "Well, just look at the movies and books that have been published. This wrong information is why even today some White people think Native Americans still live in tepees. That's because the books say so." The bad hurt comes from constantly facing not only the manufactured image of the historical Native American but also racial and cultural intolerance of the contemporary Native American.

This attitude is manifested in the medical community as described by a key informant who works in the health care field. The informant said, "I have read my medical record that states 'obese Indian female'. Immediately they assume that I am overweight, have tuberculosis, that
I am uneducated, even though I am an R.N. That really makes me angry." The stereotypical image of the "dumb Indian" was also discussed as it affects any business dealings. An informant who holds a responsible position for a state agency stated, "Business people think 'this dumb itinerant ignorant Indian - I can cheat him.' Well, I can guarantee you, most Indians are pretty sharp and when you show that attitude towards them, you just create a lot of hard feelings." Facing this prejudice on a daily basis continues to be a source of unrelenting emotional pain.

Several informants relate personal examples of discrimination when seeking medical treatment at clinics and hospitals. Even though firm appointments have been made, Crow report being routinely pushed back while other people are taken care of first. Further, many Crow believe that Native Americans receive a lower standard of medical care than non-Native Americans. Painful discrimination is also experienced when seeking housing. One informant expressed hesitancy to ask for an apartment, having been turned away so many times. Another form of discrimination is felt in several other settings, such as restaurants and department stores. One informant described a common example of discrimination:

Clerks pass us by and serve other people first. We go through it every day ... when you get your driver's license, apply for insurance, apply for a job - everywhere. And even when I was older and had a child, the city wouldn't let an Indian write a check. It makes you tough. It's just part of being an Indian, I guess.
Discrimination affects all layers of Crow life, even permeating places of entertainment, as one informant shared:

I play bingo once in awhile and one day I won two $100 jackpots. I overheard someone say 'who won all that money? ... oh, some old Indian, they always win' and I replied 'it's because we're so lucky'. They didn't know what to say. But you see, that derogatory 'some old Indian' really upset me. We pay our money for our bingo cards. Why shouldn't we also have the right to win?"

The informants feel that the Crow people can never escape the pain of prejudice and discrimination. One informant expressed a dismal outlook by saying, "White people are opinionated before they ever get a chance to talk to you." The stereotypical image of the 'lazy, drunken Indian' seems to be pervasive in the job market as well. As described by one informant, "I am treated different because I'm an Indian. When I tell them I am looking for a job, they look at me like I have three heads. It's the truth. Indians face it every day." The informants then discussed feelings of discrimination in the work place and one said:

Sometimes it's hard at work when people are prejudiced. But that's the situation when Indians work in the non-Indian sector - we are treated differently because of the color of our skin and because we talk another language.

Several of the informants shared the feeling of having to do better than their non-Native American co-workers. Some examples: "We have to speak plain and articulate", "... be more productive and know twice as much as fellow employees", feeling "talked around" in professional meetings, and being frequently passed over for job promotions. Not only
do Crow applicants experience discrimination in hiring, but also experience reverse discrimination with the unspoken attitude of co-workers that "the only reason you're in this position is because you are an Indian." Facing discrimination in the work place creates daily tension, which prevents Crow workers from gaining personal satisfaction and a sense of well being.

The Crow people have a wide range of views with regard to discrimination, from despair, to resignation, to optimism. With tears, one informant shared, "It really hurts that because I am an American Indian, I am any different from anyone else." Another stated "I've seen some real rank discrimination against Indians, but there is discrimination in all walks of life."

One informant expressed an optimistic view:

I think things are getting better all the time, I do. More people are becoming educated and know that discrimination is wrong. It'll never be completely eradicated - you'll always have some. But it is getting better.

The surprising issue about discrimination is that not only does the dominant society discriminate against the Crow, the Crow also discriminate among themselves, "I grew up in the government square and people used to think we were hotty totty because we lived there. My mother worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. We were separate." The emotional pain experienced by Crow at the hands of other Crow is the most distressing discrimination of all.
Alcohol and Drugs is the second component of Social Problems. The hardship associated with alcohol and drug abuse is always considered a bad hurt. Not until the arrival of traders and settlers did Native Americans first experience alcohol, which was widely used as a commodity in buying and trading Native American goods. Unknown before that time, the introduction of alcohol brought an entirely new dimension to the Crow way of life. As one informant stated, “Alcohol has been and still is very, very bad for the Crow people. It’s too bad they feel that they have to drown their sorrow with alcohol. But they do.” With the loss of independence and valued roles of warrior and provider, Crow men turned to alcohol for solace.

The Crow continue to have a problem with drugs and alcohol on and off the reservation. A key informant stated, “Alcohol is a bad hurt, it really is.” Some male informants talked about the “Lysol drinkers,” a small faction of the population hopelessly addicted to an ingredient in aerosol Lysol spray. Lysol cans are punctured, draining the fluid inside, which is then mixed with water and ingested. Lysol drinkers have increased in number and the Tribe is trying to control the problem.

The final component of Social Problems is that of Deprivations. The poverty which began when the Crow were forced onto reservation continues today. The informants believe that Crow people have become desensitized to the poverty conditions on the reservation, explaining,
"It is very desolate and many people are destitute out on the reservation."

With no alternative, one informant said, "I had to leave the reservation or starve. No work, no money, no food." Severe poverty is readily apparent on the reservation, evidenced by abandoned cars, trash, broken windows, thin dogs, abandoned business establishments, and barbed wire around the school for protection from vandals.

One informant commented on the scarcity of jobs, saying, "On the reservation, 75% unemployment is considered normal. During the summer, it drops to roughly 30-45%. You have to remember that for the non-Indian, 8-10% unemployment rate is considered high." During the winter months, "A lot of guys have to go on unemployment or general assistance . . . anything they can just to get through the winter. Then summer comes and they start taking seasonal employment - whatever they can get." A Crow person is considered lucky to be employed.

Another problem is the notable lack of meaningful activities for youth on the reservation. An informant emphasized that "there is an awful lot of empty time." The children do not have enough activities to keep occupied. As a result, "Children mentally starve on the reservation. No pool, no bowling alley, no YMCA, nothing to keep them busy so they drink and use drugs."

One informant rationalized that because Native American people feel so hopeless and have such a sense of despair that sometimes Crow lose respect
for nature and pollute. For example, after the annual Crow Fair, a week-long tribal gathering, there is a lot of garbage strewn around the area. Bad hurt always exists when a Crow person is disrespectful. One Crow informant said "they lose respect and their pride is sucked away."

Unbroken, this cycle continues until "they come to a point where they disrespect themselves - they disrespect their elders - they disrespect Mother Earth." The final issue is that of frustration as voiced by one Native American who said "it is a well known fact that the Crow own the most land, but yet we are the poorest tribe ... something's wrong!"

**Illness and disease.** The final theme of the Hardship dimension is Illness and Disease. Prior to the intrusion of non-Native Americans and the subsequent introduction of diseases and foreign food commodities, the Crow were an extremely healthy people. A natural diet, combined with an active and nomadic lifestyle, kept the Crow people in excellent physical health. Life was simple and structured, with clearly defined roles, responsibilities and rules to maintain a harmonious social community.

The end result of many causes of emotional pain has manifested itself in tangible and measurable physical pain because of factors such as unhealthy diet changes, lifestyles, poverty, and alcoholism. One of the most prevalent diseases among the Crow people is that of diabetes. According to one informant, "now eighty-five percent of the Indians have diabetes." One explanation could be the relatively recent introduction of
refined sugar into the Crow diet left the Crow people highly susceptible to the diabetic disease process. The sudden and widespread use of sugar began when it was initially included in the food allotment during early reservation days.

The first component of Illness and Disease is that of Physical Pain. Another result of losing traditional lifestyle and food source is manifested in a high incidence of gallbladder disease. As noted by one informant, "It's not unusual to see someone with gallstones at the age of 14. Also there is a high incidence of kidney stones." With the loss of the traditional diet, came increased consumption of fat. Many Crow lament the loss of a relatively low cholesterol and chemical free food source that has been replaced by a high fat, sugar and preservative laden diet.

The Crow people are experiencing an increased number of those suffering from cancer. The dramatic change in diet is thought to be a contributing factor in the high incidence of gastrointestinal cancers. One informant stated "cancer destroys you. Mentally, physically, emotionally and financially. It destroys you financially more than anything else, I suppose." One informant described the physical pain currently being experienced, by saying:

A tumor destroyed the nerve sheath in my feet. The nerves are just bare and raw, so my feet just tingle and scream all the time. Sometimes they get very painful - peripheral . . . pins and needles and pain.
An informant explained that the concept of pain was relatively new to the Crow. The closest Crow word is “ache.” Also difficult for Crow people to grasp is that the term 'pain' can be measured on a scale for intensity. When an Native American person is asked to explain the intensity of pain, a specific answer is difficult to elicit on the 0-10 scale. One informant suggested that instead of the linear line method, perhaps one needs to develop more of a circular way of communicating that pain. In essence, one needs to understand the literal world of the Crow. An example was offered:

You can ask them if they've had a broken arm or a broken leg - does it feel like that? Does it feel like when you fell off your horse? Or when the horse kicked you? Or when the horse stepped on you? Does it feel like when you stubbed your toe? When you have a toothache? And you will then get a much clearer picture.

Emotional Pain is the final component under the Illness and Disease theme. All the key informants believe that physical pain can be tolerated and that one can learn to overcome the painful experience; however, the emotional response to pain is more difficult to overcome. A key informant offered the following explanation:

To me, pain would be not physical from an injury, but would be like pain inside - an emotional scar that might develop after something has happened, like a death. That’s how I would define pain in my own terms. I have a lot of tolerance for physical pain, but I don’t like pain inside . . . the pain of rejection, mistrust, and being ridiculed. For instance, words that might come from another person that would cause pain inside of me. I don’t mind pain from surgery or from an injury - I can tolerate that. But
I would rather have that type of pain than the other type of pain that I just described.

Traditional clients are often afraid to seek treatment from modern medicine for emotional pain. Crow people “feel real guarded – they are afraid of being hurt.” Informants were unable to identify how Crow people dealt with emotional pain in the past. While many modern Crow do seek medical treatment, some individuals still experience fear and apprehension. One informant appeared frustrated and angry saying, “You get nothing from doctors as they have no answer for emotional problems. It’s not part of what they ever learn.” An informant stated that:

Your spiritual being needs taken care of, as well as your physical being. There’s no doubt about it. It seems like in the White medical world, they separate the spiritual from the physical, but in the Indian population, you cannot separate the spiritual part from the Indian person . . . that is the core of who they are! When a doctor comes to that Indian person to treat them, many times they just want to treat the medical part of that person and they deny the spiritual part, and then the Medicine Man comes because the family has certain spiritual beliefs, and they’re not included in the complete health care of that person.

Those providing health care need to understand the difficulty that Crows experience in communicating physical and emotional pain.

Summary of Findings

Pain is accepted as a universal experience and each Crow person will experience pain as a part of life. The Crow believe that all people will experience both good hurt and bad hurt sometime during a lifetime;
the resulting pain is generally regarded as something which helps one gain knowledge and wisdom. One informant explained, "Wise ones have lived many years and have learned about the many hurts of life."

One reason older Crow people are held in such high esteem is that the elders have experienced, lived through, and learned from painful experiences. The Crow elders are those to whom some young people turn for guidance, support, and understanding of how to deal with personal painful experiences.

Crow people experience and accept pain as a natural process of life. The Crow people consider pain to consist of two distinct types described as Physical Pain and Emotional Pain. All key informants support the belief that physical pain can be tolerated, but the emotional pain is the hardest to bear. As one Crow informant stated, "pain is an emotion and therefore one can control your emotions."
CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION

This chapter presents a summary of the study, discussion of the findings, benefits, limitations, and implications of the study. Recommendations are offered for further study.

Summary of the Study

This qualitative study of the experience of pain by traditional Crow people has provided meaningful insight and enhanced the knowledge of Crow history and culture. The focus of the research project was to provide cultural knowledge to non-Native American nurses. In this study, ethnographic interviews were conducted with 15 traditional Crow. Spradley's (1979) method was utilized to conduct interviews and analyze data. A taxonomy was generated from the data, expanded through follow-up interviews, and verified by some informants.

The study provides a basic understanding of the role of pain as a major variable as it pertains to the Crow people. Descriptive data were gathered about traditional beliefs and behaviors that affect the experience of pain. Greater understanding of the cultural dimensions of pain will help health
care professionals develop an effective approach to providing quality pain management to the Crow population.

Findings and Implications

The findings from the data revealed that culture is a variable that affects the traditional Crow's experience of pain. Several important themes emerged from this study: natural process, group pain, expression of pain, family shared pain, assessment, and the blending of modern and traditional medicine.

The Crow client believes pain is a natural process. Historically, the elder Crow gained respect and wisdom because they had lived and experienced many "hurts" throughout their long life. The data collected support that "good hurt" and "bad hurt" must be experienced as a natural process. The Crow person does not fear the pain, but simply must experience the pain. Villarruel and Ortiz de Montellano's (1992) research on Mesoamericans support the concept of pain as a natural process. Mesoamericans maintained that "pain was an accepted, anticipated, and necessary part of human life" (p. 26). The traditional Crow people hold fast to this value.

Crow people consider pain to have both physical and emotional elements. The physical pain is easily accepted and endured, but the emotional pain is harder to bear. The Crow believe that emotional pain is
considered a bad hurt. One cannot shield oneself from emotional pain but must simply experience it.

Traditional beliefs, values, and behaviors must be recognized. Nurses must be aware of the years of distrust and abuse inflicted by the dominant society onto the Crow people. The pain is experienced as an entire group of people, not unlike the Jews and the Holocaust and the ethnic cleansing in Bosnia. Nurses need to understand that historic pain continues to impact traditional Crow people to this day. The most notable historical events are the Battle of the Little Big Horn, the small pox epidemic, the missionary, government and reservation days.

The findings of this study support that Crow people have experienced many pains throughout the transitional years, the most notable being the loss of Crow lands and transition from a free and independent life style to the repressive existence on the Crow reservation. The findings identify that the loss of role and duties by the Crow is still felt. For example, the traditional male roles of warrior and hunter have not been replaced.

The Crow continue to transition and evolve. The emotional pain continues to be experienced as the Crow are caught between two sets of values – the values of the old ways and the values associated with the new ways. These contrasting values are the cause of most emotional pain.

The second theme from Villarruel and Ortiz de Montellano’s (1992) research was “The ability to endure pain and suffering stoically was
valued" (p. 28). Some traditional Crow consider pain as an emotion, and therefore the Crow person is able to control these emotions. The traditional Crow informants believe the younger people are soft and have not been taught the same values associated with not expressing pain. Enduring and experiencing the emotional and physical pain has been an integral part of the traditional Crow upbringing.

Children of both the dominant society and Crow people learn about pain from examples set by other family members, but the lessons learned are much different. The dominant society child learns how to avoid and alleviate pain. The Crow child learns how to experience, share, and leave the pain, becoming stronger through the process.

Nurses need to know and understand the importance of family to the Crow people, as it is an essential element to the traditional Crow person. The Crow greatly value the importance of extended family. The findings of this research study support Primeaux's (1977b) theme that to the Native American, true poverty is to be without family.

Primeaux (1977b) identified the theme of sharing in the Native Americans. Primeaux reports that in time of illness, the family members share the suffering of the client. The findings of this research support Primeaux's theme.

The Crow client does not endure pain alone as is the case of the dominant society. The Crow people believe in an element of "shared pain"
and it is crucial that nurses understand the importance of large numbers of family members wanting to be near the Crow client. The family members of the Crow client are able to share the experience of pain and need to be accommodated and not chastised for their beliefs. Hospitals and agencies also need to understand this and allow other Crow to visit, stay, and share the client's pain.

Traditional beliefs, practices, and behaviors must be recognized, respected, and considered in order for nursing to provide optimum care to culturally diverse clients. Nurses caring for clients outside their cultural group need an awareness of the health beliefs and cultural practices in order to interpret and effectively address the pain of the client. The nurse must not over-generalize the values of one client to the values of all Crow clients and must respect the individual's cultural beliefs and practices.

The Crow person believes one must learn from and gain knowledge from the pain experience. Thus, for nurses to lessen or shield the client from a painful experience would be detrimental to the traditional Crow client. The Crow's ability and willingness to endure pain is foreign to dominant society nurses' way of thinking. The Crow client may not ask for medications, and perhaps even refuse to take medications to relieve the physical pain being experienced.
The data reveal the importance of including a cultural assessment in the nursing health history. The ethnic identification of Caucasian/White, Native American, Afro-American, Asian-American, or Hispanic/Mexican American is not sufficient. The health history needs to include a basic cultural assessment as well. Whether nurses utilize Jacobson & Booton's (1991) simple question of "How Indian are You?" (p. 356), Milligan's (1981) more categorical definition of traditional, transitional, or modern, or Bloch's (1983) ethnic/cultural assessment guide, the nurse must assess the cultural involvement of the client.

The findings of this study indicate the need to develop a culturally specific pain assessment tool. The traditional Crow people do not think in a linear fashion, but think more in a circular pattern. When nurses ask the client to rate the severity of pain on a 0-10 point scale, the traditional Crow client is not able to provide the nurse with an answer.

The findings of this study show the importance of the nurse to describe painful events, therapies or treatments in such a way to include the purpose and possible outcome of the painful event. The pain is endured more easily if the traditional Crow person knows and understands the purpose for the pain involved.

The ultimate goal for nurses is to provide culturally congruent nursing care. As nurses provide direct physical and psychosocial care to individuals, families, and groups, the cultural orientation of the
client must be assessed. Nurses will need to address the client and continue to learn about the diverse client populations served. The quality of care provided to clients of diverse cultural backgrounds will continue to improve as the nurse obtains a clear understanding of the client's cultural orientation.

The final finding of this research is consistent with Henderson & Primeaux's (1981) statement that Native Americans utilize both modern medicine and traditional Native American practices. The traditional Crow also access both types of medicine, and this is important information for nursing to embrace. There is a need for the nurse to respect and incorporate the traditional practices into the client's plan of care.

Primeaux (1977a) states that to the Native American, "Medicine and religion are inseparable" (p. 55). The traditional Crow I interviewed explain that medicine and spirituality are interwoven. No reference to religion was ever made.

Benefits

Two of the informants did experience immediate benefits from the research study. One participant experienced closure of personal issues when sharing her story. Another participant gained the inner strength and motivation needed to participate in the Crow sun dance ceremony.
Undertaking a research project that is transcultural in nature has resulted in a journey far from the ordinary. The acquisition of knowledge from the Crow culture is in itself a valued aspect of qualitative research. The personal benefit arising from the study was the deeper understanding and appreciation of the unique Crow culture.

Limitations

In this study, the sample was purposefully taken from one segment of a community. Only those Crow who self-identified themselves as traditional Crow were interviewed. Another sample of non-traditional Crow might reveal different results. Therefore, the findings of this study are not generally applicable to other Native American tribes nor to non-traditional Crow.

Because I am not a Native American, I can never experience the reality of pain from the perspective of a Native American. Because of this fact, it may have been possible that an important connection, misinterpretation of data, or opportunity to obtain additional expert data may have been overlooked during the research process.
Recommendations for Further Study

Further nursing research is needed relating to the cultural needs, issues, and health care of Native Americans. Several specific areas are in need of further investigation:

1. Other Native American tribes or cultural groups need to be studied to identify their experience of pain. Studies need to branch out into the expanded issue of pain assessment, tolerance, expression, and perception.

2. The effects of historical pain must also be explored within Milligan's (1981) other cultural sub-groups of the Crow people. Other Native American tribes or cultural groups may be similarly affected by historical pain.

3. The concepts and taxonomy which emerged from this study needs to be verified, expanded, modified or refuted. In addition, the relationship of these concepts demands further investigation.

4. Culturally sensitive tools need to be developed which address the physiological parameters (intensity and quality), behavioral parameters (cultural teachings and response to pain), and cognitive parameters (history, experiences, and meaning) of pain assessment.
The cultural researcher's imperative and ultimate goal is to complete culturally congruent studies. The knowledge generated from culturally congruent research studies can be utilized to develop and deliver a higher quality of care to specific cultural populations the nurse is serving.
REFERENCES CITED


APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What is your definition of pain?
- Could you tell me about the pain Crow people experience?
- Could you tell me about the pain your ancestors experienced?
- Could you tell me about the pain you have experienced?
- Could you tell me about the pain your children and grandchildren will experience in the future?
- Do Crow people experience pain?
- Are there different kinds of pain?
- Could you tell me an example of these different kinds of pain?
# APPENDIX B

## TAXONOMY OF CROW PAIN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GOOD</th>
<th>HURT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHILDBIRTH</td>
<td>SURGERY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HARD WORK</td>
<td>SUN DANCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RUNNING / EXERCISE</td>
<td>DEATH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PA I N</th>
<th>BAD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOSS</td>
<td>RESPECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAIN</td>
<td>SPACE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HURT</th>
<th>BAD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TRADITION</td>
<td>SPACE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRIBAL RESPECT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELDERS, CHIEFS, WISE ONES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRIDE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIGNITY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESPECT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HARD-</th>
<th>ILLNESS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SHIPS</td>
<td>Physical Pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emotional Pain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISCRIMINATION</th>
<th>SOCIAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>Drugs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental</td>
<td>Alcohol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separation</td>
<td>Economic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>