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FACTORS WHICH AFFECT TRADITIONALISM OF NAVAJO HIGH SCHOOL  
STUDENTS

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

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FACTORS WHICH AFFECT TRADITIONALISM OF  
NAVAJO HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

by

Steven Franklin Dingle

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the  
SCHOOL OF HOME ECONOMICS

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
For the Degree of

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In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

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STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

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A number of people have been instrumental in seeing me through the trials and tribulations of the last two years, and I would like to single out a few for special acknowledgments. To Barry Bainton and Monika Escher: Thanks for tolerating my many strange ways and stimulating my oft-sagging intellect. To my Committee members Bob Kuehl and Carl Ridley: Thanks for your assistance and your input to my education. To Vic Christopherson, Chairman of my Committee, Major Professor and friend: I can't really thank you enough for your patience, assistance, and support. Finally, to my wife Marianne: Thanks for putting up with a professional student; some day it may be worth it.

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## ABSTRACT

Under the assimilationist perspective, the more exposure a young Navajo has to the dominant Anglo culture, the less traditional he will be with respect to his own cultural values. Using data collected from Navajo high school students residing in a B.I.A. boarding school in Northern Arizona, this study explored the relationship between the students' overall traditionalism (in terms of the Navajo culture) and certain demographic variables (measuring proximity to the Anglo culture). Significant findings indicated that males were more traditional than females and that upper-classmen tended to be less traditional than lower-classmen. Overall, it was concluded that there was little systematic and reliable evidence which supported the assimilationist perspective.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The Navajo people, one of the largest Native American tribes in North America, are beset with a number of serious economic and social problems which include poverty, alcoholism, and lack of education. In response to these problems, both government and social service agencies have attempted to isolate the major factors which contribute to the Navajos' economic and social marginality. Central to the policies of these agencies is the concept of assimilation. Many authorities responsible for setting Indian policies believe that the traditional values of the Navajo people often impede their movement through the institutions of Anglo society, thereby nullifying many economic and educational opportunities. The same individuals often assume that only through continued and structured exposure to the Anglo way of life can the Navajo people gain some measure of relief from their current problems.

Despite the pervasiveness of the assimilationist perspective, there has been no systematic evidence that exposure to the dominant Anglo culture in any way influences the Navajo value system. The research presented here attempts to clarify the matter by investigating the relationship between certain demographic variables which indicate exposure to Anglo culture and the traditionalism of Navajo high school

students. Traditionalism, here, refers to an individual's score on the Traditional Index, which is composed of items which reflect traditional Navajo values.

Exposure to the dominant Anglo culture is measured by five major demographic variables: distance the Navajo student lived from the nearest town during his childhood years, the number of times he visited the nearest town during these same years, the size of his home community, the year of school that the student is in, and the educational level of the Navajo students' parents. The main assumptions are that the closer one lives to a larger town, the more often he visits this town, the larger his home community, and the longer he remains in school, the more contact he has with the dominant Anglo culture. Furthermore, the more education that the parents have, the more acculturated to Anglo society they are. Consequently, the child of more acculturated parents will tend to have more exposure to the Anglo value system. Implicit in these variables also is the assumption that the amount of exposure to the Anglo culture the student received in his childhood years has a greater effect on his value system than current contact with the Anglo culture.

It is expected that the more exposure a young Navajo has to the Anglo society, the more his value system will resemble that present in the dominant Anglo culture. Such a phenomenon will then be reflected in a decrease in the overall traditionalism of the Navajo adolescent. Specifically, the research hypotheses guiding this study, stated in the direction of the expected differences, are:

1. The larger the student's home community, the lower his Traditional Index score will be.

2. The closer the Navajo child lived to the nearest town, the lower his Traditional Index score will be.

3. The more often a Navajo child visited the nearest town to his home community, the lower his Traditional Index score will be.

4. The longer that the Navajo student has been in school, the lower his Traditional Index score will be.

5. The more education that a Navajo student's mother has, the lower his Traditional Index score will be.

6. The more education that a Navajo student's father has, the lower his Traditional Index score will be.

7. There is no difference between males and females with respect to their scores on the Traditional Index.

It is anticipated that support of these hypotheses will provide some evidence of the validity of the assimilation theory. If the hypotheses are not supported by the data, then alternative explanations will be discussed.

## CHAPTER 2

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The Navajo people constitute one of the largest Native American tribes in North America, numbering approximately 150,000 individuals with an annual growth rate of 2.5 per cent. Their federally allocated lands cover more than 24,000 miles extending through the North-East corner of Arizona and the Four Corners area. Despite the size of the Reservation, there has been little economic or agriculture development since the Navajos were granted the lands in the 1880's. It has in fact been estimated that the Reservation in its current state of development could at best minimally support a population of 35,000 (Gilbreath, 1973). Such conditions force certain economic and social realities on the Reservation inhabitants: poverty (the average Navajo per capita income in 1970 was 831 dollars), poor educational opportunities (most Navajos have not received more than a fifth grade education), unemployment (unemployment statistics range from 43 to 66 per cent), and social isolation (Gilbreath, 1973; Sanchez, 1967; Ruffing, 1974).

The high unemployment rate and the poor employment opportunities on the Reservation have forced many Reservation inhabitants to leave their homes in search of a sufficient wage. However, it was soon discovered that the majority of the Navajos did not have the necessary training to secure adequate employment. To relieve this problem, the Bureau of Indian Affairs developed their urban relocation programs.

These programs attempted to train young Indians in marketable technical skills and to secure employment for these graduates in urban areas throughout the United States. After implementation of the urban relocation programs, it became increasingly clear that the Bureau's efforts were only meeting with minimal success (Synder, 1973).

That relocated Navajos have difficulty in adjusting to their new urban homes can be inferred from self-reports, high return rates to the Reservation, high arrest rates, and the problem of urban Indian alcoholism (Graves, 1973; Graves and Van Arsdale, 1966). Graves (1973, p. 40) states the problem very clearly:

Indian migrants to an urban center have a particularly difficult adjustment problem. Not only do they generally enter at the bottom of the job market, but they also are likely to have inadequate skills for coping with the many complexities of urban life: poor schooling and vocational training, poor English, and little experience off the reservation. These liabilities are compounded in that migration forced them to leave a supportive network of family and friends and a reservation home that provided many social, recreational, and spiritual rewards. Thus, the pursuit of economic goals, often frustrating for them because of the relatively poor pay, also requires them to sacrifice many other goals of life that they value highly.

Perhaps the problem would be less pressing if the young Navajos were content to align themselves with the status quo manifested by the older Indian sector. Unfortunately, at least in terms of future disappointment, Navajo high school students seem to hold relatively high aspirations and expectations for income, occupation, and education (Stout, 1976; Despain, 1965). Seemingly more significant is that the more traditional Indian sector, the parents and the grandparents, seem to support similar goals for their children and grandchildren (Christopherson and Dingle, 1980).

### The Culture of Poverty and the Assimilation Theories

In response to the problem facing the Navajo people, professionals in both academia and government have supported two major perspectives as the means to alleviate the Navajo condition; i.e., the Culture of Poverty theory, and the Assimilation theory. The Culture of Poverty theory broadly asserts that those who find themselves in the poverty class, for whatever historical reasons, acquire a value and belief system congruent with their status and its accompanying limitations. This process results in a self-perpetuating poverty-ridden way of life which is passed on from generation to generation and serves as a barrier to economic improvement and social mobility. A brief exegesis, as well as a test of this theory as it applies to the Navajo Indians living in Denver, Colorado, is given by Graves (1974).

Graves' major premise was that the Navajo values which were discordant with those of the middle-class society would serve to contribute to economic marginality. Furthermore, the resulting economic stress would reinforce those initially discordant values. Using the traits of external locus of control, low achievement motivation, and lack of time perspective, he found no association between a middle-class orientation on these measures and several indices of economic achievement in a city. He concluded that the Culture of Poverty theory has little to recommend its validity in this setting.

The assimilationist perspective has by far been the most widely recommended means through which Navajo marginality in the social, economic, and educational spheres can be eliminated. Despain (1965) suggests that this marginality is mainly the result

of the limited extent of the Navajos' understanding and application of democratic ideals as well as their failure to develop essential personality traits. A typical statement of the assimilationist perspective is given by Ruffing (1974, p. 15). "It has been suggested that Indian poverty will not be eradicated until Indians adopt the cultural characteristics of the American mainstream: competitiveness, profit seeking, saving and investment. Instead, it seems that the antithetical characteristics -- co-operation, sharing, and living for the present -- have not only been reinforced by the reservation conditions, but have allowed survival."

There has been evidence both for and against the effectiveness of this theory in alleviating the present Navajo difficulties. The Navajo Bordertown Dormitory project in Flagstaff, Arizona, which was designed to assist in the acculturation of Navajo high school students, was at best a minor success. The program, while emphasizing regimentation and restrictiveness, had its greatest success in teaching the students English and alienating them from the educational process (Chilcott, 1970). Assimilative forces brought to bear on the Navajo when he is in the minority may in fact be harmful to his self image (Dreyer, 1970). On the other hand, Chadwick, Bahr, and Stauss (1977), Melville (1966), and Chilcott (1970) report that, among Navajo high school students residing in different areas, assimilation has a positive effect on the students' academic performance. Whether or not this effect is mediated through the impact of assimilation on such factors as achievement motivation remains in doubt (Reboussin and Goldstein, 1966).

### Navajo Traditional Values

Historically, the Navajo people have been described as exhibiting a specific behavioral set which differs markedly from those expressed in the dominant Anglo culture. The typically Navajo values discussed below were drawn from the more anthropologically oriented works of Kluckhohn and Leighton (1962), Leighton and Kluckhohn (1947), Coolidge and Coolidge (1930), and Belding, Sparks, and Miles (1974). These values can be categorized into six major divisions.

#### Non-Aggressiveness

Navajos have been traditionally described as non-aggressive. This non-aggressiveness can be demonstrated in such behaviors as shyness, disinterest in the classroom, and the appearance of lack of motivation at work. That other groups characterize Navajos as submissive has been demonstrated by Butt and Signori (1976).

#### Indian Time Structure

Indian time has no fixed schedule. The Navajo, as part of the larger universe, would rather flow with the time of the season or with his own natural rhythm. Thus, the traditional Navajo would rather work within a non-rigid time frame. The Navajos also tend to concentrate on the present and generally demonstrate a lack of planning for the future. Current research demonstrating the effect of Indian time on Navajo migrants to Denver, Colorado, can be found in Graves (1973, 1974).

### Non-Competitiveness

Navajos traditionally have been described as non-competitive. Kluckhohn and Leighton (1962) suggest that this trait has its basis in the group orientation which pervades Navajo society. Understandably, individuals who exhibit this trait tend to remain in low paying positions, perform poorly in the classroom, and demonstrate poor business asumen.

### Non-Materialism

That the Navajo is actually non-material has been debated among some anthropolgists. What the Navajo earns he will generally share with his family and friends. While covetousness is rare and sharing common, each Indian knows what is his and what belongs to another. It is perhaps more appropriate to acknowledge that the Navajo will seek material goods such as jewelry, trucks, and livestock, but will shy away from collecting and displaying other characteristically Anglo indices of material well-being. It has been suggested that manifesting an overly lush lifestyle will result in the censure of the erring individual by the community at large and possibly generate allegations of witchcraft. Hobson (1954) discusses this aspect of Navajo materialism in detail.

### External Locus of Control

This traditional Navajo trait has been linked to the belief that the supernatural exerts a major influence on the everyday life of the Navajo. From an early age, the young Navajo learns the behavioral set necessary to ward off demonic influences, because every careless action can bring swift and terrifying supernatural retribution. The

Navajo trait of external locus of control has been verified more recently by Echohawk and Parsons (1977), Tyler and Holsinger (1975), and Graves (1974).

#### Family and Community Values

The Navajos have very deep and strong ties to their families and homes. These feelings form the basis of the structure of the community and the formation of the Indians' primary attitudes. These deep attachments lead to a respect for group decisions in all facets of life. The decision-making process is often a lengthy procedure, thus allowing all involved to participate fully. Furthermore, the Navajo refuses to compartmentalize his life into discrete units such as career, family, and recreation. Their work has a significant relationship with their total social structure, especially family life.

From an examination of these traditional values, it is a small step to project the degree of difficulty that a traditional Navajo would experience in the Anglo society. Belding et al. (1974) have suggested that most of the problems which currently face the Navajos in the occupational and educational arenas have their roots in the cross-cultural value clashes. Up until this time, however, there has been no systematic research done on the impact that an individual's proximity to the dominant Anglo culture has on his overall traditionalism. Since this assumption is implicit in the assimilationist perspective, the need to test its validity is clear. The research presented here attempts to address this issue.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODS

In the Fall of 1978, questionnaire data were obtained from the students at the Many Farms High School, a boarding school under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs located in northern Arizona. The Many Farms school is composed entirely of Navajo Indians, most of whom come from relatively isolated areas of the Former Joint Use Area. All students present on the administration date were asked to complete the questionnaire during their first period class. In order to minimize reactive effects, the only non-students present during the testing period were the home room teachers. In this way 426 completed questionnaires were obtained from a reported sample size of 600 students to yield a response rate of 64.5%.

#### The Instrument

The questionnaire was composed of 79 items arranged in both an open-ended and a close-ended format. These questions formed the basis of a larger regional project designed to assess the development of social competence among rural youth. Specifically included in the questionnaire were fifteen items designed to assess traditional attitudes. These items were constructed so as to measure five of the six traditional variables described above: indian time structure, non-

aggressiveness, non-competitiveness, non-materialism, and family and community bonds. These fifteen items formed the basis for a more detailed analysis of traditional attitudes.

### The Traditional Index

The responses to the fifteen items were dichotomized into both traditional (a score of "1") and non-traditional (a score of "0") responses. These items, the available responses, and the scores assigned to each response are given in Appendix A. Each individual's scores on these fifteen items were then summed and interpreted as a measure of that individual's total traditionalism. The binary response to each item in the cumulative index was then compared to the entire index (minus the effect of the item under investigation) by the Mann-Wilcoxon Rank Sum test ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ). For example, for the item involving punctuality, the traditional group (those who answered "Not Important" or "Slightly Important") was compared to the non-traditional group (those who answered "Quite Important" or "Very Important") with respect to their scores on the cumulative index, minus the effect of the punctuality item. The results of this procedure indicated that five of the original fifteen items did not correlate with the cumulative index. These items were then deleted from the index and the procedure repeated with the abbreviated index. This second analysis provided evidence at the .10 level of significance that the abbreviated ten item cumulative index was internally valid. The p-values and the items included in the index are reported in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Items Comprising the Traditional Index

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>P-Value**</u>
Where do you want to work after you finish school?	(.315)
If you had a choice, would you rather work away from your family or near your family?	(.11)
Is assertativeness important?*	.011
How often have you been included in family decisions?	(.15)
Is punctuality important?*	.014
A son or daughter may leave the reservation for awhile, but he/she should return as soon as possible to stay.*	.075
A girl should learn to be a good wife and mother.	(.252)
If a teacher marked a student's answer wrong on a test that the student knew was correct, he shouldn't tell the teacher.*	.014
A job is posted on the bulletin board where a friend works. He would like this job better than the one he has now, but in order to get the job he must go and see the head of the company. He decided not to go. Do you agree with his decision?	.050
Suppose you had a good job in Los Angeles, California, and your mother sent word to you that she wanted you to come back and live on the reservation. Your boss said that he wanted you to stay at work. What would you do?*	.07
It is important for a person to be at work at a certain time and not to leave until a certain time.*	.002

TABLE 1  
(continued)

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>P-Value**</u>
I feel comfortable working an eight-hour day.*	.002
If a worker knew a way to improve his/her job situation, he/she should tell the job supervisor.*	.000
Everyone should try to be at the top of their school class.*	.011
What are some things that you don't like about school?	(.400)

---

\*The items included in the Traditional Index.

\*\*The p-value listed are obtained from the Mann-Whitney-Wilcoxon procedure as described in the text. The p-values in parenthesis were obtained from the item analysis of the entire fifteen item index. The remainder of the p-values were obtained from the item analysis of the ten item abbreviated index.

Since only 20 per cent of the questionnaires yielded responses to all ten items included in the index, some method for handling missing data was required. After investigating many different approaches, the following algorithm was selected: after excluding from the study those individuals who did not answer at least one-half of the items included in the index, the scores of the remaining individuals were divided by the number of items they respectively completed. The resulting quotient was then multiplied by ten to yield a score interpretable in the original scale of the index. This adjusted scale is referred to as the Traditional Index throughout the remainder of this presentation. The frequency distribution and the summary statistics for the Traditional Index are given in Table 2. The directionality of the Traditional Index is directly related to the traditionalism of the individuals, i.e., the higher the score on the Traditional Index, the more traditional the individual is.

The Traditional Index scores were then compared to the normal distribution by means of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test. Despite the conservative nature of this test with estimated parameters, the p-value ( $p = .0001$ ,  $D = .1662$ ,  $N = 366$ ) indicated that a transformation of the data was in order. However, since the transformations commonly used to normalize data were not satisfactory, non-parametric methods of analysis seemed appropriate. The methods used in the following analyses are the Kruskal-Wallis One Way ANOVA test and the Mann-Whitney-Wilcoxon Rank Sum test. Multiple comparisons among the groups found to be significantly different in the Kruskal-Wallis procedure are carried out as suggested by Gibbons (1976) with  $\alpha = .15$ .

TABLE 2

The Frequency Distribution and the Summary Statistics  
For the Traditional Index

<u>SCORE</u>	<u>FREQUENCY</u>	<u>PERCENT</u>	<u>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</u>
0 - .99	31	8.47%	8.47%
1.0 - 1.99	68	18.58%	27.05%
2.0 - 2.99	103	28.14%	55.19%
3.0 - 3.99	77	21.04%	76.23%
4.0 - 4.99	38	10.38%	86.61%
5.0 - 5.99	33	9.02%	95.63%
6.0 - 6.99	11	3.01%	98.64%
7.0	5	1.36%	100.00%
Total	366	100.00%	100.0%

Mean = 2.53

Median = 2.039

Mode = 2.000

SD = 1.559

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS

The relationship between the Traditional Index and the size of home community ( $X^2 = 1.934$ ,  $p = .3805$ ), distance from nearest town ( $X^2 = 4.8908$ ,  $p = .1800$ ), frequency of visits to town ( $X^2 = 3.0904$ ,  $p = .3779$ ), and grade in school ( $X^2 = 16.7085$ ,  $p = .0008$ ) is shown in Table 3. The Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA test results demonstrate that the only significant differences at the  $\alpha = .05$  level are found between the mean ranks of the response categories in the variable "What grade are you in school?". The mean ranks in this variable decrease from Freshman to Senior, indicating that traditionalism decreases as the students' grade in school increases. Using the method of multiple comparisons, the only significant differences between the four categories of school class at the .15 level are between the mean ranks of the Freshman and Senior classes, and between those of the Sophomore and Senior classes. The only other systematic relationships among the response categories in the remaining non-significant variables are found in "What is the size of the community where you live?". These relationships parallel that found in grade of school, with the mean ranks increasing as the size of the home community increases.

The relationship between the students' scores on the Traditional Index and the educational level of the mother ( $Z = .5561$ ,  $p = .2890$ ),

the educational level of the father ( $Z = .8801$ ,  $p = .894$ ), and the students' gender ( $Z = 1.9463$ ,  $p = .050$ ) is presented in Table 4. The only significantly different mean ranks at the .05 level were found to be between males and females. The higher mean rank on the Traditional Index for males indicates that males in this high school tend to be more traditional than their female counterparts. The mean ranks of the two educational levels for both parents, while not being significantly different, indicate that in both parents' cases, the higher level of education produced a lower mean rank on the Traditional Index.

TABLE 3

Results of the Kruskal-Wallis One-Way ANOVA Test  
With The Traditional Index as the Dependent Variable

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What is the size of the community where you live?

<u>Response</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>Mean Rank</u>
Less than 50 people	106	32.5%	173.7
51 to 100 people	113	34.7%	159.9
201 to 500 people	107	32.8%	157.2
Total	326	100.0%	

Chi-square = 1.934      p = .3805      df = 2

How far do you live from the nearest town?

<u>Response</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>Mean Rank</u>
1 to 10 miles	132	37.0%	180.7
10 to 20 miles	73	20.4%	156.5
20 to 50 miles	69	19.3%	186.1
More than 50 miles	83	23.2%	190.2
Total	357	100.0%	

Chi-square = 4.8909      p = .1800      df = 3

TABLE 3  
(continued)

When you were growing up, how many times did you go to town?

<u>Response</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>Mean Rank</u>
More than twice a week	118	32.5%	175.4
Once a week	98	27.0%	179.8
Twice a month	62	17.1%	202.8
Once a month or less	85	23.4%	178.6
Total	363	100.0%	
Chi-square = 3.0904      p = .3779      df = 3			

What grade are you in school?

<u>Response</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>Mean Rank</u>
Freshman	108	29.9%	201.3 <sup>a</sup>
Sophomore	101	28.0%	193.6 <sup>b</sup>
Junior	92	25.5%	171.1
Senior	60	16.6%	138.4 <sup>a,b</sup>
Total	361	100.0%	
Chi-square = 16.7085      p = .0008      df = 3			

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<sup>a,b</sup> mean ranks with the same letter are significantly different at the .15 level.

TABLE 4

Results of the Mann-Whitney-Wilcoxon Test With  
The Traditional Index as the Dependent Variable

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Sex of the Respondent

<u>Response</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>Mean Rank</u>
Male	158	43.6%	193.5
Female	204	56.4%	172.2
Total	362	100.0%	

Z-score = 1.9463    p = .050

What is the highest grade in school your mother completed?

<u>Response</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>Mean Rank</u>
8th grade or less	219	77.9%	142.4
More than 8th grade	62	22.1%	136.0
Total	281	100.0%	

Z-score = .5561    p = .2890

What is the highest grade in school your father completed?

<u>Response</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>Mean Rank</u>
8th grade or less	209	71.8%	148.7
More than 8th grade	82	28.2%	139.1
Total	291	100.0%	

Z-score = .8801    p = .1994

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Note: The p-values are for the two-sided alternative

## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION

Under the assimilationist perspective, the more exposed a Navajo is to the Anglo culture, the less traditional he will be. The results of this study indicate that, of the original seven hypotheses, the only three which supported the original thesis were the educational level of the mother, the educational level of the father, and the respondent's grade in school. Of these three, only the respondent's grade in school proved to be significant at the  $\alpha = .05$  level.

However, the significant differences found in the respondent's grade in school with respect to his scores on the Traditional Index can be traced to potential causes other than assimilation forces. It is conceivable that the more traditional Navajo students have never progressed to the upper-class ranks. On the other hand, it is possible that the older, more traditional Navajo students are more often absent from class than their less traditional peers. In either case, the upper-classmen would evince lower scores on the Traditional Index than lower-classmen. The final conclusion to be drawn is that, due to a lack of significant evidence and the presence of conflicting explanations, the assimilationist perspective can not be wholly supported by the data analyzed here.

The higher scores on the Traditional Index manifested by males relative to females was unexpected. Sources on the Reservation indicated that Freshman and Sophomore adolescent females experience a marked period of rebelliousness. It was further indicated that these same females tend to progress through this stage into a more traditional way of life in their later school years (Mr. Steve Allman, B.I.A., Chinle, Arizona, personal communication). Thus, if a significant difference were found, females should tend to be more traditional in an overall sense than males. In the absence of a test of interaction between sex and grade in school, it was not possible to adequately investigate this proposition. Furthermore, it is conceivable that females are more susceptible to assimilative forces than males. Only further research can clarify this alternative.

As a result of major methodological complications, it is important to note that this research does not absolutely test the assumptions inherent in the assimilationist perspective. First of all, since the Traditional Index has not been shown to be either valid or reliable it is difficult to assert without reservation that the Index actually measures traditionalism. Secondly, the operational definitions of the major research hypotheses are not finely tuned, and the response categories of the independent variables tend to be imprecise. Finally, the total instrument was not rigorously pretested. This fact, along with the special problems that arise when survey methods are used among the Navajos, introduces some uncertainty as to whether or not the items included in the instrument were interpreted correctly.

Further refinements of the Traditional Index, the independent variables, and the survey methods to be used may yield more convincing conclusions. After the Traditional Index has been more fully tested among different Navajo populations and demonstrated to be valid and reliable, more precise and valid measures of the independent variables can be designed. It is suggested that better results could be obtained through more adequate survey methods supplemented by personal interviews and case histories. Once this data set has been collected, regression analysis might yield a more complete picture of the relationship between an individual's traditionalism and his proximity to the Anglo culture.

## APPENDIX A

### Questions Included in the Traditional Index

<u>Question</u>	<u>Responses</u>	<u>Score</u>
Where do you want to work after you finish school?	On the Reservation	1
	Off the Reservation	0
If you had a choice, would you rather work	Where the family is	1
	Away from the family	0
Is assertiveness*	Not Important	1
	Slightly Important	1
	Quite Important	0
	Very Important	0
How often have you been included in family decisions?	Always	1
	Sometimes	1
	Rarely	0
	Never	0
Is punctuality*	Not Important	1
	Slightly Important	1
	Quite Important	0
	Very Important	0
A son or daughter may leave the reservation for awhile, but he/she should return as soon as possible to stay.*	Strongly Agree	1
	Agree	1
	Strongly Disagree	0
	Disagree	0
A girl should learn to be a good wife and mother	Strongly Agree	1
	Agree	1
	Strongly Disagree	0
	Disagree	0

<u>Question</u>	<u>Response</u>	<u>Score</u>
If a teacher marked a student's answer wrong on a test that the student knew was correct, he shouldn't tell the teacher.*	Strongly Agree	1
	Agree	1
	Strongly Disagree	0
	Disagree	0
A job is posted on a bulletin board where a friend works. He/She would like this job better than the one he/she has now, but in order to get this new job he must go and see the head of the company. He decided not to go. Do you agree with his decision?*	Strongly Agree	1
	Agree	1
	Strongly Disagree	0
	Disagree	0
Suppose you had a good job in Los Angeles, California, and your mother sent word to you that she wanted you to come back and live on the reservation. Your boss said that he wanted you to stay at work. What would you do?*	Return home	1
	Stay at work	0
It is important for a person to learn to be at work at a certain time and not to leave until a certain time.*	Strongly Agree	1
	Agree	1
	Disagree	0
	Strongly Disagree	0
I feel comfortable working an eight-hour day.*	Strongly Agree	1
	Agree	1
	Strongly Disagree	0
	Disagree	0

<u>Question</u>	<u>Response</u>	<u>Score</u>
If a worker knew a way to improve his/her job situation, he/she should tell the job supervisor.*	Strongly Agree	0
	Agree	0
	Strongly Disagree	1
	Disagree	1
Everyone should be at the top of their school class.*	Strongly Agree	0
	Agree	0
	Disagree	1
	Strongly Disagree	1
What are some of things that you don't like about school (circle all that apply).	Teachers don't teach well	0
	Having to talk in class	1
	Too much competition	1
	English too difficult	0
	Not enough teaching about Indian things	0
	Too much punishment	0
	Schools are too far away from home	0
	It takes too long to graduate	1
	School doesn't prepare you for what you want to do	0

\*Questions that were included in the final Traditional Index

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