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A Survey of Selected Employers and Placement Counselors to Determine Sociocultural Factors in the Work Adjustment of Navajo Students in Box Elder County, Utah

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A SURVEY OF SELECTED EMPLOYERS AND PLACEMENT COUNSELORS
TO DETERMINE SOCIOCULTURAL FACTORS IN THE WORK
ADJUSTMENT OF NAVAJO STUDENTS IN
BOX ELDER COUNTY, UTAH

by

Dolores M. Keller

A report submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

Business Education

Plan B

Approved:

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY
Logan, Utah

1980

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Dolores M. Keller

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The primary goal of vocational education is to prepare the student to successfully enter the world of work. While the present educational structure seems to work well for most Anglo-American students, there is evidence that the system is not effective with minority students. For example, in the case of Navajo students in government-sponsored technical schools, the dropout rate (60 percent) suggests that for Native American students there are serious problems in the educational process which need to be investigated and understood.¹

Because of the sharply different cultural background of the Navajo student a formidable barrier frequently exists between student and educator, and the quality of their relationship is impaired. Furthermore, a lack of understanding of the sociocultural background of the Navajo student frequently affects the attitudes and the behavior of the teacher.

Problems affecting the success of the Navajo student in school also extend into the work experience situation when he enters into the work world. Thus, the traditional background of the Navajo student can be an important factor in the success or failure of his work adjustment and work performance.

Many aspects of life have a significant influence on behavior; therefore, any understanding of employee behavior must be preceded by study and understanding of the culture in which they live . . . basic values are so well ingrained that they

are very difficult to change, even before a person finishes high school. They influence the amount of education one seeks, how hard one works on the job, and the way in which one cooperates with fellow workers and managers. The basic relationship is that culture off the job affects on-the-job performance.²

Statement of the Problem

The problem of this study is to determine whether there are recurring behavioral traits of Navajo students in their work experience placements which can be related to known social and cultural factors in their traditional background. The specific questions to be answered are:

1. What are some of the behavioral traits of Navajo students which are considered important in the performance of their work by their employers?
2. Are these behavioral traits of Navajo students related to known social and cultural factors in their background?
3. How do Navajo students compare with White students when employers evaluate the same characteristics in working Whites?

Importance of the Study

Efforts to improve the socioeconomic status of minority groups, of which the American Indian is an example, have become widespread in government and business. New hiring and training programs to aid Indians are increasing in number. Recognizing that education is probably the most effective solution to many economic and social problems of the minorities, leading educators and government officials are emphasizing the need for more studies of educational problems of racial and ethnic groups.³

Fifield and Bartholome have specifically targeted education as "the only hope for the future" of the "socially disadvantaged."⁴ However, the quantity and effectiveness of present minority education have been seriously challenged. The need for better programs has been stressed by some authorities in education.⁵

In view of the increasing concern for the education of minorities more research is needed. Research should provide objective baseline data for improved educational programs and techniques applicable to minorities in America. The findings of this proposed study may contribute to a better understanding of the ways in which the traditional background of the Navajo student affects his particular learning and work adjustment performance in vocational education.

Scope of the Study

This research was limited to a survey of selected employers and placement counselors in Box Elder County, Utah. These people were interviewed regarding their perceptions of Navajo and White students who have worked while attending school. The investigation was delimited to include only junior and senior high school students who have attended Box Elder and Bear River High Schools and the Intermountain Indian School during the past five years. The researcher was concerned only with certain behavioral traits of students which might be related to their cultural background.

Definition of Terms

Minority groups is a term used in sociology and anthropology to identify a sub-population of racial or ethnic characteristics different

from the dominant group.⁶ Sometimes the definition is expanded to include the idea that the minority group is a target of collective discrimination and suffer low social status.⁷

Racial minority is a group of people distinguished from the dominant group with whom they live by inherited physical characteristics, such as skin color, hair color or hair form, or other traits.

Ethnic minority is a group of people who are distinguishable from the majority of people in a society or community with whom they live by socially acquired behavioral traits, such as language, religion, values, or other customs.

Work experience will be used to refer to temporary employment of the student at various business places in the community. This work is usually related to the type of technical training the student is receiving at school but may not be supervised placement.

Work performance will refer to particular behavioral characteristics of the student as he learns and performs the tasks of his job as required by his employer.

Work adjustment will mean the successful performance of the student in his or her work role and situation. This adjustment can be determined on the one hand by the judgments by the employer of the degree to which the student satisfactorily fulfills the work expectation of the job. However, from the standpoint of the student, successful work adjustment must also include his or her satisfactions with the job and its requirements. Only the perceptions and judgments of the employers will be studied in this research.

Employers' perceptions of work adjustment will refer to observations and judgments of the employer regarding particular behavioral traits of Navajo students which affect the adequacy of task performance of these students on the job.

Behavioral traits will refer to traditional customs of thinking and acting of the Navajo people as a tribe. Various patterns of behavior characteristics of the Navajo today as a changing minority group in modern American society will also be considered as sociocultural traits.

Limitations

Because there are not many employers of Navajo students in the area satisfactory for this study, the results of this investigation are limited by the small size of the sample (18). The data reported are based only on the responses of the 18. They may not be generalized to the population.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

There is general agreement that American Indians have considerable difficulty in making a successful economic adjustment when they move from their reservations to the city. With education and vocational training playing a vital role in the adjustment process, much research has been recently directed toward the goal of understanding the problems of Indian education. The following literature dealing with cultural factors in the problems of Indian education and vocational adjustment will be reviewed. The study of the role of cultural factors in educational problems of the Navajo is of primary importance to the researcher.

Cultural Factors and Vocational Adjustment

In 1956, the eighty-fourth Congress enacted Public Law 956 authorizing the Bureau of Indian Affairs to provide Indians with vocational and on-the-job training. Under this program several hundred Navajos, mostly adults were relocated in Denver, Colorado for training. This group was studied by Weppner.⁸ He found that successful employment and adjustment were hampered more by cultural factors in the background of the Navajo than by a lack of technical skills. Navajo Indians and their employers were interviewed. Such traits as passivity, belief that the individual has little control over external events and his own

future, and the lack of a value for competition were found to be significant factors in unsuccessful adjustment of the "leavers" (those who left the city and returned to the reservation).

The late Clyde Kluckhohn, the foremost authority on the Navajo culture, has explained many of the problems of the Navajo in transition from their traditional way of life to a partial assimilation into Anglo-American society.⁹ From his lifelong study of this tribe, he found that the Navajo traditionally perceive the outside world, especially that of the Anglo, as hostile and extremely dangerous. Their term for the Anglo is "bilagaana," which also carries the connotation of stranger or even enemy. Thus, an important aspect of their traditional world-view (cognitive orientation) is that the Anglo is not to be trusted. Furthermore, security is to be found on the reservation and among his relatives.

Graves has also studied Navajo migrants in the Denver urban setting between 1963 and 1968.¹⁰ His research relates excessive drinking and the high frequency of drunkenness charges against Navajos to their low economic and social status. While drinking is not in itself a traditional Navajo culture trait, it is becoming widespread among Navajos today. Drinking and its behavioral consequences impair the work efficiency of Navajos on the job.

Another related study investigating problems of the urbanization of the American Indian is Hurt's research on the Yankton Sioux of South Dakota.¹¹ He found that, in general, these Indians moving to Yankton, South Dakota, lacked sufficient technical training. They also lacked

initiative in job performance, regularity and punctuality in work habits.

Hurt identifies alcoholism and excessive drinking as "a problem that plagues Indians in Yankton as it does most other North American Indian groups." Explaining drinking problems, Hurt claims that they are due to a lack of social integration and recreational activities for urban Indians. Drinking problems are aggravated by inadequate occupational adjustment in the city. In turn, drinking related behavior seriously affects the work performance of the Yankton migrant. Thus, work adjustment of Yankton Sioux moving to the city is hampered by social and cultural factors related to the cultural background of the migrants.

In a study of Indian education on the San Carlos reservation of the Apache (a tribe closely related to the Navajo), Parmee has cited the importance of traditional Indian values in the educational problems of the Apache.

Thus it becomes evident that, through the years, traditional values have operated to prevent the San Carlos from becoming aware of a necessary shift in work habits, orientation to kin and sociability. . . . In place of sustained work and thrift, which alone can contribute capital for present and future needs, they (Apaches) retain a traditional work pattern based on periodic and irregular activity. Instead of stressing individual enterprise and responsibility for personal needs within a narrow family unit, they emphasize voluntary cooperation and the sharing of surplus within extended kin groups. They are prone to remain within comfortable range of neighbors and kin. San Carlos Apache values are in direct opposition to the demands of today's market economy.¹²

Although this quotation refers to Apache youth, the pattern is nearly identical for the Navajo, since their languages and cultures are very similar. Parmee's research corresponds, in its objectives, to that of the writer.

Because the success of urban adjustment of migrant Navajos is affected by their traditional values and their previous education, it is useful to examine studies of the relocated Navajo. In a study of relocated Navajos in Denver, Graves states:

The model of economic adjustment adopted is a simple linear one. It can be assumed that a migrant's economic adjustment in the city depends largely on his capacity to display salable productive skills. This, in turn, is a function of his premigration background and training, his education (especially in work experience).¹³

Graves concludes that conflicts in value orientations between the traditional Navajo culture and those of the Western society figure prominently in the problems of adequate adjustment of the Navajo migrant to the city. Even those Navajos who had remained in Denver for some time (in contrast to the "leavers," who had returned to the reservation) had made, what appeared to the researchers, only a "tenuous adaptation." The basic problem in adjustment was the Navajos' lack of Western values which are basic to the urban-industrial system; delayed gratification, planning ahead, hard work, saving, education, sobriety, and future orientation.

Grave's study of Navajo migrants indicates that the same cultural factors, especially values, which are important causes of maladjustment in education continue to be causative factors in maladaptation to work when the Navajos move to the city.

Cultural Factors and Indian Education

Kelly has also pinpointed some general values and cultural characteristics of the American Indians which are relevant to the educational process.¹⁴ Most important are those Indian values which contrast to

Anglo-American values for achievement, accumulation of wealth, patterns of conspicuous consumption, and economical management of time and money. With modern schools geared to this value system, most American Indian youth are confronted with values and educational objectives which conflict with his native culture.

Fifield and Bartholome have focused on education as the only means of helping the disadvantaged.¹⁵ They distinguish between two distinct populations of disadvantaged minorities; the physically and mentally disadvantaged; and the socially disadvantaged, such as the youth from cultural or social systems that are foreign to the dominant culture.

Among the basic principles of educating the socially disadvantaged appropriate to the discipline of business education is the awareness of the cultural inheritance of the minority student by the teacher. Fifield and Bartholome stated that a major problem in working with the culturally disadvantaged is the fact that the overwhelming majority of educators are from middle-class or upper middle-class backgrounds, having limited contact with the sub-cultures of our society. These authors advocate that educators should obtain a basic understanding of minority sub-cultures which can be utilized for effective planning and teaching.

In another article which proposes "mainstreaming" of minority students as an educational technique, Pepper describes the implications of cultural diversity and conflicting values in American Indian education.¹⁶ He states, "It is essential to have some understanding of the Indian child. Culture influences all aspects of learning."

An important contribution of this article to the educator is Pepper's "Comparison of Values" which is a comparison of very specific Indian values with their counterparts in the Anglo-American value system. For example, in Indian culture, excellence is determined by contributions of the individual to the group--not by personal glory from competition; cooperation is necessary for survival, rather than competition for personal advantage or status; and work is done when it is needed, rather than work is done from eight to five and Monday through Friday.

The main thesis of Pepper is that the Indian student can be "mainstreamed," that is, he can be placed in a "normal" school and in the real world. In this bicultural arrangement, however, it is imperative that the educator be trained to understand the implications of the cultural background of the Indian student as it affects his learning and his behavior.

In an account of educational problems of the Sioux, Fuchs and Havighurst explain the role of the public school as an agent of the dominant group.¹⁷ They suggest several causes for educational problems of the Sioux youth. These include cultural disharmony between the Anglo and Sioux cultures, feelings by the Indian youth that the schools are directed against them, unfamiliarity with technical urban careers and isolation from the mainstream of the dominant society.

From a study of dropouts, these authors explicitly focus on disharmony between Sioux life on the reservation and school expectations as a cause of failure in school. According to the findings of the study, Sioux school problems parallel those of other American minorities; namely, a dissimilarity between the values of the minority subculture

and the values of middle-class white culture. The Indian youth find school adjustment further complicated by deficiencies in English, cultural misunderstandings, and loneliness. These youths also find it difficult to function as individuals in a competitive school environment. Thus, sociocultural factors are cited as significant causes of educational problems associated with this particular Indian group.

Miles V. Zintz has published an article which describes some of the dominant traditional values of most American Indian groups.¹⁸ These include: present orientation (in contrast to the future orientation of Anglo culture), Indians find the essence of living in the present; inability to view time in terms of hours and minutes, time and the clock are not important; savings and competition are not important; habituation to hard work and striving is not an Indian value, especially for men; and low aspiration level, compared to Anglos.

While these are broad generalizations about most Indian cultures, particular studies dealing with the Navajo have shown that these values are applicable to the Navajo people also.

In an article describing the Southwestern Indian Polytechnical Institute at Albuquerque, New Mexico, Peterson and Cordova attribute the success of that school to its methods of teaching Indian students.¹⁹ These authors discuss their Supportive Education Program which supplements the occupational training. The background of each student is assessed, and communication and job adjustment skills are taught to those who need them. Dropouts from other schools are given special individualized treatment.

Instructors have been selected who have had experience working with Indians. Instructors are also given orientation studies and experiences to better acquaint them with Indian culture. The goal of this technical school is "to successfully prepare Indian students to assimilate with the dominant society."

Analyses of boarding schools on the Navajo reservation have shown that a lack of understanding of the cultural background of the students by Anglo educators is responsible in some degree for failure of the school system. Studies of the Chinle, Rock Point, and Rough Rock demonstration schools by Erickson reveal that the radical differences between the Navajo and the English language are more serious as handicaps to learning than previously thought.²⁰ This language factor retards the learning pace of Navajo students. As they fall farther and farther behind, they "are made to feel that they are incompetent and stupid." According to Erickson, language barriers and ridiculing of native customs is enormously destructive to the student's self-confidence, his self-image, and his ability to learn.

Many classroom problems at Chinle seem attributable to the fact that most teachers are ill-equipped by background knowledge, skill or disposition to understand and cope with Navajo students. They should 'peek over the hill' once in a while and learn about the Navajo way of life.²¹

The findings of Erickson, an authority in education at the University of Chicago, in his evaluation of government-operated grade schools are in agreement with other studies. These observations show the need to know more about the influence of cultural factors in the education of minorities in White-dominated schools. Most researchers

are in agreement that these background factors are important as handicaps to successful learning.

Kaplan has stressed the importance of language handicaps of Navajo children in schools.²² Tests administered to Indian children consistently show they score significantly lower than Caucasian pupils in verbal and non-verbal communication skills. Kaplan maintains this results in Indian children falling farther and farther behind their Caucasian peers each year they remain in school. Consequently, Indian students are usually "below average," suffer from low "self-image," and, as a group have a very high drop-out rate. Thus, Navajo language problems contribute to difficulties in the education of Navajo pupils. This, in turn, handicaps them in their job performance and in the job market.

In a "follow-up" study of a sample of Navajo graduates of the 1964 graduating class of the Intermountain Indian School at Brigham City, Utah, Salisbury investigated the relationship of scholastic achievement during high school and post-high school vocational success.²³ Surprisingly no significant relationship was found to exist between grade point averages and later vocational success. (Vocational success was defined in terms of time worked and location of jobs off the reservation.)

Salisbury did not attempt to explain the lack of correlation found. However, in another report coming from the same research, Bylund concluded that cultural and social factors (especially kinship and religion) were responsible for "pulling" the majority of graduates back to the reservation.²⁴ This return occurred within five years

after completion of high school and technical training by the graduate and taking a job off the reservation.

Summary

In order to get a perspective on the relationship of cultural factors to successful technical education and work experience of Navajo students, several types of studies have been presented. Included is literature describing related research done on the tribes, on Navajo grade schools, and on graduates of the Intermountain Indian School. Other articles and selections from books have been summarized to obtain an understanding of the basic traits and values of Navajo culture as they pertain to the research problem.

The review of related literature reveals a need for research focused specifically on cultural factors and successful work adjustment resulting from technical training at the high school level. Leading educators and researchers are in agreement that, in principle, the educational process as it concerns minorities is affected by the cultural background of the minority student. It can be concluded that what is needed now is more detailed studies in the particular ways that cultural factors affect the learning and work performance of minority students. This research will do this for Navajo high school students.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURES

In order to obtain data which will show if work performance and work adjustment characteristics of Navajo students are related to sociocultural factors in the students' backgrounds, the following procedures were used.

Questionnaires

A questionnaire was developed using selected behavioral traits which are known to be common Navajo characteristics. These trait items were chosen after a search of the anthropological literature on Navajo culture. These characteristics are relevant to work and learning.

Each question was structured to employ a Likert-type numerical continuum with a semantic opposite for each behavioral trait. In addition, two open-ended questions concluded the questionnaire.

In an attempt to improve the validity of this research, each employer was asked to answer a second, identical set of questions about his/her general evaluations or perceptions of the same behavioral traits in White students. This procedure serves as a comparison for the study of Navajo and White students. It also provides perspective for the interpretation of the mean score for each individual trait for Navajo students.

The questionnaire was pre-tested for clarity and effectiveness by administering it to three employers.

Interviewing

The researcher personally contacted employers or supervisory personnel who have been directly involved with Navajo students at selected places of employment. With the researcher present at the interview, explicit instructions pertaining to the questionnaires were provided. However, the employer himself wrote his responses to both prepared questionnaires, one for the Navajo and one for the Whites. At each interview a considerable amount of semi-directed conversation followed the respondent's completion of the questionnaire. This provided additional informal information about many work adjustment problems.

Employers were initially identified by interviewing two Navajo students themselves in Brigham City in order to determine where Navajos have worked. Additional respondents included counselors and departmental supervisors who had been involved with placement and counseling of Indian students. In all, eighteen employers and supervisors were interviewed. They completed questionnaires rating Navajo and White students in a variety of employment or work experience programs.

Analysis

Responses were tabulated for each behavioral trait on the questionnaire, means were then calculated and presented in tabular and graphic forms. Traits (either positive or negative) which had means of one or two or of four or five were identified for Navajos and White students and were considered significant findings. Supplementary data including frequencies and percentages of responses for each trait were also presented in tables. The most important traits were then analyzed in

relationship to relevant values or customs of the Navajo culture as described in anthropological literature.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

The purpose of this study was to determine if there were certain behavioral traits typical or traditional of Navajo students which affected their work experience. Eleven behavioral or personality traits were selected from the anthropological literature on the Navajo and were presented in a questionnaire to 18 employers and placement supervisors in Brigham City, Utah. These people were asked to rate each trait according to the degree to which they perceived them to be characteristic of Navajo students and handicaps to satisfactory work adjustment.

The most apparent and perhaps basic result of this study is the finding from the questionnaires that respondents perceived the Navajo to be different from the White student in several traits such as shyness, motivation, drinking, punctuality, and time management. Furthermore, these are traits which generally hamper satisfactory work adjustment for Navajo students. Non-directed discussion with the respondents verified these conclusions.

Table 1 presents the numerical mean scores of the rankings of each trait. For the Navajos, respondents were most consistent in their high rankings of three behavioral traits which affect work performance and work adjustment adversely. These were passivity or shyness (1.72), lack of achievement motivation (1.72), and not punctual (1.89). Next in

Table 1. Mean scores of behavior trait rankings of Navajo and White students

Trait	Navajo	White
Very passive or shy	1.72	3.83
Put very little effort into their work	2.83	3.22
Not concerned about "success" and achieving (in the White sense)	1.72	3.50
Don't comply with regulations or orders	2.83	3.22
Frequently lie and deceive	2.83	3.33
Not punctual	1.89	3.39
Can't manage time	2.00	3.44
Frequent drinking problems	2.11	3.44
High absenteeism	2.39	3.56
Problems with English language	2.44	4.11
Don't care about cleanliness	3.67	3.78

importance were high rankings of poor management of time (2.00) and drinking-related problems (2.11). Personal cleanliness and neatness were considered fairly typical of Navajo students (3.67). This, of course, would be considered an asset to work adjustment; and this was strongly asserted by employers and supervisors in informal discussions.

Absenteeism, while generally a problem for wage-working Navajos, did not have a high mean score (2.39). However, many respondents did rank this trait as "one" (17 percent) and "two" (39 percent) on the scale. These high rankings were offset by lower rankings of "three" (33 percent) and "four" (11 percent), mainly by respondents who had provided transportation for the trainee students to and from work. Tables 2 and 3 present frequencies and percentages for responses for each trait for Navajos and Whites, respectively.

More on the favorable side for work adaptation, most respondents ranked the Navajo students fairly well or average in such traits as industriousness (2.83), complying with regulations or instructions (2.83), and dependability and trustworthiness (2.83). The mean score of 2.44 for communication problems is skewed by one respondent's ranking of "five." Most rankings of this trait indicated that it was a problem; three (17 percent) ranked it "one," and eight (44 percent) ranked it number "two." One respondent volunteered additional comments in the open-ended question that language is a serious problem in relationships between Navajos and their employers and supervisors.

Table 1 also presents the mean scores for employers rankings of the same traits for White students. If scores of "four" or "five" were to represent rankings which would indicate behavioral characteristics of

favorable work performance or adjustment, no informant apparently thought Whites were that good. Only one trait, as might be expected was ranked high, effective communication. Fifty percent of the respondents ranked this "five" for Whites, twenty-two percent ranked it "four," and twenty-two percent ranked it "three" (see Table 3).

A significant contrast of behavioral traits between Navajos and Whites appeared in the rankings of shyness and assertiveness. Navajos were ranked 1.72 indicating extreme shyness, while Whites were ranked 3.83 which should be considered emphatically boldness. Sixty-seven percent of the respondents ranked White students "four," and eleven percent ranked them "five."

Most of the informants ranked the Navajo students and the White students about the same for cleanliness and neatness, 3.67 for Navajos and 3.78 for Whites.

Figure 1 presents frequency polygons for the ratings of each trait item of both Navajo and White students. This figure is constructed from the trait list and the scale used in the questionnaire (Appendix 1). The polygon resulting from a tabulation of the means of all the scores on the questionnaire form is a profile of the respondent's preceptions of Navajo traits.

The scale is constructed so that one (1) represents the extreme rating of the behavioral item on the left side and five (5) the extreme of the opposite trait on the right side. Three (3), thus, is a neutral position or rating. The profile for the Navajo is decidedly to the left of the scale except for cleanliness and neatness.

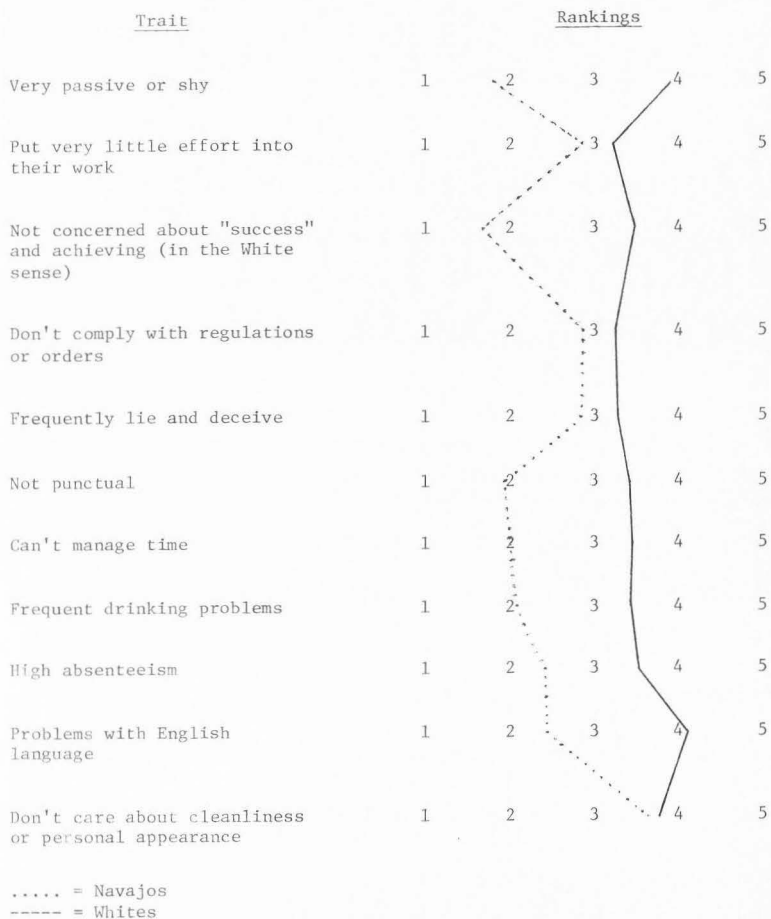


Figure 1. Comparisons of mean trait rankings of Navajo and White students.

Table 2. Frequencies and Percentage Distribution of Rankings of Behavioral Traits of Navajo Students (N = 18)

Trait	1		2		3		4		5		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Very passive or shy	5	28%	13	72%	--	--	--	--	--	--	Very assertive or bold
Put very little effort into their work	--	--	7	39	7	39%	4	22%	--	--	Very industrious
Not concerned about "success" and achieving	6	33	11	61	1	6	--	--	--	--	Highly achievement oriented
Don't comply with regulations or orders	1	6	6	33	6	33	5	28	--	--	Always comply with orders or regulations
Frequently lie and deceive	--	--	6	33	9	50	3	17	--	--	Very dependable and trustworthy
Not punctual	7	39	7	39	3	17	1	6	--	--	Very punctual
Can't manage time	5	28	9	50	3	17	1	6	--	--	Manage time well
Frequent drinking problems	5	28	8	44	3	17	2	11	--	--	Drinking never a problem
High absenteeism	3	17	7	39	6	33	2	11	--	--	Very seldom absent
Problem with English language	3	17	8	44	4	22	2	11	1	6%	Communicate effectively
Don't care about cleanliness or personal appearance	1	6	1	6	5	28	7	39	4	22	Very neat and clean

Percentages for a trait may not total 100 due to "rounding off" in calculations

Table 3. Frequencies and Percentage Distribution of Rankings of Behavioral Traits of White Students (N = 18)

Trait	1		2		3		4		5		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Very passive or shy	--	--	1	6%	3	17%	12	67%	2	11%	Very assertive or bold
Put very little effort into their work	--	--	3	17	8	44	7	39	--	--	Very industrious
Not concerned about "success" and achieving	--	--	3	17	5	28	8	44	2	11	Highly achievement oriented
Don't comply with regulations or orders	--	--	3	17	8	44	7	39	--	--	Always comply with orders or regulations
Frequently lie and deceive	--	--	1	6	11	61	5	28	1	6	Very dependable and trustworthy
Not punctual	--	--	1	6	10	56	7	39	--	--	Very punctual
Can't manage time	--	--	1	6	9	50	7	39	1	6	Manage time well
Frequent drinking problems	1	6%	1	6	7	39	7	39	2	11	Drinking never a problem
High absenteeism	--	--	1	6	7	39	9	50	1	6	Very seldom absent
Problem with English language	1	6	--	--	4	22	4	22	9	50	Communicate effectively
Don't care about cleanliness or personal appearance	--	--	--	--	8	44	6	33	4	22	Very neat and clean

Percentages for a trait may not total 100 due to "rounding off" in calculations

In the next chapter each item will be analyzed in more detail, specifically relating each one to cultural factors. However, it should be noted at this time that scores below three for all items except the last would be considered quite strongly culturally or traditionally determined. Cleanliness and neatness are generally considered cultural values of the Navajo; so a score above three would also indicate cultural factors.

Although this study was conceived and developed to research behavioral traits in work adjustment problems of Navajo students, the respondents were asked to also rate the same traits in White students as they perceived them. This procedure was done in order to provide a frame of reference for the informant when he or she rated each trait. However, more importantly, it also provides a frame of reference for comparing and interpreting the results of the survey of Navajo characteristics and problems.

For gross comparison Figure 1 includes a similar frequency polygon for White students which can be used as a profile for overall comparison of Navajos and Whites. At the same time, it provides a graphic perspective for evaluating the significance of the quantitative ratings for each of the trait items of Navajo students against the ratings of the same traits for Whites.

Overall, White students received quite average rankings for the balance of the traits listed on the questionnaire, from 3.22 to 3.56. Nevertheless, all rankings for Whites were above 3.00, while all rankings except one were below 3.00 for Navajos. Thus, one can conclude that respondents, in general, perceived behavioral differences between

Navajos and Whites in traits which are usually considered important for good work adjustment. Cultural influences on the behavior of Navajo students do impair their work performance and work adjustment.

Regarding the open-ended questions which sought additional handicaps or assets to work or learning effectiveness, few volunteered any information. However, one informant emphasized language barriers as a "major problem" for the Navajo. Another stated that Navajos feel that it is "not important for them to get to work." The same questionnaire included the statement that an asset of the Navajo is their "respect for older people." Another volunteered that Navajos are shy and "don't ask questions when they don't understand." One respondent said, "Navajos are not always honest and do not feel it is wrong to steal (from Whites). They are neat and clean; quiet, but good workers and reliable."

A very specific but interesting comment was offered by one employer in informal interviewing (an employer in health services) was that Navajos refuse to work with the dying or dead. This would be considered a behavioral handicap for those employed in health delivery services. (Quite universally, Navajos have an obsessive fear of the dead whose ghosts are extremely dangerous and whose bodies are polluting.)²⁵

On the other hand, for the Whites, answers to open-ended questions included: "They are good at meeting people;" "want to start at the top;" and "generally come from families who have taught them that work is important." In informal interview, one respondent said that White students "expect too much without working for it."

In summary, the data acquired from this survey of the perceptions of employers and placement supervisors and counselors of behavioral

traits of Navajo and White students relative to work adjustment and effectiveness have been presented in graphic form using frequency polygon charts. From these charts it can be seen that the profile of Navajos differs from that of the Whites. The numerical mean scores for each behavioral trait for both Navajos and Whites have been presented in tables in order to compare more precisely the results of the study, trait by trait. While it is apparent that Navajos and Whites are not polar opposites, the Navajos certainly have more difficulties in achieving satisfactory work adjustment than Whites when personality or behavioral traits alone are considered, according to the perceptions of their employers and supervisors.

The next problem is to investigate the reasons why Navajos have these behavioral characteristics and work adjustment problems. One possible answer to this question is that these traits are due to social or cultural factors in the background of the Navajo students. This will be dealt with in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Specifically, this study was an investigation of the work adjustment problems the Navajo youth encounter when they enter the modern business and work world of the Whites. While everyone experiences difficulties of a personal nature when he or she begins a work career, members of minority groups in the American population meet unique difficulties in this new situation. The Navajos, as members of an important minority in America, the Native Americans, have been selected as the subject group to study in examining this problem of work adjustment of minorities.

The main thesis of this research is that certain cultural factors in the background of minorities can be handicaps or even barriers to successful work adjustment of its members. These cultural factors must be identified and understood for each minority group in order to help the people of particular groups to learn the technical skills, the social skills, and the adjustment necessary for successful participation in the modern work world.

Having identified some particular behavioral traits which appear to be handicaps to work effectiveness and work adjustment for Navajo youth, the next problem in this research was to determine to what extent these behavioral traits were due to their cultural background. In order to do

this it was necessary to research the anthropological and sociological literature on the Navajo people and their traditional and present-day culture.

Analysis of Traits

Passivity and Shyness

The results of the questionnaires and of semi-directed interviews indicate that passivity and shyness are very common personality traits of the Navajo and important problem factors in work effectiveness (1.72 mean score, compared to 3.83 for White students). Because of these characteristics students are very quiet, retiring, and reluctant to ask questions or take the initiative in anything. Eye-contact and communication are exceedingly difficult to accomplish in social interaction at most times. This is especially critical in relationships between Navajos and "Anglos" (Whites) or any strangers. Traits of passivity, shyness, and withdrawal are basically cultural.

By white standards, adult Navajos are hypersensitive to shame or ridicule. . . . In the presence of strangers (especially White strangers) adults commonly manifest embarrassment. They stand with their heads hung down and are notably inarticulate. . . . Many differences in Navajo etiquette which Whites are apt to interpret as rudeness are easily understood in terms of the "shyness" concept. . . . White Americans give great praise to the "go-getter," to the person of initiative who not only accepts but seeks personal responsibility. From the White point of view Navajos often seem irresponsible at best, they will--when working for White people-- do what they are told and no more. . . . "Passivity" or "personal withdrawal" describes the Navajo attitude better than "irresponsibility."²⁶

To say that the Navajo has a "passive nature" is very true according to most people who have had extended contact with the people.

However, this behavior trait should be understood as resulting from basic cultural values and many years of training or cultural conditioning.

Put Little Effort into Their Work

The concept of "goodness" in the Navajo culture stresses productivity and industriousness for the individual; but it also includes sharing and generosity.²⁷ However, work itself is not valued.

Work is not, as it is in our Puritan tradition, a thing in itself. The Navajo believes in working only as much as he needs to. . . . Navajo ideas of accumulation are different from those of Whites. Riches are not identified with a single individual, but with a whole extended family. Indeed, the social pressure to support and share with relatives has a strong leveling effect.²⁸

However modified they may be, the basic patterns thus created in Indian life persist to the present time. Most Indians live in the present and on the principle that each day will take care of itself. They care little about wealth as such, and do not participate in White man's pattern of conspicuous consumption. They are not thrifty and they do not work and save the way their American neighbors think they should. When an Indian worker has earned enough to live on, and his kinsmen need his help, or he has something else to do, he will quit work until another day.²⁹

Although most students of Navajo culture agree that industriousness and work efficiency are not Navajo traits, the people who responded to this survey did not rank these traits as significant. Navajo students and White students were perceived to be quite similar and average in industriousness (2.83 and 3.22 respectively). This may be a trait which younger Navajos are changing from some of their traditional values.

Not Concerned about Success and Achieving

The mean of 1.72 of the rankings of Navajo success and achievement motivation was very low compared to Whites, 3.50. This is very

consistent with traditional values. It is important to understand the cultural basis for this very common characteristic of individual Navajos. Clyde Kluckhohn, perhaps the foremost authority in anthropology on the culture of the Navajo has described this behavioral orientation, as have others.

Personal excellence is a value, but personal "success" in the White American sense is not. The Navajo lack of stress upon the success goal has its basis in childhood training but is reinforced by various patterns of adult life. . . . That individual success is not a Navajo value is reflected also in the avoidance of the types of leadership which are familiar in White society. To the Navajo it is fundamentally indecent for a single individual to presume to make decisions for a group.³⁰

In Navajo native ideology there is no concept analogous to our "personal success." Parents urge their children to be industrious, but this is in order to gain security. Personal ambition--as abstracted from family welfare--is a foreign notion. The Navajo characteristically shrinks from leadership or being marked out as above his fellows. . . .³¹

Likewise, few (Navajos) have aspirations of social mobility. . . . The general lack of the kind of motivation that first generation European ethnics have exhibited toward climbing a social ladder or even amassing money and social skills to prepare themselves or their children for this climb appears to be due partially to Indian thinking of themselves in a unique Indian social niche which is alien to the White hierarchy, and partially to basic Indian inhibitions against economic planning for the future.³²

Highly important also is the fact that many fundamental Indian values are not only incompatible with those of the American culture, but work directly in opposition to the principles on which the modern competitive capitalistic order is based. They would rather share money and material goods than budget and save.³³

This trait is a striking example of the importance of cultural factors in the Navajos' background which limit the success of individual Navajos to perform well on the job, in the school, and, in general, in American society. The employer, the teacher, and the supervisor of

Navajo youth should understand that by nature (or background) the individual is not personally lazy or shiftless, but lacks the motivation and goals which are indoctrinated in most White children in their training and education. Navajos have been taught other values.

Don't Comply with Regulations

This trait was not ranked as especially typical of Navajos. Navajo students and Whites did not differ significantly in their mean scores (2.83 and 3.22 respectively). However, Downs has identified individuality as an important cultural trait of the Navajo when the person is in interaction with others and outside the family group.

The importance of the network of kin ties that is essential to individual survival is balanced by another theme that is singularly important to the Navajo. Despite close and absolutely essential familial ties, the Navajo remain highly individualistic people. Their primary social premise might be said to be that no person has the right to speak for or to direct the actions of another.³⁴

Several respondents interviewed in the present study said that Navajo certainly do comply with regulations (22 percent ranked this trait "four"). Weppener, in his study of migrant Navajos in Denver, Colorado, found that employers of these migrants characterized the Navajos as compliant.

(Navajos) desire to please and show a willingness to learn new work processes. They were complimented on their lack of a tendency to "talk back." A reticence on the part of the Navajo to be vocal about their tasks was seen as an advantage in terms of compliance to order, but as a disadvantage in some other contexts.³⁵

Perhaps this is a trait in which the subordinate status of the Navajo in the American work world, a social factor, makes him compliant and passive, at least in his outward behavior.

Frequently Lie and Deceive

This is another behavioral characteristic which respondents did not see as typical of the Navajo (mean of 2.83, near average, compared to 3.33 for Whites). However, Kluckhohn has said of the Navajo that they have a situational morality in which shame rather than guilt is the underlying control of social interaction.

Navajo morality is contextual rather than absolute. This is characteristic of "shame" as opposed to "guilt" culture. Lying is not always and everywhere wrong. The rules vary with the situation. To deceive when dealing with foreigners is a morally accepted practice. . . . Behavior that is disapproved between Navajos is acceptable with an outsider.³⁶

Although some of the respondents admitted that Navajos will make "phony excuses" and "string you along," they apparently did not agree that Navajos are generally deceitful or dishonest when they answered the questionnaire.

Not Punctual

Almost everyone who has had extensive interaction with the Navajo agrees that Navajos do not value time and are not punctual. Obviously this trait can be a drawback to successful work adjustment in business and commerce. The respondents in this survey apparently felt the same way, for they ranked this trait as significant (1.89). Kluckhohn has stated that "the unacculturated Navajo has difficulty in adjusting to clock time."³⁷

Leighton and Kluckhohn have defined this trait as highly typical of the Navajo.

Navajo conceptions of space and time are hopelessly fluid from the White point of view. White employers of Navajos are wont to complain that Navajos have no idea of the meaning of time. . . . Most White men whether urban or rural have been trained to be clock-watchers since they were infants fed on

a schedule.³⁸ The experience of Navajos has been quite different.

Navajo social and economic life is not geared to fine points of time scheduling. If a Singer says he will arrive "about noon" no one takes it amiss if he appears at sundown, though on arrival a day or more late would call for an explanation.³⁹

That a concern for time and time measurement is not typical of the Navajo is abundantly clear from studies dealing with the Navajo people. This negative value of time in regard to punctuality and time management, especially in one's work, is definitely incompatible with Anglo culture, where it is frequently said, "Time is of the essence." Thus, this conflict between Navajo and Anglo time orientations is a very serious handicap to Navajos participating in the modern world, especially in schools and in employment. A mean of 3.33 shows that Anglo students were ranked higher than Navajo students, but not much better than average.

Can't Manage Time

The respondents, with significant consistency, ranked this trait in almost the same way as the previous one, punctuality. The mean score was 2.00 for this item. Verification of the cultural basis for poor time management should be adequately documented in the treatment of punctuality, for these behavioral traits are related.

Analysis is also similar. Poor time management is incompatible with the demands of the modern economic system of the individual, whether he is White or Anglo. It should be noted that the informants interviewed in this survey ranked White students significantly higher than Navajos (3.44). Whites, of course, have been socialized in a clock-watching, calendar-conscious society, where time is very important and each day of the week is different. Quite naturally, Anglo students

would adjust to and perform more effectively than Navajos in this particular type of behavior in school or at work.

Weppner, in his study of Navajo migrant workers in Denver, noted that employers felt that Navajos could not plan ahead in their work very effectively.

One interesting attitude which Navajos as a group display when compared to Anglos was the feeling that they had very little control over external events. In other words, tests showed the degree to which each Navajo felt he had personal control over the consequences of his behavior or over the rewards and punishments which are the results of his behavior was much lower than Anglos. This may be roughly equated with the idea that the Navajo are more fatalistic about life. . . . The employer ratings on flexibility of behavior and planning ahead by Navajo migrant workers was conditioned by the Navajo's just being unable to handle changes or plan ahead, due to this fatalism. . . . Two other characteristics of the Navajo which may have worked against them were their short future time perspective and their belief that one has very little control over external events. If they were not disposed to look to the future, they could not rate very highly with their employers on their ability to plan ahead on the job.⁴⁰

Thus, the present-time orientation of the Navajo is a cultural trait that is a significant handicap to the Navajo individual in the Anglo society.

One must live from day to day as best one can. The conception of time as a "thing" or a "commodity" which can be divided by a clock and "saved" is foreign to the traditional Navajo view. In arranging interviews, for example, it was never possible to make an appointment by "clock time." Time is reckoned only crudely in terms of gross natural phenomena. "Tomorrow," or "three tomorrows," or "toward sunset" is about as precise an appointment as can be made.⁴¹

Frequent Drinking Problems

The use of alcohol has greatly increased; today alcoholism is a major mental health problem for the tribe. Coupled with auto accidents, it is a scourge for the Navajo.⁴²

Although the mean score for the rankings of drinking-related problems was 2.11 for the Navajo, 28 percent of the respondents ranked this item "one," and 44 percent ranked it "two." Most respondents felt that this is a serious problem to good work adjustment for Navajo students. The mean for rankings of the same item for Whites was 3.44; 89 percent of the individual rankings for Whites were "three," "four," or "five." Alcoholism is universally a problem of far-reaching consequences for the Navajo as well as all native American minorities.

Finding an American Indian community anywhere in the United States today where a perceptive visitor will not be confronted by overwhelming evidence of excessive drunkenness is almost impossible. . . . Most Indian leaders also recognize and lament on the high rates of social problem behavior among their members and spend considerable time and resources sponsoring alcoholism workshops, studies, committees, and AA groups.⁴³

Trying to explain this high rate of alcoholism and excessive drinking among urban Navajos in Denver, Graves proposes two factors. The first is the psychological implications of inferior and marginal status of minorities, in this case the Navajo, in modern urban industrial society--a social and cultural factor involving poverty and its handicaps. The second is also a cultural factor in which there are few peer pressures from either the traditional society (on the reservation) or the transitional society (urban groups of Navajos) to curtail or prohibit drinking. In fact, drinking has positive sanctions as the dominant recreational behavior pattern.

Unhappily, drunkenness has come to occupy a prominent place in the adaptive repertoire of both reservation and urban Indians; its narcotizing effects are leaned on heavily as a way of coping with feelings of inadequacy and failure by temporarily escaping from them. . . . Indians, like other people, also drink for social reasons, but for them recreational drinking groups have become a prominent feature of

the urban Indian scene. This has resulted in rates of drunkenness and associated problems (arrests, absenteeism) far higher than those of other American groups, even those occupying marginal positions within our society.⁴⁴

There is no question that excessive drinking is not going to reduce work effectiveness in any employment. Employers complain of absenteeism due to drinking and arrests for drunkenness. They complain also about inadequacy of the employee due to hangovers and occasional drinking on the job. While these facts are true of all who have drinking problems, this is especially serious for Navajos among whom the frequency and excesses of drinking are exceptionally high. The results of this study bear this out among the youth of the area in which the study was done.

High Absenteeism

Much has been written about the "push-pull" effect in the problems of urban migration and work adjustment of Indians, but especially on the Navajo. The poverty and lack of opportunity of reservation life are "pushes" which motivate many people to seek the economic opportunities of the city. On the other hand, once in the city, most Navajos cannot adjust to urban life and the pressures and demands of regular employment.

Even in this context, they are not completely integrated into the wage-labor system, for they may disappear from their jobs for days at a time to attend a ceremonial or to help their families in a time of need, as several Denver employers reported.⁴⁵

Yet Navajos fare rather poorly in the city; the data show about half of the migrants in the samples returned home (to the reservation) within their first three months in Denver.⁴⁶

Navajos are good workers, but not steady. They work hard on the job, but you can't count on them. They disappear for days at a time to attend a Sing or to help out their families.⁴⁷

While the urban world is strange, complex, and frustrating to the Navajo, their reservation is security. This security is found especially in his family and religion. These are the "pulls" back to the reservation.

Thus, a combination of the problems of frustration, alcoholism and the attractions of the security of his family and religion accounts for a high frequency of absenteeism of the Navajo in wage-earning jobs. The response of employers interviewed in this study of Navajo students confirmed this behavioral problem, absenteeism. The mean score of 2.39 for Navajo students, as compared to 3.56 for Whites, indicates a more serious problem of absence from work for Navajos than Whites. This is usually due to cultural factors in the background of the Navajo--his traditional culture and his marginality as a culturally handicapped minority.

Problems with the English Language

The mean of 2.44 for this item indicates most informants believed that language barriers for the Navajo pose problems in communication effectiveness and their work performance. Naturally, this was not perceived for Whites (4.11).

Navajos are more restricted socially than persons from other tribes, chiefly because of their sheltered background, a reserved manner that quickly becomes intensified when among non-Navajos, and strong fear of English language inadequacy.⁴⁸

There are certain attitudes and behavior that Navajos exhibit that are quite closely related to economic adjustment in the city. Some are more behavioral in their nature and may be very influential on whether or not the Navajo can do his job well. The first of these attributes involved how well he could speak English. One thing that is important for those Navajos who were successful in job adjustment in Denver was that they could understand and speak English better than

those who returned to the reservation. . . . The fact that they could receive instructions better and communicate with fellow workers and supervisors better had a great impact on job performance.⁴⁹

Language factors, then, cultural in nature, are important in work performance and adjustment of young Navajos to a significant degree according to this research on Navajo students.

Don't Care about Cleanliness or Personal Appearance

Response to this trait was quite emphatic with 61 percent ranking it "four" or "five," even though the mean score was 3.67. This indicates that the Navajo students were thought to be neat and clean. Respondents ranked Whites only slightly higher, 3.78.

Kluckhohn has verified this trait as a prominent value of the Navajo.

A good appearance is valued; while this is partly a matter of physique, figure, and facial appearance, it means even more the ability to dress well and appear with a handsome horse and substantial trappings.⁵⁰

To what extent this trait might be important for work adjustment might be debatable. However, some informants expressed the idea in conversations that Navajo students are exceptionally neat and clean, and that this was a desirable characteristic.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to analyze the findings of the questionnaire. Each trait was interpreted, noting the most significant trait items as determined by the rankings of the employers. Then, by documenting each trait with references to authorities in anthropological studies of traditional contemporary Navajo culture,

the cultural nature of the behavior traits was demonstrated. Certain traits which are strongly culturally determined were found to be significant handicaps to good work adjustment, such as passivity, lack of achievement motivation, lack of values for punctuality and efficient time mangement, drinking behavior, absenteeism, and English language handicaps.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The main objective of this research was to investigate the role of cultural factors in certain behavioral problems which Navajo students display in work performance and adjustment. This was done by interviewing employers, placement personnel and supervisors of Navajo students. These people were also asked to fill out questionnaires and rank certain behavioral traits according to the degree to which they thought each was characteristic of Navajo employees. A second identical questionnaire was also completed by the same respondents in which they ranked the same traits for White students. Thus, a comparison of Navajo and White students was obtained.

The cultural nature of the selected behavioral traits was documented by citing anthropological references. The findings of this study indicated that cultural factors in the background of Navajo students do, in fact, operate to handicap these young people in successful learning and performance in their early work experiences. It is important for employers, teachers, supervisors, and administrators who deal with Navajos to understand the cultural background of Navajos in detail and to appreciate the ways in which these cultural factors operate in all kinds of social interaction, especially in the world of work in Anglo society.

Conclusions

The following conclusions resulted from this study:

1. In comparing Navajo students as employees with White students, there are apparent differences between the two groups in the respondents evaluation of certain behavioral characteristics relating to work performance.
2. Certain behavioral traits of Navajo students which result from their cultural background were ranked as handicaps to good work performance and adjustment. These were:
 - a. Passivity and shyness
 - b. Lack of achievement or "success" motivation
 - c. Lack of concern for punctuality
 - d. Inability to manage time effectively
 - e. Drinking related problems
 - f. Absenteeism
 - g. Problems with the English language
3. One trait, quite typical of Navajos, cleanliness and neatness in personal appearance was considered an asset of the Navajo by the respondents.
4. Cultural factors, as determinants of certain behavioral traits of Navajo youth, operate to handicap these young people to make a successful entry and adjustment to the world of work of the Anglo society.

Recommendations

Fifield and Bartholome have defined some of the problems of the culturally disadvantaged in our society and offered some recommendations.

To the disadvantaged, education is the only hope they have for the future. . . . Each sub-culture has unique characteristics influencing its style of learning. The child's background and culture determine specific teaching methods that will be most effective in working with him. . . . Once a basic understanding of the culture is obtained, this can be utilized for effective planning.⁵¹

The discipline of business education provides through its curricular offerings, a task and the setting which the educational needs of many disadvantaged youngsters can be met. Cultural differences can be mitigated or capitalized upon to the enhancement of the individual in his contribution to society, in his feelings of belonging, in his development of salable skills, and in his feelings of self-worth--all of which are necessary in the pursuit of happiness.⁵²

Consistent with these statements and goals, this study was an attempt to precisely define the unique characteristics of the Navajo, as a culturally deprived minority. Once specific problem-types of behavior are identified for a minority, such as the Navajo, special teaching and supervisory methods and programs should be planned to meet those needs. The education of teachers, employers, supervisors, and administrators who deal with minorities, then, is the area of greatest need. The following recommendations are offered:

1. More research is needed, focusing on the adjustment problems unique to each minority, Blacks, Spanish American, various Asian groups, and each Native American Indian minority. Studies like this one can be used as baseline data for the planning and teaching of specific programs for minorities.
2. Professional education curricula should include cross-cultural studies and more culture-awareness programs, not only for those in special education, but for all prospective

teachers who might teach in areas of plural cultures, for example, the Southwestern United States.

3. Culture-awareness programs should be sponsored for community consumption, for businessmen, and for community organizations. This could be done by universities, especially through their extension services.

FOOTNOTES

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- 41 Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations, pp. 330-331.

- ⁴² Sol Worth and John Adair, Through Navajo Eyes (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), p. 37.
- ⁴³ Graves, "Drinking and Drunkenness Among Urban Among Urban Indians," p. 275.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 305.
- ⁴⁵ Weppner, "Urban Economic Opportunities: The Denver Example," p. 249.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 254.
- ⁴⁷ Kluckhohn and Leighton, The Navajo, p. 166.
- ⁴⁸ Ablon, "Relocated American Indians in the San Francisco Bay Area: Social Interaction and Indian Identity," p. 299.
- ⁴⁹ Weppner, "Urban Economic Opportunities; The Denver Example," p. 267.
- ⁵⁰ Kluckhohn and Leighton, The Navajo, p. 300.
- ⁵¹ Fifield and Bartholome, "Teaching the Disadvantaged," pp. 164-165.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 167.

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APPENDIX

Questionnaire on Employee Behavioral Traits of Navajo Students

This questionnaire will attempt to discover employers' perceptions of certain general work adjustment characteristics of Navajo youth. From your past experience as an employer or supervisor, please assess the following behavioral traits. Encircle one number for each item indicating your evaluation of each trait in relationship to work performance and work adjustment of Navajo characteristics in general

Very passive or shy	1	2	3	4	5	Very assertive or bold
Put very little effort into their work	1	2	3	4	5	Very industrious
Not concerned about "success" and achieving (in the White sense)	1	2	3	4	5	Highly achievement oriented
Don't comply with regulations or orders	1	2	3	4	5	Always comply with orders or regulations
Frequently lie and deceive	1	2	3	4	5	Very dependable and trustworthy
Not punctual	1	2	3	4	5	Very punctual
Can't manage time	1	2	3	4	5	Manage time well
Frequent drinking problems	1	2	3	4	5	Drinking never a problem
High absenteeism	1	2	3	4	5	Very seldom absent
Problems with English language	1	2	3	4	5	Communicate effectively
Don't care about cleanliness or personal appearance	1	2	3	4	5	Very neat and clean

OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS:

Are there any other characteristics which you consider as handicaps in the work or learning effectiveness of Navajo students in general?

Are there any general behavioral characteristics which you consider assets or beneficial in their work or learning situation?

Questionnaire on Employee Behavioral Traits of White Students

This questionnaire will attempt to discover employers' perceptions of certain general work adjustment characteristics of White youth. From your past experience as an employer or supervisor, please assess the following behavioral traits. Encircle one number for each item indicating your evaluation of each trait in relationship to work performance and work adjustment of White characteristics in general.

Very passive or shy	1	2	3	4	5	Very assertive or bold
Put very little effort into their work	1	2	3	4	5	Very industrious
Not concerned about "success" and achieving (in the White sense)	1	2	3	4	5	Highly achievement oriented
Don't comply with regulations or orders	1	2	3	4	5	Always comply with orders or regulations
Frequently lie and deceive	1	2	3	4	5	Very dependable and trustworthy
Not punctual	1	2	3	4	5	Very punctual
Can't manage time	1	2	3	4	5	Manage time well
Frequent drinking problems	1	2	3	4	5	Drinking never a problem
High absenteeism	1	2	3	4	5	Very seldom absent
Problems with English language	1	2	3	4	5	Communicate effectively
Don't care about cleanliness or personal appearance	1	2	3	4	5	Very neat and clean

OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS:

Are there any other characteristics which you consider as handicaps in the work or learning effectiveness of White students in general?

Are there any general behavioral characteristics which you consider assets or beneficial in their work or learning situation?