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Exploration of Possible Types of Alienation and Adjustment Existing for 1964 Male Intermountain School Graduates

Maree Ruth Kjar
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EXPLORATION OF POSSIBLE TYPES OF ALIENATION
AND ADJUSTMENT EXISTING FOR 1964 MALE
INTERMOUNTAIN SCHOOL GRADUATES

MAREE RUTH KJAR

1970
EXPLORATION OF POSSIBLE TYPES OF ALIENATION
AND ADJUSTMENT EXISTING FOR 1964 MALE
INTERMOUNTAIN SCHOOL GRADUATES
by
Maree Ruth Kjar

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
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UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY
Logan, Utah
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Maree Ruth Kjar
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ABSTRACT

Exploration of Possible Types of Alienation
And Adjustment Existing for 1964 Male
Intermountain School Graduates
by
Maree Ruth Kjar, Master of Science
Utah State University, 1970

Major Professor: Dr. H. Bruce Bylund
Department: Sociology

The relationship of traditionalism (knowledge of traditional stories), teachers' evaluations of traits (skill, punctuality, security, leadership, use of English, and personal appearance), social relationships (manner of relating, friends—non-Indian or Indian, who do they talk to about problems, and marital status), and productive activity (amount of time spent in employment, school, and military) to existing attitudes toward reservation living, non-Indian way of life, and a combination of the two attitudes, attitudes toward life, was studied for the Navajo male 1964 graduates from Intermountain School by using simple correlation and other methods.

Due to the exploratory nature of the study, and the limitation of small sample size (34 males) the findings are at best only suggestive.

A typology was developed and applied to the data. The typology, derived from the graduates' negative and positive attitudes toward life, consisted of Navajos who varied on a continuum. This continuum was arbitrarily broken down to describe Navajos who are bi-cultural, monocultural W (adjusted to white), monocultural N (adjusted to Navajo) and alienated from both cultures.
Few significant correlations were found, but possible tendencies were indicated.

Correlations suggested that low evaluations of Navajos' traditionalism, traits, and social relationships with traditional Navajo reference groups may be associated with positive attitudes toward reservation living. Probably due to the differences in approaching the data, the findings of the tabular analysis were contrary to those of the correlations. The tabular analysis suggested that those individuals who were bi-cultural or who were monocultural W tended to have high evaluations for traits and social relationships, while those individuals who were alienated or who were monocultural N tended to have low evaluations for traits and social relationships. The majority of graduates were found to have a high evaluation of traditionalism, suggesting the traditionalism can be a hindrance or an aid to adjustment, depending on the individuals' internalized traits and social relationships.

Productive activity may be a measure of how well the Navajo communicated with the white world rather than a measure of adjustment.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Navajos are a frequently studied group of people. Literature suggests the greatest concern of investigation, apart from description of their culture, is to bring them into the fold of the white society. (See Beatty, 1963, and Coombs, 1962.)

Formal education is the instrument used in an attempt to bring about this transformation, but at the same time it is competing with the established Navajo way of doing things. (See Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1962; Coombs, 1962; Coombs et al, 1958; Beatty, 1963.)

Not all the effects of such a clash are immediately shown. Acceptance or rejection of a second culture by an individual, while the initial culture is still in view, and at the same time acceptance or rejection of the individual by either or both cultures results over time, through a series of experiences.

The transition process may be painful and confusing. Individuals in the change process, caught between the conflicting demands of two cultures, may be expected to experience alienation to some degree. The degree of alienation, however, should be expected to vary with each individual.

Kluckhohn and Leighton (1962) suggested that among Navajos, individuals may manifest unique responses when faced with similar situations. Perhaps because of common experiences of Navajos there is potential in each individual for feelings of alienation toward either the Navajo or white cultures, or even both cultures. However, within
such a group it should be expected that these feelings are not shared with equal intensity. Some Navajos will most likely feel more alienated than will others in the same situation. Speculation as to why this is so has led to a series of assumptions.

First, while the Navajo people will have some experiences in common which may lead to similar responses for each person, these individuals, because of their combinations of unique and common experiences, may define the same situation differently and may respond accordingly.

Next, it is assumed that a Navajo's feelings of being alienated or adjusted are arrived at through the same channel as his definitions of situations, simply because such feelings are a part of the definitions.

Other assumptions are necessary concerning the makeup of the Navajos' definitions of situations. A definition of the situation, defined by Thomas (1967) as an interpretation given by the individual, should hinge on acquired and internalized skills, knowledge, attitudes and values chosen from life experiences. It is further assumed that the internalized qualities of the individual, which aid in the interpretation of a situation, are influenced by reference group associations (Shibutani, 1955).

If the assumptions are correct for the definitions of situations, they should also apply to the Navajos' feelings of alienation or being alienated. The adjustment or alienation of the Navajos should be associated with his acquisition and internalization of skills, knowledge, attitudes and values through reference group association.

A definition of a situation, being the interpretation, is arrived at from a combination of experiences unique from, and in common with other individuals. These common and unique experiences may be thought of as input to a definition of a situation, whereas a part of the
output might be the action taken by the individual after the situation has been defined.

Causes of alienation are not the same for all men. Such feelings do arise, the cause depending on internalized qualities acquired through reference group associations. Who individuals think they are and what concerns them in life determines which situations will cause them to feel the greatest alienation.

The Navajo's actual acquired and internalized qualities lie somewhere between those classified as white and those classified as Navajo. Therefore, the alienation or successful adjustment experienced by a Navajo individual should also lie between the two ways of life. The individual may feel alienated from the Navajo culture and not the white culture; or he may feel alienated from the white culture and not the Navajo culture. Possibly, he may feel at home in both settings; or he may feel alienated in both.

The Navajos' traditionalism, traits, social relationships, and existing attitudes toward life need be explored in order to partly visualize the possible types of Navajo adjustment and alienation between the white and Navajo worlds. Through the exploration of the categories, conclusions concerning the nature of Navajos' definitions of situations hopefully can be reached.

Hopefully this is possible, at least to the extent of determining whether the Navajos' definitions are negative or positive in nature. For such an examination, alienation will be considered to be associated with parts of definitions found to be negative. Successful adjustment, on the other hand, will be considered to be associated with the parts of the definitions found to be positive.
The examination attempted here will be exploratory in nature, the intention being to arrive at conclusions concerning the feasibility of such an approach.
CHAPTER II
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The result of some Navajos' encounters with the white man's world at first glance might be described as alienation. But limiting the description to the broad term, alienation, leaves much to be desired when one is attempting to apply it to a situation. The condition has not really been defined, since alienation is often used synonymously with whatever an author considers the dominant maladies facing the twentieth century individual (Keniston, 1960).

Before alienation can become a useful term for explaining an individual's condition, a clearer understanding of the concept itself is necessary. Along with this, there are two questions concerning the alienated which should be considered. First, who are the alienated? Second, from whom are they alienated? Also, the influencing internalized experiences leading to the condition must be dealt with in cultural perspective. Finally, manifestations of alienation should be explored in an attempt to understand more clearly what is involved in alienation.

What is Alienation?

Karl Marx's theory of alienation involved the impact of technology on human relations in industry (Broom and Selznick, 1968). Kenneth Keniston (1960, pp. 80-81) spoke of a "new alienation" which describes the intelligent, middle-class youth who chooses to support beliefs which are opposite to those associated with the "American culture." Erich Fromm (1955) suggested that alienation is a mode of
experience by which an individual has become estranged from himself. Another author (Hajda, 1961, p. 758) saw alienation as the opposite to integration, believing it was "an expression of non-belonging or non-sharing, an uneasy perception of unwelcome contrast with others."

The variety of interpretations attributed to the word, alienation, has concerned several authors. Seeman (1959, pp. 783-791) took it upon himself to distinguish five varieties of alienation in an attempt to make the meaning of alienation more useful. The first, powerlessness, he described as "the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcome, or reinforcement, he seeks." The second variant, meaninglessness, is when "the individual is unclear as to what he ought to believe--when the individual's minimal standards for clarity in decision-making are not met." A third variant, normlessness, dealt with the anomic situation from the individual's point of view where there is "high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals." Seeman identified isolation as a fourth variant and described an isolated individual as one who "assigns low reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given society." The fifth and final variant, self-estrangement, views alienation as "the degree of dependence of the given behavior upon anticipated future rewards, that is, upon rewards that lie outside the activity itself."

Dwight G. Dean (1961) suggested that items such as powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation are merely components of a larger concept alienation.

Kensiton (1960, p. 3) cited the following terms: "alienation, estrangement, disaffection, anomie, withdrawal, disengagement, separation, noninvolvement, apathy, indifference," and pointed out that they
all indicated "a sense of loss," "a growing gap between men and their social world."

There are two traditions of thought concerning alienation. The first views alienation as a "personal" problem. This view, characteristically American, is psychological and implies that its only causes lie in individual life and "person" pathology (Keniston, 1960). The second tradition sees alienation as a social problem. Alienation is a "reaction to the stresses, inconsistencies, or injustices in our social order." (See Keniston, 1960, p. 10.) The same author sees the alienated man being described by the second tradition as the "inconscient victim of his society," whose alienation is imposed upon him.

Both traditions have their limitations in that neither cover and give full credit to both sides of the picture at the same time, namely the individual and society. To correct this, or to at least work toward a more meaningful definition, Keniston (1960, p. 204) recommended that alienation be defined as "a response to major collective estrangements, social strains, and historical losses in our society, which first predispose certain individuals to reject their society, and later shape the particular ways they do so."

With a few minor changes, Keniston's definition can be applied in a useful manner to describe Navajos' feelings of alienation.

Feelings of alienation found among the Navajos are likely to be responses to major collective estrangements, social strains and historical losses as was suggested in Keniston's definition. However, in many cases their response is not limited to, or caused by a single society. Instead the description of their world may well be the follow-
... a world which is neither white nor Navaho in the traditional sense, a world where values are shifting and where rules of conduct are in a state of flux. (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1962, p. 168)

This statement gives a hint to the type of life a Navajo must face, especially if he is an "educated" Indian. T. D. Allen (1963, p. 67) observed that "many of these individuals are turning from the ways of their fathers with a great emotional wrench. They are taking a leap in the dark that tears them from their moral mooring." In such a state some Navajos may have chosen to reject the Navajo ways except in a superficial manner. Others, after a discouraging encounter with the white culture, may have felt dissatisfied with their position in the white world, but at least felt freed from the necessity of constantly choosing between the White and the Navajo ways of living. They may have chosen isolation over confusion (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1962). Others may have retreated back to the reservation, not because of the opportunity to be found there, but in search of life and security among their own people (La Farge, 1943). There, if they found instead dissatisfaction, imbalance, and even rejection in the Navajo culture, they may have experienced feelings of not really belonging with their own people.

The state of the above mentioned types of individuals might indicate feelings of alienation. If we now return to Keniston's definition of alienation, with a few alterations the definition may be used to describe the Navajos' alienation for the purpose of this paper. (The words in parentheses are my own.)

Alienation is a response to major collective estrangements, social strains, and historical losses in (one or both societies to which the Navajo is associated) which first predispose certain individuals to reject (either one or both of the societies) and later shape the particular way they do so. (Keniston, 1960, p. 204)
Who are the Alienated?

The next question to arise is "who are the alienated?" Keniston (1960) discussed characteristics which may be associated with those who are alienated. He suggested that alienation is likely to be found among two types of people: those who cannot meet the demands of their society and those who choose not to do so. It can result from a real or felt disability before the demands of a society. In any society the rank of the alienated is likely to be recruited from psychological misfits and rejects, from those who lack motives or ego qualities demanded by their society.

Keniston also saw the alienated as usually wanderers whose participation consists of observation. Often their lives are over-examined in that every relationship becomes a question of identity. Their beliefs and values are usually opposite to those of the dominant culture and they tend to distrust commitment to anything. However, for them:

Alienation is not part of a deliberate effort to locate and systematically oppose the basic values of our culture, but rather a set of conclusions about life that grew relatively unselfconsciously out of their own experiences, that appears to be confirmed by it, that makes sense of the way they experience the world. (Keniston, 1960, p. 82)

Keniston was not describing the alienated Navajo, nonetheless the characteristics suggested by him are often those which are sought when one is attempting to distinguish between the unalienated and alienated personality. Such distinctions are most useful when surrounding conditions are considered. As was suggested earlier, the Navajos' situation involves two cultures. Along with the two cultures are found two often conflicting sets of values and beliefs. A person, by supporting one set of values and beliefs, may possess characteristics of
alienation toward the other set of values and beliefs. Therefore, the individual's actions may indicate he is alienated, but from whom becomes the next question.

From Whom Are They Alienated?

When attempting to answer such a question, one cannot simply say: "that Navajo is alienated from everyone, and that one is not alienated at all." The situations are much too complex. As was already expressed, instead of the condition involving one culture to which there is demanded adjustment, the Navajo is faced with two cultures with highly conflicting demands. In an attempt to adjust to the demands of one culture an individual may be alienated from the other. Or if his attempt to adjust to one fails and he is unable to satisfactorily fall back on the remaining choice, then he might be considered alienated from both.

Alienation and Adjustment

When placed on a continuum, complete adjustment "consists in the balance of growth and cohesion" (Halmos, 1957, p. 43). Here everything holds together and is supported by reference group norms. There are few conflicts between one's own desires and other's expectations. On the other extreme end of the continuum might be found complete alienation. Here continuous conflict between one's reference groups' norms, along with the inability to reach compromises, may lead to amnesia and dissociation of personality, or to a less extreme in the form of a compromise, compartmentalization of one's life (Shibutani, 1955).

It is here we find the marginal men such as the intellectuals and individuals who are in the process of becoming acculturated into another society. For the latter, factors such as language, economic
organization, cultural institutions and social class structure existing between the emigrant and immigrant areas along with his loyalty to the traditional life and willingness to change will greatly influence where on the continuum between adjustment and alienation the individual will find himself (Borrie, 1959).

The Navajo, being faced with two cultures with highly conflicting demands, may find himself involved in one of four possible conditions. One, he may be alienated from both White and Navajo cultures. Two, he may be alienated from the White but adjusted to the Navajo culture. Three, he may be alienated from the Navajo but adjusted to the White culture. Four, he may be successfully adjusted to both cultures.

**Definition of the Situation**

Associated with the conditions of being alienated or adjusted are such influencing factors as 1) attitudes and values, 2) the individual's set of reference groups, and 3) the evolving definition of the situation. These factors are associated with the individual's totality of experiences.

Thomas (1967, p. xii) spoke of the definition of the situation as a "point of view" or an "interpretation" given to it by an actor. We must assume that one's feelings of alienation are arrived at through the same channel as his definition of the situation, simply because such feelings are part of that definition. If a person defines a situation as one to which he does not belong, he is at the same time defining himself as alienated from that situation. This does not necessarily mean that the individual is aware that what he is defining in a situation is alienation. Such feelings are bound up with emotions and may only become apparent through symptoms observed by others.
Not all individuals define themselves as alienated for the same reasons, in the same situations, or with the same degree of intensity. The Navajos undoubtedly have some past experiences in common which could lead them to define their situation as somewhat alienated. However, not all Navajos react in the same manner when confronted with the white and Navajo demands. A higher intensity of alienation should be expected among those who have experienced participation in two sharply contrasting worlds (Hajda, 1961). Some Navajos may have arrived in the white atmosphere as students with a background of semi-modern parents who spoke English and appreciated the white ways. Others, as students with a limited association with the white world, may have brought with them suspicions and uncertainties concerning the situation. Each type of student should have defined their initial school contact differently, and then as time and experience passed, should either have reinforced that definition or redefined the situation.

The manner of defining, suggested Shibutani (1955, p. 562), depends on one's "organized perspective"—"an ordered view of one's world." It seems logical that the order of one's world includes also the order of attitudes and values. Thus, it may be assumed that the perspective determining one's definition of a situation is in itself partly an internalized order of attitudes and values.

**Attitudes and values**

Attitudes and values are influencing factors on the condition of alienation. They determine the intensity of alienation as well as how such feelings are to be expressed. An action is an expression while attitudes and values indicate and determine the direction in which actions are tending. An attitude may even be thought of as "a tendency to act" (Parks, 1931, p. 32).
Ellsworth Faris (1931, p. 10) stated: "The value and the attitude are two aspects of the same experience." He also felt that "the value does not 'cause' the attitude." Rather, he thought "both value and attitude arise when a former value-attitude proves impossible of adequate functioning." For this discussion it would not be useful to attempt to separate value and attitude for examination. It is more important to recognize their joint role in influencing alienation.

If we examine the meaning of attitude, we find it is simply "a viewing with some degree (including zero degree) of favor or disfavor." (Newcomb, 1943, p. 18) Studies of the attitudes and values of the alienated show their ideology to be negative with few clear positive values and goals. Keniston (1960, p. 184) stated: "Lacking positive values, the alienated experience themselves as diffused, fragmented, torn in different directions by inner and outer pulls." Nettler (1957, p. 674) also commented about the "estranged ones" maintaining unpopular and adverse attitudes toward "familism, the mass media and mass taste, current events, population education, conventional religion and the telic view of life, nationalism and the voting process." This being the case, measuring the positiveness and negativeness of attitudes may be helpful in the exploration of alienation.

Reference groups

The results of the Bennington study (Hyman and Singer, 1968) supports the thesis that an individual's attitude development is a function of how he relates to a total membership group as well as to one or more reference groups. Also, according to Young (1931), attitudes and values, because of their expressive nature, are communicable. Both of these findings make it possible to introduce reference groups
as factors associated both with attitudes and values and the evolving definition of the situation.

Shibutani (1955, p. 563) saw reference groups as perspectives. "Through direct or vicarious participation in a group one comes to perceive the world from its standpoint." He went on to define a reference group as "that group whose outlook is used by the actor as the frame of reference in the organization of his perceptual field." (Shibutani, 1955, p. 565)

The question now arises: If the reference group is as strong an organizational factor for the individual's perception or definition of the situation as Shibutani suggested above, why do individuals such as the Navajos, with a number of common reference groups to choose from, define the same situation differently? Simply answered, various individuals' identifications with reference groups are not the same. If pursued in depth, the unique hierarchical arrangement of individual reference groups might hold a clue to the question.

From the total number of reference groups, an individual may only have opportunity to identify with a certain number according to his experience. Race, location, and education may be limiting factors. Even within his smaller combination of reference groups, again limited by circumstances, he will identify more closely to some than to others. The norms of some groups may become more internalized than those of others. With the more influential reference groups, an individual will identify with greater intensity of involvement and dedication than with those falling in the outer limits of internalization.

The hierarchy of reference groups will vary with the individual. One person may find his greatest satisfaction with family and friends as strong reference groups. Another may feel that a group closely
associated with the source of income is more important to him than family group ties. Either way, his perspective will be narrowed to justify him belonging to and believing in the norms of his reference groups, the strongest support probably being with the more valued groups. (A negative identification with a reference group may work just the opposite, to the point of justifying one not belonging and not believing.)

Shibutani (1955) supported this thinking when he spoke of perception being selective. He saw the organization of perceptual experience depending upon what is anticipated and what is taken for granted. As well, he described a perspective as being "an order of things remembered and expected as well as things actually perceived . . . " (See Shibutani, 1955, p. 562.)

An individual approaches a situation with expectations already in mind. It could be partly the arrangement of reference groups which leads to this organization of expectations. Likewise, it could be the arrangement of reference groups which help determine the parts of experiences to be internalized as attitudes and values for future situations. Therefore, it may also be the arrangement of reference groups which helps the individual to form his unique definition of the situation.

Both common and unique, internalized, past experiences, through their arrangement by reference group associations, play an important part in the choice of an adjustment pattern once the situation has been defined. In early childhood, even before the beginnings of conscious memory, ground rules were laid down and the individual acquired special sensitivity to some situations and obliviousness to others (Keniston, 1960).
Here he learned to react to situations according to the means readily available in his range of reference groups. The traditional, urban, American white youth was taught, through reference group association, that the means to solving a problem is to overtake it, while the Navajo learned, through his traditional group association, that withdrawing is the safest way to handle the problem (Vogt, 1951).

However, just because the individual has these early experiences does not mean his adjustment pattern is set for life. As he moves through life, he comes in contact with a wider scope of reference groups. From them he develops new sets of attitudes and values. For the Navajo, this development includes an assortment from Navajo and white contact.

He also finds other acceptable methods of coping with his situations. According to Keniston (1960, p. 156), "what is even more important than the past" to such individuals "is how they have tried to come to terms with it, what has become of this past and what has become of them in the process of dealing with it."

Florence Hawley (1948) gives three major reaction patterns of individuals or groups who are confronted by a new culture: (1) He will retreat to the past and will hold on to the old culture. (2) He will make a strong effort to belong to the new culture, but will decide this entails more difficulties than he had anticipated. Since he does not understand the problem or the culture he pulls away in anger. However, he also rejects his old culture and therefore stands between two cultures. (3) He moves into the dominant culture as far as possible and changes his ways of acting and his manner of thinking, although he will not be able to change his manner of feeling.
Whichever way he chooses, the decision leading to the action is an outgrowth of his definitions of situations. The definitions of situations are arrived at through a complex of internalized experiences over time involving attitudes and values and reference groups. The total experiences, both common and unique should most accurately lead to an individual's method of handling his situations.

Although an examination of an individual's total experiences is impossible, partial knowledge, in the form of manifestations, could lead to a partial understanding of one's definitions of situations. A partial understanding of definitions of situations should include partial understanding of the Navajos' feelings of alienation and being adjusted.

Possible Types of Variables for Exploring Alienation and Adjustment

Common and unique experiences may be thought of as input to the individual's definitions of situations, whereas output might include action taken after defining a situation. Manifestations of such experiences should be useful for arriving at conclusions concerning the nature of one's definitions of situations. If we keep in mind that feelings of alienation or being adjusted are part of one's definition, the manifestations may also be of use for examining the Navajos' adjustment to and alienation from the white and Navajo cultures.

Selected variables thought to be related to alienation and adjustment are classified in categories in order to investigate them more readily. Categories of traditionalism, evaluations of traits, social relationships, attitudes, and productive activity provide variables which manifest an individual's feelings of being adjusted or alienated. (Detailed descriptions of variables are presented in Chapter III.)
The semantic differential scale, used in the examination of existing attitudes, hopefully can supply a measure of positive and negative attitudes associated with the Navajos' definitions of situations. This along with measures of traditionalism, traits of social relationships should lead to a partial description of a Navajo's identity between the white and Navajo worlds; or a descriptive typology.

Productive activity is thought to be associated with feelings of alienation but the validity of such a measure, when used by itself, is questionable.

**Traditionalism**

For the purpose of this paper, traditionalism is defined as the ties to the Navajo way of life. It includes ties to norms, beliefs, and values of the same. It must also include a respect for the ways of the parents and a closeness established through association. Traditionalism provides an identity with a primary culture in that it includes a code of expected behavior unique to the culture.

Literature has indicated that the cultural background or traditionalism of the Navajo has a definite influence on his cultural identification; this identity being associated with feelings of alienation or of being adjusted. (See Gerling, 1967, and Vogt, 1951.)

It has been argued that traditionalism is a hindering force to adjustment and therefore is a source of alienation. It has also been argued that it aids adjustment and so limits alienation.

As a hindering force, it was the conclusion of a study of Intermountain Indian students "that families of students with Navajo cultural identification adhered more strongly to the Navajo customs, religious practices, and language than the families of students with good
acculturation." (See Gerling, 1967, p. 58.) The first group, with cultural identification, possibly was feeling the most strain in the white world and most likely was experiencing some alienation from the white world.

As an aiding force, a study of Navajo migrants to Denver found that migrants who lived in Denver more than one year were more traditional than migrants who were there less than one year or than those who were returnees to the reservation (Van Arsdale, 1965). A satisfactory hypothesis as to why this was so was never reached in the study.

Traditionalism is a source of historical location or dislocation depending on the individual's ability to organize his life in a manner which is satisfying to himself. Traditionalism can give to man a "sense of his own place in time and of his place in a society and world located in history" and in a sense is central to his definition of himself (Keniston, 1960, p. 237).

**Evaluation of traits**

What happens in childhood provides the unconscious underpinning for adult psychic life, but the ways in which themes of childhood are displayed in adult behavior and beliefs—or indeed, whether they are directly displayed at all—is in large part determined by the social shaping of childhood dispositions during adolescence. (Keniston, 1960, p. 178)

Evaluations of traits may have descriptive value pertaining to alienation and adjustment, especially when they are concerned with the adolescence stage described in the above quote.

Measures of traits are provided by teachers' evaluations. Possibly such evaluations may be interpreted as being associated with alienation and adjustment in two ways. First, the evaluations may be measures of the adjustment expressed by a Navajo through his actions.
Second, in accordance with Merton's (1957) concept of the self-fulfilling prophecy, the Navajo will learn to act in the manner described by the evaluations simply because the evaluations become a part of the individual's perception of himself.

However, evaluations of traits are difficult to interpret in a meaningful manner. They are often based on value judgments by both the evaluator and the interpreter. Added to the complexity of the problem is the fact that a trait manifested in an isolated act is always subject to misinterpretation (Thomas, 1966). A single act may or may not describe the dominant nature of an individual. Yet, when the evaluations of such traits are used as a means of supporting and verifying other measures, the danger of misinterpretation diminishes in accordance to how they are connected with present and other past acts of the same individual.

Social relationships

Central to alienation is a deep and pervasive mistrust of any and all commitments, be they to other people, to group, to American culture, or even to the self. Most basic here is the distrust of other people in general. (Keniston, 1960, p. 56)

Such a statement suggests a relationship between a person's social relationships and his feelings of alienation. In a study concerning alienation and integration, Hajda (1961) hypothesized that a high intensity of alienation from the large society should be characterized by those who belong effectively to none, or to only a few collectivities while a low intensity of alienation might be more frequent among those whose participation in social collectivities is multiple or extensive. Although it was concluded that feelings of alienation are not an inevitable aspect of activity it was at the same time
suggested that the activity intensity did have a tendency to vary with feelings of alienation.

When examining the social relationships of the Navajo, it cannot be concluded that those who participate in no or few activities are automatically alienated. Yet, if the amount of social relationships is parallel with other manifestations of alienation it may be concluded that the individual's social relationships are supportive indications of his feelings.

The alienated person is thought to have little self-definition of coherence in the social relationships. The reason for this, Keniston (1960) felt, is because the relationship rarely persists beyond the impulses that inspired the individual. Thus, social relationships are temporary without lasting meaning for the individual.

**Existing attitudes**

Attitudes expressed in the present period or the recent past are useful in determining where a person stands as an outgrowth of the totality of his internalized experiences. They express his feelings of alienation or of being adjusted.

Responses indicating attitudes, it may be assumed, are actions taken following the actor's definitions of the situations as well as being perspectives taken into situations. The Navajos' definitions of their relationships to the white and Navajo worlds, according to Vogt (1951), may lead to two polar responses. On one hand, Vogt (1951, p. 38) found explicit statements to the effect that "I want to be as much like whites as possible." At the other extreme he found statements to the effect that "we're Indians and we're supposed to live like Indians."
Between the two extremes of definitions were found various permutations involving acceptance of some Navajo ways combined with some white ways.

It was pointed out in the section concerning attitudes and values that negative attitudes are associated with feelings of alienation. It is now assumed that positive attitudes are then associated with successful adjustment.

When the positiveness and negativeness of existing attitudes are distinguished and are supported by evaluations of traditionalism, traits, and social relationships, then such a combination may be considered as a measure of the existing alienation or feeling of being adjusted.

**Productive activity**

Productive activity is thought to be associated with feelings of alienation and adjustment. But equating an adjusted individual with a productive individual may be beyond the realm of validity.

Productive activity may be viewed as measurable activity engaged in by an individual which contributes positively either to self or others and preferably both. This does not mean that simply because he is engaged in productive activity in the eyes of some he is at the same time protected from alienation.

Leonard I. Pearlin (1962) did not mention productive activity as such but he indicated that when an individual is supported by group norms in his performance of work tasks, he is relatively protected from alienation. However, the same activity, when directed by individuals or pressures coming from outside the group, can have alienative consequences.

When this statement was applied to the Navajos' situation—being associated with two cultures—it was suggested that it is possible for
a Navajo to be contributing to the white culture through productive activity while feeling alienative pressure from the same because he prefers to turn to group norms of the Navajo for support.

As was stated by Pearlin (1962, p. 323), "It is not simply one's actual career within the opportunity structure that is relevant to alienation, but also whether one experiences deprivation or gain from rewards of money, job mobility and social status." Even when a Navajo communicates successfully with the white world through job and association, if he feels deprived either from a meaningful relationship with the Navajo culture or from a deserved higher position in the white structure, he may experience alienation from either or both cultures.

**Objectives of Study**

1. To explore attitudes of Navajos toward "non-Indian way of life," "reservation living," and the evolving "attitudes toward life" in an effort to portray the existence of various types of alienation and adjustment.

2. To examine relationships between the above mentioned attitudes and "traditionalism," "traits" evaluations, and "social relationships."

3. To explore the merit of the portrayed typology describing various forms of alienation and adjustment by examining the relationship of these forms to "traditionalism," "traits" evaluations, and "social relationships" by using tabular analysis.

4. To explore the relationship of "traditionalism," "traits" evaluations, and "social relationships" to "attitudes toward life" as compared to their relationship to "productive activity."
CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

The data provided for this study was gathered from a larger university study, under the direction of Dr. H. Bruce Bylund. The objective of the larger study was to:

... explore the feasibility of analyzing educational and cultural factors associated with the vocational success of recent graduates of a large boarding school for Navajo Indians, the 1964 graduates of the Intermountain School specifically. (See Bylund, 1970, p. 2.)

Of the original graduation class (172) only 34 male graduates of Intermountain School were used in the study. Of the 172 graduates only 80 were personally interviewed. Of the 80, 42 were female and 37 were male. Due to a lack of necessary information, the population being considered was usually limited to 34 males.

There were three basic steps involved in the collection of information:

1. Current addresses of graduates were obtained.
2. Upon locating the graduates, personal interviews were completed.
3. Data from school records was compiled.

In the obtaining of addresses it was first attempted to find locations through letter communications with parents and guardians of the graduates. Interviewers were then sent to the reservation to contact families, parents or guardians of graduates from whom there had been no reply to the letters. Trading posts were also visited in an attempt to locate the graduates' addresses.
Interviews, for the most part, were conducted during the summer of 1969. Graduates were interviewed on the reservation or near the reservation in such areas as Flagstaff, Gallup, and Colorado; the populated areas of Utah, including Salt Lake City, Ogden and Brigham City; and in the metropolitan areas of Los Angeles, San Francisco and Chicago.

Data were collected from school records through the cooperation of the Intermountain School. The files made available for the study contain records of each student's curriculum, achievement test scores, grades, and subjective teacher evaluations of "traits."

Of importance to this study are the subjective teacher evaluations of the individuals' "traits" located in the school records, and sections of the personal interview associated with "traditionalism," "social relationships," "productive activity," and the individual's view of his situation, including existing attitudes toward "reservation living" and "non-Indian way of life."

The focus of concern for this study were the male graduates. Of the original 37 only 34 were used for the individual tabulations, the reason being lack of information in pertinent areas. Only the male was considered because it was found that the selective measures did not always apply to the female. An example of this is found in investigation of "productive activity." From the findings concerning productive activity after graduation, it was discovered that those activities in which the female is often engaged were not adequately described. The material collected included information concerning job success and stability, also time spent in military life and additional schooling. There was no information gathered which described whether or not a graduate was engaged in productive activity as a housewife; therefore,
such a measure was not suited for the female and could be used only for the male.

**Variables**

In an attempt to explore existing alienation or feelings of being adjusted, variables thought to be describing attitudes and reference group associations were investigated.

"Traditionalism" was investigated in the form of each individual's knowledge of traditional Navajo stories. If the individual knew the stories he was considered to be traditional. If he did not he was considered to be non-traditional.

According to Kluckhohn and Leighton (1962), folk tales and myths are an important part of the Navajos' traditional every day life. They are associated with rites and teach the Navajo youth the moral code of his people. It was reasoned that because of the need of traditional stories for carrying the Navajo traditions from generation to generation and the need for the Navajo youth to know the stories to understand the Navajo traditions, knowledge of traditional stories may be a vehicle for the Navajos' identification with the Navajo culture.

Since the literature did not clearly support such reasoning, further investigation of the Navajos' knowledge of traditional stories as a vehicle of traditionalism may be in order for future studies. As it now stands for this study, such a condition can only be assumed.

Subjective teacher evaluations of the "traits" of the individuals found during their adolescent years while located at the Intermountain School were considered. These evaluations were taken from school records. Traits evaluated were: skill, punctuality, security, leadership, use of English and personal appearance. Each trait was ranked
starting with excellent and going on to good, average, fair and poor. Each category also had a coinciding number, starting with excellent 5, good 4, average 3, fair 2, and poor 1.

Preliminary correlations determined which of the traits evaluated would be most useful for this study.

Teacher evaluations of the traits of Navajo students, while possibly mixed in with individual value judgments on the part of the teachers, probably are descriptive of a stage of the student's development in regard to his adjustment to the white culture. A thesis (Salisbury, 1970), evolving from the same project as the present study, indicated a significantly positive relationship between teachers' evaluations and vocational success after graduation.

The "social relationships" of the individuals were investigated through: manner of relating, friends—non-Indian or Indian, who do they talk to about problems, and marital status.

The category of "social relationships" was thought to be associated with alienation and adjustment. How a Navajo associates with other people and who he associates with were thought to be descriptive of his relationship to other people.

"Manner of relating" provided a description of how the Navajo used the English language for communication with reference groups. At the time of the personal interview, the graduates were described by the interviewer as being outspoken, forward, shy, or very shy in their "manner of relating."

In order to determine the extent of the graduates' exposure to other ethnic groups besides the Navajos, each individual was asked the question, "Are your friends mostly Indian?" Each graduate was to respond with either a yes or a no. Thus it was determined whether or
not each graduate's social relationships extended past the Navajo culture.

Upon investigating who the graduates talk to about problems it was discovered that some talk to no one and work out their own problems. Some prefer talking to traditional associates such as parents, spouses, and other relatives and friends. Still others turned to such non-traditional sources as school personnel, church personnel, and people at their place of employment for help. Such a variable may be describing the setting in which each Navajo graduate could most comfortably exist when faced with problems. If he turns to no one when faced with problems he probably does not possess as strong of social relationship ties as would the individuals who turn to traditional or non-traditional sources. If indeed the lack of social relationships is associated with feelings of alienation then an individual who talks to no one about problems might be more likely to be experiencing feelings of alienation than are individuals who have someone to turn to.

For this thesis, information concerning the graduates' "marital status" described each graduate as either married or not married. It was reasoned that a Navajo's state of being married influences relationships by providing a partner who shares his existence and who at the same time makes conformity to the socially accepted norm of marriage possible. Thus, marriage was thought to be a variable possessing the potential of aiding the Navajo in his adjustment.

In an attempt to examine the alienation or successful adjustment of the Navajos, existing attitudes in the form of views toward "reservation living" and "non-Indian way of life" were used. It was decided that in order to arrive at the most useful evaluation of the graduates' existing attitudes, their views of both "reservation living"
and "non-Indian way of life" had to be involved in the evaluation. Using either one as the single dependent variable was found to be unsatisfactory.

An evaluation of only one or the other did not give a complete picture of adjustment and alienation. Attitudes toward "reservation living" were thought to be evaluating successful adjustment to or alienation from "reservation living," but they failed to show whether or not attitudes toward "non-Indian way of life" were the same. The reverse was also true for "non-Indian way of life." It could not be taken for granted that feelings toward "non-Indian way of life" were opposite to those feelings expressed in regard to "reservation living." Nor was it possible to say feelings expressed toward "non-Indian way of life" are the same as those expressed toward "reservation living." It was reasoned that when two cultures were involved, an individual could be alienated from one, both, or neither of the cultures. Keeping this in mind, the various positive and negative attitudes toward both "non-Indian way of life" and "reservation living" were combined to form a composite variable, "attitudes toward life."

It was decided from the review of literature that alienation could be identified in the Navajo through its association with negative attitudes. It was then assumed that successful adjustment could also be identified through its association with positive attitudes.

Analysis Methods

Existing attitudes were examined through the use of the semantic differential scales. The semantic differential method was developed "for research on perception, meaning and attitudes and measures indirectly the connotations of words." (Cronbach, 1960, p. 501)
The method was modified for this study in the following manner:

1. There was a total of only five choices instead of the usual seven for relating to words.

2. The scales were administered by an interviewer rather than given directly to the interviewee to be filled out personally.

Using the manifestations of existing attitudes toward "reservation living," "non-Indian way of life" and the combination being "attitudes toward life," along with "traditionalism," "traits" evaluations and "social relationships," it was the attempt of this study to explore the successful adjustment or alienation of the 1964 graduates of Inter­mountain School.

The methods used for analysis were twofold. Simple correlations between manifestations were analyzed, the intent being to establish the existence of relationships between the variables. The simple correlations were arrived at through the use of the Pearson's method of correlation. Correlations were considered to be reliable at the .100 level.

Due to the exploratory nature of the study, tabular analysis also became useful for reaching the objectives of the study. Through such analysis, the data were arranged in tables and then computed in order to envision the relationships between variables.

After the research methods had been applied to the Navajos' existing attitudes, "traditionalism," "traits" evaluations, and "social relationships," and added variable, the "productive activity" of the individual after graduation, was considered. Included in "productive activity" was a combination of the amounts of time spent in employment, school, and the military. The total months of activity were considered from graduation in 1964 through June, 1969. This variable was explored parallel to the "attitudes toward life" established through the semantic
differential scores. The purpose was to determine the validity of such a measure as "productive activity" when used for identifying alienation and adjustment in the Navajos.
CHAPTER IV
PRESENTATION OF DATA

In order to partly visualize the Navajos' state of adjustment between the white and Navajo worlds, "traditionalism," "traits evaluations," "social relationships," and existing attitudes toward life were explored. The intent was to explore various states of Navajo adjustment ranging from successful adjustment to both cultures to alienation from the same.

Due to the limitation of small sample size, 34 males, the study can only be thought of as exploratory in nature. The trends discussed in the analysis are only suggestive and are hopefully directive for further research. The intention of the research was to establish the feasibility of such an approach.

Types of Alienation and Adjustment

The first objective of the study was to explore attitudes of Navajos toward "non-Indian way of life," "reservation living," and the evolving "attitudes toward life" in an effort to portray the existence of various types of successful adjustment and alienation.

Semantic differential scales were used in the examination of existing attitudes of the graduates. Word sets of "good-bad," "happy-sad," "strong-weak," and "soft-hard" were used in the study. Within each word set there were five possible measures from which each individual could choose as best describing his feelings toward "reservation living" and "non-Indian way of life."
If the individual chose to identify near the "good" word, he was considered to have a more positive score than one choosing near the "bad" word. The scores were ranked numerically. Those scoring highly positive received a score of five points. Those receiving a low negative score received a score of one. Later their scores for "reservation living" and "non-Indian way of life" were totaled. Using scores from semantic differential scales it was found that a total of 30 points was possible indicating positiveness of attitudes toward "reservation living." The highest score reached by a graduate was 26 and the lowest was 11. Those individuals scoring 21 and above were considered to have positive attitudes toward "reservation living." Those scoring 20 and below were identified as possessing negative attitudes toward "reservation living." The semantic differential scale scores for "non-Indian way of life" showed a possible 25 points. The highest score was 20 and the lowest score was 10. Those individuals scoring 17 and above were considered to have positive attitudes toward "non-Indian way of life," while those who scored 16 and below were labeled as having negative attitudes toward "non-Indian way of life."

Next, each individual's "attitudes toward life" were established as being "bicultural," "monocultural" and "alienated." If the individual placed high in his evaluation of both "reservation living" and "non-Indian way of life," this suggested that he was somewhat satisfied with his existence in both settings and he was consequently labeled as "bicultural." If, however, the individual was found having a positive view of either "reservation living" or "non-Indian way of life" and this view was at the same time opposing a negative view of either "reservation living" or "non-Indian way of life," the individual was labeled "monocultural." Such an individual, it was reasoned, has
found satisfaction from some aspects of his life and expressed that satisfaction in favor of the culture which he felt most successfully provided means of arriving at that satisfaction. At the same time, the lack of fulfillment of needs by the opposing culture could have lead to the negative attitude scores. Individuals placed in this category were considered to be alienated from one culture while they were adjusted to the other. Those individuals whose evaluations of both "reservation living" and "non-Indian way of life" were found to be negative were classified as "alienated" in that they identified negatively with both white and Navajo cultures.

Figure 1. Typology portraying various types of alienation and adjustment (N) = 34.
The results of the exploration of existing attitudes of the graduates is portrayed in Figure 1. Nine graduates (27 percent) found to have positive views of both "reservation living" and "non-Indian way of life" were labeled "bi-cultural." There were eight graduates (23 percent) who were found to have negative views of both "reservation living" and "non-Indian way of life," and they were labeled as "alienated." Of those who were classified as "monocultural," nine (27 percent) viewed "reservation living" positively and eight (23 percent) viewed "non-Indian way of life" positively.

**The Relationships Between Variables**

The second objective of this study was approached through the use of simple correlation. It was the intent of the objective to examine relationships between attitudes and "traditionalism," "traits" and "social relationships."

Table I presents an overall picture of the simple correlation between existing attitudes of the graduates and their "traditionalism," "traits" and "social relationships." Although many of the correlations, as well as their significance, are somewhat low they were retained in the analysis to aid in the presentation of tendencies.

An interesting trend between "reservation living" and the other manifestations was found. All correlations were found to be negative, thus suggesting that lack of "knowledge of traditional stories," low evaluations of "traits," and less "social relationships" of a non-Indian or non-traditional nature are associated with a high opinion of "reservation living." The trend associated with "non-Indian way of life," although weak and with very little significance, seemed to be opposite of that found with "reservation living." All correlations were positive
Table 1. Simple correlations (r) between existing attitudes of graduates and manifestations of their traditionalism, traits and social relationships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Traditionalism</th>
<th>Reservation Living Cor.</th>
<th>Reservation Living Sig.</th>
<th>Non-Indian Way of Life Cor.</th>
<th>Non-Indian Way of Life Sig.</th>
<th>Attitudes Toward Life Cor.</th>
<th>Attitudes Toward Life Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Knowledge of traditional stories</td>
<td>-.258</td>
<td>.061</td>
<td>-.046</td>
<td>.394</td>
<td>-.262</td>
<td>.061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Traits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skill</td>
<td>-.302</td>
<td>.041</td>
<td>.077</td>
<td>.335</td>
<td>-.304</td>
<td>.043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punctuality</td>
<td>-.045</td>
<td>.399</td>
<td>.054</td>
<td>.381</td>
<td>.128</td>
<td>.283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>-.115</td>
<td>.258</td>
<td>-.005</td>
<td>.488</td>
<td>-.076</td>
<td>.336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td>-.206</td>
<td>.110</td>
<td>.095</td>
<td>.292</td>
<td>.025</td>
<td>.443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of English</td>
<td>-.240</td>
<td>.079</td>
<td>-.037</td>
<td>.416</td>
<td>-.239</td>
<td>.083</td>
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<td>Personal appearance</td>
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<td>.063</td>
<td>.184</td>
<td>.142</td>
<td>-.193</td>
<td>.130</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Manner of relating</td>
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<td>.067</td>
<td>.351</td>
<td>.018</td>
<td>.164</td>
<td>.170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends - non-Indian as opposed to Indian</td>
<td>-.403</td>
<td>.007</td>
<td>-.078</td>
<td>.329</td>
<td>-.345</td>
<td>.021</td>
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<tr>
<td>Talk to someone as opposed to talk to no one</td>
<td>-.094</td>
<td>.293</td>
<td>.119</td>
<td>.248</td>
<td>.241</td>
<td>.445</td>
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<tr>
<td>Talk to non-traditional as opposed to traditional</td>
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<td>.095</td>
<td>.164</td>
<td>.212</td>
<td>.120</td>
<td>.164</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
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<td>.131</td>
<td>.052</td>
<td>.382</td>
<td>.210</td>
<td>.109</td>
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with the exception of three: security, use of English, and friends other than Indians. These received negative correlations, but are so extremely low they are difficult to evaluate. There was no such trend observed for "attitudes toward life."

**Traditionalism and existing attitudes**

A closer examination of "traditionalism" is shown in section A of Table 1. "Knowledge of traditional stories" is correlated significantly with both "reservation living" and "attitudes toward life."

While all three are found to be negative in their correlation, "non-Indian way of life" is so low that it again is difficult to evaluate. However, the trend suggests that "knowledge of traditional stories" hinders not only a high opinion of "reservation living" but also a high opinion "non-Indian way of life."

**Traits and existing attitudes**

The "traits" of the individuals were examined through the use of teachers' evaluations while they were located at the Intermountain School. Section B of Table 1 presents simple correlations between existing attitudes of the graduates and their "traits." As was suggested earlier, the trend seems to indicate that low teacher evaluations of "traits" are associated with more positive views of "reservation living." The correlation suggested that if "skill" is poor, then view of "reservation living" tends to be higher. A positive view of life also seemed to be associated with a low evaluation of "skill."

A low evaluation of "English use" is also associated with a more positive attitude toward "reservation living" as well as more positive "attitudes toward life."
The correlation of both traits suggests the individual is happier with "reservation living" if he has failed to acquire an adequate white man's skill while in school, and if he has failed to incorporate the English language as a means of communication with the white world. It is also possible that the correlation resulted from Indians being content with Navajo life, therefore not feeling it is necessary to incorporate means of communicating with the white world.

Social relationships and existing attitudes

Section C of Table 1 shows simple correlations between "reservation living," "non-Indian way of life," "attitudes toward life," and variables classified as "social relationships." "Manner of relating" was found to be correlated negatively with "reservation living" (-.252 with a significance of .067). On the other hand, "manner of relating" was found to be positively correlated with "non-Indian way of life" (.351 and a significance of .018), thus suggesting that the higher the manner of relating, or the more outspoken the individual, the more positive the attitude toward "non-Indian way of life" and the more negative view of "reservation living."

Although the correlation is lower for "attitudes toward life" (-.163 and with a significance of only .170), the same trend seems to be indicated to a lesser degree.

The correlation between "reservation living" and "friends (non-Indian as opposed to Indian)" is -.403 with significance of .007. If friends are Indians then the view of "reservation living" is high, as are "attitudes toward life."

Correlations between "reservation living," "non-Indian way of life," and "attitudes toward life," and "who do they talk to--someone
or no one," and "who do they talk to--non-traditional or traditional," and "marital status" bear little significance. Only the correlation between "reservation living" and "who they talk to--non-traditional or traditional," bears a significance within the .100 range. Here a negative correlation of -.265 and a significance of .095 is shown. As might be expected, those having a high opinion of "reservation living" tend to talk to traditional reference groups associates, such as spouse, parents, brothers and sisters, other relatives or friends; rather than talking to non-traditional associates, such as teachers, school personnel, church personnel, and people at place of employment. The correlations indicated that if one talks to traditional reference groups, his view of "reservation living" was more positive as were "attitudes toward life." His view of "non-Indian way of life" should be more positive when friends are other than Indian.

Section C of Table 1 seems to indicate a relationship between "social relationships" and the individual's "attitudes toward life." Although correlations are again low, they are positive in direction with the exception of "friends--non-Indian or Indian." The only significant correlation for "non-Indian way of life" is the "manner of relating" (.351 with a significance of .018), suggesting that "manner of relating" is of importance to succeed and adjust to the "non-Indian way of life."

**Presentation of significant variables**

Those variables which were found to be correlated with a significance lower than the .100 level were thought to be most influential in their relationship with existing attitudes.

"Knowledge of traditional stories" was closely associated with attitudes of the Navajo. Here there was a correlation of .258 and a
significance of .061 for "reservation living," and a correlation of .262 and a significance of .061 for "attitudes toward life."

Considering "trait" evaluations by teachers, simple correlation again assisted in singling out those variables which were closely associated with existing attitudes of the Navajos. With "reservation living," "skill" was correlated at -.302 with a significance of .079; and "personal appearance" had a correlation of -.256 and significance of .063.

For "non-Indian way of life" correlations were very low, making selection of associated variables difficult. Variables most closely associated with "attitudes toward life" were "skill" with a correlation of -.304 and a significance of .043, and "use of English" with a negative correlation of -.239 and a significance of .083.

When the variables of "social relationships" were considered in their association with the attitudes of the Navajo, "manner of relation" was considered to be associated with a correlation of -.265 and a significance of .067, as was "friends--non-Indian or Indian," with a correlation of -.403 and a significance of .007.

A third variable, "who do they talk to--non-traditional or traditional," was found slightly correlated with "reservation living" attitudes with a correlation of -.265 and a significance of .095.

Only one variable of "social relationships" was found significantly correlated with "non-Indian way of life" attitudes. "Manner of relating" was closely associated with a .351 correlation and a significance of .018. A variable of "social relationships" closely associated with the existing "attitudes toward life" was "friends--non-Indian or Indian" with a correlation of -.345 and a significance of .021.
The correlations suggest tendencies as well as relationships between variables, traditionalism, "traits evaluations" and "social relationships" and the existing attitudes of the Navajos. This type of analysis, in that it does not bring into full view the various types of alienation and adjustment, does not accomplish the complete job of what this study hoped to portray. The small sample size is partly responsible for this incompleteness. Hoping to correct this and at the same time view the data from a different angle, a type of individual tabulation analysis was employed.

**Typology and Individual Tabulations**

The third objective of the study was to explore the merit of the portrayed typology describing various forms of alienation and adjustment by examining the relationships of these forms to "traditionalism," "traits" evaluations, and "social relationships" by using tabular analysis.

Once the individual had been labeled as either "bi-cultural," "monocultural," or "alienated," it was then possible to view in relation to this identity his "traditionalism" as either high or low; his "traits" evaluations as either high or low, and his "social relationships" as either high or low.

"Traditionalism" was determined from each individual's "knowledge of traditional stories." Originally each individual was classified according to three categories: (1) if he knew the traditional stories, (2) if he knew some or a few of the traditional stories, and (3) if he knew no stories. However, as the study progressed it was found necessary to divide the individuals into two categories: Those who knew any traditional stories were placed in one category, while those who knew
none were placed in the other category. If the individual was found to know traditional stories, his "traditionalism" was considered high, while if he did not know the stories he was considered as having low "traditionalism."

Scores received through "traits" evaluations were totaled and divided into high and low. "Traits" evaluated were "skill," "punctuality," "security," "leadership," "use of English," and "personal appearance." Since each trait usually had several evaluations through the records, it was necessary to add up the total scores and find an average, thus resulting in a single score for each "trait." The scores from all the traits were totaled for each individual, and the final score determined each individual's placement as high or low.

The high or low of "social relationships" was also decided through a combination of variables. If an individual was considered outspoken in his manner of relating, he received a score of 4. If he was considered slightly forward, he received a score of 3. If he was found to be shy, he received 2 points. If he had friends other than Indians, he received 2 points. When considering if the individual talked to self or others, 1 point was given to an individual who talked only to himself. If he talked to others he received 2 points. When considering if the individual talked to traditional, or if he talked to others rather than traditional, 1 point was given to the individual who talked to others. Marital status was also considered. If the individual was not married he received 1 point. If he was married, he received 2 points. The total points beginning with manner of relating and continuing through marital status were added and then divided into high and low. It now became possible to investigate the various combinations of manifestations found within the group of "bi-cultural," "monocultural" and "alienated."
The intent of such an approach was to arrive at some identification of the existence of various types of alienation and adjustment found among the Navajos.

**Traditionalism and types of adjustment and alienation**

The "traditionalism" in the form of "knowledge of traditional stories" was explored for all four categories discerned by existing attitudes (Table 2). Of the nine graduates labeled "bi-cultural," four were found having low "traditionalism" or in other words, "no knowledge of traditional stories." Of the eight graduates considered to be "alienated," none were found possessing low "traditionalism." All categories had a high number of high "traditionalism" with the exception of "monocultural N." "Monocultural N," being those who disliked "non-Indian way of life" only, had five graduates scoring in the low "traditionalism" area as compared to four in the high "traditionalism" area.

In totality there were twelve graduates possessing no "knowledge of traditional stories" and 22 graduates who knew the traditional stories. The fact that eight out of eight alienated individuals possessed high "traditionalism" might suggest that "traditionalism" is a hindrance to adjustment. However, a majority of "bi-cultural" individuals were also found possessing high "traditionalism" (four low as compared to five high). Likewise, those individuals belonging to the group "monocultural W," or those who dislike "reservation living" only, had a larger number of individuals possessing high "traditionalism" than low "traditionalism" (five high as compared to three low).

Thus, it might be best to view "traditionalism" as both a hindrance and an aid to adjustment in a second culture. Which part it plays is likely influenced by "traits" and "social relationships."
Table 2. Traditionalism of the 1964 graduates of Intermountain School who were (1) bi-cultural, (2) monocultural W, (3) monocultural N, (4) alienated

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Low*</th>
<th>High*</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bi-cultural</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monocultural W</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monocultural N</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alienated</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Monocultural W = those who dislike reservation living only
2Monocultural N = those who dislike non-Indian way of life only
*Low traditionalism = do not know the traditional Navajo stories
*High traditionalism = do know the traditional Navajo stories

Adjustment, or lack of it, alienation, is heavily associated with one's ability to relate to people and to new situations. "Traits" and "social relationships" set the pace for such interaction. The interaction leads to definitions of situations. If an individual sees the ways of a secondary culture as being threatening to his "traditionalism," it may well be a hindrance to his adjustment to the second culture. If, however, the individual sees his "traditionalism" as a form of security, a base to build upon, and only a part of a possible total existence, then "traditionalism" indeed may become an aid to adjustment to a second culture.
Traits and types of adjustment and alienation

"Traits" were thought to be associated with an individual's adjustment, or the lack of it, alienation (Table 3). From a total of nine "bi-cultural" individuals, seven were found to have scored high on "trait" evaluations by teachers while they were students at the Intermountain School. Only two were found in the low category. There was an equal number of four in each category of high and low for those who were labeled as "alienated." "Monocultural W" individuals, or those identifying most closely with the non-Indian way of life, were more often found in the high category than they were in the low (five and three respectively). The opposite was true for "monocultural N" individuals, or those high on "traits" evaluation by teachers while they were students at the Intermountain School. Only two were found in the low category. There was an equal number of four in each category of high and low for those who were labeled as "alienated." "Monocultural W" individuals, or those identifying most closely with the non-Indian way of life, were more often found in the high category than they were in the low (five and three respectively).

The opposite was true for "monocultural N" individuals, or those who preferred reservation life (six scored low on evaluations while three scored high).

The results of tabulations suggest that high "traits" evaluations are associated with successful adjustment to a secondary culture but also to being "bi-cultural." This is contrary to simple correlation findings.

Such a difference in findings is probably due to the different means of applying the data by the two types of analysis. Instead of
Table 3. Trait evaluations of 1964 graduates of Intermountain School who are (1) bi-cultural, (2) monocultural W\(^1\), (3) monocultural N\(^2\), (4) alienated

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bi-cultural</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monocultural W</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monocultural N</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alienated</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)Monocultural W = those who dislike reservation living only

\(^2\)Monocultural N = those who dislike non-Indian way of life only

approaching the data through individual correlations, tabular analysis involved summations of variables in relationship with the typology. Because the individuals were grouped by the typology and each variable examined according to the individual's classification within that typology, the results of the analysis should be expected to vary somewhat from the correlation findings.

Social relationships and types of adjustment and alienation

"Social relationships" were also thought to be associated with adjustment or alienation. In Table 4 the total highs and lows are deceivingly shown as being equal (17 low and 17 high). A closer examination, however, shows seven out of nine "bi-cultural" individuals, and five out of eight "monocultural W" individuals as possessing high "social
Table 4. Social relationships of the 1964 graduates of Intermountain School who are (1) bi-cultural, (2) monocultural W\(^1\), (3) monocultural N\(^2\), (4) alienated

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bi-cultural</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monocultural W</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monocultural N</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alienated</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)Monocultural W = those who dislike reservation living only

\(^2\)Monocultural N = those who dislike non-Indian way of life only

relationships." The opposite trend is found with "monocultural N" with seven out of nine possessing a low amount of "social relationships."

Such findings may be interpreted as meaning that high amounts of "social relationships" may lead to successful adjustment to, rather than alienation from, both one's initial Navajo culture and secondary white culture. Or, the reverse may be true. A high amount of "social relationships" may be the outgrowth of successful adjustment, rather than alienation from, both the initial culture and the secondary culture.

Variables associated with bi-cultural and alienated individuals

Table 5 describes "traditionalism," evaluations of "traits," and "social relationships" of individuals who are "bi-cultural" as opposed to individuals who are "alienated." It is shown that from the total responses possible for all manifestations there are eight low as opposed
Table 5. Traditionalism, evaluations of traits, and social relationships of the 1964 graduates of Intermountain School who are bi-cultural and alienated

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bi-cultural</th>
<th></th>
<th>Alienated</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditionalism</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traits evaluation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social relationships</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total responses</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

data relating to nineteen high for individuals who are "bi-cultural." At first
glance the same trend seems to be associated with individuals who are
"alienated:" however, if "traditionalism" is eliminated from the sum-
mations, it is discovered that there are four low responses as compared
to fourteen high responses for the "bi-cultural" individual, and there
are nine low responses and seven high responses for the "alienated" in-
dividual. This suggests that "bi-cultural" individuals tend to have
higher evaluations than do "alienated" individuals.

Variables associated with monocultural individuals

Table 6 compares the "traditionalism," "traits" evaluations and
"social relationships" of the "monocultural W" and monocultural N.
There are a total of fifteen high responses and nine low responses from
"monocultural W," as compared to nine high responses and eighteen low
responses from "monocultural N."

Again considering only "traits" evaluation and "social relationships," it is found for "monocultural W," six low responses and ten high
Table 6. Traditionalism, evaluations of traits, and social relationships of the 1964 graduates of Intermountain School who are (1) monocultural W, and (2) monocultural N

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Monocultural W</th>
<th>Monocultural N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditionalism</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traits evaluation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social relationships</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total responses</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Monocultural W = those who dislike reservation living only
2Monocultural N = those who dislike non-Indian way of life only

responses. For "monocultural N" there are thirteen low responses and five high responses.

A tendency is indicated in Tables 5 and 6. Individuals who are "bi-cultural" or who are "monocultural W" tend to have the most high evaluations of "traits" and "social relationships," while those who are "alienated" or who are "monocultural N" have the most low evaluations.

Productive Activity and Attitudes Toward Life

To explore the relationship of "traditionalism," "traits" evaluations, and "social relationships" to the "attitudes toward life" as compared to their relationship to "productive activity" became the fourth objective of the study.

The individual's "productive activity" after graduation, including job success and stability as well as further education and military
service, may possibly be associated with his feelings of being adjusted or alienated. However, this cannot be assumed without further examination.

When the graduates' "productive activity" was correlated with "reservation living," "non-Indian way of life," and "attitudes toward life," only the correlation with "attitudes toward life" was found to be significant (.238). (See Table 7.) However, there were suggestions of a positive correlation between "productive activity" and "non-Indian way of life" (.093) and a negative correlation with "reservation living" (-.079). (See Table 7.) This indicates that individuals with high opinions of "non-Indian way of life" are more likely to experience "productive activity" than are those who have high opinions of "reservation living."

Understandably, this does not cover the whole picture, in that it did not account separately for those individuals who had mixed opinions. However, the "attitudes toward life" did account for this, and

Table 7. Simple correlations (r) between productive activity of the 1964 graduates of Intermountain School, and their existing attitudes toward (1) reservation living, (2) non-Indian way of life, (3) attitudes toward life

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Reservation living</th>
<th>Non-Indian way of life</th>
<th>Attitudes toward life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cor.</td>
<td>Sig.</td>
<td>Cor.</td>
<td>Sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Productive activity</td>
<td>-.079</td>
<td>.321</td>
<td>.093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trend direction</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
suggested a positive relationship between "productive activity," and "attitudes toward life" (.238). This suggests that those with high "attitudes toward life" tend to have high "productive activity" after graduation. Even so, further exploration is necessary in an attempt to determine the validity of using "productive activity" as a measure of alienation or adjustment in the Navajo.

From the exploration of variables earlier in the analysis, it was found that some variables were more highly correlated to "attitudes toward life" than were others (refer back to Table 1). When the same variables were correlated with "productive activity" and when the results of the correlation were placed parallel to "attitudes toward life," Table 8 developed.

Here "attitudes toward life" were found to be correlated significantly with "knowledge of traditional stories" (.262), "skill" (-.304), "use of English" (-.239), and "friends--non-Indian or Indian" was found to be -.345 with a significance of .021, suggesting that "attitudes toward life" tended to be higher if friends were Indians. An opposite tendency was found between "productive activity" and "friends--non-Indian or Indian," (.306 with a significance of .035). This correlation indicated that there was a higher amount of "productive activity" when individuals had friends other than Indians.

When viewing the significant simple correlations associated with "productive activity" (Table 8), it was found that in addition to "knowledge of traditional stories" and "friends--non-Indian or Indian" there was significant correlations with "punctuality" (.339), "security" (.425), "leadership" (.460), and "manner of relating" (.575). "Security" with a significance of .006, "leadership" with a significance of .002, and "manner of relating" with a significance of .001 describes
Table 8. Significant simple correlations (r) between "productive activity" after graduation, and "traditionalism," evaluations of "traits" and "social relationships" of the 1964 graduates of Intermountain School, viewed parallel to the graduates' "attitudes toward life"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Productive Activity</th>
<th>Attitudes toward life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cor.</td>
<td>Sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Knowledge of traditional stories</td>
<td>.243</td>
<td>.073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skill</td>
<td>-.032</td>
<td>.429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punctuality</td>
<td>.339</td>
<td>.023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>.425</td>
<td>.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td>.460</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of English</td>
<td>-.142</td>
<td>.204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner of relating</td>
<td>.575</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Friends--non-Indian or Indian</td>
<td>.306</td>
<td>.035</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant correlations for both variables

"productive activity" as being very closely associated with one's ability to be outgoing in a group situation. Such a quality is desirous in the white world of competition.

However, for the Navajo, correlations suggest that high evaluations of the same traits (security, leadership, and manner of relation) are not necessary for positive "attitudes toward life." As indicated in Table 8, of importance for "attitudes toward life," other than "knowledge of traditional stories" and "friends--non-Indian or Indian," are the traits of "skill" and "use of English."
These traits, stressed at Intermountain, are found more evident on the surface both to the individual and to others around him. Such traits may be more highly influential on the individual's self definition than are abstract traits of "security," "leadership," and "manner of relation." An individual can more clearly see himself in relationship to his "skill" and "use of English" in relation to others than he can in his "security," "leadership," and "manner of relating."

Also, it must be remembered that "skill" and "use of English" are thought to be the means to successfully existing in the white man's world. Whereas, being a leader or being outspoken is not sought or desired by the traditional Navajo, but is desired in the white man's world.

When all these thoughts are pieced together it is suggested that "productive activity" after graduation is not measuring the same situation as is "attitudes toward life." "Productive activity" seems to be measuring how well the Navajo communicates with the white world, but fails to consider those individuals who are unsuccessful in their encounters with the white world, but who are somewhat content in their present setting on or near the reservation.
CHAPTER V
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Purpose

The purpose of the study was to explore the Navajos' "traditionalism," "traits" evaluations, "social relationships," "productive activity," and existing attitudes toward "non-Indian way of life," "reservation living," and their combination, "attitudes toward life" in an attempt to distinguish types of alienation and adjustment experienced by the Navajos after having contact with both white and Navajo cultures.

The study was exploratory in nature and the findings only suggestive and perhaps directive for future research.

Methodology

The data for this study was taken from a larger study concerned with the vocational success of the Navajos, the majority of the data being collected during the summer of 1969.

The population was selected from the 1964 graduates of Intermountain School. Of the 174 graduates, 80 were personally interviewed. Of the interviewed, only 34 males were used in this study because of a lack of information.

School records provided data containing teacher evaluations of graduates' "traits": skill, punctuality, security, leadership, use of English and personal appearance.

Personal interview supplied information concerning "traditionalism," in the form of the individual's "knowledge of traditional stories."
The personal interview also contained information about "social relationships": manner of relating, friends—non-Indian or Indian, who do they talk to about problems, and marital status.

"Productive activity," being a combination of employment, additional school, and military service was figured from information provided by the personal interview schedules.

Semantic differential scales as a part of the personal interview schedule were used in the measuring of existing attitudes toward "reservation living," "non-Indian way of life," and their combination, "attitudes toward life."

Simple correlation analysis was applied to the variables. In addition, tabular analysis was employed.

Both methods were used in an effort to explore types of alienation and adjustment found among the Navajos who have had contact with both white and Navajo cultures.

Of concern was the alienation and successful adjustment of the Navajo. Their alienation was considered to be a response to major collective estrangements, social strains, and historical losses in the white or Navajo society or even both. Successful adjustment was considered to be the opposite to alienation.

The individual's definitions of situations are interpretations arrived at from combinations of internalized qualities resulting from reference group associations. It was assumed that alienation or being adjusted are a part of the definitions.

A part of the internalized qualities, attitudes and values, and the arrangement of one's reference groups influence the evolving definitions of situations, a part of which are feelings of alienation or of being adjusted. Attitudes and values determine the intensity of
alienation as well as how such feelings are to be expressed. Reference groups are perspectives and direct and aid in the selection of attitudes and values used for defining a situation.

Once the situation has been defined, the individual is faced with the necessity to act in some manner. Again, attitudes and values and the individual's reference group arrangement are influential and affect the choice of adjustment pattern, be it alienation or successful adjustment.

The examination of an individual's total experiences is impossible, but partial knowledge, derived from the exploration of positive and negative attitudes in relation to his "traditionalism," "traits evaluations, and "social relationships," hopefully has lead to a partial understanding of where on the continuum between alienation and successful adjustment they are located.

Findings and Conclusions

Because of the exploratory nature of the study the findings are only suggestive of tendencies.

Types of alienation and adjustment were established through the exploration of existing attitudes. "Bi-cultural" individuals had "attitudes toward life" which included positive views toward both "reservation living" and "non-Indian way of life." "Monocultural" individuals possessed positive attitudes toward either "reservation living" or "non-Indian way of life" but not to both. The "alienated" possessed negative attitudes toward both "reservation living" and "non-Indian way of life."

When simple correlation was applied between existing attitudes toward "reservation living," "non-Indian way of life" and "attitudes toward life" and "traditionalism," "traits" evaluations, and "social
relationships," the following was concluded: the overall trend sug­
gests that low evaluations of "traditionalism," "traits" evaluations, 
and traditional "social relationships" with Indians rather than whites 
are associated with high opinions of "reservation living."

"Traditionalism" was correlated negatively with all three mani­
festations of existing attitudes. This suggests that "knowledge of 
traditional stories" hinders not only a high opinion of "reservation 
living" but also positive "attitudes toward life."

Correlation between existing attitudes and "traits" evaluations 
suggests that either the individual is happier with "reservation living" 
when he has not acquired the white man's skills and language, or he 
does not acquire the skill and language because he prefers "reservation 
living."

From the correlations between existing attitudes and "social 
relationships" it was concluded that the higher the "manner of rela­
tion," or the more outspoken the individual, the more positive the 
attitude toward "non-Indian way of life" and the more negative the view 
of "reservation living." This suggests that the "manner of relating" 
is important for successful adjustment to "non-Indian way of life."

Simple correlation analysis did not completely portray the var­
ious types of alienation and adjustment, so tabular analysis was employed 
to apply the typology.

The tabular analysis suggested that "traditionalism" can either 
be a hindrance or aid to adjustment and just which one it is may depend 
on "traits" and "social relationships" of the individual. It was 
reasoned that since the majority of both "bi-cultural" and "alienated" 
possessed high "traditionalism," the remaining variables, "traits"
evaluations and "social relationships" might be more influential for adjustment and alienation.

The results of the tabulations suggested that high "traits" evaluations are associated with successful adjustment, not only to a secondary culture but also to adjustment to the initial culture.

The tabulations involving "social relationships" depicted high "social relationships" as being associated with successful adjustment to, rather than alienation from, one's initial culture as well as a secondary culture. This suggests that either "traits" and "social relationships" influence an individual's placement within the forms of alienation and adjustment or the forms of alienation or adjustment associated with an individual influences his development of "traits" and his involvement in "social relationships." Perhaps both possibilities are involved, causing a stabilization of the adjusted or alienated state.

The individual's "productive activity" after graduation was examined parallel to "attitudes toward life" in an attempt to see if it is a valid measure of alienation and adjustment. It was concluded that "productive activity" seems to be measuring how well the Navajo communicates with the white world, but fails to consider those individuals who are unsuccessful in their encounters with the white world but who are somewhat content in their present setting, on or near the reservation.

It cannot be taken for granted that just because a Navajo has high "productive activity" he is also adjusted and satisfied with his world. Nor can it be assumed that because an individual has low "productive activity" he is alienated and dissatisfied with his world.

The major contribution of this study seems to be its establishment and portrayal of forms of alienation and adjustment. The data
associated with the typology was worked with but the findings beyond suggestive tendencies carry little validity because of the small sample size. The purpose of the study was not defeated, however. This study was approached with the intention of exploring possibilities rather than coming up with proof for predetermined hypotheses.

**Recommendations**

In future analysis the typology should be applied to a larger sample of Navajos or other minority groups.

The possibilities for comparative studies might include the following: 1) comparison of two or more graduating classes from Intermountain School; 2) comparison of graduates of Intermountain School and Navajo graduates from schools located on the reservation; 3) comparison of graduates of Intermountain School and Navajo graduates of public high schools located off the reservation.

Such comparative studies may be beneficial for an evaluation of the effectiveness of each system in aiding the Navajo in his adjustment.
LITERATURE CITED


APPENDIX
### TEACHERS EVALUATIONS OF TRAITS

#### A. Academic Performance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trait</th>
<th>Excellent</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Fair</th>
<th>Poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Skill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Improvement &amp; Achievement</td>
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<td>3. Participation in activities</td>
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<td>4. Reaction to criticism</td>
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<td>5. Teacher's evaluation</td>
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<td>6. Academic attitude</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Study habits</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### B. Student Behavior Patterns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trait</th>
<th>Excellent</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Fair</th>
<th>Poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Honesty</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Responsibility</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Courtesy</td>
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<td>4. Punctuality</td>
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<td>5. Security</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Leadership</td>
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<td>7. Cooperation</td>
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<td>8. Respect for property</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Use of English language</td>
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<td>10. Personal appearance</td>
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<td>11. Supervision required</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Emotional stability</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Social attitude</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Interviewer ___________________________ Schedule Number __________

Name ________________________________

1. Address ______________________________
   City ________________________________
   State ________________________________

2. Neighborhood

   Economic Level
   ____ 1. Below average
   ____ 2. Average
   ____ 3. Above average

3. Graduate's House (Type)

   ________________________________
   Relative to neighbors' economic level?

4. English evaluation
   ____ 1. Outspoken
   ____ 2. Forward
   ____ 3. Shy
   ____ 4. Very shy
   ____ 1. Above average white
   ____ 2. Average white
   ____ 3. Below average white
   ____ 4. Well below average white

5. Dress and grooming evaluation
   ____ 1. Total Navajo or nearly total
   ____ 2. Part Navajo
   ____ 3. None or nearly no Navajo
1. Above average white
2. Average white
3. Below average white
4. Far below average white

6. What was your course of study at Intermountain? What were you training for?

7. Have you gone to school since you left Intermountain?
   --- Yes --- No

8. Would you please tell us about all of the schools you have attended since you graduated from Intermountain? We would like to know the schools' names, where they are, what type of school each is, and if you completed your program.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Completed?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
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<td>2.</td>
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<td>3.</td>
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<td>4.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Any comments about program or school?

We would also like to know what the last year of school was that your (spouse) attended, where it is located, its name, and what type of school it is.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Last year attended</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

10. What would you say is the most important thing you learned going to school?

11. When we go to school, we have to take some classes that we feel didn't do us any good. What did you have to take at Intermountain that you feel hasn't done you any good?
12. At the present time are you

1. Working
2. Looking for work
3. Keeping house
4. Going to school
5. Unable to work (why?)
6. Other
13. * Now we would like to know something about the jobs you have had since graduation from Intermountain. Would you please tell us about each of the jobs you have worked at for more than 60 days starting with your present job(s) and ending with the first job you had after Intermountain.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Job</th>
<th>What type of work?</th>
<th>Who was the EMPLOYER?</th>
<th>Where was the job LOCATED?</th>
<th>Who TRAINED you for the job?</th>
<th>When did you start and stop the job?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>____________ ____________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>____________ ____________</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Job After Intermountain</th>
<th>Why did you leave?</th>
<th>How many hours?</th>
<th>How many days per week did you work?</th>
<th>What were your WAGES?</th>
<th>How did you get the job?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
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<td>4.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*On the original questionnaire items 13 and 14 were printed on legal size sheets, with more space being provided for writing in responses. Also, spaces were provided for listing eight jobs rather than five under item 13.
14. Does your spouse work? Yes ______ No ______

If YES, fill in same data as on preceding page:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What type of work?</th>
<th>Who is the employer?</th>
<th>Where is the job located?</th>
<th>Who trained (him) (her) for the job?</th>
<th>When did (he) (she) start and stop the job?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. __________________</td>
<td>____________________</td>
<td>_________________________</td>
<td>________________________</td>
<td>____________________________</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If holds two jobs, fill in #2.

| 2. __________________| ____________________| _________________________| ________________________| ____________________________|

How many hours? How many days per week does (he) (she) work? What are (his) (her) wages? How did (he) (she) get the job?

| 1. __________________| ____________________| _________________________| ________________________| ____________________________|
| 2. __________________| ____________________| _________________________| ________________________| ____________________________|

PROBE

Trouble finding place to live

Help finding work

Why did you pick this place to work and live?
IF NOT WORKING:

15. What are the reasons you are not working?

16. Are you looking for work? Yes _____ No _____

17. What type of work are you looking for?

   1. Full time
   2. Part time
   3. Both (either)

   (Job description if given)

18. If you are not looking for work, what are the reasons you are not looking for work?
19. Now we would like your opinion. Would you say Navajo's have more difficulty finding work than other people?
   Yes ______ No ______

20. Would you say Navajo's have more difficulty keeping work than other people?
   Yes ______ No ______

Now we would like to know how you feel about your work.

21. Do you like the work you are doing? Yes ______ No ______

22. What are the good things about (working for your present employer?) (doing what you're doing now?)

23. What changes would make (working) (things) here better?

24. Have you ever thought about (going back to) (leaving) the reservation?
   Yes ______ No ______
   Why? Permanently?

ALTERNATE TO 24. If only on reservation for summer or short time,

25. Do you plan to return permanently to the reservation someday?
   Yes ______ No ______
   Why?

26. What change would make living on the reservation better?

27. Where do your parents want you to work?
   (If on or off reservation not mentioned, probe.)
   On ______ Why?
   Off ______ Why?
28. When your children are grown, where would you like them to live?

(If on or off reservation not mentioned, probe.)

On _____ Why?
Off _____ Why?

29. What kind of people live in this neighborhood—any particular ethnic group?

ALTERNATE TO 29. If on reservation for summer or short time,

30. What kind of people live in the neighborhood you live in most of the year? Any particular ethnic group?

31. Now we would like to know a few things about the type of people you like and have as friends. Why type of people are they?

Probe.

(If the respondent does not include the following in his statement, probe and answer in this space.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Physical Nearness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Are your friends mostly Indians?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Do most of your friends live in this area?&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yes _____ No _____ Yes _____ No _____

32. Do you have any friends who are not Navajo? Yes _____ No _____

Who? (Determine ethnic group.)

33. How often do they visit you? How often do you visit them?

_____ 1. Several times a week
_____ 2. Once a week
_____ 3. Several times a month
_____ 4. Once a month
_____ 5. Once every two months
_____ 6. Once every six months
_____ 7. Once a year
_____ 8. Less than once a year
34. Will you please tell us about all the groups and organizations you belong to. (Groups like hobby clubs, unions, churches.) (Determine the proportion of meetings attended in the past year and whether they worked on a committee and/or have been an officer in the past two years. Do this for each organization listed. If Church is mentioned, get denomination.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of organizations to which YOU belong</th>
<th>Proportion of meetings attended in past 1 yr.</th>
<th>Have you worked on a committee in past 2 yrs.?</th>
<th>Have you been an officer in past 2 yrs.?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Check one)</td>
<td>(Check one)</td>
<td>(Check one)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>½</td>
<td>¾ more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

35. All of us have problems sometimes, and talking with someone seems to help. If you have a personal problem who do you talk to about it?

36. Are there things in the Navajo way of life that are changing?

Probe.

37. Are there any things about the Navajo way of life that should not change?

Probe.
38. What things of Navajo life should be changed?

39. Do you own or have a

- 1. Truck or car
- 2. Radio
- 3. Lights
- 4. Running water
- 5. Phone
- 6. T.V.

40. How often do you go home for a visit?

41. Where is home? (trading post area)

Now we would like to know a little something about your parents and where you come from.

I. Would you say that your parents live the old traditional Navajo life or are they more modern?

A. Economic way of life

Type of work

Type of house

If traditional, have they ever worked for wages?

On welfare?

Do they own or have a

- 1. Truck or car
- 2. Radio
- 3. Lights
- 4. Running water
- 5. Phone
- 6. T.V.
B. Religious aspects

1. Medicine man

2. Sings

3. Traditional stories—Do you know any of them?

What did you do as a child during vacation time when you were in elementary school?

How many brothers and sisters do you have?

Do they go to school?

Yes   No

C. Education

Do your parents speak or understand English?

1. Speak

2. Understand

How do your parents feel about education?

42. Age   43. Sex   44. Marital Status S M D Sep Wid

If married, 45. To whom   46. From City State

47. Married at City State

48. How married

49. When married

Spouse is 50. Full Navajo

Other Indian

Part Indian

Non-Indian

51. How many children do you have?

52. Are there any members of your family who have married persons who are not Navajo?

Yes   No
MEN ONLY

53. Did you serve in the military? Yes ___ No ___

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Branch</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Drafted?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</tbody>
</table>

54. How do you feel about your time in the service?
VITA

Maree Ruth Kjar
Candidate for the Degree of
Master of Science

Thesis: Exploration of Possible Types of Alienation and Adjustment Existing for Male 1964 Intermountain School Graduates

Major Field: Sociology

Biographical Information:

Personal Data: Born at Provo, Utah, April 23, 1946, daughter of Ben C. and Ruth B. Kjar.

Education: Attended elementary school in Manti, Utah; graduated from Manti High School in 1964; received Associate of Arts degree from Snow College in 1966; received Bachelor of Science degree from Utah State University, with a major in sociology and a minor in psychology, in 1968; completed requirements for the Master of Science degree, specializing in sociology, at Utah State University in 1970.

Professional Experience: 1970, presently employed with Unified Social Service for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as a caseworker; 1968-70, research and teaching assistant, Utah State University; 1967, case-aid, summer work experience and training for Utah Public Welfare, Provo, Utah.