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FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH DEVIANT BEHAVIOR

AT INTERMOUNTAIN SCHOOL

by

Sonya Nesch Minock

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

of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

Sociology

Approved: _____

Major Professor: _____

Committee Member: _____

Committee Member: _____

Dean of Graduate Studies: _____

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY
Logan, Utah

1970

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Sonya Nesch Minock
Sonya Nesch Minock

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ABSTRACT

Factors Associated with Deviant Behavior
at Intermountain School

by

Sonya Nesch Minock, Master of Science

Utah State University, 1970

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

The types and frequency of deviance, and the relationship between deviance and factors in the pre-Intermountain, Intermountain, and post-Intermountain experiences were studied using the male population of the 1964 graduating class at Intermountain School, Brigham City, Utah.

Among the important findings are the following. Of 233 total deviant acts, 84 were time schedule violations and 66 were drinking and drinking-related violations. The quantitative pattern of deviance was about the same during the sophomore and junior years and then decreased during the senior year. There was an inverse relationship between family size and deviance. The lowest average deviance rate occurred among those students whose parents were living together. The students who started school at ages six to seven had the lowest average deviance rate. There was a negative correlation between grade point average and degree of deviance. Deviants had higher average scores than non-deviants on ten of twenty characteristics evaluated by counselors and teachers. The former Intermountain students with the highest post-high school "productive activity" scores also had the highest high school average deviance rate.

INTRODUCTION

Problem

Intermountain School (Intermountain) in Brigham City, Utah is the largest coeducational boarding school operated by the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs with an authorized enrollment of 2,150 students. Brigham City has a population of approximately 13,000.

The facilities now occupied by Intermountain School were originally built by the U. S. Army during World War II and operated as Bushnell General Hospital. The hospital was declared a surplus and in 1949 it was turned over to the Bureau of Indian Affairs to be used as a boarding school for Navajo boys and girls. At that time there were about 18,000 Navajos of school age who were not in school. (Bylund, 1970, p. 2)

Most of the students at Intermountain come from remote areas of the reservation with homes located 383 to 647 miles away. The students at Intermountain are enrolled by their parents through the Navaho Area Educational officials, according to the following criteria:

- 1) Pupils ages 12 and above who cannot attend a public school, a bureau school on a day basis or a border town dormitory (and)
- 2) Pupils recommended for social or welfare reasons and approved by the agency school superintendent. (Bylund, 1970, p. 2)

Many of the students have lived in extreme poverty. Their parents have had little or no schooling. For many of the students, this is their first experience away from family, relatives and the reservation. For many, this is also the first prolonged experience in a social structure where behavioral standards are created primarily by Anglo's. All of these factors could contribute to adjustment problems for the Navaho youth at Intermountain.

In reacting to the particular behavioral standards defined by Intermountain personnel, the possible responses are non-deviance or deviance from these standards. There is very little information regarding these responses among Navahos in a federal boarding school. This exploratory study, limited by the data available, is a beginning toward an understanding of non-deviance and deviance in the Navaho student, as well as a source of direction for further research. The specific objectives of this study are to:

1. Determine the types and frequency of deviance.
2. Propose possible reasons for the deviance.
3. Determine the relationships between deviance and non-deviance,
and
 - a. Pre-Intermountain factors (i.e., sex, number of children in family, language spoken at home, parent's marital status, age when school was started, number of years of schooling)
 - b. Intermountain factors (i.e., letters received in the sophomore year, extra-curricular activities, grade point average, diploma or certificate received, college preparatory or non-college preparatory curriculum, counselor and teacher evaluations),
and the
 - c. Post-Intermountain factor of "productive activity" which is the number of months of active employment, schooling and military service.
4. Propose possible reasons for these relationships.

Importance of Study

Societal reactions to deviance can limit the opportunities one has to experience success in school, job and interpersonal relationships, and can also damage the deviant's self-concept.

Deviance ordinarily represents a search for solutions to problems of adjustment. This study may lead to discovery of some of these adjustment problems, specifically, those having to do with role or value pressures and status or identity problems. There is nothing that can be done about previous Intermountain experiences, but if points of pressure toward deviance can be discovered within the Intermountain setting, then perhaps the school can alleviate these pressure points by creating new social conditions that will be conducive to allowing a greater number of students to have a successful educational experience, as well as greater opportunities upon leaving school.

The results of this study may be useful to Intermountain personnel in counseling students as well as in revealing types of deviance that need to be reconsidered and perhaps selected out of the deviant classification.

Delimitations

This study will not include an analysis of opportunity structures, informal groups or subcultures since these data were not available.

Perceptions of others about the deviants and non-deviants is limited to the counselor and teacher evaluations and recording of deviant incidents by Intermountain personnel. Information was not available on teacher attitudes in general toward the Navaho students (e.g., potential for learning and moral acceptability).

Of course, information is not available on undiscovered deviant acts and acts that were discovered and not reported.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Theoretical Orientation

Deviance involves an individual who violates a rule and a response to this person from others regarding his violation. Ideas are created about the individual by others and by himself as a result of the misbehavior. These ideas can change the person's role and status. If the deviant status is applied to an individual by others, it can become his master status, subordinating all else that he is.

Acquiring the deviant master status, or in other words, being identified and labelled as deviant may affect his grades, and teacher and counselor evaluations. Behavior of the "deviant" that once might have been above suspicion or perhaps overlooked may no longer be. His legitimate opportunities such as extra-curricular activity and jobs may now be limited. The student's self-perception may also be affected by a "deviant" identification and label and may result in the student's playing the deviant role that others expect him to play.

An individual who commits a deviant act is usually concerned with optimization of the reward-cost consequences of his behavior. For some individuals, the cost of teacher and counselor disapproval if they are caught, does not outweigh the reward that may come from the deviant act. One of the rewards that can come from either deviant or non-deviant behavior is friendship. Eliciting the kinds of friendships that one values is one of the most powerful motives of human conduct.

Since the study involves students of the Navaho culture, in a setting created predominantly by people in the Anglo culture, a knowledge

of some possible areas of cultural conflict is necessary in order to understand the types and frequency of deviance, possible facets of the Navaho individual's self-concept, and some of his reward-cost considerations.

Deviance

Deviance is not a quality that lies in behavior itself, but in the interaction between the person who commits an act and those who respond to it. . . . The same behavior may be an infraction of the rules at one time and not at another; may be an infraction when committed by one person, but not when committed by another; some rules are broken with impunity, others are not. (Becker, (1963, p. 14)

. . . Whether a given act is deviant or not depends in part on the nature of the act (that is, whether or not it violates some rule) and in part on what other people do about it. (Becker, 1963, p. 14)

The Intermountain personnel react to the student misbehavior, choose to write or not write a report about the misbehavior and also determine the report content. Recorded acts of misbehavior at Intermountain have political implications and are therefore subject to all the vagaries of reporting and recording.

People other than the discoverer of the deviance become cognizant of the misbehavior through: 1) distribution of memorandums concerning the more serious cases of deviance, 2) access to school records, and 3) informal discussions about students by the personnel.

Self and Societal Reactions to Deviance

If people are to interact with each other and the world around them, they must first identify, define, and classify in order to indicate to themselves what sort of object it is that they are dealing with. The socially recognized categories of people or social positions, are called statuses. The pattern of behavior associated with a particular social

position is called a role. "The self is also a social object. It is the actor as seen, labeled, classified, and judged by the actor himself." (Cohen, 1966, p. 97-98)

Two theories concerning the deviant status and role follow.

Master and Subordinate Statuses. Everett C. Hughes makes a distinction between master and subordinate statuses. The former override all other statuses. Race is a master status. If one is Black, the fact that one is a physician, middle-class or female will not protect him from being treated as a Black first and any of these other things second. The status of deviant is this kind of master status. "One received the status as a result of breaking a rule, and the identification proves to be more important than most others." (Becker, 1963, p. 33)

Labeling. Being identified and labeled as deviant is a critical determinant of subsequent deviant or conforming behavior. Whether a person is identified and labeled as deviant depends on who sees the behavior and whether he is motivated to take action. Whether the label will stick, and the actor invested with the role depends on his previous reputation and the authority of those who apply the definition. To the extent that this definition becomes part of his public identity, the behavior of other people might change in such a way as to limit the options available to him.

He may be denied the opportunity to perform in ways that would effectively deny the role that has been imputed to him, or performance that would once have been above suspicion is now open to sinister interpretation. As options become more limited, or legitimate options more costly, the actor may drift in the direction of behavior compatible with the stigmatized role. This behavior is likely to be interpreted as confirmation of the previous "diagnosis," and to result in a still sharper curtailment of options, which leads to still further commitment to the deviant role. During this process the actor may come to discover the satisfaction and profit that can be extracted from this role, or

at least how to live comfortably with it, and may acquire new reference objects who will support him in his deviance. He may come, indeed, to accept the new role as part of his self--that is, to see himself, as others now do, as "somebody who acts in such and such a way," and possibly as somebody who "can't help" acting in this way. (Cohen, 1966, p. 104)

One of the factors analyzed in its relation to deviance at Intermountain is the counselor and teacher evaluations of student performance. If labeling and master status theories are applied, one would expect to find that the average scores of the deviants would be lower on most or all of the traits evaluated by the counselors and teachers. Labeling theory indicates that labeling a person as deviant can result in acceptance of the deviant status as part of his self. The consequence of this could be his playing the deviant role. If this occurs, then perhaps the deviants may have less "productive activity" in their post-Intermountain experience, since employers tend to be intolerant of deviance.

Some of the satisfactions and profit from deviant behavior are found in Reward-Cost Theory.

Reward-Cost Theory

. . . Unless forced to do so, most people will not repeatedly engage in behavior that has unpleasant consequences. It appears, therefore, that people do employ a dimension of anticipated pleasantness of consequences in selecting behavioral alternatives. Further, these alternatives are usually selected so as to optimize the reward-cost consequences of behavior as opposed to the maximization of rewards independently of costs (DeLaMater, 1968, p. 445)

There are four primary classes of potential rewards that may be derived from deviance.

1. Friendship
2. Resolution of status or identity problems

3. Achievement of various material and success goals
4. Escape from role or value pressures. (DeLaMater, 1968, p. 453-454)

It is possible for a person to achieve more than one of these from the same deviant act. For example, from drinking, one could derive the rewards of friendship, resolution of status or identity problems and escape.

From reward-cost theory, one might expect the degree of deviance to decline in the senior year since the rewards of a diploma or certificate may increase in importance because of their nearness in time. The cost of deviance could preclude receipt of a diploma or certificate.

A further elaboration on the friendship reward is found in Relational Dependence Theory.

Relational Dependence Theory

. . . Relational rewards are earned by behaving in a way that is valued by other people, by satisfying their needs or conforming to their expectations. (Cohen, 1966, p. 85)

. . . All men become sensitized to some kinds of attitudes on the part of others. Once this sensitivity has been established, the granting or withholding of certain kinds of social relationships becomes the most powerful reward or punishment that man can administer; to act in such a way as to elicit the kinds of relationships one values becomes one of the most powerful motives of human conduct. (Cohen, 1966, p. 85)

Data were collected on the students' formal group memberships. An analysis of this and its relationship to deviance will be made to see if it is possible that relational rewards within formal groups are great enough to inhibit deviance. The cost of deviance could preclude

friendship with members of the group and/or membership in the group.

Relational rewards may also come from a friend or friends who want to go drinking, to be away without leave (AWOL), or to cut class, etc.

Conflicting Navaho and Anglo Values and Norms
Relevant to Intermountain

In order to understand the types and frequency of deviance, possible facets of the Navaho individual's self-concept, and some of his reward-cost considerations, one must know the cultural value and norm conflict that may be experienced by the Navaho student at Intermountain. Cultural values are widely shared ideas of the desirable within a particular culture. Cultural norms are based on these values and designate a standard for the course that behavior should follow. Some specific areas of possible conflict follow:

Autonomy vs. "Romantic Individualism." Dorothy Lee writes that autonomy is a cultural value among the Navaho. "Adults and children are valued for their sheer being, just because they are." (Lee, 1959, p. 10)

In the Anglo world, persons are valued because they are some "thing" (e.g., a good student, athlete, leader). Just "sheer being" is not enough. According to Mary Ellen Goodman, autonomy means

. . . the exercise of choice, performed largely with deliberation and intent. It is that dimension of self which lies "beyond conformity" Autonomy . . . reflects reasoned, judicious, flexible selectivity or uncoerced creativity and innovation. (Goodman, 1967, p. 219)

A Navaho student at Intermountain may feel a sense of freedom to choose which of the norms to follow or not follow.

According to Clyde Kluckhohn, in the Navaho culture

. . . there is an area of rigidity where what any given person may and may not do is inexorably fixed, but there is likewise a large periphery of freedom. This is not the "romantic individualism" of white tradition, but in many respects the Navaho has more autonomy, more opportunity for genuine spontaneity than is the case in white society. Rights of individuals, including children, over their immediately personal property, are respected to the fullest degree, even when their wishes run counter to the obvious interests of the family or extended family. White people seeking to purchase a bow and arrow that they see in a hogan are surprised to have the adults refer the question to the five-year-old who owns the toy and whose decision is final. If a youngster unequivocally says he does not want to go to school or to the hospital, that is, in most families, the end of it. Husbands and wives make no attempt to control every aspect of the behavior of the spouse. (Kluckhohn, 1962, p. 309-310)

"Adolescence" and Responsibility. In Anglo culture, adolescents are generally considered to be irresponsible. They probably have more rules to regulate their behavior than any other age group. However,

Among the People--except for youth in boarding school--there is no period of several years when the individual is neither a child nor an adult, such as the adolescent in white American society today. The Navaho's physical maturity and social maturity are more nearly coincidental. (Leighton, 1947, p. 76)

In the Navaho culture,

children and adults do not belong to two separate worlds. The same set of standards prevails in most things for all ages, from the child (as soon as he can talk) to the very old people. (Leighton, 1947, p. 74)

In a study of the ". . . Composite Self-Concept of the Southwestern Indian Adolescent,"* the composite Navaho adolescent was found to have a positive-oriented foundation for self-responsibility. (Indian Education, 1966, p. 9, 15)

Dorothea Leighton writes of the process of development of this responsibility in the Navaho youth.

*The use of the term "adolescent" in this study would be considered incorrect according to Dorothea Leighton.

The period from six through the early teens is a time for learning skills as well as for developing responsible behavior. Besides the chores of chopping and bringing in firewood, emptying ashes, hauling water, husking corn, etc., instruction in more specialized tasks begins. (Leighton, 1947, p. 59)

The growth of a sense of responsibility is facilitated by the custom of setting aside each year a sheep or two which, with their increase, belong to the child himself. The young herder feels, then, that he isn't just doing a job for his father and mother-- he is also looking after his own property. (Leighton, 1947, p. 58)

This raises the question of what affect does the Intermountain rules and informal behavioral expectations have on the autonomy and responsibility facets of the self-concept of some Navaho youth.

Competition vs. Cooperation. In the Navaho culture, survival depends upon cooperation and demands the subordination of the individual to the group.

Dorothea Leighton writes that perhaps the most momentous psychological conflicts and stresses for the Navaho children taught by white teachers

. . . arise from two features of white culture: (1) the great stress upon competition between individuals; (2) the lack of definite status for the child at each age level. The Navaho is completely unaccustomed to an explicitly stated hierarchical ranking of persons such as is carried out in the grading system in white schools. At first, at least, being singled out from one's fellows for superior performance is embarrassing or actively disturbing rather than rewarding. (Leighton, 1947, p. 68)

Time Schedules. Much of the misbehavior as defined by Intermountain personnel centers around meeting time schedules (e.g., AWOL, cutting class, late to class, missing roll call, sleeping late, missing detail, not in bed on time).

Navaho social and economic life is not geared to fine points of time scheduling. If a Singer says he will arrive "about noon," no one takes it amiss if he appears at sundown, though an arrival a day or more late would call for explanation. (Kluckhohn, 1962, p. 302)

Work. For the Navaho, "work, is not as it is in our Puritan tradition, a good thing in itself. The Navaho believes in working only as much as he needs to." (Kluckhohn, 1962, p. 302)

At Intermountain, as in Anglo schools, students are probably rewarded for working harder than others. The rewards are grades and favorable attitudes toward the individual from teachers, counselors and other Intermountain personnel.

Personal Excellence vs. Personal Success.

Personal excellence is . . . a value, but personal "success" in the white American sense is not. The Navaho lack of stress upon the success goal has its basis in childhood training but is reinforced by various patterns of adult life. A white man may start out to make a fortune and continue piling it up until he is a millionaire, where a Navaho though also interested in accumulating possessions, will stop when he is comfortably off, or even sooner, partly for fear of being called a witch if he is too successful. (Kluckhohn, 1962, p. 302)

Leadership.

That individual success is not a Navaho value is reflected also in the avoidance of the types of leadership which are familiar in white society. To The People it is fundamentally indecent for a single individual to presume to make decisions for a group. Leadership to them, does not mean "outstandingness" or anything like untrammelled power over the actions of others Decisions at meetings must be unanimous. To white persons this is an unbelievably tiresome and time-wasting process. But it is interesting to note that experiments with "group decision" in war industry have shown that the greatest increases in production have been attained when all workers in a unit concurred. (Kluckhohn, 1962, p. 302)

Non-Relatives. One of the basic convictions about the nature of human life and experience is that life is very, very dangerous.

. . . In white society (and probably in all others) there is a distrust of strangers, members of the "out-group." But the Navaho fears also the other members of his own people who are not related to him." (Kluckhohn, 1962, p. 305)

The Navaho student at Intermountain could feel distrust and fear or at least uncomfortable regarding the unfamiliar Intermountain personnel as well as other Navaho students.

Excesses vs. Moderation.

Very few activities are wrong in and of themselves, but excesses in the practice of any is dangerous. This is in marked contrast to the puritanical concept of immorality. . . . Even such everyday tasks as weaving must be done only in moderation. . . . Closely related is the fear of completely finishing anything: as a "spirit outlet," the basketmaker leaves an opening in the design; the weaver leaves a small slit between the threads. (Kluckhohn, 1962, p. 306)

The latter idea is incompatible with the Anglo idea that students should be rewarded for thoroughness. "This fear of excess is reflected also in various characteristic attitudes toward individuals. There is, for example, a folk saying: "If a child gets too smart, it will die young."" (Kluckhohn, 1962, p. 306)

Excessive studying could be difficult for a Navaho student because of the danger of overdoing and the fear of getting too smart. (Kluckhohn, 1962, p. 306)

Wealth and Power. Among Navaho's there is a "distrust of the very wealthy and very powerful." (Kluckhohn, 1962, p. 306) Personnel at Intermountain could be seen by Navaho students as powerful (because they are) and perhaps also as wealthy since nice cars and clothes could be perceived as wealth.

New Situations.

When in a new and dangerous situation, do nothing. . . . If a Navaho finds himself in a secular situation where custom does not tell him how to behave, he is usually ill at ease and worried. . . . The American tradition says "When danger threatens, do something." The Navaho tradition says, "Sit tight and perhaps in that way you may escape evil." (Kluckhohn, 1962, p. 307)

In a boarding school environment, the potential for daily "new and dangerous" situations would be great. Doing nothing could result in poor grades and acquisition of an "uncooperative" label.

Escape. Escape is an alternative response to the preceding formula

which the People select with increasing frequency when pressure becomes too intense. Doing nothing is not enough: safety lies in flight. This flight may take the form of leaving the field in the sheer physical sense. . . . Flight also takes the . . . form of addiction to alcohol. . . . (Kluckhohn, 1962, p. 307)

Literal Interpretations. Among the Navaho, what is said is to be taken literally.

. . . The easy ambiguities, the fluidities of English speech are foreign to the Navaho. There is little "reading between the lines," little exercise of the imagination in interpreting utterances.

. . . A Navaho will seldom take it upon himself to attribute thoughts or sentiments to others in the absence of very explicit statements on their part. (Kluckhohn, 1962, p. 313)

This would create the most difficulty in Social Studies and English courses since the subject matter is more abstract than that in the sciences and math. There could also be some difficulty in general communication between Navaho's and Anglo personnel.

Food, Dress and Cleanliness. Many of the Navaho students

. . . get summer jobs at or near the school and spend only a week or two or no time at all at home. When finally the school course is completed and there is a permanent return to the family, the adjustment is often painful on both sides. The boy or girl has become accustomed to white food, white clothing, white standards of cleanliness. He is torn between his abiding affection for his family and his drive to live up to what he has been taught are higher standards. (Leighton, 1947, p. 68)

The cost of conforming to Intermountain behavioral standards could be too high in terms of one's self-concept or identity. For some individuals, the rewards of approval or at least no disapproval of Intermountain personnel are not great enough to deny part of their identity. For example, to play the role of the competitive, super-groomed, excessively achievement-oriented student who would never be late to anything may be too high a price to pay for a few kind words or at least no negative words from a member of the staff, especially when you are used to appreciation from others just for "being."

The cultural value and norm conflicts, plus being away from family, relatives and the reservation, could probably create a considerable amount of stress for the Navaho student. One might expect some Navaho students to escape from this stress through physical (e.g., AWOL, missing class or roll call or detail) and/or mental (e.g., drinking, sniffing) flight. The frequency of these acts can be found in the Analysis of Data, p. 26.

REVIEW OF VARIABLES AND HYPOTHESES

Number of Children in Family

Studies of family size and delinquency in the Anglo culture have found delinquents more likely to come from larger families. The Gluecks study in 1950 found a mean of 6.85 children in the delinquents' families and 5.90 in the nondelinquents' families. (Glueck's, 1950, p. 119) F. Ivan Nye found in a study in 1958 that the "most delinquent" boys were also more often from large families. (Nye, 1958, p. 37-38)

It is anticipated that a positive relationship will exist between the number of children in the family and deviance because there would be less time for parental disciplinary tasks.

Hypothesis

There will be a positive relationship between the degree of deviance and the number of children in the family.

Parent's Marital Status

Slocum and Stone in a 1963 study using the Nye-Short self-report delinquency technique, found a significant correlation between broken homes and delinquent-type behavior. (Task Force Report, 1967, p. 196) According to Dorothea Leighton, when divorce occurs in a Navaho family, "the child's affectional ties to the father usually remain unbroken." (Leighton, 1947, p. 97) A Navaho "divorce" usually consists simply "in the return of one partner or the other to his or her own people." (Leighton, 1947, p. 83)

It is anticipated that the students whose parents were living together would have the lowest deviance rate because of the opportunity for the affection and discipline of both parents on a regular basis. The student whose parents were divorced or had one or both parents dead, all experienced a disruption of the usually close family unit. Those students with divorced parents are expected to have the second lowest deviance rate because of the likelihood for continued interaction with both parents on the reservation. The father's death was expected to be less disruptive than the mother's death because the father is frequently away from the children for sheepherding, hunting, and trading trips plus visits to his mother's family.

Hypothesis

The degree of deviance will be related to parent's marital status in the following way going from low to high deviance--Living Together-Divorced-Father Dead-Mother Dead-Both Dead.

Language Spoken at Home

It is expected that there will be less disorientation at Intermountain for the student who spoke both English and Navaho at home since English is the language spoken at Intermountain.

Hypothesis

The degree of deviance will be related to language spoken at home in the following way going from low to high deviance--Navaho and English-Navaho and Other-Navaho.

Age When School Was Started

It is anticipated that the older a child is when he starts school, the more difficulty he might have in adjusting and conforming to the rules of Intermountain. The older a student is, the more well-defined his self-concept probably is. The cost of acquiescence to some of these rules could be too high regarding the individual's maintenance of his self-concept which could include self-responsibility; little or no concern with meeting time schedules, work as a good thing in itself, competing, being a leader or one of the led, or being some "thing" such as a good student or athlete. The following types of Intermountain-defined misbehavior could be an affront to a responsible Navaho student: off-limits on campus, AWOL, not in bed on time, playing radio after hours, out until 10 p.m., missing roll call, messy room, sleeping late, and sleeping with another boy.

Hypothesis

There will be a positive relationship between the degree of deviance and the age when school was started.

Number of Years of Schooling

The reasoning of this hypothesis is the same as that for "Age When School Was Started." A fewer number of school years would be related to an older age when school was started. Conversely, a greater number of school years would be related to a younger age when school was started.

Hypothesis

The degree of deviance will be inversely related to the number of years of schooling.

Letters Received in the Sophomore Year

Close family ties may be demonstrated by the number of letters received and may contribute to an inhibition of deviance. Data were not available on letters received in other years.

Hypothesis

There will be an inverse relationship between the degree of deviance for the sophomore year and the number of letters received in that year.

Extracurricular Activity

It is anticipated that greater involvement in extra-curricular activity would offer a non-deviant source for potential relational rewards with group members and faculty advisors. A desire not to lose these social relationships might motivate one to conform to the Intermountain rules. Deviance from these rules could also result in suspension from the extracurricular group.

Hypothesis

There will be an inverse relationship between the number of extracurricular activities and the degree of deviance during the same year.

Grade Point Average

There is mounting evidence that delinquency and failure in school are correlated. For example, Polk and Richmond found that "in comparison

of a group of "A" and "B" students with a group of "C" and "D" ones (both working and middle class), the "C" and "D" ones were seven times more likely to be delinquent." (Task Force Report, 1967, p. 51)

It is anticipated that there will be an inverse relationship between grade point average (GPA) and degree of deviance.

Hypothesis

There will be an inverse relationship between grade point average (overall and by school year) and deviance.

Diploma or Certificate Received

Since the students earning a diploma probably started school at an earlier age, it is anticipated that their adjustment to school would be easier and their degree of deviance less.

Hypothesis

There will be a lower degree of deviance among those students who receive a diploma than among those who receive a certificate.

College Preparatory or Non-College

Preparatory Curriculum

The reasoning of this hypothesis is the same as that under "Diploma or Certificate Received." The college preparatory students would be the same as the diploma received students and the non-college preparatory students would be those who received certificates (with the addition of three college preparatory students).

Hypothesis

There will be a lower degree of deviance among the college preparatory

students than among those in the non-college preparatory curriculum.

Counselor and Teacher Evaluations

It is anticipated that those students with a higher degree of deviance will be classified and labeled as deviants and will have a lower average score on the evaluation of particular characteristics by the counselors and teachers.

Hypothesis

The average score of counselor and teacher evaluations of particular characteristics will be higher for non-deviants than for deviants.

Post-High School "Productive Activity"

It is anticipated that labeling a student as deviant could result in his acceptance of the deviant status as part of self. The consequence of this could be his playing the deviant role that others expect him to play. If past deviance is an indicator of future deviance, then the "productive activity" of deviants would be lower because employers tend to be intolerant of deviance.

Hypothesis

There will be an inverse relationship between post-high school "productive activity" and high school degree of deviance.

METHODOLOGY

Population

There were 98 males and 74 females in the 1964 graduating class of Intermountain. Four males were not included in this study because sufficient data were not available. Thirty-six of the 94 males and 43 of the 74 females were personally interviewed by graduate students and staff at Utah State University during the summer of 1969.

Data

The following information was obtained from the files at Intermountain: number of children in family, language spoken at home, parent's marital status, age when school was started, number of years of schooling, college preparatory curriculum, non-college preparatory curriculum, overall grade point average, grade point average/year, letters received from family and friends, counselor and teacher evaluations, diploma or certificate received, sex, and type and frequency of deviance.

Information concerning extracurricular activity was obtained from the Intermountain School Annuals for 1962, 1963 and 1964.

Information regarding post-high school "productive activity" which includes number of months of active employment, schooling, and military service, was obtained from the interview schedules mentioned above.

These data were coded and punched on cards.

Selection of Variables

The variables used in this study were limited by the kind of information available in the Intermountain School records, annuals and the Interview Schedules. The variables were selected on the basis of previous empirical studies, as well as the authors' judgment concerning other possibly relevant factors.

Analysis

This exploratory study is an attempt to view the relationships that exist between particular variables and deviance, and to propose possible reasons for the differences. Two methods of measuring deviance were selected. One method is the degree of deviance or the actual number of recorded deviant acts for the student. The hypotheses are proposed on the basis of this measure of deviance. The other measure of deviance is a distinction between deviants and non-deviants. Deviants were arbitrarily defined as those students with two or more acts of misbehavior either for the three years of high school or in the case of those variables analyzed on a particular school year basis, two or more acts of misbehavior for that year. This second method was developed to aid in analysis of those variables with similar average deviance rates for the categories of a particular variable. However, this type of table was developed for each variable. In some cases, there are differences in the results of these two types of tables. The differences are due to a large number of students with only two or three acts of misbehavior, resulting in a lower average deviance rate and a higher than would be expected percentage of deviants.

Since only 6 of the 74 females could be classified as deviant, the female population is only used in the analysis of sex and deviance. Only the male population is used in the remaining analyses.

The total male population (with the exception of four students) of the 1964 graduating class at Intermountain is used and no generalizations are made beyond this. The total N of the tables varies from 35 to the total population of 94. In each case, every student for whom data were available was used. Where the total N is less than 94, data were unavailable for some of the students.

In a statistical sense, no rigorous attempt was made to test the hypotheses. The primary reason is that the study deals with a population and generalizations beyond this population will not be made. Average deviance rates are computed for each category and rounded off to one decimal place. Any difference is used as a basis for describing the relationship. In cases where there are an insufficient number of students (less than eight) in a qualitative category, the relationships are described only for particular categories with a sufficient number of students. In cases with quantitative categories, all are used in describing the relationships.

Simple correlations were used for the preliminary analysis. For the most part, they proved to be not significant. Tabular analysis with contingency tables is used to present the relationship of variables. Average scores for deviants and non-deviants are computed on the counselor and teacher evaluations of academic performance and general student behavior.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

IntroductionDeviance--Types and Frequency

Deviance is defined as recorded acts of misbehavior at Intermountain School. Table 1 lists the recorded acts of misbehavior and their frequency.

Table 1. Types and frequency of recorded acts of misbehavior

f	Act	f	Act
	<u>Drinking/Drinking-Related</u>		<u>Other</u>
57	Drinking	21	Belligerance
4	Buying alcohol	15	Fighting
2	Attempt to bring alcohol on campus	9	Theft
2	Possession of alcohol--intent to drink	5	Forging pass
1	Attempt to buy beer	5	Off-limits on campus
	<u>Time Schedule</u>	4	Dishonesty
		4	Destruction of property
		4	Chewing skoll or snuff
		3	Messy room
		3	Failure to follow rules
40	Away without leave	2	Problems in doing detail
10	Cutting class	2	Didn't check out
1	Cutting class repeatedly	1	Smoking
2	Late to class	1	Not returning home
2	Late to class repeatedly	1	Taking pass without permission
4	Missing roll call	1	Sleeping with another boy
3	Missing roll call repeatedly	1	Non-participation in physical fitness
7	Sleeping late	1	Sniffing
1	Sleeping late repeatedly		
4	Not in bed on time		
7	Missing detail		
1	Late for detail		
1	Play radio after hours		
1	Out until 10 p.m.		

Eighty-four acts are time schedule violations. The cultural conflict regarding time (see Time Schedules in Review of Literature, p. 12) may be a partial explanation for the high frequency of these violations.

Sixty-six acts are drinking and drinking-related violations. Drinking to escape the pressures of deprivation and conflict with the Anglo society is common among Navaho men on the reservation. Next to time schedule violations, drinking and drinking-related activities are the most common acts of misbehavior among the male students at Inter-mountain.

If self-responsibility is a part of the Navaho self-identity (see "Adolescence" and Responsibility in Review of Literature, p. 11), the denial of this part of self which is implicit in the existence of a multiplicity of rules and rule-keepers, could be one source of the desire to escape through drinking and some time schedule violations.

The 21 acts of belligerence include: time schedule violations such as refusal to get up, as well as lack of cooperation, angry, defiant, and disrespectful behavior.

Drinking, drinking-related activities, fighting, theft, dishonesty, destruction of property, and smoking would be considered deviant behavior in both cultures.

Messy room, sleeping with another boy, non-participation, off-limits, not checking out, and possibly failure to follow rules would not be considered deviant behavior in Navaho culture.

Pattern of Deviance

The degree of deviance (number of deviant acts) is about the same during the sophomore and junior years and then decreases during the senior year (see Table 2a). Consistent with this finding, the number

Table 2a. Pattern of deviance by school year

Degree of deviance	School Year		
	Sophomore	Junior	Senior
0	47	46	65
1	26	24	18
2	10	10	6
3	3	6	3
4	5	3	2
5+	3	5	0
Total	94	94	94

and percentage of non-deviants and deviants is also about the same for the sophomore and junior years and then decreases during the senior year (see Table 2b).

Table 2b. Pattern of deviance by school year and number and percentage of non-deviants and deviants

	School year		
	Sophomore	Junior	Senior
Non-Deviants	73 (77.7%)	70 (74.5%)	83 (88.3%)
Deviants	21 (22.3%)	24 (25.5%)	11 (11.7%)
Total	94	94	94

This behavior in the senior year was expected since the reward-cost balance (see Reward-Cost Theory in Review of Literature, p. 8) for some students may change. The cost for deviance could be no certificate or diploma, at a time when the individual is only one school year or less away from receiving this reward. Also, the increased extracurricular

activity in the senior year (see analysis of Table 10a, p.42) could inhibit deviance.

Sex

One explanation for the low number of female deviants (see Tables 3a and 3b) may be differential socialization.

Table 3a. The relationship between sex and degree of deviance

Degree of deviance	Male	Female
0	17	55
1	24	13
2	15	3
3	16	2
4	7	0
5	3	0
6	4	0
7	1	0
8	3	0
9	1	0
10	2	0
11+	1	1
Total	94	74

From about the age of eight on, children of the two sexes tend to be separated a good deal of the time. Each group is trained in certain skills by their elders of the same sex. . . . Girls learn to cook and to tend children under the supervision of their mothers and other women relatives. . . . Youngsters of both sexes get instruction and experience in animal husbandry and in planting and weeding crops. Fathers teach their sons the care of horses, agriculture, house-building, leather work and other male skills. (Leighton, 1947, p. 59)

The skills that little girls learn are a necessary part of her role wherever she might live in the future. However, the skills that little

Table 3b. Sex and number and percentage of non-deviants and deviants

	Males	Females
Non-Deviants*	41 (43.6%)	68 (91.9%)
Deviants**	53 (56.4%)	6 (8.1%)
	—	—
Total	94	74

*One of no acts of misbehavior in the Intermountain School records.

**Two or more acts of misbehavior in the Intermountain School records. These definitions will be used throughout the report.

boys learn are primarily relevant to life on the reservation.

Children also learn the following about their male-female roles.

In terms of the traditional conceptions of men and of women, The People are promoting the economic security of the society when they place a large share of the property and its control in the hands of women. Women are thought of as more stable. They do not go around gambling and wasting money in drink and other ways to as large an extent as the men. Their interests are centered on family and children so that they can be expected to use the resources placed in their hands to promote the stability of the family and the welfare of their children. (Leighton, 1947, p. 83)

Navaho women, because of this stability, may provide a more consistent behavioral model for Navaho girls than the Navaho man would provide for the boys.

At Intermountain, one becomes aware of the importance of preparing for future roles. This would probably create no problems for the girl because her future role is well-defined--wife, mother, weaver. However, it seems as though a considerable amount of stress could be generated in a boy who is anticipating his future choices. The boy must decide

whether to: 1) eke out a living on the reservation, 2) work on or near the reservation, or 3) leave the reservation to find work. He must also consider what jobs are available to him and choose among these. He may also choose to: take additional vocational training, go into the military service before he has to, or attend a college or university if he has the prerequisites.

The future male role becomes a highly complex one involving many possible choices. Most of these choices mean a non-traditional way of life which is difficult for a person in any culture.

Variables Considered Separately

Number of Children in Family

Hypothesis--There will be a positive relationship between the degree of deviance and the number of children in the family.

There is an inverse relationship between the number of children in a family and the degree of deviance (see Table 4a). The higher average deviance rate in the smaller family may be because parents would have more time with a smaller family and could perform more tasks leaving the children with less responsibility and consequently a slower development of self-responsibility.

Larger families would require a high degree of cooperation and individual responsibility in order to survive. This may account for the more responsible and cooperative behavior of students at Intermountain who are from larger families.

In Table 4b, the percentage of deviants decreases as family size increases which is consistent with the findings in Table 4a.

Table 4a. The relationship between the number of children in the family and the degree of deviance

Degree of deviance	Number of children in family			Total
	1-5	6-8	9+	
0	6	4	5	15
1	3	7	8	18
2	5	4	2	11
3	7	3	2	12
4	1	2	1	4
5	0	1	1	2
6	1	1	2	4
7	0	1	0	1
8	2	0	1	3
9	0	1	0	1
10	1	1	0	2
11+	1	0	0	1
	—	—	—	—
Total	27	25	22	74
\bar{X}	3.0	2.8	2.1	2.7

Table 4b. Number of children in the family and number and percentage of non-deviants and deviants

	Number of children in family			Total
	1-5	6-8	9+	
Non-Deviants	9 (33.3%)	11 (44.0%)	13 (59.1%)	33 (44.6%)
Deviants	18 (66.7%)	14 (56.0%)	9 (40.9%)	41 (55.4%)
	—	—	—	—
	27	25	22	74

The differences found were not in the expected direction. The Navaho case appears to be the opposite of that found in empirical studies of the Anglo culture (see Review of Variables and Hypotheses, p. 17).

Data on birth order and completed and uncompleted family's would have been useful in this analysis.

Parent's Marital Status

Hypothesis--The degree of deviance will be related to parent's marital status in the following way going from low to high deviance--Living together-Divorced-Father dead-Mother dead-Both dead.

Due to the small number of subjects in the last two categories, only the first three categories will be analyzed. See Table 5a.

Table 5a. The relationship between parent's marital status and the degree of deviance

Degree of deviance	<u>Parent's marital status</u>					Total
	Living together	Divorced	Father dead	Mother dead	Both dead	
0	12	1	3	0	0	16
1	15	3	3	1	1	23
2	9	3	1	1	0	14
3	10	1	4	0	1	16
4	5	0	2	0	0	7
5	1	0	1	1	0	3
6	0	2	1	0	0	3
7	1	0	0	0	0	1
8	1	1	1	0	0	3
9	0	1	0	0	0	1
10	1	0	1	0	0	2
11+	0	0	1	0	0	1
<u>Total</u>	55	12	18	3	2	90
<u>X</u>	2.1	3.4	3.6	2.7	2.0	2.6

"Living together" category was expected to have the lowest deviance rate because the family is the basic social unit in Navaho culture. All of the other categories involved a disruption of the family unit.

"Divorced" was expected to have the second lowest deviance rate because of the likelihood for continued interaction with both parents on the reservation. The father's death would probably be less disruptive to the child than the mother's death because the father spends less time with the child.

The lowest percentage of deviants (see Table 5b) occurs in the

Table 5b. Parent's marital status and number and percentage of non-deviants and deviants

	Parent's marital status					Total
	Living together	Divorced	Father dead	Mother dead	Both dead	
Non-Deviants	27 (49.1%)	4 (33.3%)	6 (33.3%)	1 (33.3%)	1 (50%)	39 (43.3%)
Deviants	28 (50.9%)	8 (66.7%)	12 (66.7%)	2 (66.7%)	1 (50%)	51 (56.7%)
Total	55	12	18	3	2	90

category of those whose parent's are living together. There is the same percentage of deviants in the "Divorced" and "Father dead" categories.

The differences found were in the expected direction for the first three categories.

Language Spoken at Home

Hypothesis--The degree of deviance will be related to language spoken at home in the following way going from low to high deviance-- Navaho and English-Navaho and other-Navaho.

The "Navaho and other" category must be eliminated from the analysis because there is only one student (see Table 6a).

Table 6a. The relationship between language spoken at home and degree of deviance

Degree of deviance	Language spoken at home		Navaho	Total
	Navaho and English	Navaho and other		
0	4	0	5	9
1	3	0	9	12
2	6	0	7	13
3	3	0	8	11
4	1	0	2	3
5	1	0	1	2
6	1	1	1	3
7	0	0	0	0
8	1	0	1	2
9	1	0	0	1
10	0	0	1	1
11+	0	0	1	1
	—	—	—	—
Total	21	1	36	58
\bar{X}	2.6	6.0	2.6	2.7

The combination of "Navaho and English" spoken in the home was expected to provide less disorientation than "Navaho" only spoken at home, since English is the language spoken at Intermountain.

The average rate of deviance for those who spoke "Navaho and English" and "Navaho" is the same.

The percentage of students who spoke Navaho only at home and were classified as deviant is also only slightly higher at 38.9% (see Table 6b) than those who spoke "Navaho and English" at home (33.3%).

The expected differences were not found.

Information was not available on the amount of English used at home. Perhaps the differences would have been greater if the "Navaho and English" category could have been broken into English as the dominant language at home and English as the subordinate language at home.

Table 6b. Language spoken at home and number and percentage of non-deviants and deviants

	<u>Language spoken at home</u>		Total
	Navaho and English	Navaho	
Non-Deviants	14 (66.7%)	22 (61.1%)	36 (63.2%)
Deviants	7 (33.3%)	14 (38.9%)	21 (36.8%)
	—	—	—
Total	21	36	57

Age When School Was Started

Hypothesis--There will be a positive relationship between the degree of deviance and the age when school was started.

The older a child is when he starts school, the more difficulty he might have in adjusting and conforming to the rule system of a school, especially to those rules that conflict with the Navaho way of life. The cost of acquiescence to some of these rules could be too high with regard to the individual's maintenance of his identity or self-concept. The existence of rules assumes that students may behave irresponsibly or inappropriately. A child starting school at an older age may have more difficulty with the English language as well as less knowledge and experience in functioning within the educational and dormitory system.

The average deviance rate is lowest for those starting school at ages "6-7" and highest for those starting school between the ages of 8-11 (see Table 7a). The average deviance rate decreases slightly from the highest in the "12+" category.

There is an equal percentage of deviants and non-deviants in the "6-7" years and "10-11" years categories (see Table 7b). The highest

Table 7a. The relationship between the age when school was started and the degree of deviance

Degree of deviance	Age when school was started				Total
	6-7	8-9	10-11	12+	
0	3	3	7	2	15
1	4	9	8	2	23
2	2	4	2	2	10
3	3	8	3	2	16
4	1	4	2	0	7
5	0	0	3	0	3
6	0	1	2	1	4
7	0	0	1	0	1
8	0	2	0	1	3
9	1	0	0	0	1
10	0	0	2	0	2
11+	0	1	0	0	1
	—	—	—	—	—
Total	14	32	30	10	86
\bar{X}	2.1	2.8	2.8	2.6	2.7

Table 7b. Age when school was started and number and percentage of non-deviants and deviants.

	Age when school was started				Total
	6-7	8-9	10-11	12+	
Non-Deviants	7 (50%)	12 (37.5%)	15 (50%)	4 (40%)	38 (44.2%)
Deviants	7 (50%)	20 (62.5%)	15 (50%)	6 (60%)	48 (55.8%)
	—	—	—	—	—
Total	14	32	30	10	86

percentages of deviants are in the "8-9" years and "12+" years categories. The reason for the discrepancy between Tables 7a and 7b in the "10-11" category is that eight students were involved in five or more acts of deviance which makes the average deviance rate higher than might be expected from the results of Table 7b.

The differences found were not in the expected direction.

Number of Years of Schooling

Hypothesis--The degree of deviance will be inversely related to the number of years of schooling.

The reasoning of the hypothesis is the same as that in "Age When School Was Started." A fewer number of school years would be related to an older age when school was started. Conversely, a greater number of school years would be related to a younger age when school was started. The lowest average deviance rate occurs among those students with "1-7" years of schooling (see Table 8a). The highest average

Table 8a. The relationship between the number of years of schooling and the degree of deviance

Degree of deviance	Number of years of schooling				Total
	1-7	8-9	10-12	23+	
0	2	5	7	2	16
1	3	4	15	2	24
2	1	4	7	1	13
3	1	3	12	0	16
4	0	2	3	2	7
5	0	2	1	0	3
6	0	2	2	0	4
7	0	1	0	0	1
8	1	1	1	0	3
9	0	0	0	1	1
10	0	0	2	0	2
11+	0	0	1	0	<u>1</u>
	—	—	—	—	—
<u>Total</u>	8	24	51	8	91
<u>X</u>	2.0	2.8	2.6	2.6	2.6

deviance rate is in the "8-9" years of schooling category. The average deviance rate decreases slightly from the highest for those with over ten years of schooling.

The lowest percentage of deviants spent "1-7" years in school (see Table 8b). The highest percentage of deviants had "8-9" years

Table 8b. Number of years of schooling and number and percentage of non-deviants and deviants

	<u>Number of years of schooling</u>				Total
	1-7	8-9	10-12	13+	
Non-Deviants	5 (62.5%)	9 (37.5%)	22 (43.1%)	4 (50%)	40 (44%)
Deviants	3 (37.5%)	15 (62.5%)	29 (56.9%)	4 (50%)	51 (56%)
	—	—	—	—	—
Total	8	24	51	8	91

of school. The percentage of deviants decreases in the "10-12" category and decreases again in the "13+" category.

The differences found were not in the expected direction.

Letters Received in the Sophomore Year

Hypothesis--There will be an inverse relationship between the degree of deviance for the sophomore year and the number of letters received in that year.

There is a positive relationship between the number of letters received in the sophomore year and the degree of deviance for that same year (see Table 9a). This may reflect parental concern over the misbehavior of their son and an attempt to discipline by mail.

Table 9a. The relationship between number of letters received in the sophomore year and the degree of deviance for that year

Degree of deviance in sophomore year	Letters received in the sophomore year			Total
	0-9	10-25	26-46	
0	4	6	3	13
1	7	7	0	14
2	2	10	0	12
3	1	9	3	13
4	4	1	0	5
5	0	2	0	2
6	1	2	0	3
7	0	0	1	1
8	0	3	0	3
9	0	0	1	1
10	0	2	0	2
11+	0	3	0	3
	—	—	—	—
<u>Total</u>	19	45	8	72
<u>X</u>	1.9	2.9	3.1	3.0

The positive relationship did not show up in Table 9b because

Table 9b. Number of letters received in the sophomore year and the number and percentage of non-deviants and deviants.

	Number of letters received in the sophomore year			Total
	0-9	10-25	26-46	
Non-Deviants	11 (57.8%)	13 (28.9%)	3 (37.5%)	27 (37.5%)
Deviants	8 (42.2%)	32 (71.1%)	5 (62.5%)	45 (62.5%)
	—	—	—	—
Total	19	45	8	72

there were 19 students in the "10-25" category who were classified as deviant but had only two or three acts of misbehavior on their record.

The hypothesis was based on the reasoning that close family ties would be demonstrated by the number of letters received and that these ties would inhibit deviance but apparently this was not the case.

Data were not available on the number of letters received in the junior and senior years.

Extracurricular Activity

Hypothesis--There will be an inverse relationship between the number of extracurricular activities and the degree of deviance during the same year.

The extracurricular activities that the students could participate in are listed below:

Track	Drama Club
Boxing Club	Dance Club
Basketball	Art Club
Wrestling	Travel Club
Varsity Basketball	Rainbow Dancers
Intramural Basketball	Dramatics Class Program
Intramurals Club	Square Dance Club
Recreation Leaders Association	Chorus
Cheerleader	Senior Chorus
Sports Assistance Leader	Christmas Chorus
Drill Team	Christmas Play
Recreation Leaders Association	Band
Twirling Group	Dorm House Leader
Yearbook Committee	Student Council
Finance Committee	Class Officer

Special Superintendent's Committee	Snow Queen
Student Safety Committee	Building President
Navaho Youth Conferences	Student Body Officer
Safety Patrol	Smoke Signal Reporter and Staff
Rodeo Club	Sandpainter
Girl's Activity Association	

This hypothesis was based on relational dependence theory (see Relational Dependence Theory in Review of Literature, p. 9). The formal extracurricular groups could offer a non-deviant source for potential relational rewards with group members and faculty advisors. A desire not to lose these social relationships could motivate one to conform to the Intermountain rules. The cost of deviance from these rules could be suspension from the extracurricular group, as well as loss of friendships.

The average deviance rate decreases with an increase in extracurricular activity for the junior and senior years (see Table 10a).

Only 11 students in the sophomore year and 13 students in the junior year were involved in extracurricular activity. During the senior year, 53 students participated in extracurricular activity. This same phenomenon exists in Anglo culture. For example, a study by C. Wayne Gordon revealed that "social participation for both boys and girls represented a trend from moderate participation in the early years of high school to intensive participation in the upper grades." (Gordon, 1957, p. 132)

The percentage of deviants and non-deviants, and extracurricular activity by school year is found in Table 10b. The highest percentage of deviants were involved in one extracurricular activity during the

Table 10a. The relationship between extracurricular activity and the degree of deviance

Degree of deviance	Extracurricular activity														
	Sophomore				Junior					Senior					
	0	1	2	Total	0	1	2	3	Total	0	1	2	3	4	Total
0	43	3	1	47	40	4	1	1	46	26	30	6	2	1	65
1	24	2	0	26	19	4	1	0	24	11	6	1	0	0	18
2	8	1	1	10	9	1	0	0	10	2	4	0	0	0	6
3	2	1	0	3	6	0	0	0	6	0	3	0	0	0	3
4	4	1	0	5	2	1	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	2
5	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	83	9	2	94	81	10	2	1	94	41	43	7	2	1	94
\bar{X}	0.9	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.0	0.5	0.0	1.1	0.6	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.5

Table 10b. Extracurricular activity by school year and number and percentage of non-deviants and deviants

	Sophomore extracurricular activity			Total
	0	1	2	
Non-Deviants	67 (80.7%)	5 (55.6%)	1 (50%)	73 (77.7%)
Deviants	16 (19.3%)	4 (44.4%)	1 (50%)	21 (22.3%)
	—	—	—	—
Total	83	9	2	94

	Junior extracurricular activity			Total
	0	1	2-3	
Non-Deviants	59 (72.8%)	8 (80%)	3 (100%)	70 (75.5%)
Deviants	22 (27.2%)	2 (20%)	0 (0.0%)	24 (25.5%)
	—	—	—	—
Total	81	10	3	94

	0	Senior extracurricular activity		3-4	Total
		1	2		
Non-Deviants	37 (90.2%)	36 (83.7%)	7 (100%)	3 (100%)	83 (88.3%)
Deviants	4 (9.8%)	7 (16.3%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	11 (11.7%)
	—	—	—	—	—
Total	41	43	7	3	94

sophomore and senior years and no activity during the junior year. The discrepancy between Tables 10a and 10b regarding the seven deviants in one extracurricular activity during the senior year is because these students were involved in only two or three acts of misbehavior for that same year.

The expected relationship was found for the senior year only. There were an insufficient number of students involved in extracurricular activity during the sophomore and junior years.

Grade Point Average

Hypothesis--There will be an inverse relationship between grade point average (GPA) (overall and by school year) and deviance.

There was a negative correlation of .217 (significant at the 5 percent level) between overall GPA and total degree of deviance. The distribution of data can be seen in Table 11a. As the GPA increases,

Table 11a. The relationship between overall grade point average and total degree of deviance

Degree of deviance	Overall GPA			Total
	1.5-2.1	2.2-2.7	2.8-3.3	
0	3	5	9	17
1	3	12	8	23
2	0	7	8	15
3	0	8	7	15
4	0	6	1	7
5	1	2	0	3
6	0	1	3	4
7	1	0	0	1
8	0	3	0	3
9	0	1	0	1
10	1	1	0	2
11+	1	0	0	1
	—	—	—	—
<u>Total</u>	10	46	36	92
<u>X</u>	3.6	2.9	1.9	2.5

the average rate of deviance decreases.

The percentage of deviants is highest in the "2.2-2.7" category (see Table 11b). The reason for the discrepancy in this category

Table 11b. Overall grade point average and number and percentage of non-deviants and deviants

	1.5-2.1	Overall GPA 2.2-2.7	2.8-3.3	Total
Non-Deviants	6 (60%)	17 (37%)	17 (47.2%)	40 (43.5%)
Deviants	4 (40%)	29 (63%)	19 (52.8%)	52 (56.5%)
	—	—	—	—
Total	10	46	36	92

between Tables 11a and 11b is that fifteen students were classified as deviant but with only two or three acts of deviance resulting in a higher number of deviants than would be expected from the results of Table 11a.

The GPA during the senior year was negatively correlated at .478 (significant at the 1 percent level) with the degree of deviance during the senior year. The distribution of data can be seen in Table 11c. As the senior GPA increases, the average deviance rate of the senior year decreases.

The percentage of deviants decreases as GPA increases during the senior year (see Table 11d).

The GPA during the junior year was negatively correlated at .372 (significant at the 1 percent level) with the deviance rate during the junior year also. The distribution of data can be seen in Table 11e. As the junior GPA increases, the average deviance rate for the junior year decreases.

Table 11c. The relationship between senior grade point average and degree of deviance during the senior year.

Degree of deviance in senior year	Senior GPA			Total
	1.5-2.1	2.2-2.8	2.9-3.4	
0	4	34	26	64
1	2	10	5	17
2	1	5	1	7
3	0	2	1	3
4	1	0	1	2
	—	—	—	—
<u>Total</u>	8	51	34	93
<u>X</u>	1.0	0.5	0.4	0.5

Table 11d. Senior grade point average and number and percentage of non-deviants and deviants

	Senior GPA			Total
	1.5-2.1	2.2-2.8	2.8-3.4	
Non-Deviants	6 (75%)	44 (86.3%)	31 (91.1%)	81 (87.1%)
Deviants	2 (25%)	7 (13.7%)	3 (8.9%)	12 (12.9%)
	—	—	—	—
<u>Total</u>	8	51	34	93

The percentage of deviants decreases as GPA increases during the junior year (see Table 11f).

Perhaps the students with higher GPA's have a greater commitment to the new way of life, or a higher stake in conformity because non-conformity could put them in the disfavor of grade givers.

There were 53 males with no GPA recorded for the freshman year.

Table 11e. The relationship between junior grade point average and degree of deviance during the junior year

Degree of deviance in junior year	Junior GPA			Total
	1.2-2.0	2.1-2.9	3.0-3.6	
0	6	22	9	37
1	0	17	7	24
2	1	7	2	10
3	0	4	0	4
4	1	2	0	3
5	2	1	0	3
6	0	1	0	1
7	0	1	0	1
	—	—	—	—
<u>Total</u>	10	55	18	83
<u>X</u>	1.6	1.3	0.6	1.2

Table 11f. Junior grade point average and number and percentage of non-deviants and deviants

	Junior GPA			Total
	1.2-2.0	2.1-2.9	3.0-3.6	
Non-Deviants	6 (60%)	39 (70.9%)	16 (88.9%)	61 (73.5%)
Deviants	4 (40%)	16 (29.1%)	2 (11.1%)	22 (26.5%)
	—	—	—	—
<u>Total</u>	10	55	18	83

The differences found were in the expected direction for the overall GPA and junior and senior GPA's.

Diploma or Certificate Received

Hypothesis--There will be a lower degree of deviance among those students who receive a diploma than among those who receive a certificate.

The students ". . . have gone through one of two programs at Intermountain in 1964---one leading to the high school diploma and the other leading to a certificate from a special Navajo program." (Bylund, 1970, p. 16) The difference between those students working for a certificate and those working for a diploma was possibly determined by the age when school was started. Those earning certificates would have been older when they started school. Those earning diplomas would have started school at an earlier age when perhaps the adjustment to school would have been easier.

The average deviance rate was higher among those students working for a diploma than among those working for a certificate (see Table 12a).

Table 12a. The relationship between diploma or certificate received and degree of deviance

Degree of deviance	Diploma	Certificate	Total
0	4	13	17
1	8	16	24
2	4	11	15
3	10	6	16
4	3	4	7
5	1	2	3
6	2	2	4
7	0	1	1
8	1	2	3
9	1	0	1
10	1	1	2
11+	1	0	1
	—	—	—
Total	36	58	94
\bar{X}	3.1	2.2	2.6

The percentage of deviants earning a diploma was 66.7. There was an equal percentage of deviants and non-deviants earning a certificate (see Table 12b).

Table 12b. Diploma or certificate and number and percentage of non-deviants and deviants

	Diploma	Certificate	Total
Non-Deviants	12 (33.3%)	29 (50%)	41 (43.6%)
Deviants	24 (66.7%)	29 (50%)	53 (56.4%)
Total	36	58	94

Most of the students who earned a diploma would have started school between the ages of six to nine years. As previously mentioned, the students who started school at ages "6-7" had a low average deviance rate and those starting at the ages of "8-9" had a high average deviance rate. The average deviance rate within these two categories for those earning a certificate and those earning a diploma is found in Table 12c. The students in the six to nine year age group who earned a certificate had a lower average deviance rate than those who earned a diploma.

The differences found were not in the expected direction.

Table 12c. The relationship between diploma or certificate received and degree of deviance for those students who started school between the ages of six to nine years

Degree of deviance	Students starting school between ages of six to nine years		Total
	Diploma	Certificate	
0	2	4	6
1	10	3	13
2	2	4	6
3	8	3	11
4	1	4	5
5	0	0	0
6	1	0	1
7	0	0	0
8	1	1	2
9	1	0	1
10	0	0	0
11+	1	0	1
	—	—	—
Total	27	19	46
\bar{X}	2.8	2.4	2.6

College Preparatory or Non-College Preparatory Curriculum

Hypothesis--There will be a lower degree of deviance among the college preparatory students than among those in the non-college preparatory curriculum.

The reasoning of this hypothesis is the same as that for "Diploma or Certificate Received." The "College preparatory" students would be the same as the "Diploma" received students and the "Non-college preparatory" students would be those who received certificates (with the addition of three "College preparatory" students).

The average deviance rate was higher among the "College preparatory" students than among the "Non-college preparatory" students (see Table 13a).

Table 13a. The relationship between college preparatory or non-college preparatory curriculum and the degree of deviance

Degree of deviance	Curriculum		Total
	College preparatory	Non-college preparatory	
0	2	15	17
1	8	16	24
2	4	11	15
3	10	6	16
4	3	4	7
5	1	2	3
6	1	3	4
7	0	1	1
8	1	2	3
9	1	0	1
10	1	1	2
11+	1	0	1
	—	—	—
Total	33	61	94
\bar{X}	3.2	2.2	2.6

The percentage of deviants in the "College preparatory" curriculum was 69.7 percent. The percentage of deviants and non-deviants in the "Non-college preparatory" curriculum was nearly the same (see Table 13b).

Table 13b. College preparatory or non-college preparatory curriculum and number and percentage of non-deviants and deviants

	Curriculum		Total
	College preparatory	Non-college preparatory	
Non-Deviants	10 (30.3%)	31 (50.8%)	41 (43.6%)
Deviants	23 (69.7%)	30 (49.2%)	53 (56.4%)
	—	—	—
Total	33	61	94

The differences found were not in the expected direction.

Counselor and Teacher Evaluations

Hypothesis--The average score of counselor and teacher evaluations of particular characteristics will be higher for non-deviants than for deviants.

Students are rated by counselors and teachers on a scale from 1-5 (1-poor; 2-fair; 3-average; 4-good; 5-excellent) on the following characteristics:

<u>Academic Performance</u>	<u>Student Behavior</u>
Skill	Honesty
Improvement and achievement	Responsibility
Participation in activities	Courtesy
Reaction to criticism	Punctuality
Teacher evaluation	Security
Academic attitude	Leadership
Study habits	Cooperation
	Respect for property
	Use of English language
	Personal appearance
	Supervision required
	Emotional stability
	Social attitude

Deviants had higher average scores than non-deviants on the characteristics in Table 14a.

Table 14b lists the characteristics that non-deviants had higher average scores on than deviants.

Table 14a. Characteristics with higher average deviance scores for deviants than non-deviants

Characteristic	Average score non-deviants	Average score for deviants
Skill	.290	.318
Courtesy	.320	.334
Punctuality	.344	.370
Security	.295	.334
Cooperation	.363	.372
Respect for property	.324	.372
Use of English language	.310	.315
Personal appearance	.373	.377
Supervision required	.334	.355
Emotional stability	.293	.323

Table 14b. Characteristics with higher average deviance scores for non-deviants than deviants

Characteristic	Average score for non-deviants	Average score for deviants
Improvement and achievement	.320	.292
Participation in activities	.256	.255
Reaction to criticism	.151	.123
Teacher evaluation	.354	.345
Academic attitude	.383	.368
Study habits	.349	.345
Honesty	.351	.326
Responsibility	.339	.326
Leadership	.334	.332
Social attitude	.368	.358

The non-deviants had higher average scores on six of the seven characteristics associated with academic performance. The one exception was skill.

The deviants had higher average scores on nine of the thirteen characteristics associated with general behavior.

The expected relationship which was based on the societal reaction theories of master status and labeling, was not found to be the case. Apparently, the label and master status of deviant does not color the perception of the teacher and counselor evaluators. Deviants are recognized for their individual strengths.

Post-High School Productive Activity

Hypothesis--There will be a higher degree of high school deviance among those students with less than 49 months of "productive activity" than among those with 49 or more months of "productive activity."

"Productive activity" is the number of months of active employment, schooling, and military service. "The number of different jobs held by the Navajo graduates ranged from one to six for the males" (Bylund, 1970, p. 22)

A high degree of deviance at Intermountain could indicate a behavioral pattern that, if continued, would adversely affect one's possibility of keeping a job or staying in school. The grand mean of deviance for the entire interviewed male population was 2.7 (see Table 15a). The former students with 49 or more months of "productive activity" also had the highest average deviance rate. Apparently, the high school deviant behavior pattern of the interviewed population changes after these students leave Intermountain.

A higher percentage of high school deviants had 49 or more months of "productive activity" (see Table 15b). As would be expected, a higher percentage of non-deviants had less than 49 months of "productive activity." These results concur with those in Table 15a.

Table 15a. The relationship between post-high school productive activity and degree of deviance

Degree of deviance	Months of productive activity		Total
	12-48	49+	
0	3	3	6
1	5	3	8
2	1	2	3
3	3	6	9
4	1	4	5
5	0	0	0
6	0	1	1
7	0	0	0
8	0	1	1
9	0	1	1
10	0	1	1
	—	—	—
Total	13	22	35
\bar{X}	1.5	3.4	2.7

Table 15b. Post-high school productive activity and number and percentage of deviants and non-deviants

	Months of productive activity		Total
	12-48	49+	
Non-deviants	8 (61.5%)	6 (27.3%)	14 (40%)
deviants	5 (38.5%)	16 (72.7%)	21 (60%)
	—	—	—
Total	13	22	35

The relationship was the opposite of what was expected.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Objectives

The objectives of this study were to:

1. Determine the types and frequency of deviance among the male population of the 1964 graduating class at Intermountain School, Brigham City, Utah.
2. Propose possible reasons for the deviance.
3. Determine the relationship between deviance and factors in the pre-Intermountain, Intermountain, and post-Intermountain experiences of the students.
4. Propose possible reasons for these relationships.

Methodology

The data for this exploratory study were obtained from the Intermountain School records and annuals, and a five-year post-high school interview schedule. The population consisted of 94 of 98 male students in the 1964 graduating class at Intermountain School. Since only 6 of the 74 females could be classified as deviant, the female population was only used in the analysis of sex and deviance. Thirteen variables were analyzed regarding their relationship to deviance. Two methods of measuring deviance were used. One method was the degree of deviance or the actual number of recorded deviant acts for the student. The other measure of deviance was an arbitrary distinction between deviants (two or more acts of misbehavior) and non-deviants (one or no acts of misbehavior). In a statistical sense, no rigorous attempt was made to test

the hypotheses. Simple correlations were used for the preliminary analysis. For the most part, they proved to be not significant. Tabular analysis with contingency tables and average scores were used to present the relationship of variables.

Findings and Conclusions

Time schedule, and drinking and drinking-related violations represented 150 of the 233 total deviant acts. Eighty-four acts of deviance fell into the category of time schedule violations. Sixty-six were drinking and drinking-related violations. Both could be a means of escaping from the pressure on the self due to the value and norm conflict. The next closest category of violations was belligerence with 21 total acts. Time schedule violations, messy room, sleeping with another boy, non-participation, off-limits, not checking out and possibly failure to follow rules would not be considered deviant behavior in the Navaho culture.

The pattern of deviance was about the same during the sophomore and junior years and then decreased during the senior year. The reward-cost balance may change during the senior year since receipt of a diploma or certificate was nearer and the cost of deviance could preclude these rewards from being obtained.

Deviance was far more prevalent among males than females. Two possible reasons were differential socialization and the ill-defined future role of the male student.

There was an inverse relationship between family size and deviance. Larger families would require a high degree of cooperation and individual responsibility in order to survive. This may account for the more

responsible and cooperative behavior of students from larger families. In smaller families, perhaps the parents would have time to perform more tasks leaving the children with less responsibility and consequently a slower development of self-responsibility.

The lowest average deviance rate occurs among those students whose parents were living together. The average deviance rate for those students whose parents were divorced and for those whose father was dead were similar with the latter being slightly higher. Apparently, disruption of the family unit is a concomitant of deviance.

The percentage of students who spoke Navaho only at home and were classified as deviant was only slightly higher than those who spoke Navaho and English at home. The language(s) spoken at home has no affect upon the amount of deviance at Intermountain.

The lowest average deviance rate occurs among those students who started school at ages six to seven. Apparently, adjusting and conforming to the rule system of a federal boarding school was easiest for those starting school at an early age.

Those students who have had only one to seven years of school had the lowest average deviance rate. The average deviance rates for the remaining three categories were similar. There were only eight students in this category and they would have been older and possibly more mature when they started school.

There was a positive relationship between the number of letters received in the sophomore year and the degree of deviance for that same year. This may reflect parental concern over the misbehavior of their son and an attempt to discipline by mail.

The number of students involved in extracurricular activity was low and similar for the first two years and then increased greatly during the senior year. The average deviance rate decreased with an increase in extracurricular activity for the senior year. The formal extracurricular groups could offer a non-deviant source for potential relational rewards with group members and faculty advisors. A desire not to lose these social relationships could motivate one to conform to the Intermountain rules.

There was a negative correlation of .217 (significant at the 5 percent level) between overall grade point average and total deviance. The grade point average during the senior year was negatively correlated at .478 (significant at the 1 percent level) with the degree of deviance during the senior year. Also, the grade point average during the junior year was negatively correlated at .372 (significant at the 1 percent level) with the degree of deviance during the junior year. Perhaps the students with higher grade point averages have a greater commitment to the new way of life or a higher stake in conformity because non-conformity could put them in the disfavor of the grade givers.

There was a lower average deviance rate among those students receiving a certificate rather than a diploma. The students earning certificates would have started school at an older age than those earning a diploma. Thus, they may possibly have been more mature and responsible individuals, and consequently less deviant.

There was a lower average deviance rate among the students who were non-college preparatory than among those who were college preparatory. The college preparatory students were the same as the diploma received

students and the non-college preparatory students were the same as the certificate received students.

Deviant students had higher average scores than non-deviant students on the teacher and counselor evaluations of the following characteristics: skill, courtesy, punctuality, security, cooperation, respect for property, use of English language, personal appearance, supervision required and emotional stability. Non-deviant students had higher average scores on: improvement and achievement, participation in activities, reaction to criticism, teacher evaluation, academic attitude, study habits, honesty, responsibility, leadership and social attitude. The non-deviant students had higher average scores on six of the seven characteristics associated with academic performance. The one exception was skill. Deviant students are recognized for their individual strengths. Apparently, the label and master status of deviant does not color the perception of the counselor and teacher evaluators.

The former students with 49 or more months of post-high school "productive activity" also had the highest high school average deviance rate. Apparently, the high school deviant behavior pattern of the interviewed population, changes after these students leave Intermountain.

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VITA

Sonya Nesch Minock

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: Factors Associated with Deviant Behavior at Intermountain School

Major Field: Sociology

Biographical Information:

Personal Data: Born at Torrence, California, April 3, 1938;
two children--Daniele and Cathleen.

Education: Graduated from North Hollywood High School in 1956;
attended Los Angeles Valley Junior College, University of
Colorado, San Jose State College, San Fernando Valley
State College, Pierce College and Utah State University;
received the Bachelor of Science degree from Utah State
University, with a composite major in Business Education,
Business Administration and Office Administration, in
1968; completed requirements for the Master of Science
degree in Sociology at Utah State University in 1970.

Employment Experience: 1968 to present, teacher, Vocational
Improvement Program, Utah State University; 1970, teacher,
Conference and Institute Division, Utah State University;
1962 to 1966, secretary and research assistant, Serendipity
Associates, Chatsworth, California; 1961 to 1962, secretary,
The Matrix Corporation, Sherman Oaks, California; 1960,
stewardess, United Airlines, New York, N. Y. 1959 to 1960,
secretary, Psychological Research Associates, Sherman Oaks,
California; 1956 to 1959, clerical worker, Union Bank,
North Hollywood, California; 1955 to 1956, clerical worker,
Mainten-Aire Corporation, North Hollywood, California.





