



University of Nebraska at Omaha
DigitalCommons@UNO

Student Work

11-1-1966

Occupational expectations, future aspirations, and adaptation to formal education at an off-reservation boarding school for Indian high school students of the Northern Plains region

Donald R. Nugent
University of Nebraska at Omaha

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/studentwork>

Recommended Citation

Nugent, Donald R., "Occupational expectations, future aspirations, and adaptation to formal education at an off-reservation boarding school for Indian high school students of the Northern Plains region" (1966). *Student Work*. 499.
<https://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/studentwork/499>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by
DigitalCommons@UNO. It has been accepted for inclusion in Student
Work by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@UNO. For
more information, please contact unodigitalcommons@unomaha.edu.



131

OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS, FUTURE ASPIRATIONS, AND ADAPTATION TO FORMAL
EDUCATION AT AN OFF-RESERVATION BOARDING SCHOOL FOR INDIAN HIGH
SCHOOL STUDENTS OF THE NORTHERN PLAINS REGION

69

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of Sociology
and the
Faculty of the College of Graduate Studies
University of Omaha

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Donald R. Nugent
November 1966

UMI Number: EP73137

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI EP73137

Published by ProQuest LLC (2015). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code



ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

Accepted for the faculty of the College of Graduate Studies
of the University of Omaha, in partial fulfillment of the require-
ments for the degree Master of Arts.

George Holling Sociology
Chairman Department

Graduate Committee

| Name | Department |
|-------------------|------------------|
| <u>Elmer Foss</u> | <u>Sociology</u> |

Frederick W. Adair History

Frank G. Olesen Education

Corv A. Martin, Sociology

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As part of a three-year Mental Health Project for Indian Boarding Schools, supported by the National Institute of Mental Health, grant No. 1-411-Mh-967-1, I worked as a sociologist from June, 1964 until May, 1965. This thesis stems from a portion of my work as a staff member of the project.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to all those who provided their direction, support and cooperation. Appreciation is extended to Professor George Helling, Head of the Department of Sociology, University of Omaha, who served as my thesis advisor. The writer is also most grateful to Elaine K. Hess, Department of Sociology, University of Omaha, for assistance given in the methodological and statistical analysis.

I am particularly indebted to the late Thaddeus P. Krush, M.D., Director of the Mental Health Project, and Mr. John W. Bjork, Co-Director, for their guidance and interest; and to Professor Frank C. Miller, Project Consultant in Anthropology, and Mr. Peter S. Sindell, Staff Anthropologist, for their valuable aid.

Finally, I owe a great debt to the staff and students at the two study schools, who will remain unnamed throughout the thesis, for their assistance and cooperation during the collection of the data.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| CHAPTER | PAGE |
|--|------|
| I. THE PROBLEM | 1 |
| Introduction | 1 |
| The Social Problem | 2 |
| The Research Problem | 4 |
| II. THE SETTING | 7 |
| The School | 7 |
| The Community | 10 |
| The Staff | 13 |
| The Study Group | 15 |
| III. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE | 23 |
| Indian Education | 23 |
| Sociology of Education | 30 |
| Occupational Aspirations and Future Expectations | 33 |
| IV. METHODOLOGY | 42 |
| Selection of the Method | 42 |
| Definition of Terms | 43 |
| Statement of the Hypotheses | 43 |
| The Research Role | 45 |
| Control Population | 47 |
| Sources of the Data | 49 |
| School and Project Records | 50 |
| Field Notations | 50 |

| CHAPTER | PAGE |
|---|------|
| Student Questionnaire Schedules | 51 |
| Classroom Observations | 51 |
| Procedures and Measurements | 52 |
| Student Adaptations to Formal Education | 52 |
| Future Occupational Aspirations | 52 |
| Future Occupational Expectations | 52 |
| Statistical Methods and Analysis | 53 |
| Limitations of the Study | 55 |
| V. PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS | 58 |
| Occupational Aspirations | 58 |
| White Males and White Females | 63 |
| Indian Males and Indian Females | 64 |
| Occupational Expectations | 66 |
| Indian Males and Indian Females | 69 |
| White Males and White Females | 70 |
| Aspirations and Expectations | 71 |
| Discussion and Interpretation of the Findings | 74 |
| VI. OBSERVATIONAL DATA: ADAPTATIONS TO FORMAL ROLE EXPECTATIONS | |
| AT THE TWO STUDY SCHOOLS | 78 |
| VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS | 97 |
| Review of the Study | 97 |
| Findings of the Study | 99 |

| CHAPTER | PAGE |
|--|------|
| Theoretical Applications and Conclusions | 102 |
| Suggestions for Further Research | 103 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 104 |
| APPENDIX | 110 |

LIST OF TABLES

| TABLE | PAGE |
|---|------|
| I. Indian Study Group, Student, Age, and Sex Composition | 16 |
| II. Indian Study Group, Sex, Age, and Grade Chart | 17 |
| III. Indian Study Group, Degree of Indian Blood | 18 |
| IV. White Study School, Sex, Age, and Grade Distribution | 49 |
| V. Major Classifications, Occupational Aspirations for Indian and White Students | 60 |
| VI. Occupational Aspirations of Indian and White Males According to the Median Test Rank Division of the North-Hatt Scale | 62 |
| VII. Occupational Aspirations of Indian and White Females According to the Median Test Rank Division of the North-Hatt Scale | 63 |
| VIII. Occupational Aspirations of White Male and Female Students According to the Median Test Rank Division of the North-Hatt Scale | 64 |
| IX. Occupational Aspirations of Indian Male and Female Students According to the Median Test Rank Division of the North-Hatt Scale | 64 |
| X. Major Classifications, Occupational Expectations for Indian and White Students | 67 |
| XI. Occupational Expectations of the Indian and White Male Populations According to the Median Test Rank Division of the North-Hatt Scale | 68 |

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Little research has been done on the attitudes of American Indian groups toward occupation, education, or occupational mobility. Although anthropologists have studied the American Indian since the early 1940's, they have tended to focus upon tribal groupings studying each as an isolated people bearing the survivals of an aboriginal culture.

As society becomes increasingly complex and interdependent, the problems of studying any differentiated segment is unlikely to be relevant to their real life problems without a consistent reference to the values and norms of the surrounding dominant culture. Despite the persistence of some earlier customs and practices, the present day American Indian no longer possesses an aboriginal culture but exists in a contemporary reservation subculture, influenced by the mass media and technological advances of the larger society. Indians whose values were being shaped even ten years ago underwent strikingly different educational experiences from those of many young Indians today.

In view of these changes and the existence of the present contemporary reservation subculture, this study emphasizes sociological and quantitative techniques in place of the more familiar anthropological ones and is concerned with occupational aspirations, occupational expectations, and student adaptation to formal role expectations at an off-reservation boarding school for Indian high school students of the

Northern plains regions. Since much about the present-day American Indian adolescent is unknown, it is hoped that the findings will contribute to further understanding.

Besides the satisfaction of scientific curiosity such research can serve the practical end of assisting those involved directly in the programs designed to assimilate the American Indian into the mainstreams of American culture.

I. THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

Analysts of the American value system have emphasized the importance of education and occupation as central to the American success ideology.¹ A part of this educational-occupational ideology is the belief that various minority groupings, be they native or foreign born, may be brought into the mainstreams of the dominant culture via formal education, and subsequent occupational mobility.²

In successive and continuous efforts, the federal government has relied upon formal educational systems in attempting to assimilate the American Indian to the dominant culture. In 1818, the House Committee on Appropriations reported:

¹ Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1942), p. 132; Robin M. Williams, Jr., American Society (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1951), p. 390; John F. Cuber and Robert A. Harper, Problems of American Society: Values in Conflict (New York: Holt, 1948), pp. 256-386.

² Clark Wissler, Man and Culture (New York: Crowell, 1923), p. 10.

In the present state of our country one of two things seems to be necessary. Either that those sons of the forest should be moralized or exterminated . . . Put into the hands of their children the primer and hoe, and they will naturally, in time, take hold of the plow.³

The first federal school for Indians was established in 1860: "To free the children from the language and habits of their untutored and often times savage parents."⁴ In 1883, the Secretary of the Interior declared:

If a sufficient number of manual labor schools can be established to give each youth the advantage of three to five years of schooling, the next generation will hear nothing of this difficult problem, and we may leave the Indian to himself.⁵

Despite extensive implementation of this policy, however, American Indian groups have not been assimilated into the dominant culture and have not acquired its attitudes toward education and its use of education as a means of social mobility and occupational achievement.⁶ "Most of the youth," writes Johnson, "returned to the blanket."⁷

Social problems have historically offered the sociologists justification and support for study into both the immediate and the more basic causes of the perceived problem. If the United States' official policy

³Robert A. Roessel, Jr., Handbook for Indian Education (Los Angeles: Amerindian Publishing Company, 1964), p. 4.

⁴Ibid., p. 5. ⁵Ibid.

⁶Robert J. Havighurst, "Education Among American Indians: Individual and Cultural Aspects," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1957), p. 115.

⁷Charles S. Johnson, Education and the Cultural Crisis (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1951), p. 17.

toward the Indian is the fostering of assimilation, failure of the Indian to do so constitutes a "social problem." The facts on assimilation make clear the extent and existence of the social problem.

In 1960, seven out of every ten American Indians lived on or near reservations. They had the lowest proportion of any nonwhite group completing high school, and the highest proportion of unemployed. While there has been a steady increase of other nonwhite populations into managerial and white-collar professions, the proportion of American Indians has decreased in recent years.⁸

II. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The present study, though not attempting to answer directly all the questions raised by the failure of the federal schools to assimilate the Indian into the dominant culture, examines Indian and white differences regarding occupational mobility orientations and adaptation to formal education as possible indices to the larger issue. If the Indian school is to serve, for those who attend it, as a primary means for entering the occupations and attendant life styles of the "successful" white majority, it would seem necessary: (1) that they be motivated to do so, (2) that their life plans reflect this motivation, and (3) that they act in such a way as to implement those plans. More specifically, in the context of this study, it would be expected that, if the Indian schools were

⁸Calvin F. Schmid and Charles E. Nobbe, "Socio-economic Differentials Among Nonwhite Races," American Sociological Review, 30: 909-922, December, 1965.

functioning as expected by Congress, attending Indian adolescents would have: (1) aspirations to enter specific occupations in the majority's social order (lawyer, farmer, etc.), (2) would actually expect to do so, and (3) would be participating in the school training that they were receiving effectively enough so that it would be objectively possible for them to remain within acceptable limits of competence for their chosen careers.

Rather than measuring aspirations, expectations, and classroom participation against a theoretical standard, a white control group, matched in some important respects to the Indian group, is introduced so that the study can compare Indian and white rural high school students and attempt to examine differences between their aspirations and their actual occupational plans as well as describing their performance in student roles. The distinction between occupational aspirations and expectations is essential to the research design. In a study made earlier by Stephenson,⁹ it was found among his sample that members of different social strata did not differ significantly in their aspirations (what they wanted for a career), yet did differ in their plans (what they realistically expected to achieve). He explained this finding by proposing, contrary to the opinions of many scholars, that there are no major

⁹Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders," American Sociological Review, 22:204-212, April, 1957.

differences between social classes in regard to attitudes toward education and occupation. In his opinion, the future plans differ because of objective differences in opportunity. He followed Merton's formulations, which predict that the acceptance of certain values, e.g. occupational success, will be found to be pervasive throughout American society. There is a difference among classes, however, in that the legitimate means for obtaining the goals are unevenly distributed throughout American society.¹⁰

If aspirations to socially approved goals are out of touch with the perceived reality of ones' life chances, it may be further developed from Mertons' analysis that such an hiatus will be reflected in patterned forms of deviance as withdrawal, retreatism, rebellion and others. Presumably, this is as characteristic of Indians as of any other American.

In summary, Indian federal schools were set up in order to assimilate the Indian into the larger American society. They have, by and large, not succeeded. This study will investigate some of the ways in which the adjustment of Indian adolescents to the expectations that surround them in a high school differ from those of whites and suggest some sociological hypotheses for the ineffectiveness of the Indian school as a means of assimilation.

¹⁰Merton, op. cit.

CHAPTER II

THE SETTING

This chapter on the formal setting of the study is comprised of four sections: (1) the school, (2) the community, (3) the staff, and (4) the students.

I. THE SCHOOL

The Lone Pine Indian School¹¹ is an off-reservation boarding school for high school students of one-fourth or more degree of Indian blood.¹² It is operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior.

Students come to the school for a variety of reasons, the most common one given being the unavailability of a school in the student's home area (usually defined in terms of walking distance when transportation is not available). Local officials of the Bureau of Indian Affairs also encourage enrollment in cases of family instability and personal adjustment problems. More than one factor may be operative in a given case.

¹¹To preserve the anonymity of the school, community, and individuals, pseudonyms are used.

¹²"Anglo-Saxon principles of heirship have been applied to 'Indian-ness' and thus created a 'legalistic genetics' in which the individual is characterized by his blood quanta.' The federal government maintains a tribal roster in which each person is characterized by 'eights' (i.e., great-grandparents), so that '8/8' signifies wholly 'full-blood' and '4/8' the exact 'halfbreed.' Source: Murray and Rosalie Wax, "Formal Education in an American Indian Community," Social Problems, 21:30, Spring, 1964.

Changes in the administrative jurisdictions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has contributed to a changing student population over the years. Up until about twelve years ago the school drew its largest population from Minnesota resulting in a student body largely of Eastern Woodland Indians. Since 1947, however, the enrollment pattern has changed, the school now drawing students largely from the Aberdeen Area (South Dakota, North Dakota, and Nebraska) and the Billings Area (Montana and Wyoming). The vast majority of the students come from twenty-one reservations, and includes individuals from various Plains Indian tribes such as the Sioux, Blackfeet, Crow, and Chippewa (Plains Ojibwa).

The school was originally established by a mission group in the late nineteenth century. Federal aid to support Indian mission education was available until March 2, 1917.¹³ Thereafter, the Lone Pine School assumed federal sponsorship although it continued to follow the pattern established by the mission school as boarding schools were regarded as the preferred type of school at the time.¹⁴

Increasing criticism of federal schools and the manner in which they were operated resulted in the Meriam Survey of 1928. The Meriam Report was highly critical of boarding schools which they claimed destroyed the home life of the Indian youth. In spite of this criticism, the Lone Pine School continued to operate as a boarding school and became known

¹³Roessel, op. cit., p. 4.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 5.

for its vocational and agricultural training for high school students. The school offered training in such fields as farming, dairying, carpentry, auto mechanics, electricity, woodwork, and baking for the boys and such vocational courses as cosmetology, tailoring, secretarial, waitress, and matron training for girls.

In recent years, since 1950, the trend in Indian education has been away from agricultural vocational training, cultural pride, and day schools¹⁵ and Lone Pine school has adjusted its offerings accordingly, continuing as a boarding institution. The present policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is more toward equating federal Indian education with that of the public schools. Efforts are made to correlate the objectives and course of studies with public school objectives and curriculums. The Bureau publication, In Step With the States, compares public school courses of study in individual states with the federal Indian schools and contends that the curriculums and objectives are equal.¹⁶

The Lone Pine school presently aims at providing a basic high school education for the students that is parallel to that of other public high schools within the state. The school is accredited by the South Dakota Department of Public Instruction and also by the North Central High School Accreditation Board.

¹⁵Lewis Meriam, The Problems of Indian Administration (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1928).

¹⁶Roessel, op. cit., p. 6.

The earlier vocational-agricultural program has been largely replaced by a purely academic one, although there continues to be a strong program in general shop and home economics. Required courses now include four years of English, two years of laboratory science (biology and general science), math (algebra and/or general math), social science, physical education, and industrial arts for the boys and home economics for the girls. In addition a student must take eight units of electives.

II. THE COMMUNITY

The school is located about a mile from Lone Pine, South Dakota, which has a population of around 2,000. The town serves as a trading center, county seat, and source of recreational and social functions for the surrounding rural areas.

The small business section in the center of town covers around three blocks and is dominated by small independent stores and businesses interspersed with vacant buildings badly in need of repair. The town has a weekly newspaper and operates a local radio station.

Members of a small local tribe of Indians reside on tracts of land near the school or live in the local community. There are some 2,100 acres of tribal land, which is dry farm land with open grazing tracts. The tribal land is divided into tracts of 80 acres, each of which has been assigned to an individual Indian family.

Since the community is small, with insufficient employment opportunities, most of the employed Indians work at the Lone Pine School. The average family income for the Indian group is less than half the average

of all rural farm families in the state of South Dakota.

Approximately two-thirds of the staff from the school live in the local community or commute from other rural towns or farms, while the remaining staff live on the school campus in government housing.

Economically, Lone Pine School contributes greatly to the town. The school employs more personnel than any other organization within the entire county. The following account is taken from the author's field diary:

Many people don't think the school helps the community out--it sure does as far as I'm concerned, they say it wouldn't make any difference if the school were here or not. Some of the ones that reap the benefits directly even say this. I get a lot of business from the school people. Lone Pine makes a big difference to the entire economy of the community. Just think of the money the kids will spend downtown on Saturday. The staff members also spend their salaries in the community, and then they will say that the school has no effect upon the community. (field notation--middle-aged, white businessman, October 17, 1964).

The students from the school are free to go to town on assigned afternoons during the week and on Saturday and Sunday afternoons. In general, however, student-community contact is minimal. When the students talk to townspeople it is mostly as customers in the stores or as patrons of the single movie theatre. The local theatre owner attributes the continuance of his business to "the kids from the Indian school."

Through student employment or student attendance at church services a few more contacts are provided, though in general, student participation in local town church activities is minimal since religious services are held at the school auditorium on Sunday and ministers and church members of respective denominations come to the school on Monday afternoon to conduct a religious activity period. The employment situation reflects

the fact that few steady jobs are available for the boys in the community, although a few obtained such jobs as raking leaves or shoveling snow. The girls have many temporary jobs and a few steady jobs babysitting and housecleaning. Many of the student jobs are provided by school staff members.

In general, the Indian students from the Lone Pine School are treated differently than white adolescents in the community. A specified list of restricted items, usually those containing alcohol, can not be purchased by Indian youths, whereas white adolescents have no such restrictions. At one cafe in Lone Pine, salt and pepper shakers are removed from the tables, paper cups are substituted for the usual glasses, and the Indian youths are asked to pay when they are served.

In general, the students express some resentment toward the differential treatment they receive when they go to town. A student wrote the following account after a visit:

In my opinion most white people are prejudice. I may sound prejudice saying this but it is true. I think I am prejudice against some white people. I try not to, but they sometimes don't give me time to judge them fairly, like some of the people down town. They watch you, all of them do, they don't even give us a chance to judge them fairly. I hate to even go into some stores, they watch you so much. The man in the (student named store) is the only one that I know isn't prejudiced. He's real nice, he doesn't watch you close, he makes me feel like that I'm trusted, but the people in those other stores make me feel like running away, and not go in there again . . . a friend of mine and I went into one of the stores, we were buying some stuff, we went down one aisle, the owner of this store was looking at us suspiciously and he told one of the boys to watch us, he probably didn't mean for us to hear him, cause he sure looked surprised when we went up to the counter with our stuff and walked out. We haven't gone back to that store ever since, and I don't intend to. (Nineteen year old Sioux student, November 23, 1964).

III. THE STAFF

The formal organization of the school incorporates a familiar pattern of staff and line positions. The formal positions or statuses of superintendent, principal, department heads, teachers, and various auxiliary personnel define the role expectations of those who occupy them.

The Superintendent is the formal structural link between the school and the Area Director, Bureau of Indian Affairs, who is in turn directly responsible to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The Superintendent, who is white, oversees the entire program at the school. He is also superintendent of the local Indian community and is responsible for all programs and dealings concerning the local tribe of Indians.

Under the Superintendent there are three administrative positions: the Administrative Officer, who is charged with financial and accounting responsibilities; the Buildings and Grounds Manager, who supervises the operation and maintenance of the campus buildings and grounds; and the Principal, who directs the educational program. The Principal, who is Indian, also occupies a key position in the public relations program of the school.

Directly responsible to the Principal and Superintendent are an educational specialist and four department heads: Academic, Boys Industrial Arts, Girls Home Economics, and the Guidance Coordinator. The educational specialist organizes the program for remedial instruction. The Academic Head supervises the system of formal education, and the classroom teachers are directly responsible to him. His office is located in

the academic building, whereas that of the principal is located in the Administration Building.

The vocational department heads direct the shop and home economics programs. In addition, the boys' director is responsible for the repair and maintenance of government vehicles. The girls' director supervises the dining hall and its personnel. All the department heads are white.

Under the Guidance Director, who supervises the administration of the dormitories and coordinates student social activities, are the Boys' and Girls' Guidance department heads. They are in charge of their respective dormitories, and the dormitory staff is responsible to them. The Boys' Director is an Indian, while the Girls' Director is white.

A religious Activity Director, a non-governmental employee, whose program is supported by the National Council of Churches, coordinates the religious activity periods, and serves as a chaperone and sponsor for various religious functions.

On the school campus the Public Health Service, Division of Indian Health, operates a clinic which is staffed by a dental officer and dental assistant, a clinic nurse, a medical social worker, a contract physician, and a secretary. All of these persons except for the dental assistant, who is an Indian, are white.

During 1964 and 1965, the clinic also housed the Mental Health Project, whose local staff consisted of the Co-Director, a psychiatric social worker, an anthropologist, three secretaries, and the author, who was a sociologist.

Thirty-two teachers are responsible to the Academic, Industrial

Arts, and Home Economics department heads. Twenty-six of the teachers are married, five are single, and one is widowed. Twenty-three are white, six are Indian and three are Negro. Five of the white teachers are married to Indians.

The teachers are derived largely from small rural communities in the Midwest, and the majority come from communities that have a population of less than 2500. While the remaining come from various non-Midwestern states, their home towns tend to be more rural than urban.

Teacher turnover is high, especially among the new and younger teachers. The range of employment, however, is from three months to thirty years.

Viewing the socio-economic origins of the teachers, we find that they come from middle and lower-middle class backgrounds. Eleven of the teachers' fathers had farmed, four had been employed in clerical and sales work, two owned small proprietorships, four worked in non-skilled labor, two in service occupations and four in white-collar jobs. Two of the teachers' fathers had also been teachers, and three had worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

In general then, the teachers at the Lone Pine School are married, are native to the rural Midwest, come from middle and lower-middle class origins, and are graduates of small state teachers colleges.

IV. THE STUDY GROUP

The student population at the Lone Pine School consisted entirely of boarding students. The average daily attendance was approximately 581,

although 677 had been officially enrolled during the year.

Nearly all of these students come from twenty-one reservations, located in the Billings Area (Montana and Wyoming) and Aberdeen Area (South Dakota, North Dakota, and Nebraska), and include individuals from the various Plains Indian tribes. (See Appendix I for student tribal-reservation affiliations).

The student population was approximately 48 per cent male and 52 per cent female. Tables I and II show the age and sex composition of the population.

TABLE I
INDIAN STUDY GROUP
STUDENT, AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION

| AGE | MALE | FEMALE | TOTAL |
|-----------|------|--------|-------|
| 14 | 7 | 8 | 15 |
| 15 | 44 | 68 | 102 |
| 16 | 75 | 64 | 138 |
| 17 | 80 | 89 | 169 |
| 18 | 61 | 68 | 129 |
| 19 | 33 | 36 | 69 |
| 20 | 26 | 12 | 38 |
| 21 & over | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| | 329 | 348 | 677 |

Source: United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Education, Annual School Attendance Report, 1965.

TABLE II
INDIAN STUDY GROUP
SEX, AGE AND GRADE CHART

| GRADE | AGE | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 & over | TOTAL |
|-------|--------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----------|-------|
| 9 | Male | 7 | 32 | 41 | 20 | 6 | 3 | | | 109 |
| | Female | 8 | 43 | 20 | 13 | 5 | | | | 94 |
| 10 | Male | | 12 | 25 | 34 | 15 | 5 | | | 91 |
| | Female | | 15 | 34 | 37 | 10 | 3 | | | 99 |
| 11 | Male | | | 9 | 26 | 20 | 13 | 13 | | 81 |
| | Female | | | 10 | 36 | 26 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 81 |
| 12 | Male | | | | 5 | 20 | 12 | 11 | 3 | 51 |
| | Female | | | | 4 | 27 | 25 | 11 | 2 | 71 |

Source: United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Education, Annual School Attendance Report, 1965.

Students of the same sex at one grade level are treated as units in the educational organization and are the basic units from which the classroom groups are formed. As can be seen from the data of Table II the age levels for the students at each grade is somewhat higher than is characteristic of white public schools.

The only official school recognition of the "degree of Indianness" of the students is "blood quanta." An enrollment criterion is that the students must be of one-fourth or more "Indian blood." Table III depicts the respective percentages represented at the Lone Pine School.

TABLE III

INDIAN STUDY GROUP
DEGREE OF INDIAN BLOOD

| DEGREE | BOYS | GIRLS | TOTAL |
|----------------------|------|-------|-------|
| Number of Full Blood | 104 | 112 | 216 |
| Number of 3/4 Blood | 111 | 137 | 248 |
| Number of 1/2 Blood | 91 | 80 | 171 |
| Number of 1/4 Blood | 26 | 16 | 42 |
| Total | 332 | 345 | 677 |

Source: United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Education, Annual School Attendance Report, 1965.

Viewing socio-anthropological criteria for degree of "Indianness" one might also consider these factors: "speaking Indian," "attending and taking part in the Native American Peyote Cult," or "living in a household where another member or members may be white."

In responding to questionnaire items during 1964, approximately 53 per cent of the students responding ($N=395$) stated they spoke an Indian¹⁷ dialect; approximately 23 per cent stated they attended the Peyote Meetings of the Native American church at least once a year, while 29 per cent stated

¹⁷For the sake of clarity and convenience, "Indian" is used in a generic sense like "English" or "Russian" to refer to all Indian dialects and languages.

they had lived in a household with one or more white persons. In general, the students may be viewed as transitional, but not highly acculturated. All of the students are reservation resident's; this factor also would indicate that their families were not highly acculturated into the dominant culture. Among the students themselves there is a value placed upon looking Indian and being able to speak Indian. "Mixed-blood" girls with lighter hair will frequently dye their hair black. Both the Moccasin Day Queen and King, elected by the vote of the student body, during 1965 have Indian surnames and are full-bloods. Although the Indian surnames are valued in the student subculture, the students will often abbreviate their surnames when signing their names to school papers. Thus, "Never Misses a Shot" becomes "Never", or "Sun Goes Down Slow" becomes "Sun G. D. S."

In general, many of the activities and the interests of the Indian students seem to be no different than those of adolescents attending high school anywhere in the Midwest. As among teenagers in majority group high schools, there exists a dominating and influential student subculture at the Lone Pine School.

Having friends, and being with them are central in the lives of the students. Closely related to having friends is the value the students place on generosity:

A student could ask anybody for "hooks" (a part of whatever the person was eating, permission to read something the person was reading, drags on a cigarette, etc.) a "raise" (a loan of money), or for any item of clothing.¹⁸

¹⁸Peter S. Sindell, "Cultural Transmission and Social Learning in an Indian Boarding School" (Paper read at Proseminar II, Department of Anthropology, Stanford University, April 24, 1965), p. 30. Peter S. Sindell served as staff anthropologist, Mental Health Project for Indian Boarding Schools, from 1963-1964. At Lone Pine School he lived in the boys' dormitory.

Clothing and personal appearance are also highly stressed. The students are very conscious of the style of their clothes and wear tasteful conservative clothes. During the school year the boys wear washable jeans or slacks in tan or black shades and neatly pressed colored sport shirts. The girls wear dresses or skirts with blouses or sweaters. At any time the clothes of the students would not appear conspicuous in any typical American town.

The students are also very hair-conscious, and the girls spend a good portion of the evening hours helping each other "fix" their hair. The styles are conservative, neat, and plain. One could frequently notice the males combing their hair before a shiny surface in the school building or "popping" into the restroom to comb their hair between classes. Shoes are often polished every night, and white tennis shoes are never allowed to remain dirty or stained. In general, a great deal of the students' "free time" is spent in activities concerned with clothes or personal appearance:

A great deal of time was spent ironing and washing clothes, as well as borrowing them. The major cause was relatively simple, a lack of clothes among many of the students. Thus, since the boys valued wearing clean shirts and pants very frequently (often every day) many were forced to spend some time every day or every other day washing and ironing.¹⁹

Another emphasis is upon sports and physical activities, especially for the boys. Attendance at sports events and the participation in informal games is prevalent among all other activities for both the boys and girls.

Heterosexual relationships, although no doubt somewhat controlled due

¹⁹Ibid., p. 31.

to the boarding context of the school, are important in the student social system. The dining hall, the canteen, the hallways during school hours, and the trips to town on weekends and on assigned afternoons during the week provide opportunities for boys and girls to get together. A boy can also send a friend of his as an emissary to a girl to ask her whether she would like to get "hooked up." If she agreed, then the boy walked her back to the dormitory, thereby indicating officially that they were "hooked up." This would be somewhat akin to going steady. However, if a boy saw a girl too frequently, then he was "whipped" and was ridiculed by his male peers. The boys seem to feel that spending some time with a girl is fine, but she shouldn't take them away from the male peer group too much.²⁰

There is patterned variation within the student subculture:

(Two) groups were perceived as the serious guys and the 'goof offs' . . . other terms were the 'regular guys' and the 'rugged guys.' Rugged meant anything which deviated greatly from a student norm. If a boy used excessive profanity or told 'dirty' jokes within the hearing of a girl he was apt to be labelled 'rugged' by many of the students. The 'rugged' guys violated school and student general norms more frequently than the other students and really were a subgroup of the 'goof offs.' Values which motivated the goof offs as a whole included autonomy, heterosexual conquest and 'kicks'--drinking, staying up all night 'just to raise cain.'²¹

The informal friendship patterns among the students, however, are different from those found in most high schools. In one distinctively Indian way friendship groups cut across grade and age lines to emphasize a shared tribal and reservation affiliation.²²

²⁰Ibid., p. 31-32.

²¹Ibid., pp. 32-33.

²²J. H. Thompson, "Friendship Patterns in an Indian Boarding School" (Mimeographed, 1964).

In general, the students are exposed to various aspects of the general American teenage culture via television, newspapers, textbooks, and magazines and through various movies that are shown at the town theatre. The school library contains the latest editions of most of the national magazines, and students can often be seen reading current copies of Teen, True, Modern Romance, and Playboy.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Although numerous studies have been conducted in the areas of occupational choice, future aspirations, and formal education, only research pertinent to the present study is considered.

The materials to be reviewed are comprised of writings on (1) Indian education, (2) sociology of education, and (3) occupational aspirations and future expectations.

The intent of this review of the literature is twofold: first, to indicate the present state of knowledge and opinion in these areas and second, to indicate the theories which provided some direction for the study.

I. INDIAN EDUCATION

Much of what has been written on American Indian education has been in support of one cause or another, and still more is controversial.

We will discuss three categories of research and writing on American Indian education: (1) studies conducted by the Committee on Indian Education regarding the intellectual and emotional development of Indian children, (2) studies by the School of Education, University of Kansas, acting as research consultant for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and (3) other independent efforts.

The field work for the studies by the Committee of Indian Education was completed during the 1940's, and the resulting publications consist of studies of particular tribal regional groups (Hopi, Sioux, Navaho,

Papago),²³ studies comparing Indian and white children regarding their intellectual and emotional development,²⁴ and studies concerned with the recommendations for the handling of educational and administrative problems of a particular tribe.²⁵

Although the studies by the Committee on Indian Education were generally concerned with the emotional and intellectual development of Indian children, each did obtain ethnographic data on a particular tribe, and they all did take some note of the experiences of the Indian children within the systems of formal education. In general, these studies tended to stress the destructive and repressive effect of the educational systems upon the Indian child and described the experiences as psychologically damaging to the Indian youngster.²⁶

In a critical review of these studies, Wax and Wax concluded that the cultural disharmony between the Indian youngster and the formal school and its personnel was not the crucial factor, since many other "folk"

²³Laura Thompson and Alice Joseph, The Hopi Way (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944); Gordon Macgregor, Warriors Without Weapons (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946); Dorothea C. Leighton and Clyde Kluckhohn, Children of the People (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947); Alice Joseph, Rosamond Spicer, and Jane Chesky, The Desert People (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949).

²⁴Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Neugarten, American Indian and White Children (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

²⁵Laura Thompson, Culture in Crisis (New York: Harper, 1950).

²⁶Wax, et. al., op. cit., pp. 7-8

peoples have reared their children in non-competitive atmospheres, and when they sent them into the impersonal and competitive European or American schools, the transitions were not psychologically damaging. They noted that some of the Indian children described in the studies did come to like school, although the reasons for this appeared to be tangential to the interest of the authors in their study of personality development.²⁷

In 1950, the School of Education, University of Kansas, became research consultant to the Bureau of Indian Affairs.²⁸ In one of its major research efforts the California Achievement Test Battery was administered to a large population of Indian children attending schools in the region bounded by Montana, Arizona, Oklahoma, and North Dakota. In addition to the federal and mission Indian schools, the public schools with large Indian populations were included in the study, and both Indian and white students were tested. The data were analyzed in terms of a variety of factors: region, grade, sex, race, school, etc.

Some of the most interesting findings were those concerning racial factors. The group with the highest scholastic achievement had relatively fewer "full-bloods" and relatively more children from English-speaking homes.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 8.

²⁸ L. Madison Coombs, Ralph E. Kron, E. Gordon Collister, and Kenneth E. Anderson, The Indian Child Goes to School: A Study of Interracial Differences (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1958); George A. Dale, Education for Better Living (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1955); Kenneth E. Anderson, E. Gordon Collister, and Carl E. Ladd, The Educational Achievement of Indian Children: A Reexamination of the Question, How Well Are Indian Children Educated? (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1953).

Another finding demonstrated a successive deceleration in the achievement of Indian children as they continued in school. Thus, despite cultural and language handicaps, the Indian children scored above the norm in the fourth and fifth grades, but dropped further from the norm with each successive year and grade level.

Other projects conducted by University of Kansas consultants were aimed at discovering attitudes toward various programs which were implemented by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. However, these studies appear to be methodologically biased to support one cause or another. For example, in 1950 a survey which was conducted consisted of a long questionnaire requiring mostly "Yes" and "No" answers. Preceding each inquiry about an item in the program of the schools was an explanation of how it was intended to help the people of the community, and other biasing factors were present as well.²⁹

Although the work of the Committee on Indian Education and the University of Kansas studies constitute the major sources of information on Indian education, some of the recent research by independent investigators which goes beyond ethnographic description, achievement records, or test scores, is especially noteworthy.

Among the best of these is an extensive study conducted by Wax and Wax at the Pine Ridge, South Dakota, Indian community. They focused upon the Sioux of Pine Ridge and viewed the educational process in terms of a

²⁹Wax, op. cit., p. 9.

contemporary analysis of reservation life. Data for their study was obtained by participant observation by living among the "country Indians" of the reservation, semi-structured interviews with parents, interviews with teachers and school administrators, and observations of classroom interactions.

The research was oriented around three theories:

Theory 1. Cultural Disharmony. To children reared in conservative Indian fashion, the atmosphere of a normal, American school is painful, incomprehensible, and even immoral; whereas, to teachers of (normal) lower-middle-class American background, the behavior of these students is often undisciplined, lacking in scholastic initiative, and even immoral.³⁰

Theory 2. Lack of Motive/Unappealing Curricula. The notions of the Indian people themselves as to careers that are possible and desirable are sometimes much at variance with those of the educators. Where this variance exists, dropout of adolescent students is exceedingly likely.³¹

Theory 3. Preservation of Identity. To conservative Indians, their identity as Indians is the last and most valuable treasure remaining to them. Insofar as education is presented to them, or perceived by them, as a technique for transmuting their children and their people into "whites," then it becomes freighted with all manner of emotional complications and is likely to be rejected.³²

In regard to the first theory, cultural disharmony, they found that the Sioux children generally do like school, when they dislike school they play "hookie" or dropout. Wax and Wax feel that dropping out is related to peer group structure and formal education rather than to a conflict between white and Indian values. They feel that the struggle is between the school and the Indian peer society. In general, they compare many of the

³⁰Ibid., p. 13.

³¹Ibid., p. 13.

³²Ibid., p. 13.

problems to those encountered by schools in the urban slums:

Thus, in a basic sense, the problems of the Pine Ridge schools are not problems of 'Indian education' so much as problems of 'general education' in a society which requires the schools to be ethnic melting-pots and ladders of social mobility.³³

Regarding the second theory, Lack of Motive/Unappealing Curricula, they discovered that Sioux parents and their children view education as the key to vocational success, even though there is little opportunity for employment available on or near the reservation where most prefer to live. In view of this, the adult Indians feel that the elimination of the vocational agricultural program in the schools was a mistake. The federal educators view education as a good in itself and as a means for transmitting dominant cultural values. The Waxes conclude that a portion of the educational problem is posed by the lack of coherence between the school curriculum and the vocational possibilities open to the youth, especially the boys. Although they suggest that this is a problem that plagues school systems all over the country, they feel it is exaggerated by the isolation of the reservation.³⁴

They conclude with regard to the third theory, Preservation of Identity, that while the federal educators think of the schools as designed to make the students "less Indian," the Sioux adults do not seem to be concerned about this. In general, they feel the education is good for their children, and they take a pragmatic attitude toward education considering it as qualifying them for employment.³⁵

³³Ibid., p. 115.

³⁴Ibid., pp. 113-115.

³⁵Ibid., pp. 115-114.

The study by the Waxes has provided new insight into the educational problems and the attitudes of the Sioux toward education and occupations, whereas the previous ethnographic field studies stress the unique qualities of the Indians' problems the Waxes brought out many similarities to problems encountered in other groups.

Another recent study, by Miller and Caulkins,³⁶ is especially noteworthy in its concern with social change and the Chippewa Indian adolescent. They feel that the younger generation of Chippewa Indians has been shaped by influences different from those of preceding generations. They take into account formal education and mass media and their influence upon the contemporary youth. They found the aspirations and expectations of the Indian adolescents to be geared to success and money orientations of the general American culture. Clothes and cars were of interest, and the students projected hopes for impressive houses, hi-fi sets, televisions, etc. However, the vast majority of the students did not envision their dreams of a rich, full, comfortable existence as reaching realization.

Viewing the occupational aspirations of the students, the authors conclude that the students define an occupation not as an end in itself but simply as the means to a more general goal, the attainment of a middle-class or above-standard living.

These two independent research efforts, Wax and Wax and Miller and Caulkins, are unique among socio-anthropological studies in that they

³⁶Frank C. Miller and D. Douglas Caulkins, "Chippewa Adolescents: A Changing Generation," Social Problems, 23:158-159, Summer, 1964.

focus upon the contemporary Indian adolescent as a product of a reservation subculture, influenced by the larger segment of society.

II. THE SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

Although a number of sociologists have proposed the study of formal education from the general viewpoint of a sociological analysis of formal institutions,³⁷ methods and techniques for cross-cultural study are largely nonexistent. Stanley Seashore,³⁸ in reviewing field experiments with formal organizations concludes: "The otherwise rich literature on methodology of research on human social behavior is barren when it comes to experiments with formal organizations." He suggests that the study of formal education presents an unlimited opportunity for research through the use of a combination of field, experimental, and survey methods.

Although the research in the sociology of education, and particularly the school as a formal institution, is not extensive, a number of socio-logical studies have contributed to a further understanding of the social system of the school. Notable examples are those of Hollingshead,³⁹ Gordon,⁴⁰

³⁷Wilbur B. Brookover, "Sociology of Education: A Definition," American Sociological Review, 14:407-415, June, 1949; Florian Anaiecki, "The Scientific Function of the Sociology of Education," Educational Theory, 1:69-78, August, 1951.

³⁸Stanley Seashore, "Field Experiments with Formal Organizations," Human Organization, 23:156-196, Summer, 1964.

³⁹August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth, (John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1949).

⁴⁰C. Wayne Gordon, The Social System of the High School: A Study in the Sociology of Adolescence (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957).

Coleman,⁴¹ and Havighurst and Taba.⁴²

Hollingshead concluded that the social behavior of high school students is related to the positions their families occupy in the social structure of the community. His study demonstrated the relationship between the social class positions of the families of adolescents and participation in school activities, and his analysis gave support to the notion that the middle-class values of the school are crucial to adolescent adjustment. Hollingshead concluded that if the student is able to conform, he makes a successful adjustment to the school; if not, he will probably leave.⁴³

Gordon, in reviewing the study by Hollingshead, feels that the Hollingshead hypothesis is a sufficient description of the significant relationship between the social behavior of high school students and the social position of their families, but that it leaves unexplored the manner in which students of lower-class position frequently meet the expectations of the middle-class school culture.⁴⁴

In a companion study to Elmtown's Youth, Havighurst and Taba⁴⁵ investigate the hypothesis that "the degree of conformity to school expectations determines the character reputation of the students." Their study emphasizes the importance of conformity to expectations as crucial to the

⁴¹James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1961).

⁴²Robert J. Havighurst and Hilda Taba, Adolescent Character and Personality (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated, 1949).

⁴³Hollingshead, op. cit. p. 9. ⁴⁴Gordon, op. cit., p. 1.

⁴⁵Havighurst and Taba, op. cit., p. 52.

adolescent's adjustment in school. Gordon feels that the social class hypothesis appears to be qualified in that it is the adolescent's ability to perceive and fulfill the expectations of the school, rather than his class position, which determines his adjustment. However, Gordon feels that this does not deny the significance of social class in the determination of those roles that a person will perceive and perform. Thus, a person of lower-class position, who perceives and enacts the roles of the system, makes a satisfactory adaptation.⁴⁶

Gordon feels that the focus of Hollingshead and Havighurst and Taba on the problem of general conformity and its social class provides only a partial view. Equally important to social class and "character reputation" is his general position in the social structure of the school. Thus, conformity to formal school expectations alone may not bring sufficient rewards. Gordon demonstrates that position is determined by successful achievement within a complex of patterns of social expectations. His major working hypothesis is that "the social behavior of the students of Wabash High School is functionally⁴⁷ related to the general social positions they occupied in the social structure of the school." He concluded that the social position of the student was primarily determined by those of the informal student groups.⁴⁸

Coleman, in The Adolescent Subculture, describes the systems of norms and values of American teenagers and the impact of the teenage subcultures upon the educational process. He found that adolescents often

⁴⁶Gordon, op. cit., p. 1-2. ⁴⁷Ibid., p. 1-2.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 1

look to each other, rather than to the adult community, for their social rewards, and found many of the values and norms of the adolescent subculture to be directly opposed to the organized goals of formal education.⁴⁹ In general, both Gordon and Coleman describe the importance of the teenage subculture and its broad relationship to the educational process.

III. OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND FUTURE EXPECTATIONS

Most of the research on differences in attitudes toward occupations, education, or occupational mobility, consists of comparisons between social classes or Negro and White populations.

The issue of social class and aspiration level still remains controversial. While some studies have pointed to a lower level of occupational aspiration for the lower classes⁵⁰ other research has supplied conflicting evidence.⁵¹ The research on Negro-white career aspirations and expectations

⁴⁹Coleman, op. cit.

⁵⁰Examples of studies illustrating this are: LeMar T. Empey, "Social Class and Occupational Ambition: A Comparison of Absolute and Relative Measure," American Sociological Review, 21:703-709, December, 1956; Archie O. Haller and W. H. Sewell, "Farm Residence and Levels of Educational and Occupational Aspiration," American Journal of Sociology, 62:407-411, January, 1957; R. A. Mulligan, "Socio-Economic Background and College Enrollment," American Sociological Review, 16:188-196, April, 1951; W. H. Sewell, A. O. Haller, and M. A. Straus, "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration," American Sociological Review, 22:67-73, February, 1957; Alan R. Wilson, "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys," American Sociological Review, 24:836-845, December, 1959.

⁵¹Examples of studies illustrating this are: William S. Bennett, Jr. and Noel P. Gist, "Social Class and Family Influences on Student Aspirations," Social Forces, 43:169-173, December, 1964; B. F. Smith, "Wishes of High School Seniors and Social Status," Journal of Educational Sociology, 25:466-474, 1952.

has also produced mixed and confusing results.⁵²

In a study that indirectly bears on the issue, Rosen⁵³ hypothesized that Negroes in his sample of minority groups would rank low, along with French Canadians and Italian Catholics, in terms of "achievement motivation" which he defines as:

. . . the individual's psychological and cultural orientation toward achievement; by which we mean his psychological need to excel, his desire to enter the competitive race for social status, and his initial possession of or willingness to adopt the high valuation placed upon personal achievement and success . . .⁵⁴

However, in terms of most of his data, the prediction proved quite wrong. Negroes in the sample ranked high on his measures of achievement motivation, as high as white Protestants and persons of Greek ethnic background. The Negroes, however, were willing to "settle for" (but not aspire to) occupations lower than those anticipated by any other group. The values and educational aspirations of the Negroes were higher than expected, being comparable to those of Jews, Greeks, and white Protestants, and higher than those of the Italians and French-Canadians.

Moreland,⁵⁵ in a study of the educational and occupational aspirations of mill and town school children, in a Southern community, found that the lower-class children (mill children) have a significantly lower

⁵² Patricia Sexton, "Negro Career Expectations," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 9:303-310, October, 1963.

⁵³ Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and Achievement," American Sociological Review, 24:47-60, February, 1959.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 48.

⁵⁵ J. Kenneth McLand, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Mill and Town School Children in a Southern Community," Social Forces, 39: 169-175, December, 1960.

level of educational aspiration than upper class children (town children). However, occupational aspirations did not differ significantly by class. He found evidence that, although the lower-class children expressed significantly lower educational aspirations, they do share in "the American tradition of wanting to get ahead." The lower class children aspired to higher educational and occupational levels than those of their parents, and they aimed higher than they thought they could achieve. He concluded that, although the lower class children learn to want more education and better jobs than their parents, their social milieu does not provide them with sufficient financial resources and other socio-economic background factors to fulfill their ambitions.

Examining differences between "aspirations" and "plans" of children of different social strata and racial extraction, Stephensen found no significant differences between educational and occupational aspirations expressed by white and Negroes, regardless of sex or occupational status of the father. But despite the uniform level of occupational aspiration "the Negro students tended to plan lower than whites . . . at each occupational level." By "plans" Stephensen meant the realistic expectation of the student for his future occupation, as opposed to his more "idealistic aspiration." He advanced the conclusion that a similar cultural value system (as reflected in aspirations) was general throughout the student sample, but that the plans vary with the economic or social obstacles, either of class or caste, that are placed in the student's way.⁵⁶

⁵⁶Stephensen, op. cit., pp. 204-214.

Holloway and Berreman⁵⁷ found whites at both middle and lower-class levels aspiring higher than Negroes. On the other hand, in contrast to Stephensen's caste effect, they did not find the Negroes scaling down their occupational plans below aspirations any more than did their white counterparts at either level. However, switching over to educational aspirations, presumably closely allied with occupational aspiration, the authors did get partial support for Stephensen's hypothesis that Negroes and white aspire to similar amounts of education.

Sexton,⁵⁸ in reviewing the research on the occupational and career expectations of Negroes and Whites, concluded that the aspirations in regard to both education and occupation were unusually high considering the socio-economic factors involved. She cites the studies by Hyte,⁵⁹ Gray,⁶⁰ Empey,⁶¹ and Deutsch.⁶²

⁵⁷ Robert C. Holloway and Joel V. Berreman, "The Educational and Occupational Aspirations and Plans of Negro and White Male Elementary School Students," Pacific Sociological Review, 56-60, Fall, 1959.

⁵⁸ Sexton, op. cit.

⁵⁹ C. Hyte, "Occupational Interests of Negro High School Boys," School Review, 44:34-40, 1936.

⁶⁰ Susan Gray, "The Vocational Preference of Negro Children," Journal of Gen. Psychology, 64:239-247, 1944.

⁶¹ L. Empey, "Social Class and Occupational Aspiration," American Sociological Review, 21:703-709, 1956.

⁶² Martin Deutsch, Minority Groups and Class Status as Related to Social and Personality Factors in Scholastic Achievement (New York: The Society for Applied Anthropology, Monograph 2, 1960).

Hyte reported that 75 percent of Negro boys in eight Indiana High schools chose professional occupations even though only 11.6 percent of the fathers were professionally employed. Empey found a marked desire for upward job mobility, in preference and expectation, among lower status students. Lower class seniors predicted their chances of entering their preferred occupations only a little less than those of other seniors. Deutsch, studying classes at the 4th, 5th, and 6th grade levels from two low income schools (one Negro and one white) found occupational aspirations high in both groups. About one-third wanted high-prestige jobs, such as engineering and medicine.

Sexton also cites studies wherein the occupational aspirations were found to be higher among Negroes than among whites at comparable class levels and relates the studies of Gray,⁶³ Reiss and Rhodes,⁶⁴ and Smith and Abramson.⁶⁵

Gray found that the occupational preferences of Negro grade school children higher in prestige than of whites. Reiss and Rhodes found Negroes stressing the importance of education to a greater degree than whites, while Smith and Abramson reported not one student mentioning managerial aspirations

⁶³Gray, op. cit.

⁶⁴Albert J. Reiss, Jr. and Albert L. Rhodes, "Are Educational Goals of Conforming Truant and Delinquent Adolescents Influenced by Group Position in American Society?" Journal of Negro Education, 28:252-267, 1959.

⁶⁵H. P. Smith and M. Abramson, "Racial and Family Experience Correlates of Mobility Aspiration," Journal of Negro Education, 31:117-124, 1962.

among a small sample of Negro and white low-income high school sophomores, but found that the Negroes had higher educational and occupational aspirations, while the whites had a more achievement-oriented value system.

In general, Sexton feels that much of the data and conclusions present conflicting and confusing results. The research in the area, she suggests, suffers from lack of timeliness, as the life pattern of many lower class persons is rapidly changing from limited populations used in research (since many are regional), and from the extent of local and regional variations being unknown. Furthermore, she feels that the research on career expectations is much more limited than that on aspirations.

Another important and controversial issue in this connection of occupational expectations and aspirations has been the interpretations of the findings. The question then becomes: "Why do various levels of aspirations and expectations exist among the various classes and minority groupings?"

Most of the literature has suggested that those of a lower class or minority status have a less favorable social milieu for the accomplishment of their aspirations and the existence of stratification in American society is well documented.⁶⁶

⁶⁶Studies emphasizing this include: Ely Chinoy, "The Tradition of Opportunity and the Aspirations of Automobile Workers," American Journal of Sociology, 57:453-456, March, 1952; Allison Davis, Social Class Influences on Learning (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948); H. H. Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes," in Reinhard Bendix and S. M. Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Power (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 426-442; Genevieve Knupfer, "Portrait of the Underdog," in Bendix and Lipset, op. cit., pp. 255-263; Jackson Toby, "Orientation to Education as a Factor in School Maladjustment of Lower-Class Children," Social Forces, 35:259-266, March, 1957; W. L. Warner, R. J. Havighurst, and M. B. Loeb, Who Shall Be Educated? (New York: Harpers, 1944).

More specifically, the issue in the literature is whether or not there is a consensus of values of norms among the various classes that set them apart. Some argue that there is a consensus regarding certain values in the American culture that exist among all, regardless of class or social position.⁶⁷

Others, however, argue that there is no such consensus of values and that the lower class or minority values are different from, and often-times opposed to, the dominant values of the culture.⁶⁸

Those adhering to the importance of social class value, argue that each class has its own norms and values, some of which from the point of view of the dominant middle-class culture, are considered to be deviant, but which from the point of view of that particular class or subculture are perfectly normal. The proponents of this view, notably sociologists of crime and delinquency (students of Sutherland) attribute behavior, and particularly deviant behavior, as something that is learned through participation in the subculture.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Talcott A. Parsons, "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset (eds.), Class, Status, and Power (Berkley: University of California Press) pp. 268-277; Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949); Albert K. Cohen, Delinquent Boys (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955).

⁶⁸ Herbert H. Hyman, "The Value System of Different Classes," Reinhard Bendix and S. M. Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Power (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953) pp. 426-442; Walter B. Miller, "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," Journal of Social Issues, 14: 1958; Allison Davis, Social-Class Influences Upon Learning (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951).

⁶⁹ E. H. Sutherland, Principles of Criminology (Philadelphia, Pa.: Lippincott Co., 1947).

Directly opposed to this analysis, is that presented by Merton. He feels that the norms and values of the dominant American culture, with an emphasis upon success via hard work, education, and occupational mobility, are influential and to some extent shared by, or at least known to, members of all groups in the American society. He suggests that in modern society, linked by mass communication and formal educational institutions, a subculture cannot remain completely isolated from these values of the dominant culture. Merton, for example, notes the stigmatization of manual labor which he has found to hold rather uniformly in all social classes.

Merton distinguishes between two elements in the social system: the cultural structure, or the organized set of values or goals, and the social structure, or the institutionalized channels of access for attaining these values. He considers these two elements to vary independently of each other.

In general, his theory is based upon two assumptions. First, he assumes that certain cultural values are pervasive through American society, differentiated and stratified though it is, and that all or nearly all Americans are enjoined to strive for these goals.

Merton's second assumption, the assertion that the institutionalized channels of access or availability are not uniformly distributed throughout the social system, is supported by most of the sociological literature on stratification. In other words, the lower social strata and certain subgroups, notably racial and ethnic groups, are at a disadvantage in their

⁷⁰ Merton, op. cit.

ability to obtain the channels of access to various goals.

Merton feels that the condition of malintegration between the aspirational frame of reference--the cultural values--and the socially available means to obtain these is one of disjunction, and he has suggested a topology of disjunctions related to the availability of access.⁷¹

Weiner and Murray,⁷² in following the Merton analysis, conclude that the differences in the aspirational levels of the culturally deprived lie not so much in desires but rather in the belief that the goals can be attained. They conclude that the culturally deprived do not differ so much in terms of their goals as in terms of the realization of goals.

Thus, the Merton theory presents a schema whereby deviation from society's norms can be explained rather than described. The theory has provided an additional orientation for this study.

⁷¹Merton, op. cit.

⁷²Max Weiner and Walter Murray, "Another Look at the Culturally Deprived and Their Levels of Aspiration," The Journal of Educational Sociology, 36:319-32, March, 1963.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The methodology employed in this study will be discussed in terms of nine areas: (1) selection of the method, (2) definition of terms, (3) the statement of the hypotheses, (4) the research role, (5) attributes of the populations, (6) sources of the data, (7) procedures of measurement, (8) statistical methods, and (9) limitations of the study.

I. SELECTION OF THE METHOD

Two considerations were determinative in the selection of the method to be employed in this study. The first reflected the special problems posed by the study situation, the population, and the overall research attack of which the work reported here is but a small segment.

As part of a three year mental health project, the author worked as research sociologist from June, 1964, until May, 1965. The overall project, designed to evaluate the personality adjustment of students attending Indian boarding schools, was conducted by an investigative team which included a psychiatrist, social workers, an anthropologist, and the writer, a sociologist. A social worker, an anthropologist, and four psychologists served as consultants.

Since the overall project was multi-disciplinary, the present study was designed as a socio-anthropological approach to the study of occupational aspirations, occupational expectations, and formal education at an Indian boarding school.

Methods from both sociology and anthropology are utilized in a combination of field, experimental, and survey methods.

The methods and techniques of data collection and measurements were selected only after the author had participated as a part-time teacher-observer at the Lone Pine Indian School. Initially, the study was organized around several general problems which were approached as broadly as possible in order to permit the consideration of many different aspects of the total situation.

II. DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following terms are defined for the purposes of this discussion:

Indian student. Students attending an off-reservation boarding school, who are at least 1/4 or more degree of Indian blood, registered in tribal roll books as reservation residents, and whose ages range from 14 to 20 years.

White student. White students attending a public school with a similar basic educational program and system of formal role expectations as the Indian Boarding school, and whose ages range from 14 to 20 years.

Occupational Aspirations. This title designates the stated preferred occupational goals of the students.

Occupational expectations. The term refers to the anticipated future occupational achievements as stated by the students, or their "actual plans."

III. STATEMENT OF THE HYPOTHESES

Four specific null hypotheses are formulated for test. Since it is

a well known sociological fact that there are gross differences in the occupational and educational aspirations of males and females in the American society, it is necessary to test the hypotheses separately for the sexes with Indian-white differences controlled.⁷³

The first hypothesis is that there is no significant difference in the level of occupational aspirations among Indian and white males.

The second hypothesis is that there is no significant difference in the level of occupational aspirations among Indian and white females.

The third hypothesis to be tested in this study is that the Indian males will not have a level of occupational expectations, or "actual plans," significantly different from the white males.

The fourth hypothesis is that the Indian females will not have a level of occupational expectations, or "actual plans," significantly different from the white females.

Although the hypotheses are stated in null form for testing, the theoretical framework which the investigator employs predicts the outcome of the results. As will be recalled in the review of the research, a number of theoretical frameworks have been suggested for the analysis of the future occupational aspirations of minority status individuals. In general, one approach assumes that the minority individual should be studied as a distinct subculture. The other approach assumes that there are certain pervasive values throughout the American culture which are accepted regardless of

⁷³William H. Sewell, Archie O. Haller, and Murray A. Straus, "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration," American Sociological Review, 22:67-73, February, 1957.

stratum position, and that research which does not take these values into account is not likely to be valid.

The author incorporates the second theoretical approach in the present study and assumes that the American Indian high school student cannot be viewed as a product of a distinct subculture, but rather as a product of a contemporary reservation culture, influenced by the values and norms of the larger society.

It is therefore predicted that the Indian and white students will have similar occupational aspirations, but that their expectation orientations will sharply differentiate them from the white students due to their relative position in the social structure. Merton's theoretical formulations are therefore incorporated in the analysis and interpretation of the findings.

IV. THE RESEARCH ROLE

An early concern was the nature of the research role to be adopted at the Lone Pine Indian School since it was complicated by the author's functions as research assistant for the mental health project, as a teacher at the Indian school, and as a member of the local community. The investigator functioned only as a researcher at the white control school over a period of seven consecutive days.

At Lone Pine, the author's formal role was that of research assistant for the mental health project. The adoption of this role was begun three months in advance of the active period of data collection. At this time he helped in the processing of project data, reviewed previous research, and began to familiarize himself with the school and the community.

In hopes of assuming a somewhat more plausible role in the formal system of the Lone Pine School, the administration was approached as to the possibility of the author's teaching at the school during the year. The administration was told that the researcher would like to teach so that he might gain a better understanding of the students attending the school. The school administration, however, viewed the teaching from a more utilitarian point of view, as the school enrollment had increased and there was a teacher shortage.

The author taught two courses, one in art, offered to juniors and seniors as an elective, and one in social studies, a required course for all seniors during the first semester of the school year. In the role of teacher he became acquainted with the students, teachers, and classrooms and began to develop field note reporting on such observations.

When asked by the teachers and staff specifically what he would be doing during the year, the author stated that he would be teaching so that he might be better able to understand the Indian students attending the school. When introduced to school personnel as project staff, he always added that he would be teaching. In some instances, especially among the students and members of the local community, he was considered only as a teacher. From all indications, the researcher was able to develop a combination of these roles situationally adaptable enough to reconcile the demands of the functions as research assistant and part-time teacher.

Although there was some initial skepticism on the part of teachers and staff, the observation technique of being with them as often as possible and not criticizing or interfering with their activities overcame many of

their original suspicions. Also, the researcher felt that it was extremely important to make friendships, for if they liked him as a person, they would tend to forget that they were involved in a study.

It soon became apparent to the teachers and students that the researcher had certain problems of his own, i.e., how to get the students to class on time, grading the multitude of test papers, etc. Once reassured, the teachers, in most cases were found to be extremely cooperative and considerable care was taken to maintain this relationship.

In the participant observer role, the researcher was able to make numerous observations of student meetings, teacher meetings, general staff meetings, school assemblies, social events, and other general school functions, as well as informal situations with students and staff.

The author lived in the local community and shared an apartment with a teacher from the school. As a member of the community he made local acquaintances and contacts and made an effort to participate whenever possible. He was thus able to listen to "off-the-cuff" remarks which related to the school, staff, or students.

V. POPULATION

The study utilizes two independent populations of high school students from the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades. The students range from 14 to 20 years of age. The total student population ($N=800$) for both schools is utilized.

The Indian group attends school at the Lone Pine Indian School. The characteristics of this group have been discussed in a previous section.

Although the selection of the population was a practical decision based on its accessibility to the writer, the universe is fairly homogeneous. Students at the school are at least one-fourth degree of Indian blood, reservation residents, and are members of Northern Plains tribal groupings.

Students attending a white public high school provide the second independent population. In selecting the white public school sample the intent was to achieve comparability of students who attend a school offering a similar curriculum, accreditation and geographical isolation from large metropolitan areas. The white public school maintains the same state and regional accreditation as the Lone Pine school and has similar basic course offerings. Both schools are located in rural communities in the state of South Dakota.

No claim is made as to the socio-economic comparability between the experimental and control groups. From state and national census data, one could generalize that the families of the white students have a higher income level, greater job stability, and more favorable living conditions than the families of the Indian students.

The experimental school was studied from June, 1964, to May, 1965, while the author was staff member for the mental health project. The control school data were collected during a seven-day period in May, 1966, and for reasons of time are necessarily less complete, especially in qualitative data.

The total enrolled population at the white control school was approximately 290, and 94.1 percent of the students participated in the study. The student population was 50.1 percent male and 49.1 percent

female. Table IV depicts the age and sex characteristics of the population.

TABLE IV
WHITE STUDY SCHOOL
SEX, AGE, AND GRADE DISTRIBUTION

| Grade | Age | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | Total |
|-------|--------|----|----|----|----|----|----|-------|
| 9 | Male | 21 | 19 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 44 |
| | Female | 16 | 16 | | | | | 32 |
| 10 | Male | | 8 | 18 | 1 | | | 27 |
| | Female | | | 17 | 16 | 2 | | 35 |
| 11 | Male | | | 16 | 18 | 2 | | 36 |
| | Female | | | 18 | 21 | | | 39 |
| 12 | Male | | | 1 | 7 | 16 | 1 | 25 |
| | Female | | | | 14 | 11 | | 25 |

Approximately 61 per cent of the students reside on farms, while 39 percent live in the town where the school is located.

VI. SOURCES OF THE DATA

A specific discussion of the methods and techniques of data collection will be presented before proceeding to the specific measurements designed to test the hypotheses.

In general, the basic research techniques are observation as a quasi-participant or full-participant, formal interviews, and questionnaire and observation schedules. The data are derived principally from five sources: mental health project records, school records, student questionnaire

schedules, classroom observation schedules, and the author's field diary.

School and Project Records. School and mental health project records are utilized to obtain such demographic information as age, tribe, degree of Indian blood, grades, scores on achievement tests, and other socio-cultural information.

In addition, such items as daily attendance sheets, official memorandums, and general school notices were compiled while the author taught at the Lone Pine Indian school. School policy manuals were consulted in order to describe school policy and formal goals.

The control school data were collected during a seven-day period and for reasons of time are necessarily less complete. However, since the research instruments and techniques of data collection had been developed and pretested previously, time was more effectively utilized at this school. School records were utilized to obtain information on achievement test scores, school policy, and school curriculum. All other demographic information on the students at the white public school was obtained through student questionnaire schedules.

Field Notations. The field notations at the Lone Pine school extended from June, 1964, through April, 1965. Detailed notes on conversations with teachers, administrators, and students were made after each contact. The author frequently concealed a small portable tape recorder in his brief case at school meetings, student discussions, and during classroom sessions, so that orally given information could be recorded verbatim.

The field notes, transcribed to unisort analysis cards, were punched according to a categorical code. The code was developed by the writer so

that topical categories of information could be easily retrieved. Although field notes were taken at the white control school, they are meager in comparison for reasons of time. (See Appendix III for field note code categories).

Student Questionnaire Schedules. Anonymous responses to student questionnaire items were obtained at the Lone Pine Indian school during the regular classroom sessions of English, Speech, and Remedial Reading. The same classroom technique was used for the white public group.

A primary aim was to make the items and instructions easy to read so that personal language difficulties or school achievement would not seriously affect the responses or place either the control or experimental school at a disadvantage.

Classroom Observations. In attempting to standardize classroom observations, a form was developed. The form is based on a general outline developed by Henry⁷⁴ for cross-cultural studies of education. In developing the form, an effort was made to quantitate as much of the student classroom behavior as possible. Thus number, frequency, and sex categories were dealt with in a quantitate manner under the broader areas of classroom behavior. Running process records were taken in thirty-one class sessions at the Lone Pine School, and during fourteen classes at the white public school.

The class and observation times were selected randomly, and neither teacher nor students were given forewarning as to when the author would be

⁷⁴Henry, op. cit.

visiting the classroom. To minimize the effect of an observer, the researcher told the teacher that he was interested in observing the behavior of certain students. The form was abbreviated so that the teacher and students would not know the exact content. The investigator sat in the least conspicuous place possible in the room, usually toward the back.

The observed classes were selected only from the academic class schedule, since the observation form was not adaptable to the vocational and home economic classes, as much of the time in these classes was spent in lab work and student behavior was too diversified to record.

VII. PROCEDURES AND MEASUREMENTS

Student Adaptations to Formal Education. Besides describing the extent of conformity to rules, regulations or achievement expectations, an additional intention is to describe the classroom situation at the two schools. In the discussion on student adaptations to classroom role expectations, the data will be reported in a descriptive, largely anecdotal manner. Both qualitative and quantitative data, gathered from the five sources of data will be combined and related.

Future Occupational Aspirations. The future occupational aspirations of the students are obtained by asking them to complete the following sentence: "The kind of job I want in the future is _____." This sentence completion item is included in the student questionnaire schedule.

Future Occupational Expectations. The sentence completion item on future occupational aspirations is immediately followed by the statement:

"When I take a job, the kind of work I will probably get is _____."

Student responses to this questionnaire item are defined as the students' future occupational expectations, or "plans."

VIII. STATISTICAL METHODS AND ANALYSIS

The analysis of the data and the methodological procedures are based on statistical assumptions concerning the level of measurement, the research model, and the hypotheses for test.

In general, the level of measurement is largely nominal, the research model consists of two independent populations, and the hypotheses for test are concerned with finding whether or not the frequencies of the nominal data differ significantly from those which would be expected under a certain set of theoretical assumptions.

To determine differences between occupational aspirations for the control and experimental groups, all occupations are classified by a 1963 revision of the North-Hatt occupational prestige scale which ranks occupations from most prestigious (rank=1) to least prestigious (rank=90). Some occupational aspirations not included in the North-Hatt revision⁷⁵ were assigned a rank on the scale on the basis of their similarity to occupations that were included.

An application of the "chi square test," the "median test" is then applied to determine if the expected frequencies in the distributions differed significantly from the observed frequencies.

⁷⁵ Robert W. Hodge, Paul M. Siegel, and Peter H. Rossi, "Occupational Prestige in the United States," American Journal of Sociology, 70:286-302, November, 1964.

The first step in applying the median test is to find the approximate median for the combined Indian and white groups. The approximate median is the scale value which divides the entire set of combined data as nearly as possible into two equal portions, and it should be a point which falls between possible scale values so that every case can be clearly classified as either above or below that point.

The chi square test is then used to test the hypothesis that the proportion of cases above and below the approximate median is not significantly different for the control and experimental groups. The formula for the chi square test is:

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(f_0 - f_e)^2}{f_e}$$

where f_0 and f_e refer respectively to the observed and expected frequencies for each grouping of cases and \sum is "the sum of." The expected frequencies for any cell is obtained by multiplying the two marginals corresponding to the cell and dividing by the total number of cases. The observed and expected frequencies are then subtracted and the resulting differences are squared. The squared value is then divided by the expected frequencies, and the sum of these values is equal to chi square. The number of degrees of freedom for the row by column contingency table can be given by the formula:

$$df = (r - 1)(c - 1)$$

The value of chi-square is then interpreted by referring to a table on the probability distribution of chi square.

The median test is also applied to the occupational expectations of

the Indian and white groups and follows the same procedure.

In the present study, the probability level of .05 or less is considered to be significant. The null hypothesis, that there is no difference between the two populations, is only rejected at this level of significance.

In a further analysis of the data, occupational aspirations are classified according to major occupational groupings to determine whether or not there are variations in the types of categories of occupations chosen between the Indian and white groups.

An additional analysis of the occupational expectations, or "actual plans" of the students was applied and the occupational expectations were classified as: (1) identical to the occupational aspirations, (2) above the prestige rank of the occupational aspirations according to the revision of the North-Hatt scale, and (3) below the prestige rank of the occupational aspiration. An analysis of those cases wherein the occupational aspirations and expectations differed is used to determine the degree of difference between the expectations and aspirations.⁷⁶

IX. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

A major limitation of this investigation is the post hoc explanation of the results and findings since the research grew out of a larger study designed to evaluate the adjustment of American Indian students attending boarding schools. For this reason, the approach to the problem has been broad.

⁷⁶Sewell, et. al., op. cit.

Another weakness concerns the research procedure and operational tools as the study was designed to meet the uniqueness of the population and research. Therefore, the methodological procedures and the research measurements lack the standardization characteristic of many research instruments.

Since the intent was to achieve comparability between the control and experimental school in terms of curriculum, accreditation, and community characteristics, it should be noted that certain specific variables which might tend to have a bearing on the findings, were uncontrolled. The main factor to be controlled was racial status, and no attempt was made to achieve socio-economic comparability between the white and Indian groups. However, class identification or differentiation is more than socio-economic position, and minority group youth are differentiated from the white majority by the cumulative effects of their minority status, regardless of socio-economic position. Viewing the two populations of students, it would be safe to generalize that the students of the white families had a higher income level, greater job stability, and better living conditions than the families of the Indian students.

It should be noted that the age distribution for the two groups was unevenly distributed, as the Indian students tended to be older with each successive grade.

Scores on achievement tests depict the Indian students as being below the state norms, and reading, vocabulary, and English difficulties were more pronounced among the Indian group.

Another factor which must be taken into account is the difference

in the structure of the two schools. The white public school was a day school and students lived with their families while attending school. The Lone Pine Indian school was a boarding school and the students lived in two dormitories. These differential living conditions plus the variance and differential influence of student, school, and staff norms present future difficulties in the interpretation of the findings.

CHAPTER V

PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

The results of the study and the interpretations are presented in three major sections. The first section presents the testing of the two hypotheses regarding the occupational aspirations of the Indian and white groups. An additional intention is to describe the general characteristics of student aspirations.

The second portion presents the findings on the occupational expectations and testing of the hypotheses for the male and female Indian and white groupings. The results are also considered in relation to the occupational aspirations of the students.

A third section presents a discussion and interpretation of the findings in consideration of the theoretical framework.

I. OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Table V presents the percentage distribution of students' occupational aspirations for the male and female Indian and white groups. The occupational aspirations are classified according to major occupational divisions, United States Bureau of the Census, 1960.

The percentage discrepancies between the Indian and whites in the multiple response and no response categories should be noted. While 20.3 percent of the Indian males listed multiple responses, only 4.5 percent of the white males gave multiple responses. Approximately 18 percent of the Indian males did not respond, as compared to 12 percent of the white

males. A larger proportion of the white males, however, stated that they "did not know." Considering these three categories, 40 percent of the Indian males were unable to specify any clear occupational choice, as compared to 20.4 percent of the white males.

An examination of Table V indicated that 19.7 percent of the Indian females listed multiple occupational choices as compared to 3.1 percent of the white females. As with the white males, a larger percentage of the white females stated simply that they "did not know." Combining the three categories, 31.0 percent of the Indian females gave indefinite or no responses, as compared to 14.7 percent of the white females.

It is therefore concluded that the Indian group, both the males and females, are less concise and certain regarding future occupational goals than the white population of students.

The large proportion of indefinite responses, however, is not atypical compared to the results of other research on occupational goals of high school students. Recently, Sherif⁷⁷ found that at least one-fourth of high school students in various samples, regardless of background and socio-economic factors, are unable to specify a clear occupational goal.

Viewing the general characteristics of the total occupational aspirations according to the major groupings as employed in Table V a larger proportion of the white males chose professional, technical, and farming occupations. The other differences are not substantial.

⁷⁷Muzafer and Carolyn W. Sherif, Reference Groups (New York: Harper and Row, 1964) p. 211.

TABLE V

**MAJOR CLASSIFICATIONS, OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS
FOR INDIAN AND WHITE STUDENTS**

| Major Occupational Groupings | Males | | Females | |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | Indian (N=261) | Whites (N=132) | Indian (N=273) | Whites (N=129) |
| White Collar | 22.9 | 30.4 | 56.3 | 69.0 |
| Professional and Technical | 16.1 | 28.0 | 37.6 | 51.9 |
| Proprietors, Managers, and Officials | 3.4 | .8 | 1.1 | .0 |
| Clerical and Sales | 3.4 | 1.6 | 17.6 | 17.1 |
| Manual Laborers | 32.5 | 34.8 | 12.9 | 14.8 |
| Craftsmen and Foremen | 21.8 | 13.6 | .4 | .0 |
| Operatives | 1.9 | 2.3 | .0 | .0 |
| Service Workers | 5.7 | 10.6 | 11.8 | 14.0 |
| Laborers, except Farm | 3.1 | 8.3 | .7 | .8 |
| Farm | 4.6 | 14.4 | .4 | .0 |
| Farmers and Farm Managers | 3.1 | 14.4 | .4 | .0 |
| Farm Laborers | 1.5 | .0 | .0 | .0 |
| Housewife | .0 | .0 | .4 | 1.5 |
| Don't know (as stated by student) | 1.9 | 3.8 | 2.9 | 6.9 |
| Multiple Responses | 20.3 | 4.5 | 19.7 | 3.1 |
| No Response | 17.8 | 12.1 | 8.4 | 4.7 |

The white females specified professional and technical occupations to a greater degree than the Indian females, and a larger proportion of the white females indicated service occupational aspirations.

An examination of Table V indicated that the females, for both the Indian and white groups, aspire to the professional and technical occupations to a greater degree than the males. An examination of the specific occupational choices for the females indicates that this difference is due to the popularity of teaching and nursing for them. However, the socio-logical significance regarding the difference in the nature of occupational choice for males and females should also be considered. Research indicates that the key status for most women lies in their husbands' occupation, regardless of what occupational aspirations they may have.⁷⁸ Parsons has remarked on the frequency with which women have careers that would place them in a different status position than their husbands if their own careers did in fact determine their social stations. The career for a women in a sense supplies a supplementary rather than an essential income.⁷⁹

The first null hypothesis, that among Indian males and white males there is no significant difference in the level of occupational aspirations, is tested by the data presented in Table VI.

As noted in the section on methodology, all occupations were classified according to their actual or interpolated North-Hatt occupational

⁷⁸E. T. Hiller, Social Relations and Structures (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), pp. 339-43.

⁷⁹Talcott Parsons, "The Social Structure of the Family," Ruth N. Anshen (ed.), The Family: Its Future and Desitny (rev. ed.; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. 265.

prestige-rank values. The median test, an application of the chi square test, is then applied to test the null hypothesis.

TABLE VI

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALES ACCORDING
TO THE MEDIAN TEST RANK DIVISION OF THE NORTH-HATT SCALE

| Median Rank | Indian Males | White Males | Totals |
|-----------------|--------------|-------------|--------|
| Above 43.5 | 78 | 50 | 128 |
| Below 43.5 | 82 | 57 | 139 |
| Totals | 160 | 107 | 267 |
| $\chi^2 = .103$ | df=1 | P = > .70 | |

A chi square value of .103 was obtained, and the data does not allow a rejection of the null hypothesis. With one degree of freedom, a chi square value of 3.841 would be needed for significance at the .05 level. It is concluded that among Indian and white males there is no statistical difference between the levels of occupational aspiration.

The same statistical procedure is used to test the second hypothesis that there is no significant difference in the prestige level of the occupational aspirations among Indian and white females. Table VII summarizes the computations of the median test and indicates that there is no statistical significant difference between the Indian and white female groups.

TABLE VII

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF INDIAN AND WHITE FEMALES ACCORDING
TO THE MEDIAN TEST RANK DIVISION OF THE NORTH-HATT SCALE

| Median Rank | Indian Females | White Females | Totals |
|-----------------|----------------|---------------|--------|
| Above 33 | 86 | 62 | 148 |
| Below 33.5 | 100 | 46 | 146 |
| Totals | 186 | 108 | 294 |
| $\chi^2 = 3.37$ | df=1 | P = < .10 | |

Here again, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected; it is concluded that there is no difference between the aspirational level of Indian and white females. However, the data indicates, although not significant, that there is a trend for the white females to aspire somewhat higher than the Indian females.

White Male-White Female. Table VIII presents the results of the median test as applied to the white male and female occupational aspirations. A statistical difference between the two groups was not obtained, although the computations indicate that there is a tendency for the white females to aspire somewhat higher than the males.

TABLE VIII

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF WHITE MALE AND FEMALE STUDENTS ACCORDING TO THE MEDIAN TEST RANK DIVISION OF THE NORTH-HATT SCALE

| Median Rank | White Male | White Female | Totals |
|-------------|------------|--------------|--------|
| Above 43.5 | 50 | 63 | 113 |
| Below 43.5 | 57 | 45 | 102 |
| Totals | 107 | 108 | 215 |

$$\chi^2 = 2.79 \quad df=1 \quad P = < .10$$

Indian Males-Indian Females. Table IX reveals that there is a significant difference between the occupational aspiration level of the Indian males and Indian females.

TABLE IX

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE STUDENTS ACCORDING TO THE MEDIAN TEST RANK DIVISION OF THE NORTH-HATT SCALE

| Median Rank | Indian Male | Indian Female | Totals |
|-------------|-------------|---------------|--------|
| Above 40.5 | 63 | 106 | 169 |
| Below 40.5 | 97 | 80 | 177 |
| Totals | 160 | 186 | 346 |

$$\chi^2 = 10.80 \quad df=1 \quad P = < .001$$

Several studies have demonstrated that the occupational aspirations of white females do not tend to be different from those of males of similar socio-economic background. The findings presented in Table VIII support previous findings. Thus the present finding on the difference between Indian males and females at first appear to be confusing and conflicting until reference is made to the Indian male and Indian female contemporary social structures. Recent research indicates that the employment opportunities for the Indian female are greater than those for the male. Wax and Wax comment on the Indian male and female:

If the girls do stick it out through high school (and eschew marriage and pregnancy), they can go to nursing school in a neighboring city, and employment is thereafter available to them. Or girls may study secretarial skills and seek work with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. However, for the boys the situation is less promising: many drift into occasional work as farmhands or ranch hands. Otherwise, they can migrate to nearby cities, but without definite skills and occupational savvy, their job careers are uncertain. Sticking it out through high school scarcely seems to lead anywhere, although many boys (even drop-outs) will themselves declare that, without schooling, they can only look forward to being "bums." An elite few of the pupils do graduate from high school and go on to college; of these many have a difficult time However, those who have some college education tend to be respected on the Reservation, and if they do not secure positions with the Bureau (of Indian Affairs) they can occasionally obtain employment with the Tribal Council.⁸⁰

Although patriarchy has been common to Plains Indian families,⁸¹ the opportunities of employment for the Indian female, by comparison to the opportunities available for the males, has no doubt tended to increase the influence of the female in the Indian household. Therefore, the findings

⁸⁰Wax and Wax, op. cit., p. 112.

⁸¹Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Incorporated, 1963), pp. 114-157.

reported in this thesis might be indicative of this contemporary trend.

II. OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS

Table X summarizes the occupational expectations for the Indian and white groups. As with the occupational aspirations, the expectations are grouped according to major occupational divisions, Bureau of Census. The tabulation indicates that a larger proportion of Indians and whites, both males and females, was less concise regarding their occupational expectations than their aspirations.

As with the occupational aspirations, a larger proportion of the Indians did not respond and gave multiple responses. Combining the three categories (see "don't know," "multiple responses," and "no response," categories in Table X), 42.1 percent of the Indian males were unable to specify a clear occupational expectation, as compared to 28.2 percent of the white males. Thirty percent of the white females were indefinite as to their expectations, as compared to 46.2 percent of the Indian females.

An examination of Table X indicates that the discrepancies between the Indian and white groups, for both the males and females, are greater for their occupational expectations than for the occupational aspirations. Both groups tended to change their expectations, but the percentage discrepancies between the Indian and the white became more pronounced than they were with the aspirations.

TABLE X

MAJOR CLASSIFICATIONS, OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS
FOR INDIAN AND WHITE STUDENTS

| Major Occupational Groupings | Males | | Females | |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | Indian (N=261) | Whites (N=132) | Indian (N=273) | Whites (N=129) |
| White Collar | 10.7 | 29.8 | 40.3 | 65.1 |
| Professional and Technical | 8.0 | 26.7 | 20.9 | 43.4 |
| Proprietors, Managers, and Officials | .0 | .0 | .0 | .0 |
| Clerical and Sales | 2.7 | 3.1 | 19.4 | 21.7 |
| Manual Laborers | 37.9 | 25.2 | 12.8 | 10.1 |
| Craftsmen and Foremen | 19.5 | 5.3 | .7 | .0 |
| Operatives | 3.1 | 3.1 | 1.1 | .0 |
| Service Workers | 7.6 | 6.1 | 4.4 | 8.5 |
| Laborers, except Farm | 7.7 | 10.7 | 6.6 | 1.6 |
| Farm | 7.3 | 16.8 | .4 | .0 |
| Farmers and Farm Managers | 1.9 | 16.8 | .0 | .0 |
| Farm Laborers | 5.4 | .0 | .4 | .0 |
| Housewife | .0 | .0 | .4 | 3.9 |
| Don't know (as stated by student) | 4.6 | 6.1 | 11.4 | 10.9 |
| Multiple Responses | 4.6 | 2.3 | 7.0 | .0 |
| No Response | 32.9 | 19.8 | 27.8 | 10.1 |

The third null hypothesis states that there is no significant difference between the occupational expectations, or "actual plans" among Indian and white males. Table XI summarizes the results of the median test computations. The same methodological procedure is followed as with the occupational aspirations. All the occupational expectations of the Indian and white males were classified according to their assigned or interpolated value on the North-Hatt Occupational Prestige Scale. The median test is then applied to determine whether there is a significant difference between the Indian and white males.

TABLE XI

OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS OF THE INDIAN AND WHITE MALE POPULATIONS
ACCORDING TO THE MEDIAN TEST RANK DIVISION OF
THE NORTH-HATT SCALE

| Median Rank | Indian Males | White Males | Totals |
|-----------------|--------------|-------------|--------|
| Above 52.5 | 53 | 67 | 120 |
| Below 52.5 | 96 | 27 | 123 |
| Totals | 149 | 94 | 243 |
| $\chi^2 = 29.4$ | df=1 | P = <.001 | |

A chi square value of 29.4 was obtained. With one degree of freedom, this value is significant at the .001 level. The null hypothesis is rejected at this level, and it is concluded that among Indian and white males there is a significant difference between the levels of occupational

expectation. Considering the direction of this difference, the Indian males have a statistically significant lower level of occupational expectations.

The fourth hypothesis, that there is no significant difference between the occupational prestige expectations among Indian and white females, is tested by the data on the females in Table XII.

TABLE XII

OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS OF INDIAN AND WHITE FEMALES ACCORDING
TO THE MEDIAN TEST RANK DIVISION AS APPLIED TO THE
NORTH-HATT SCALE

| Median Rank | Indian Females | White Females | Totals |
|-----------------|----------------|---------------|--------|
| Above 48.5 | 65 | 61 | 126 |
| Below 48.5 | 92 | 25 | 127 |
| Totals | 157 | 96 | 253 |
| $\chi^2 = 11.6$ | df = 1 | P = <.001 | |

The computations indicate that there is a statistical significant difference between the occupational expectations of the Indian and white females. White females have a significantly higher level of expectations.

Indian Males-Indian Females. Table XIII presents the results of the median test as applied to the Indian males and females.

TABLE XIII

OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS OF THE MALE AND FEMALE INDIAN GROUPS
 ACCORDING TO THE MEDIAN TEST RANK DIVISION OF THE
 NORTH-HATT SCALE

| Median Rank | Indian Males | Indian Females | Totals |
|------------------|--------------|----------------|--------|
| Above 52.5 | 53 | 101 | 154 |
| Below 52.5 | 96 | 56 | 152 |
| Totals | 149 | 157 | 306 |
| $\chi^2 = 25.31$ | df=1 | P = <.001 | |

The data reveals that the Indian females have a higher level of occupational expectations than the Indian males. Since a significant difference was also found among the Indian males and females as to their level of occupational aspirations, this data on the expectation level lends further support to recent research which indicate the disproportionate employment opportunities available for the Indian male and female.

White Males-White Females. A summary of the findings on the white males and females are recorded in Table XIV. A chi square value of 2.56 was obtained. Since this value is significant only at the .10 level, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected.

TABLE XIV

OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS OF MALE AND FEMALE WHITE STUDENTS
 ACCORDING TO THE MEDIAN TEST RANK DIVISION OF
 THE NORTH-HATT SCALE

| Median Rank | White Males | White Females | Totals |
|-----------------|-------------|---------------|--------|
| Above 43.5 | 46 | 58 | 104 |
| Below 43.5 | 48 | 38 | 89 |
| Totals | 94 | 96 | 190 |
| $\chi^2 = 2.56$ | df=1 | P = > .10 | |

The data is consistent with the findings on the occupational aspirations for the two groups. Although the difference is not significant at the .05 level, there is slight tendency for the females to rank their occupational expectations higher than the males.

III. ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

In analyzing the discrepancies between the occupational aspirations and expectations of the students, we refer to those who aspired to a particular occupation and expected to enter it as ++; those who expected to enter a job that was below the scale value of their aspiration on the North-Hatt scale as +-; and those who aspired to a job that was below the scale value of their expectation as -+. Table XV presents the distribution of categories for the Indian and white males.

TABLE XV

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS/EXPECTATIONS FOR INDIAN AND WHITE MALES

| | Aspiration Expectation (++) | Aspiration Expectation (+-) | Aspiration Expectation (-+) |
|------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Indian | 96 | 52 | 2 |
| White | 76 | 10 | 0 |
| $\chi^2 = 39.34$ | | df=1 | P < .001 |

In 36.8 percent of the Indian male cases, aspirations were identical to expectations, while 57.6 percent of the white males were ++. For the Indian males 19.9 percent of the expectations were below the prestige level of their aspirations (+-), as compared to 7.6 percent of the white males.

A chi square value of 39.34 was found, excluding the two Indian +- cases, which is significant at the .001 level. Therefore, it is concluded that among Indian and white males, the Indian males scale their expectations to a significantly lower level than their aspirations. This data lends further support to the analysis of the Indian and white male occupational expectations, wherein a significant difference was found between the expectation level of the two groups. Not only do male Indians expect less than white males, but a greater proportion also expect less than they aspire to.

Table XVI summarizes discrepancies between the occupational aspirations and expectations of the Indian and white females, or the relation-

ship between what they wanted and what they expected to achieve.

TABLE XVI

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS FOR
INDIAN AND WHITE FEMALES

| | Aspiration Expectation (++) | Aspiration Expectation (+-) | Aspiration Expectation (-+) |
|--------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Indian | 97 | 37 | 3 |
| White | 86 | 10 | 0 |

$\chi^2 = 9.66$ df=1 P < .01

While 66.7 percent of the white females expected to achieve what they aspired to, only 35.5 percent of the Indian females gave expectations identical to their aspirations. When we look at the percentages of those who expected to achieve less than they aspired to, 13.6 percent of the Indian females were +-, while 7.8 percent of the white females were +-.

The data indicates that there is a statistically significant difference among Indian and white females regarding the discrepancies between occupational aspirations and expectations. The Indian females not only expect to achieve less than the white females, but a significantly larger distribution expect to achieve less than they aspire to. These results further confirm the theoretical position which assumes that although the Indian and whites do not differ significantly in terms of aspirations, they are sharply differentiated on the expectation dimension.

IV. DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

The present study has viewed the American Indian high school student as a product of a contemporary reservation subculture, influenced by the values of the dominant cultures. The thesis focuses upon the occupational aspirations, expectations and modes of adaptation among Indian and white rural high school students.

As previously reviewed, there have been two sociological interpretations of the occupational mobility orientation in American society. One assumes that the occupational success orientation follows class and racial lines, so that the middle and upper classes, and the racially dominant are the strivers, while those of a lower stratum position set lower levels of occupational aspiration.

The other approach assumes that there is a somewhat uniform emphasis placed upon the cultural value of occupational success and that this ideology of success in American society is universally internalized by all segments. This second approach also places an emphasis upon the unequal distribution of resources and skills, or "means," in attaining the success goal and the alternatives open to those who do not obtain the internalized ideology of success.

Those who advocate the first approach have empirically demonstrated a high positive correlation between stratum position and level of occupational choice. However, the interpretation of these findings pose a theoretical and methodological problem. As Stephenson⁸² has noted, "It is seldom clear

⁸²Stephenson, op. cit., p. 205.

in such research whether the stated choice represents an expectation or an aspiration."

The present investigation has made a distinction between occupational aspirations and occupational expectations, or the "actual plans." The study incorporates the second theoretical approach and has hypothesized that the Indian and white youth would hold a relatively common level of occupational aspirations, but that the expectation dimension would sharply differentiate them, since the means available for the two groups are unevenly distributed in American society. The results of the study have supported the theoretical assumptions.

It was found that the Indian and white students, both the males and females, did not differ significantly in terms of occupational aspirations. The reputedly low aspirations of the Indian in regard to occupational orientation were not found in this sample of Midwestern rural high school students, even though the Indian students were relatively disadvantaged as compared to the white students. Considering the impoverishment and marginal employment that await most Indians, their aspirations in regard to jobs are unusually high.

However, a significant difference was found between the Indian and white students, for both the males and females, on the level of expectation, or the "realistic" occupational plans. The Indian students have a lower level of occupational expectation. A significant difference was also found between the proportion of Indian and whites who lowered their expectations in relation to their aspirations, or in the discrepancy between aspirations and expectations.

This pattern of choice suggests that these Indian and white youth hold similar occupational aspirations, but that their expectations are differentiated by their relative positions in the social structure (in which race is a significant variable). A tentative generalization is that the Indian youth, although they aspire just as high as the white youth, perceive their stratum position and life chances, and state their expectations accordingly.

In view of the findings, we would anticipate that the types of adaptations would vary among the Indian and white groups since Merton's conceptual scheme is designed to provide an insight into socio-cultural sources of deviant behavior. In his formulations, he seeks to discover why and how some social structures exert a definite pressure upon certain persons in the society to engage in nonconformist rather than conformist conduct. Therefore, due to the discrepancies between the aspirational expectations and aspirations among the Indian group, we would expect a greater degree of nonconformity to formal education among the Indian group. The modes of adaptation in the classroom would be predicted to take such forms as rebellion, retreatism, and withdrawal among the Indian group. Such behavior would be expected since the Indian students reflect a similar emphasis upon the level of occupational success, while their expectations are more based upon their racial position and hence may reflect differences in opportunity, or "means" to "goals", and the general life chances in the larger society. The conformity and adaptations to formal role expectations will be discussed in Chapter VI.

Another finding, although serendipitous to the investigation, was

the significant difference between the occupational aspirations and expectations among Indian males and females. The Indian females had a statistically significant higher level of expectations and aspirations. These findings lend support to recent research that points to a trend toward disproportionate employment opportunities favoring the Indian female as compared to the male.

CHAPTER VI

OBSERVATIONAL DATA: ADAPTATIONS TO FORMAL ROLE EXPECTATIONS AT THE TWO STUDY SCHOOLS

In this chapter data are presented which were obtained from more informal methods which did not lend themselves to quantitative analysis. Such are reported in a descriptive, largely anecdotal manner. The data are specifically concerned with the modes of adaptation and conformity to formal role expectations at the two study schools. More particularly, since we are interested in providing an account of deviant behavior for the Indian group we have employed Merton's theory of social structure and anomie.

As previously reviewed, Merton denotes two major aspects in a social system: on the one hand, the cultural structure, that is, the organized set of normative values or goals; and on the other hand the social structure, more particularly the institutionalized channels or "means" of access for attaining these values by legitimate means. Further, and of fundamental theoretical importance, these two elements are considered to vary independently of each other. To quote Merton directly: "The cultural emphasis placed upon certain goals varies independently of the degree of emphasis upon institutionalized means."⁸³

Merton then makes two theoretical assumptions. First, he assumes that certain cultural emphases or goals are pervasive throughout American

83

Merton, op. cit., p. 133.

society, stratified though it is, and that all or nearly all Americans share these goals. Among these is the value placed upon occupational success. This assumption on the homogeneity of certain cultural values is not shared by those social scientists who place an emphasis upon subcultural relativism and who attempt to explain forms of deviant behavior in terms of "culture shock," or the conflict of social values. It would seem, however, in the complex American society, that the content of values of any subculture could not be treated independently from the values of the dominant culture in which it is engrossed. The findings on the occupational aspirations of the Indian and white groups in this study lend support to this first assumption. Merton's second assumption has perhaps been more documented by research and accepted by social scientists than his first. His second assumption is that the institutionalized channels of access or the availability of legitimate means to the pervasively emphasized culture goals are not uniformly distributed throughout the social system. The lower strata and certain subcultural groups, notably racial and ethnic, represent a disadvantaged sociological location. The findings on the occupational expectations of the Indian and white groups in this present study, as discussed in Chapter IV, reflect that the occupational expectations are more definitely based upon their racial differences in opportunity, while the occupational aspiration level is similar for both Indian and white groups.

As Merton develops his theory further, he hypothesizes that value-access disjunctions, or a condition of malintegration between the aspirational values and the socially structured access to these values, lead to a breakdown in norms, or anomie, and lead and exert pressure upon individuals

or groups exposed to such disjunctions to engage in deviant behavior. The theory, then, as a socio-cultural formulation, is concerned with describing deviant behavior as a function of the value-access disjunctions. In this way, the theory attempts to account for the well-established relationship between socio-economic disadvantage and relatively high rates of deviance, and Merton has proposed five alternative modes of adjustment or adaptation. Before turning to a description of his typology of adaptations, it may be well to confront possible reservations about his approach to deviance.

In looking at the varieties of subcultures in the American society, it may be proposed that each subculture or segment has its own norms, some of which from the point of view of the dominant culture might be called deviant, but which from the point of view of that particular subculture are perfectly normal. If this be the case, persons socialized in this subculture are "deviant" not because they experience a disjunction between their aspirations and expectations but rather because they conform to the values and norms of the subculture. This theory of deviant behavior assumes that deviance results from the conflict between the values and norms of the subculture and that of the larger dominant culture.

Deviant behavior is to some degree directly learned from available models in one's primary reference group. Nevertheless, a number of questions are left unanswered or in doubt by the cultural transmission or cultural conflict viewpoint. The first problem for the cultural conflict view is the unlikelihood that in modern American society, linked by mass communication and educational institutions, that a subculture could remain so isolated as to maintain values without recognizing that they are at odds

with those of the surrounding dominant culture.

The author has accepted Merton's assumption of the pervasive acceptance of a dominant cultural value in American society, occupational success, among both white and Indian adolescents. The findings on the occupational aspirations of the Indian and white groups support this theoretical assumption. The findings on the differences between the occupational expectations, or the visualized achievements among the Indian and whites, support Merton's second theoretical assumption that the institutionalized access to the aspirations are often unevenly distributed among the groups. These general formulations of Merton, then, are felt to provide a useful schema in accounting for nonconformity or varying modes of adaptation. With this theoretical development in mind, we can turn to a brief outline of Merton's typology of modes of adaptation.

These are schematically presented in Table XVII, where (+) signifies "acceptance," (-) signifies "elimination" and (\pm) signifies "rejection and substitution of new goals and standards."⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Merton, op. cit., p. 140.

TABLE XVII
A TYPOLOGY OF MODES OF INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATION

| Adaptation | Culture Goals | Institutionalized Means |
|----------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| I. Conformity | + | + |
| II. Innovation | + | - |
| III. Ritualism | - | + |
| IV. Retreatism | - | - |
| V. Rebellion | ± | ± |

Source: Merton, op. cit., p. 140.

For Merton these categories of adaptation do not refer to personality organization, but to role behavior in specific types of situations. Merton suggests that in every society, Adaptation I (conformity to both culture goals and means) is the most common.

Thus, "conventional role behavior oriented toward the basic values of the group is the rule rather than the expectation."⁸⁵ Conversely, he suggests that Adaptation IV (rejection of goals and means) is the least common. This mode of "adjustment" occurs, as far as structural sources are concerned, when both the culture goals and institutionalized procedures have been assimilated thoroughly by the individual and imbued with high positive value, but where those institutionalized procedures which promise

⁸⁵ Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," in Marvin E. Wolfgang, Leonard Savitz and Norman Johnston (eds.), The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962), p. 239.

a measure of successful attainment of the goals are not available to the individual.⁸⁶ As Merton states:

It is an expedient which arises from continued failure to attain the goal by legitimate measures and from an inability to adopt the illegitimate route because of internalized prohibitions and institutionalized compulsives, during which process the supreme value of the success-goal has as yet not been renounced. The conflict is resolved by elimination of both precipitating elements, the goals, and the means. Be it noted that where frustration derives from the inaccessibility of effective institutional means for attaining economic or any other type of highly valued 'success,' that Adaptation II, III and V (innovation, ritualism, and rebellion) are also possible. The result will be determined by the particular personality, and thus, the particular cultural background, involved. Inadequate socialization will result in the innovation response whereby the conflict and frustration are eliminated by relinquishing the institutional means and retaining the success-aspiration; an extreme assimilation of institutional demands will lead to ritualism wherein the goal is dropped as beyond one's reach but conformity to the mores persists; and rebellion occurs when emancipation from the reigning standards, due to frustration or to marginalist perspectives, leads to the attempt to introduce a 'new social order.'⁸⁷

In view of the findings on the occupational aspirations and expectations of the Indian and white groups, we would expect to find different degrees of adaptation among the Indian and white groups following Merton's theoretical formulation. Thus, one would expect to find such modes of adaptation as withdrawal, rebellion, and others among the Indian group in their adaptation to formal classroom role expectations.

Thirty-one classes were observed at the Lone Pine Indian School, and fourteen were visited consistently over a three-day period at the white

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 239.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 240.

public school. The author also taught two courses at Indian school and had completed informal interviews with all teachers.

While an observer would get the impression that the students at the white public school are generally conforming to classroom role expectations, the students at the Lone Pine Indian school appear to be withdrawn, bored, unprepared, hesitant to ask questions, and at times rebellious.

In conveying a feeling of the atmosphere that exists in the classrooms at the Indian school, it is appropriate to quote the statements which were made by several students from a Midwestern public school after they had visited the classes at the Indian school for several days:

. . . the kids don't pay too much attention in class as we do . . . things that happen . . . some of the kids just sit there. (field notation, December 29, 1964--white senior male student).

Teachers do all the talking here, there is a lot of lecturing and a lot of study time that we don't get during class . . . (field notation, December 29, 1964--white senior female student).

At night they don't do anything as far as homework at all. Most of the kids don't even bring back books from school. I was noticing that when we were coming back. (field notation, December 29, 1964--white senior female student).

The (teachers) aren't tough about when they have their assignments in, like in (course title), he didn't seem to get upset if they didn't have it done or anything like that. We would get an automatic zero or something like that if we didn't have an assignment done. (field notation, December 29, 1964--white senior male student).

A number of points raised by these white high school students in the foregoing quotations repeatedly appear both in the observational data and in the informal interviews with teachers.

The dropout rate at the Lone Pine school is high, being somewhat higher for the males. The major official reason for dropping out is

recorded as parental withdrawal, and therefore the actual or known reasons are not specifically recorded. The high rate of dropping out at the Lone Pine school indicates a form of withdrawal behavior. Table XVIII depicts the age and grade characteristics for the dropouts at the Lone Pine school, whereas Table XIX lists the official dropout categories as supplied by the United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

TABLE XVIII
AGE-GRADE DROPOUT CATEGORIES
LONE PINE INDIAN SCHOOL

| Grade/Age | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 19 & Over | Total |
|-----------|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----------|-------|
| 9 | 4 | 10 | 14 | 5 | 5 | 2 | | 40 |
| 10 | | 3 | 7 | 13 | 1 | 3 | | 27 |
| 11 | | | 1 | 12 | 7 | 6 | 3 | 29 |
| 12 | | | | 3 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 17 |
| Totals | 4 | 13 | 22 | 33 | 16 | 16 | 9 | 113 |

Source: United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Education, Annual School Attendance Report, 1965.

TABLE XIX

OFFICIAL DROP OUT CATEGORIES
LONE PINE INDIAN SCHOOL

| Category | Male | Female | Total |
|---|------|--------|-------|
| Withdrawn by Parents | 70 | 43 | 113 |
| Absence without Leave | 27 | 13 | 40 |
| Home Leave--Failed to Return | 21 | 2 | 23 |
| Detained by Law Agencies | 10 | 0 | 10 |
| Could Not Adjust to School and Dormitory Life | 0 | 17 | 17 |
| Refused to Obey School Regulations | 0 | 6 | 6 |
| Pregnant | 0 | 4 | 4 |

Source: United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Education, Annual School Attendance Report, 1965.

The drop out rate at the white public school is minimal. Table XX and XXI depict the age and grade categories and the official reasons for dropping out at the white public school.

TABLE XX

AGE-GRADE DROPOUT CATEGORIES
WHITE PUBLIC SCHOOL

| Grade/Age | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 19 & Over | Total |
|-----------|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----------|-------|
| 9 | | 1 | | 1 | | | | 2 |
| 10 | | | | | | | | |
| 11 | | | | 2 | | | | 2 |
| 12 | | | | | 4 | 2 | | 6 |
| Totals | | 1 | | 3 | 4 | 2 | | |

Source: Office of Guidance Counselor, White Public Study School.

TABLE XXI

OFFICIAL DROPOUT CATEGORIES
WHITE PUBLIC SCHOOL

| Category | Male | Female | Total |
|--------------|------|--------|-------|
| Married | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Failing Work | 8 | 0 | 8 |
| Totals | 9 | 1 | 10 |

Source: Office of Guidance Counselor, White Public Study School.

As with the Lone Pine Indian school, the rate for the boys is higher than that for the females. Viewing both populations, the Indian students

appear less conforming to formal role expectations and suggest that withdrawal, as characterized by dropping out of school, is more characteristic among the Indian group.

The formal expectations on student classroom behavior at the Lone Pine Indian school are specified either officially in policy manuals, memorandums, or through informal definitions which develop within the system. The general formal school expectations regarding the behavior of students are outlined in the school policy manual:

The school is the means through which the Bureau of Indian Affairs provides the educational opportunity for future citizens at public expense. In return, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the school expect from enrolled students high standards of conduct as well as scholarship. These high standards apply to conduct within the total learning situation as well as off the campus. A sense of responsibility and good judgment are assets of character which each student should be developing during his high school life. Conduct which handicaps such growth is detrimental to the purpose of the school Upon entering the school, each student assumes the responsibility for adopting his own conduct to the purpose of the institution, and to the welfare of the student body.⁸⁸

The formal classroom role expectations for the students at the white public school are not codified or written down.

In observing student behavior in the classrooms at the two schools, hand raising, either to volunteer information, answer questions, or to ask for teacher help, is minimal at the Lone Pine Indian school. (see classroom observation form, Appendix II) The classroom observations at the white public school indicate that proportionately twice as many students, considering the time samples and number of students, respond by raising their hands during class sessions.

⁸⁸Lone Pine Indian School Policy Manual, (Mimeographed, 1965).

Although passive and withdrawn behavior are observed at both schools, the differential frequency of such student behavior among the two schools should be noted. For example, in 26 class sessions at the Lone Pine school, the investigator observed 64 students with their heads on their desks or sleeping (Range, 0-11), while only 4 instances were noted at the white public school during 12 class sessions. "Sleeping in class" is considered by the teachers to be a discipline problem at the Indian school and various attempts are made to control this behavior. For example, one teacher posted a list on the bulletin board entitled "The Sleeping Injun Club," yet removed the list after several weeks as the number of names rapidly increased. Other teachers might patrol the classroom and prod the students to lift their heads up from their desks:

Don't sleep now, do some other work you feel like doing. (Student's name), are you finished? If you go to sleep you will have to stand up. You stand up, take your book with you. (classroom observation, general math, April 20, 1965).

In general, the passive behavior of the students is to be noted especially during the periods of supervised study. The students at the Lone Pine school can be viewed looking out the window and exchanging notes (quietly and without notice from the teacher).

Since I am in the mood for writing and haven't anything else to do, I figured it's time I got around to answering you. At the present time I'm in (student named class). I don't know what the assignment is so I'll just keep on writing and try to get finished before chow. (a student note, collected by the investigator, January 11, 1965).

Others are sitting dreamingly looking at their text, or else starting to work on assignments as the teacher nears their desk. Some will ask questions as the teacher approaches, but as a rule the questions are directed toward finding out the "right answer," or, simply "is this what

"you want?" At times the teacher may be viewed collecting and folding papers when the students have refused to turn in assigned work. Indeed, some of the assignments are never turned in and many are only partially completed. One teacher, after checking his grade book for an entire semester, calculated that only 46 percent of the students ever turn in the assignments for his class.

While a critical observer may doubt the sincerity of conformity in the classrooms at the white control school, a majority of the students work on assignments, ask questions, and raise their hands to answer questions or to ask the teacher for help. Assignments are usually completed and handed in.

Although the classroom atmosphere at the Lone Pine school generally would give one the impression that the students are passive and withdrawn, hostile behavioral patterns toward teachers in the classroom are to be noted--direct verbal, non-verbal (physical), and group hostility (such as the group moaning and groaning together, or indirect means such as slamming books and chairs). Although the teachers at the Lone Pine school usually complain about students' behavior which is more characterized as withdrawing or nonassociative, the teachers complain about specific hostile reactions and "outbursts" within the classroom.

One of my students decided she didn't want to do what I told her to do so she was kept in after class, when along came her peer group from the next class and they said, 'Well, I wouldn't take that.' Then she came over and just hauled off and hit me and said, 'I'm not taking anything from anyone nor is anyone going to push me around.' (field notation, April 19, 1965--new female teacher).

Such aggressive behavior was not noted at the white control school,

and during informal interviews with the teachers, none were reported.

When the teachers discuss the students informally, the teachers at the white public school commented on those students who drank beer, wear long hair, or who wear skirts that are defined as being too short. These students are generally referred to as "hoods" or "wild girls," and comparisons are made between these students and "students who attend school in the big cities or the slums."

The teachers at the Lone Pine school generally discuss the behavior of the students in the classroom in terms of those "who have Indian problems." Both the passive and the aggressive students are generally viewed from this standpoint, and comparisons are usually made between Indian and white high school students:

In the public (white) school, you have students who want to learn, who are interested in learning, who actually work at their subjects, who do not sleep in class, ask all sorts of silly questions. In the public schools, they bring their books, they open their books to the page you are on, they have a pencil with them . . . there isn't any of this usual horseplay that goes on here. Too, they have a better background and they have more uniformity, you can start at one spot and proceed quite normally through a lesson without having to explain to certain students that have not had this material which is what I found here. These students don't want to learn--most of them. (teacher interview, April 12, 1965--new female teacher).

. . . you can tell they are Orientals in some ways, they don't like to show face. They would rather sit and make you think they were understanding something than to admit that they did not know it. (teacher interview, March 1, 1965--middle-aged white female teacher).

A difference between the two schools is also noted in terms of student conformity or adaptation to classroom punctuality expectations. Since no official records are kept of those students who were tardy to class at either school, the classroom observation form is used as a criterion. Those students who came into the room after the last bell rang and who

presented no excuse were counted as tardy on the classroom observation form. Approximately 47 percent of the students at the Lone Pine school were tardy, as compared to 6.4 percent of the students at the white public school.

Although class attendance is stressed at the Lone Pine school, attendance is often not taken by the teachers at the white public school as cases of skipping class or "playing hookey" are largely nonexistent. Attendance records are kept for each hour and class at the Lone Pine school and students are either excused or unexcused by the Academic office. The author compiled a listing of all classes skipped by each student at the school from October 30, 1964 (when an official memorandum regarding student classroom accounting was made) through January 18, 1965. Table XXII shows the average number of classes skipped by grade and sex, (Range, 1-25).

TABLE XXII

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CLASSES SKIPPED BY GRADE AND SEX
FROM OCTOBER 30, 1964 TO JANUARY 18, 1965

| Grade | Males | Females |
|-------|-------|---------|
| 9 | 2.95 | 1.94 |
| 10 | 2.86 | 2.18 |
| 11 | 3.43 | 2.24 |
| 12 | 3.38 | 2.11 |

Since the teachers are often asked to account for the whereabouts of students, class attendance is stressed. Periodic checks of the halls

and restrooms are made during the day by the teachers:

Miss X came into the library and said that she had just gotten two students out of the restroom . . . they had locked themselves in the restroom and were sitting on the stools so they might possibly not be noticed. She then threw her arms up in the air and commented: 'They would rather sit on the pot for hours than go to class.' She said that she could not get them to come out and finally got a chair and stood on it and looked over the top 'They came out.' She said she found the same two students later hiding in the restroom near the auditorium. (field notation).

She went on to comment that Mr. B. and Mr. C., two of the men teachers, had just gotten back from chasing a group of boys who had skipped out around the building. (field notation, April 19, 1965--middle-aged Indian teacher).

In general, the same teaching methods are utilized in the classrooms at the experimental and control schools. This is not surprising, since the majority of the teachers at both the Indian and the white school received their education at small state teachers colleges in the Midwest and completed their practice-teaching in Midwestern rural schools.

However, there is considerable variation between the two study schools in the amount of time devoted to various methods. The investigator's time samples of classroom observations indicate that 49 percent of the classroom time at the Indian school is devoted to "supervised study" (the students working on assignments, doing required reading, or working problems at their desks), and as much as 28 percent of the classroom time on teacher lectures. At the white school, only 32 percent of the classroom time is devoted to supervised study and 10 percent to teacher lecture, while 40 percent of the time is spent in question and answer sessions or in teacher-led discussions. At the Indian school only 5 percent of the total classroom time is devoted to discussion or question and answer sessions.

Since the majority of the classroom hours at the Lone Pine school is spent in supervised study or teacher lecture, and since the students are hesitant to participate in classroom activities, the implications are significant. Research indicates that in a classroom situation where the communication is only one-way the accuracy of the communication is reduced, and expected and desired behavioral changes are minimized.⁸⁹

The teachers at both schools are not satisfied with the results obtained from various teaching methods, yet the teachers at the Indian school indicate that they had more success in the classroom when teaching at public schools. In general, the teachers at the Lone Pine school state that they are dissatisfied with the present methods, but they are seldom able to propose alternatives they feel will work.

Mr. X stated that he had tried to use all sorts of methods. Presently, he was trying to get the students up in front of the room to 'express' themselves. Some of the students would refuse. Those who did get up to speak could hardly be heard. He commented that when he lectures the students do not pay attention. When he gives them an assignment from the textbook, they have vocabulary difficulties and many won't do the work. (teacher interview, January 4, 1965--middle-aged Indian male teacher).

Some of the teachers comment that they have finally resorted to such traditional methods as rote memory and copy work, or else give the students assignments from the text to complete during a class session.

Mrs. X stated she has 'resorted' to using the textbook assignments or problems at the end of a chapter to keep them busy during class but feels the students like to use the textbooks and play like they are learning something--that they do not like to be put on the spot as to whether they know something or not. (field notation, October 27, 1964--new white female teacher).

⁸⁹Mary A. Bany and Lois Johnson, Classroom Group Behavior (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1964), p. 95.

I depend almost entirely upon the textbook. I assign the exercises in the text. I have found that there appears to be a great need for another textbook, especially to use with these Indian students. They don't read the instructions and some of those who do can't understand them. They have problems with vocabulary. (teacher interview, March 6, 1965--new white male teacher).

Although the present study makes no attempt to specifically explain or define deviant behavior at the two study schools, the foregoing discussion on the classrooms at the two schools suggests that the Indian students tend to be less conforming to formal role expectations.

As Merton develops his theory, he attempts to account for the well established relationship between socio-economic disadvantage and relatively high rates of deviance. He hypothesizes that value-access disjunctions lead to a breakdown in norms, or anomie--and exert pressure on groups exposed to such disjunctions to engage in deviant behavior. For example, an individual who has relatively high values for certain goals, e.g., school achievement and high future occupational aspirations, and relatively low expectations of being able to achieve those goals by hard work and study, may be said to experience a disjunction. Such a disjunction creates pressure either toward the adoption of alternative, often socially-unapproved behavior or toward the repudiation of the goal in favor of other, more accessible goals. This particular formulation is most critical where expectations of attainments in life, as with the contemporary American Indian adolescent in this study, are generally low. In this view, then, deviant behavior is seen as a socially-induced phenomenon, a consequence of the disparity between culturally emphasized values and socially restricted access to legitimate means of attaining those values. The resulting strain can, in Merton's typology, be adapted to in a number of ways. Of special

interest to the present description of the behavior of the students in the classroom are the adaptations of Innovation (where the goals are maintained but illegitimate means are innovated by the group), Retreatism (where both the cultural goals and the legitimate means are repudiated and there is withdrawal and isolation), and Rebellion (where one rejects the present values and substitutes others). Thus, the Merton formulations regarding deviant behavior, viewed from the standpoint of the classroom behavior at the two schools, provide additional descriptive material upon which to view the significance of the findings of this study on the aspirations and future occupational expectations of the Indian and white study groups.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This concluding chapter is divided into four sections: (1) a review of the study, (2) the findings, (3) the theoretical applications and conclusions, and (4) suggestions for further research.

I. REVIEW OF THE STUDY

This thesis has investigated the occupational aspirations and expectations of Indian and white adolescents and has focused upon rural high school students. An additional intention has been to describe the adaptation of the students to formal classroom role expectations.

Two independent populations of high school students were utilized in the study. The Indian group consisted of the total enrolled population of students attending an off-reservation boarding school in South Dakota.

In general, the student population was fairly homogeneous. Students were at least one-fourth degree of Indian blood, reservation residents, and were members of Northern Plains tribal groupings. The school and the students were studied extensively over a period of one year while the author was staff sociologist for a mental health project studying the adjustment problems of Indian students attending boarding schools.

The second student population was comprised of students who attended a public school approximately 60 miles from the Indian boarding school. As with the Indian population, all freshmen, sophomore, junior, and senior students of both sexes were utilized in the study.

The two schools were both accredited by the South Dakota Department of Instruction and had a similar curriculum and basic course offerings. Both of the schools were located in small rural communities which were semi-isolated from large metropolitan areas. The white public school was studied during a seven-day period and for reasons of time and resources the data, especially that of a qualitative nature, are less complete. The Indian and white student populations differed in that the families of the white students had a higher income level, greater job stability, and more favorable living conditions than the families of the Indian students.

In general, the basic research techniques of the study were observation as a quasi-participant or full-participant, formal interviews, and questionnaire and observation schedules. The investigator also taught two courses at the Indian boarding school. In the role of teacher he was able to become acquainted with the teachers, the students, and the classrooms. Although informal observations were made at the white public school, the exigencies of time and resources did not permit the author to become a participant in the formal system of the school or the community.

The data were derived from five major sources: school records, student questionnaire schedules, classroom observation schedules, and the author's field diary. School records were utilized at both schools in order to obtain demographic data on the student populations. Student questionnaire schedules were administered during regular classroom sessions at both study schools. The questionnaire was pretested so that personal language difficulties or school achievement would not seriously affect the responses of the students.

Thirty-one class sessions were observed at the Indian school, and fourteen were visited consistently over a three-day period at the white public school. The class and observation times were selected randomly, and neither teacher nor students were given forewarning as to when the investigator was to observe the class. The investigator usually sat in the least conspicuous place in the room, usually toward the back, and teachers were told that he was interested in observing certain students in the classroom, so that his effect as an observer could be minimized as much as possible.

Besides describing student behavior in the classroom at the two schools, four hypotheses were formulated for test. These hypotheses were stated in null form. Statistical analysis for the testing of the hypotheses consisted primarily of the median test, an application of the chi square test, to determine whether the null hypothesis might be rejected or accepted at a specified level of significance.

In ranking the occupational choices, all responses were classified according to their actual or interpolated value on a 1963 revision of the North-Hatt occupational prestige scale. Thus descriptive and inferential statistics were employed wherever or whenever suitable; in other cases, as with the descriptions of student classroom behavior, the anecdotal method was used.

II. FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

The observational and descriptive data revealed marked differences in the behavioral adaptation exhibited by the Indian and white students in

the classroom. In general, students at the Indian school appeared to be withdrawn and passive, although there were occasional instances of aggressive or hostile behavior. Although a critical observer may doubt the sincerity of the conformity of the students at the white public school to formal role expectations in the classroom, one would get the impression that a majority of the students conformed to the expectations.

Class attendance was stressed at the Lone Pine Indian school, whereas attendance was seldom taken at the white public school. A marked discrepancy between the two student populations was also to be noted in terms of conformity to classroom punctuality expectations concerning punctuality in classroom.

In general, the students attending the white public school behaved in the classroom in a manner that was congruent with the legitimate role expectations placed upon them. By contrast, the behavior of the Indian students in the classroom was not in accordance with the formal classroom role expectations.

Four hypotheses were tested. The first hypothesis, in null form stated, that among Indian males and white males there is no significant difference in the level of occupational aspirations, could not be statistically rejected. It was concluded that among Indian and white males there was no difference between the levels of occupational aspiration.

The data revealed no differences between the Indian and white females as to the level of occupational aspiration. Thus, the second null hypothesis was not rejected and it was concluded that Indian and white females have similar levels of occupational aspirations. In general, the reputedly

low aspirations of Indians were not found in this sample of high school students, even though the Indian students were disadvantaged as compared to the white students.

Significant differences in the level of occupational expectations for both the males and females were found between the Indian and white groups. The two null hypotheses were rejected, and it was concluded that there is a significant difference between the Indian and white groups, for both the males and females, with regard to the level of occupational expectation. The Indian students have a statistically significant lower level of expectation. In comparing the discrepancies between the aspirations and the expectations, it was found that not only do the Indian students expect less than the white students, but a greater proportion also expect less than they aspire to.

A finding involving sex differences and regarding Indian aspirations and expectations indicates a tendency for the Indian females to have higher aspirations and expectations than the Indian males. No such discrepancy was found among the white males and females. This finding supports the recent observations of several researchers who conclude that there are differential employment opportunities which favor the Indian female.

Considering the total findings, the pattern of choice suggests that these Indian and white youths hold a relatively common perception in the aspiration dimension of mobility orientation, but that the expectation dimension is more sharply differentiated by their general position in the social system.

III. THEORETICAL APPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The author's approach to studying the occupational aspirations and expectations and his interpretation of modes of adaptation in the classroom among the Indian and white groups has relied upon Merton's theoretical formulations.

It has been assumed that the problem of studying this subculture of the American society is unlikely to be valid without reference to the surrounding culture. The investigator has accepted Merton's assumption that there is a pervasive acceptance of occupational success goals throughout the American culture.

This assumption is opposed to the "cultural transmission" theory in which behavior is assumed to occur as a function of direct learning and of adhering to immediately present group norms. A growing body of empirical data has found that the mobility orientation roughly follows class lines. Stephenson, however, has raised the question as to whether the individual is stating a plan based upon a realistic appraisal of his life chances or a more generally held aspiration for life goals.

Stephenson, thus made a distinction between occupational aspiration and occupational expectation, and concluded that class or stratum position may or may not differentiate mobility orientation depending upon whether one is considering the aspiration or the expectation. His analysis follows Merton's theoretical scheme, and assumes that the mobility orientation pattern is one in which aspirations are relatively unaffected by class and reflect the general cultural emphasis upon high goal orientations, while plans or expectations are more definitely class based and hence may reflect

the differences in life chances.

IV. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In view of the results obtained in this study, a number of methodological suggestions can be made with reference to possible future research in this area. In the present study no attempt was made to control such factors as intelligence, previous and present family experiences, and age. No distinction was made between the occupational status of the fathers of the Indian and white students or their general socio-economic positions. Research with a broader scope than this study might indeed find it profitable to incorporate such variables in an attempt to better understand the classroom behavior as well as the occupational aspirations and expectations of Indian and white high school students.

Some research has suggested that the prestige hierarchy of occupations is not viewed with the same perspective by different social strata. It is therefore suggested that studies comparing the relative occupational prestige positions or ranking of occupations among American Indian and white adolescents might be useful in further analysis.

Since research on the American Indian adolescent is largely nonexistent, it is further suggested that specific "Indian" variables might be utilized in further research. For example, reservation and non-reservation Indian adolescents might be compared. Tribal affiliations, degree of Indian blood, level of acculturation, and other socio-cultural variables might yield additional findings which have a direct bearing upon the aspirational and expectational level of the students as well as the various modes of adaptation and degrees of adjustment to contemporary American life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY ENTRIES

A. BOOKS

Bany, Mary A., Lois Johnson. Classroom Group Behavior. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1964.

Cohen, Albert K. Delinquent Boys. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955.

Coleman, James S. The Adolescent Society. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1961.

Cuber, John F., Robert A. Harper. Problems of American Society: Values in Conflict. New York: Holt, 1948.

Davis, Allison. Social Class Influences Upon Learning. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951.

Deutsch, Martin. Minority Groups and Class Status as Related to Social and Personality Factors in Scholastic Achievement. New York: The Society for Applied Anthropology, Monograph Number 2, 1960.

Gordon, C. Wayne. The Social System of the High School: A Study in the Sociology of Adolescence. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957.

Havighurst, Robert J. "Education Among American Indians: Individual and Cultural Aspects," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1957.

, and Bernice L. Neugarten. American Indian and White Children. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.

, and Hilda Taba. Adolescent Character and Personality. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated, 1949.

Hiller, E. T. Social Relations and Structures. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947.

Hollingshead, August B. Elmtown's Youth. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949.

Hyman, H. H. "The Value System of Different Classes," Class, Status and Power, Reinhard Bendix, S. M. Lipset editors. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953.

Johnson, Charles S. Education and the Cultural Crisis. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951.

Joseph, Alice, Rosamond Spicer, Jane Chesky. The Desert People.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949.

Knupfer, Geneviene, "Portrait of the Underdog," Class, Status and Power,
Reinhard Bendix, S. M. Lipset editors. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free
Press, 1953.

Leighton, Dorothea C., Clyde Kluckhohn. Children of the People.
Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947.

Macgregor, Gordon. Warriors Without Weapons. Chicago: University of
Chicago Press, 1946.

Meriam, Lewis. The Problems of Indian Administration. Baltimore: The
John Hopkins Press, 1928.

Merton, Robert K. Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe, Illinois:
The Free Press, 1949.

Parsons, Talcott A. "The Social Structure of the Family," The Family: Its
Future and Destiny, Ruth N. Anshen editor. New York: Harper and
Brothers, 1959.

Roessel, Robert A., Jr. Handbook for Indian Education. Los Angeles:
Amerindian Publishing Company, 1964.

Sherif, Muzafer, Carolyn W. Sherif. Reference Groups. New York: Harper
and Row, 1964.

Sutherland, E. H. Principles of Criminology. Philadelphia, Pa.: Lippin-
cott Company, 1947.

Thompson, Laura. Culture in Crisis. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950.

_____, Alice Joseph. The Hopi Way. Chicago: University of Chicago
Press, 1944.

Warner, W. L., R. J. Havighurst, M. B. Loeb. Who Shall Be Educated? New
York: Harpers, 1944.

Williams, Robin M., Jr. American Society. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1951.

Wissler, Clark. Man and Culture. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company,
1923.

B. PERIODICALS

Bennett, William S., Jr., Noel P. Gist. "Social Class and Family Influ-
ences on Student Aspirations," Social Forces, 43:169-173, December, 1964.

- Brookover, Wilbur B. "Sociology of Education: A Definition," American Sociological Review, 14:407-415, June, 1949.
- Chinoy, Ely. "The Tradition of Opportunity and the Aspirations of Automobile Workers," American Journal of Sociology, 57:453-456, March, 1952.
- Empey, LeMar T. "Social Class and Occupational Ambition: A Comparison of Absolute and Relative Measure," American Sociological Review, 21:703-709, December, 1956.
- Haller, Archie O., W. H. Sewell. "Farm Residence and Levels of Educational and Occupational Aspiration," American Journal of Sociology, 62:407-411, January, 1957.
- Henry, Jules A. "Cross-Cultural Outline of Education," Current Anthropology, 1:267-305, July, 1960.
- Hodge, Robert W., Paul M. Siegel, Peter H. Rossi. "Occupational Prestige in the United States," American Journal of Sociology, 70:286-302, November, 1964.
- Holloway, Robert C., Joel V. Berreman. "The Educational and Occupational Aspirations and Plans of Negro and White Male Elementary School Students," Pacific Sociological Review, 56-60, Fall, 1959.
- Hyte, C. "Occupational Interests of Negro High School Boys," School Review, 44:34-40, January-December, 1936.
- Miller, Frank C., D. Douglas Caulkins. "Chippewa Adolescents: A Changing Generation," Human Organization, 23:150-159, Summer, 1964.
- Miller, Walter B. "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," Journal of Social Issues, 14:5-19, 1958.
- Morland, J. Kenneth. "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Mill and Town School Children in a Southern Community," Social Forces, 39: 169-175, December, 1960.
- Mulligan, R. A. "Socio-Economic Background and College Enrollment," American Sociological Review, 16:188-196, April, 1951.
- Reiss, Albert J., Jr., Albert L. Rhodes. "Are Educational Goals of Conforming Truant and Delinquent Adolescents Influenced by Group Position in American Society?" Journal of Negro Education, 28:252-267, Summer, 1959.
- Rosen, Bernard C. "Race, Ethnicity, and Achievement," American Sociological Review, 24:47-60, February, 1959.

- Schmid, Calvin F., Charles E. Nobbe. "Socio-economic Differentials Among Nonwhite Races," American Sociological Review, 30:909-922, December, 1965.
- Seashore, Stanley. "Field Experiments with Formal Organizations," Human Organization, 23:156-169, Summer, 1964.
- Sewell, W. H., A. O. Haller, M. A. Straus. "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration," American Sociological Review, 22:67-73, February, 1957.
- Sexton, Patricia. "Negro Career Expectations," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 9:303-310, October, 1963.
- Smith, B. F. "Wishes of High School Seniors and Social Status," Journal of Educational Sociology, 25:466-474, April, 1952.
- Smith, H. P., M. Abramson. "Racial and Family Experience Correlates of Mobility Aspiration," Journal of Negro Education, 31:117-124, Spring, 1962.
- Stephenson, Richard M. "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders," American Sociological Review, 22:204-212, April, 1957.
- Toby, Jackson. "Orientation to Education as a Factor in School Maladjustment of Lower-Class Children," Social Forces, 35:259-266, March, 1957.
- Wax, Murray, Rosalie Wax. "Formal Education in an American Indian Community," Social Problems, 2:1-126, Spring, 1964.
- Weiner, Wax, Walter Murray. "Another Look at the Culturally Deprived and Their Levels of Aspiration," The Journal of Educational Sociology, 36:319-332, March, 1963.
- Wilson, Alan R. "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys," American Sociological Review, 24:836-845, December, 1959.
- Znaniecki, Florian. "The Scientific Function of the Sociology of Education," Educational Theory, 1:69-78, August, 1951.

C. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

- Anderson, Kenneth E., E. Gordon Collister, Carl E. Ladd. The Educational Achievement of Indian Children: A Re-examination of the Question, How Well are Indian Children Educated? Washington: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Government Printing Office, 1953.

Coombs, Madison L., and others. The Indian Child Goes to School: A Study of Interracial Differences. Washington: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Government Printing Office, 1958.

Dale, George A. Education for Better Living. Washington: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Government Printing Office, 1955.

D. UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS

Sindell, Peter S. "Cultural Transmission and Social Learning in an Indian Boarding School." Paper read before Proseminar II, Department of Anthropology, Stanford University, April 24, 1965.

Thompson, J. H. "Friendship Patterns in an Indian Boarding School." 1964. (Mimeo graphed.)

Wax, Rosalie H., Murray L. Wax. "Dropout of American Indians at the Secondary Level." Cooperative Research Project No. S-099, 1964. (Mimeo graphed.)

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I

TRIBES AND RESERVATIONS PRESENTED, 1964-1965

| TRIBES | RESERVATION and STATE | PUPILS |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|--------|
| Arapahoe | Wind River | 25 |
| Arapahoe-Cheyenne | Wind River | 1 |
| Arapahoe-Gros Ventre | Wind River | 1 |
| Arikara | Fort Berthold | 10 |
| Arikara-Chippewa | Fort Berthold | 1 |
| Arikara-Gros Ventre | Fort Berthold | 4 |
| Arikara-Mandan | Fort Berthold | 2 |
| Assiniboine | Fort Belknap | 20 |
| | Fort Peck | 6 |
| Assiniboine-Chippewa | Fort Peck | 2 |
| Assiniboine-Gros Ventre | Fort Belknap | 8 |
| Assiniboine-Sioux | Fort Peck | 4 |
| Bannock | Wind River | 1 |
| Blackfeet | Blackfeet | 54 |
| Blackfeet-Cree-Assiniboine | Fort Belknap | 1 |
| Blackfeet-Sioux | Blackfeet | 1 |
| Cherokee-Mandan | Fort Berthold | 1 |
| Chippewa | Fort Belknap | 1 |
| | Fort Peck | 3 |
| | Fort Totten | 1 |
| | Turtle Mountain | 51 |
| Chippewa-Arikara | Fort Berthold | 1 |

Tribes and Reservations Represented - Continued

| | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------|----|
| Chippewa-Cree | Fort Belknap | 1 |
| | Rocky Boy Sub | 4 |
| | Turtle Mountain | 1 |
| Chippewa-Gros Ventre | Fort Belknap | 2 |
| Cree | Fort Belknap | 1 |
| | Rocky Boy Sub | 3 |
| Cree-Assiniboin-Chippewa | Rocky Boy Sub | 1 |
| Crow | Crow | 38 |
| Flathead | Flathead | 20 |
| Cros Ventre | Crow | 1 |
| | Fort Belknap | 36 |
| | Fort Berthold | 12 |
| Gros Ventre-Arapahoe | Wind River | 1 |
| | Rocky Boy Sub | 1 |
| Gros Ventre-Arikara | Fort Berthold | 10 |
| Gros Ventre-Assiniboin | Fort Belknap | 8 |
| Gros Ventre-Chippewa | Fort Belknap | 2 |
| | Fort Berthold | 1 |
| Gros Ventre-Cree | Fort Belknap | 1 |
| Gros Ventre-Mandan | Fort Berthold | 7 |
| Gros Ventre-Mandan-Arikara | Fort Berthold | 1 |
| Gros Ventre-Sioux | Fort Berthold | 1 |
| Kootenai | Flathead | 6 |
| Kootenai-Sioux | Flathead | 2 |

Tribes and Reservations Represented - Continued

| | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|----|
| Mandan | Fort Berthold | 6 |
| Mandan-Chippewa | Turtle Mountain | 1 |
| Mandan-Gros Ventre | Fort Berthold | 4 |
| Northern Cheyenne | Northern Cheyenne | 7 |
| Omaha | Winnebago | 21 |
| Omaha-Cheyenne-Winnebago | Winnebago | 1 |
| Omaha-Ponca | Winnebago | 1 |
| Omaha-Winnebago | Winnebago | 1 |
| Sac and Fox | Tama, Iowa (Area Field) | 2 |
| Shoshone | Wind River | 11 |
| Shoshone-Sioux | Wind River | 1 |
| Shoshone-Ute | Wind River | 1 |
| Sioux | Cheyenne River | 11 |
| | Crow Creek | 1 |
| | Fort Peck | 12 |
| | Fort Totten | 15 |
| | Lower Brule | 5 |
| | Pierre | 6 |
| | Pine Ridge | 11 |
| | Rosebud | 40 |
| | Sisseton | 73 |
| | Standing Rock | 17 |
| | Turtle Mountain | 1 |
| | Winnebago | 2 |

Tribes and Reservations Represented - Continued

| | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|----------|
| | Yankton Sub | 28 |
| Sioux-Assiniboine | Fort Belknap | 1 |
| | Fort Peck | 3 |
| | Standing Rock | 1 |
| Sioux-Chippewa | Fort Totten | 2 |
| Sioux-Omaha | Winnebago | 2 |
| Winnebago | Winnebago | 28 |
| Winnebago-Sac and Fox | Winnebago | <u>1</u> |
| | TOTAL | 677 |

APPENDIX II
CLASSROOM OBSERVATION FORM

Date _____ Class _____

I. Classroom Structure, Mechanics, and Routine Procedures

- | | | | | |
|---------------|---------|--------|-------|--------------------------|
| 1. # Students | 2. Male | Female | 3. Sa | |
| 4. St: M | F | | 5. Or | Other routine procedures |

(Students tardy, Male, Female)

- II. 1. Tl Teacher lecture--actual time
 2. Td Teacher demonstration--actual time
 3. Ss Supervised study--actual time
 4. Ut Use of textbooks--actual time
 5. Cd Class discussion--actual time
 6. R Review--actual time
 7. Qa: A.) Tq, Pa, Pr: M(1234) F(1234) b.) Sq, Ta: M F
 (Question and answer: a) Teacher question, Pupil answer.
 Pupil response:
 Male: (1, answers with one word, 2, answers with two words, 3,
 answers with 3 words, 4, answers question with 4 or more
 words)
 b) Student question, Teacher answer--Male Female)

Pt (Permissive teaching (Student centered, informal, and unstructured))

- | | | | |
|-------|--|--|--|
| 8. Dt | (Directive teaching (subject centered, informal, and highly structured)) | | |
| 9. Md | (Mechanical devices--student response, etc.) | | |
| 10. O | Other | | |

III. 1. Ap (Active Participation

M F

- | | |
|---------|-----------------------------|
| a.) Hr | Hand raising |
| b.) Daw | Doing assigned work |
| c.) Pid | Participating in discussion |
| d.) Eoi | Expressing own ideas |
| e.) O | Other |

2. P,A,W, (Passivity, Apathy, Withdrawal)

M F

- | | |
|----------|-------------------------------|
| a.) Hod | Heads on desk |
| b.) Ndaw | Not doing assigned work |
| c.) Aq? | Any questions? Pupil response |
| d.) Loow | Looking out of window |
| e.) O | Other |

3. Hostile M F

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| a.) Dv | Direct verbal |
| b.) Nv | Non verbal (slamming books, etc.) |
| c.) Gh | Group hostility (moans, etc.) |
| d.) Indirect | (2 or 3 stds. and others not complaining) |
| e.) O | Other |

4. Nh Non-hostile(friendly) M F

- | | |
|--------|---|
| a.) Dv | direct verbal |
| b.) Nv | Non verbal |
| c.) Gh | Group friendliness (stds., and te. laughing together, etc.) |
| d.) I | Indirect |
| e.) O | Other |

5. Ib (Imitative behavior) 6. Dtp (Diversion to peers)

M F

- a.) Cw copying work
- b.) Rhast All raising hands at same time
- c.) Ar All refusing
- d.) O Other
- e.) Aa All agreeing

7. Docility (overt docility is a child renunciation of his own ideas in order to please teacher or for avoidance, etc.)

8. Cc Cultural conflict--any evidences

9. Ncc Non-cultural conflict (any evidences)

What forms of conduct control (discipline) are used?

IV. 1. Wcdtate M F

(What conduct does the teacher attempt to control?)

2. Moc Means of control M F

3. Rm Reprimand

Rd Ridicule

C Command

T Threat

R Reward

Por Promise of reward

D Direct (sending out of room, etc.)

Pgc Peer group control

Oh On honor (you students are on your honor, I am trusting you etc.)

O Other

How does the educator participate (What is his attitude)

V. Hdtep

1. Hsi Helping students individually

2. P Personalizing (uses students name in class)

3. D Depersonalizing (does not use students name in class)

4. Acr Acknowledges correct response Yes No Also, sometimes

5. Air Acknowledges incorrect response Yes No

6. E Eagerly Ct Can't tell Ne Non-eagerly Ct

- a.) Fe Facial expression a.) Fe _____
 - b.) Bm Bodily movement b.) B _____
 - c.) Tov Tone of voice c.) Tov _____
7. Spg Special privileges granted _____
8. O Other _____

VI. N: Narrative (includes any other comments in regard to the class visited)

APPENDIX III
CATEGORICAL CODE FOR UNISORT ANALYSIS CARDS

Code categories and punch numbers:

- I. The School
 - (01) goals (as stated by administration and others) (02) Curriculum
 - (03) decision making (all levels) (04) channels of staff communication
 - (05) Administrators' attitudes toward Indians (06) Administrators' criticisms of the school (07) Administrators' criticisms of teachers (08) administrators' attitudes towards students (09) reaction to research project (all staff) (10) favorable attitudes toward school, teachers, or students (administrators).
- II. The Classroom
 - (14) teaching methods (15) reaction of students to teaching methods
 - (16) student difficulties (17) specific values taught or stressed in the classroom (19) students defined as problems by teachers
 - (20) students defined as the better students by teachers (21) limits to the quality of education received (22) role expectations fixed by teachers (subject matter) (23) role expectations fixed by teachers (student conduct) (24) tardiness (25) grading systems
 - (26) rewards and punishments (27) tribal differences in the classroom setting (28) special problems related to the teaching of (specific area) (30) evidences of acculturation.
- III. The teacher
 - (36) social origins (37) present class status (general indications)
 - (38) definition of roles (39) perception of rewards (40) perception of disadvantages (41) attitudes towards students (42) extra-class contact with students (43) attitudes towards administrators (44) attitudes towards other teachers (45) concept of role of school
 - (46) attitudes towards reservation, or Indians in general (47) strains and stresses (48) the new teacher (49) informal social structure (50) nature of problems discussed among teachers (51) recruitment (52) pre and in-service training.
- IV. The Student
 - (55) formal rules (56) informal norms (57) misbehavior in classroom (58) discipline (for above) (59) students' attitudes toward education (60) attitudes toward teachers (61) attitudes toward school (62) tribal characteristics (63) peer group activities (64) other student behavior.
- V. The Community
 - (80) "townie" attitudes towards school and staff (81) "townie" attitudes in regard to students (expressed and observed) (83) the teacher as a stranger, newcomer, etc. (84) teacher participation

in community life (85) teacher attitudes toward the community
(86) student attitudes regarding the community (87) town Indians
(88) community description.

APPENDIX IV

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE
SCHEDULE

I am asking you to help me with a study. This is a survey about students' ideas. It will be of great help if you complete this survey carefully and answer each question. Answer the questions so they fit you. There are no wrong or right answers. This is not a test.

You do not have to sign your name.

Only with your help is this study possible.

Thank you

Donald R. Nugent

Please answer the following questions so they fit you:

1. The kind of job I want in the future is: (list specific job or occupation)
2. When I take a job, the kind of work I will probably get is: (list specific job or occupation)

Sex (Circle one) Male Female

Grade (Circle one) 9 10 11 12

Age _____

Tribe _____

Hometown _____