



2 (p 479) <sup>1</sup>  
most cases of change, there are also differences, and every case has to  
be regarded as in some degree unique. <sup>2</sup>

1-Margaret Mead, (ed.) Cultural Patterns and Technical Change,  
Tensions and Technology Series (Paris: UNESCO, 1953).

2-Manning Nash, "Introducing Industry in Peasant Societies,"  
Science CXXX, 1456-1462.

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Both in respect to the general problem and in respect to the special  
ones, we have relatively few good examples of research method.

Of various specific problems to be approached in the case of American  
Indians, we shall mention three. They are of common concern in the three  
studies discussed in this paper. First, in the attitudes of the Indians  
towards white culture; how similar or dissimilar are different Indian tribes,  
and in what respects are they similar or dissimilar? Along with this, how  
much do attitudes among Indians differ according to age group? Second,  
is the fact that Indians' adjustment to economic life in white society  
relatively poor due to lack of motivation toward such life or to difficulties  
which arise in their efforts to work out the motivation? Third, what are  
the problems of Indian children, as they themselves see them, both in  
general and as compared with the problems of white children?

The first approach to be discussed here relates to the most specific  
of these questions, the one last mentioned, and it is the simplest and  
most direct of the three. Several years ago what is known as the Mooney  
Problem Check List was devised and tested to discover the problems which  
beset white children in school. <sup>3</sup> This check list with slight adaptations  
was given, in the fall of 1959, to 254 Indian boys in the Navajo Special  
Program at Intermountain School, Brigham City, Utah. <sup>4</sup> ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ The  
~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Navajo Special Program is, in general, for  
children who have had few educational advantages. Some of them have reached  
ten or twelve years of age without knowing English or learning how to  
read. The Special Program gives such children intensive training, both



academic and vocational, in five to eight years. "approach to the problem of these children was made simpler because the Mooney Check List had already been tested with white children. There

3-Ross L. Mooney, Mooney Problem Check List (New York) The Psychological Corporation, 1950).

4-Leo E. Frederickson, A Study of Personal Problems of Male Students in the Special Program Department of Intermountain School. Unpublished thesis, Utah State University, (Logan, 1960).

(p 481 is a limitation of the usefulness of this kind of questionnaire approach, however, since we are not sure that a check list of problems used with white children will contain the most important problems of Indian children. It will, of course, show how far the problems of white children were similarly or dissimilarly marked by Indian children. Accepting this limitation, it is of interest that the Indian children checked seventy per cent more problems than the white children of similar age (p.65), and that is the Indians' problems centered around jobs and money, whereas ~~xxxxxxx~~ the white children's problems centered around school work and other matters (pp. 35, 45, 76-78).

The second study, the writer's own, which was much less specific, was based ~~xx~~ primarily on 582 essays written by Indian children of the Southwest, with 207 essays from white children for purpose of comparison. The Southwest was chosen because it is the region where Indians are believed to be as close to old values as they are anywhere in the state, with the possible exception of Alaska. The study was directed primarily at an answer to the question as to why Indians do not succeed better in the economic world. They could, however, hardly be asked such a question directly. Instead shortly before they left school these children were asked to write an essay on "My Hopes for My Life on Leaving School." No suggestions were given by the teachers. The writer had used this kind of approach several times previously in underdeveloped regions.

It was thought that probably the children would mention some allegiance to old Indian values and also say something about their motivations toward a job. If the children had been asked such questions directly, however, their answers might have been colored by the forms of the question, no matter how carefully they were put. Furthermore, it was

5-Elizabeth E. Hoyt, "An approach to the Mind of the Young Indian," Journal of American Indian Education, 1(1961), 17-23. See also Elizabeth E. Hoyt, "Tiquisate, A Call for a Science of Human Affairs," Scientific Monthly, LXXII (February 1951), 114-119.

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important to know what emphasis was given to the different points mentioned; and it was thought likely that the children might help bring up somethings pertinent to the general subject which the writer had not thought of at all.

The essays were a surprise. Nearly every child mentioned job or importance of job, and no child mentioned old Indian cultural values as such. Thus it would seem that motivation to job was strongly present and that old Indian values were not important obstacles. Nevertheless, the fact remained that Indian children were not very successful in the economic world of whites. It was an unexpected contribution to the essays that a good many children indirectly disclosed why their economic success might turn out to be very great. They knew little about what jobs existed and might be open to them; they knew little about necessary training for jobs, and a good many of them had discounted in advance their chances of success. "I hope I don't turn out a tramp." "I don't want to be a street walker." "I might be a hobo." It is of much interest that emphasis on the problems of job in the essays conforms to what Frederickson found about problems in the questionnaire.

Although the papers did not mention old Indian cultural values as such, they did mention, and frequently mentioned strongly, the children's affection for parents, and less strongly their affections for the tribe.



It is clear that these affections might also stand between the children and success in the world outside the reservation. This was an unexpected revelation of the essays. The Mitchell study, which is discussed below, indicates however, that the emphasis on family found in the writer's study would be far from typical of children of all Indian tribes.

The limitation of the essay approach, as compared with the questionnaire approach, is of course that in the essay approach it is harder to check definite points which the investigator has in mind before he begins. On the other hand, the virtue is that the children themselves bring up the points that are present in their minds and the emphasis is theirs.

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The third approach to be discussed is a free writing test.<sup>6</sup> It is both broader in scope than the other two and sought not so much to answer questions as to discover what questions were most significant and in need of further study. It was set up originally to test the writing ability of children in Indian schools throughout the United States, including Alaska. For this purpose each child was given a picture of a scene with which he was presumed to be familiar. The pictures were not uniform because the children's experiences were different; but they contained something of both the old and the new, such as Indians and whites of different ages, a car, trading station or a filling station, a man on horseback, a garden, or a dog. The children were asked to describe the picture. Out of a total of many thousand essays, two hundred from each of the twelve tribes were chosen by proper sampling methods; one hundred from younger and one hundred from older children. Comparisons among tribes, and between age-groups within each tribe, were made according to several categories including the nature of the attack on the problem, that is, whether the picture was discussed as a whole, as the contrast between old and new, or whether particular details were pointed out and treated singly.

Also it was noted whether family and race were commented on, and if ~~was~~  
~~also whether~~ so whether race consciousness was evident; whether  
 there were comments on economic transactions suggested by the picture,  
 such as who were owners, who were employees and ~~like~~ what the  
 relation was between employer and employed. A further category was whether  
 the essays gave expression to apprehensions, and if so what kinds of  
 apprehensions; also whether such emotions as pleasure, anger and fear were  
 connected with the picture itself and/or with the purposes and activities  
 of the people in the picture. It was granted that a considerable element  
 of personal judgment is present in such interpretations; the weakness  
 of this is modified if the cases are many and the interpretations are  
 checked by other investigators, as was the case in this study.

6-Mary J. Mitchell, "Attitudes of Indian Children as Revealed in Free  
 Writing Tests," Unpublished study.

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The response of the tribe and by age-group ~~and~~ were subjected to tests  
 of statistical ~~significance~~ significance. Differences by tribe were found,  
 in some cases, to be very great. Some of these differences undoubtedly  
 existed among tribes before the white man came; but others, including  
 those involving white men, were presumably at least in part due to experiences  
 of fairly recent origin. Most recent mention of family was found among  
 the Navajo (101); Alaska group 75, and Pueblos, (69); least frequent  
 mention was made of this among the Chemawa (26) and the Chippewa (14)  
 Consciousness of difference in race appeared to be least among those  
 who had seen white men least and also among those who had been them  
 most.

While many of the differences of response among tribes call for further  
 study, certain differences between the two age-groups within the same  
 tribe call for it also. It would appear that in some of the schools



children were developing differently from and at a faster rate of growth than in others. Whether these differences in apparent rate of growth of interest and maturity are due to the school, the tribal situation, or something else, we do not know.

One of the most interesting things which the study revealed was that the tribes which gave the strongest pleasure responses were also those which showed the fewest pleasure responses were those which expressed the smallest number of apprehensions. This obviously suggests that pleasure and apprehension are both parts of a similar feeling situation, which affects the intensity of both emotions. But the reasons why the expression of feeling is much stronger in some tribes than in others we do not know.

The Mitchell study does not, in its implications, in any way invalidate the findings of the Frederickson study or this writer's study. It does imply that there may be many more problems in the situations studied than were brought out in the Frederickson and the writer's findings. For example, the Indian children of the Ed Frederickson study may have had significant problems that do not appear on the Mooney Problem Check (p 485) List. Also the children who wrote "My Hopes for My Life," may for various reasons, have left a great many significant things unsaid. Furthermore, the Mitchell study suggests special caution in assuming that the facts found with one Indian group are also true of others.

Americans are sometimes accused of believing they know the answers, when they do not know even the questions. As the Mitchell study clearly shows, the question comes first.