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CLAREMONT GRADUATE SCHOOL, PH.D., 1979

CULTURAL FACTORS IN THE SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF AMERICAN INDIAN STUDENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION: A CASE STUDY FOR THE YAKIMA INDIAN NATION

By

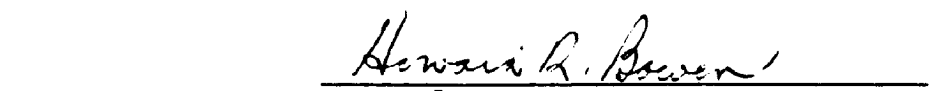
KATHLEEN ANNE ROSS

A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Claremont Graduate School in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate Faculty of Education

Claremont

1979

Approved by:



Howard Bowen

We, the undersigned, certify that we have read this dissertation and approve it as adequate in scope and quality for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Supervisory Committee:

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John Regan, Member

Peter F. Drucker, Member

Visiting Examiner

Abstract of the Dissertation

CULTURAL FACTORS IN THE SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF AMERICAN INDIAN STUDENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION: A CASE STUDY FOR THE YAKIMA INDIAN NATION

by

Kathleen Anne Ross

Claremont Graduate School: 1979

This study investigates the assumption of college attrition research on American Indian students that culture conflict is an important causal factor. Basing the investigation on a case study of Yakima Indian Nation students (Washington state) who attended postsecondary institutions between 1972 and 1977, the study identifies twenty-four behavior traits of the Yakimas which are relevant to a college setting and distinctive from the dominant culture behavior traits generally found in post-secondary institutions. These traits fall into five categories: linguistic characteristics of Yakima English, speech patterns denoting role assignments and social relationships, behavior expectations in academic settings, motivations for succeeding, and preferences in cognitive skills and styles. A process called culture conflict

analysis, based on some of the theoretical insights of anthropology, sociolinguistics, and the ethnography of communication, is used to identify and verify each of the traits. This process uses historical research, ethnographic participant-observation, survey research, and statistical analysis. The methodology is an eclectic one which establishes a workable procedure for combining these several disciplines into a usable research design.

The study concludes that a number of specific factors of culture conflict do exist for Yakima students in higher education; that there is an attrition rate of about 85% for these students; and that two measures of immersion in Yakima culture (quantum of Indian blood and attendance at an all-Indian high school) correlate with higher attrition rates.

The concluding chapter outlines a number of different actions which might be taken by college or university administrators and by Indian tribal education leaders to ameliorate incidences of culture conflict on campus. These range from sweeping changes, such as the establishment of Indian colleges on reservation sites and opening of branch campuses by colleges and universities on sites near concentrated Indian populations, to improvement of on-campus environments for Indian students through new types of support services, campus self-studies on culture conflict

issues, orientation programs, channels of support between the reservation community and students away at college, and intercultural awareness programs conducted by Indian leaders on the reservation to prepare Indian students for the dominant culture campus. Suggestions in the conclusion are applicable beyond the Yakima case study to other minority cultures in higher education.

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The project really belongs to the Yakima Indian Nation, for whom I undertook this research. Robert Pace, Director of the Yakima Indian Nation Media Services, has

been a helpful mentor; the support of the Tribal Council Education Committee under Harvey Adams, Chairman, has been a privilege I greatly appreciate. My special gratitude goes to Martha Yallup, Director of the Education Division, and Violet Rau of Project SECEP. They have been tireless and faithful supporters throughout. The entire Rau family shared their home and hearts with me; without this support I could never have completed this research.

Lastly, the loving support of the Sisters of St. Andrew's Convent, Pasadena; Lourdes Convent, Spokane; and Fort Wright College, Spokane, has provided me with a home "culture" from which I could venture into the two worlds of Yakima culture and college/university organizational structures with enthusiasm and, I hope, creativity.

Sister Kathleen Ross
Claremont, California
October, 1978

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

> I didn't know why I was dropping out of university; I just had to get out of there! I still don't know why I dropped out--and that's six years ago now--but I just knew I had to get out.
>
> Native American woman, age 29, statement to the author

In 1977, more than 16,000 Native Americans received Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) aid to attend postsecondary educational institutions; if the trend of recent years continues, only about sixteen hundred--just 10% of those enrolling--will earn a four-year degree by 1982 (GAO 1977c:10). Approximately another 48,000 American Indian students attended college or university without BIA assistance in 1977, and less than half of these will receive a four-year degree (Brown & Stent 1977:27). In other words, probably not more than two out of five of those Indian students who attempt a college education will attain their goal. The others will "invest their time and resources in attending college from which they do not receive the major payoff of graduation" (Coleman 1966:417). Yet students themselves, as well as parents,

college administrators and faculty members are unable to explain adequately this high rate of attrition. Without adequate explanation of its causes, the attrition problem remains mysterious and baffling, responding only sporadically to the doctoring efforts of parents, tribal education leaders, college admissions officers, and faculty academic advisors.

Causal Factors at First Glance

There are, of course, some obvious "explanations" for the high attrition rate of Native American students. Although there are no comprehensive recent studies of Indian students in higher education, the data from localized and older studies indicate that these students tend to come to college with lower achievement and aptitude scores than the average college freshman. The Coleman Report, based on a nation-wide study conducted in 1965, showed the median score for American Indian students in the twelfth grade to be well below the national median score. In verbal ability, 50% of the Indian students scored at the 25th percentile or lower; in reading comprehension, half of the Indian scores were at the 35th national percentile or lower; and in the general information test, half of the Indian students scored at or below the 30th percentile (Coleman 1966:242-251). A more recent study, restricted to students who are receiving Bureau of Indian

Affairs assistance for their college costs, showed that Native American freshmen in 1974 had scores averaging at the 18th percentile on the American College Testing Program (ACT) composite scores for general educational development for all college-bound students (GAO 1977c:6).

These statistics make it clear that the average American Indian student is entering college with an educational background which would seem to make success more difficult. Does this factor alone account for the high dropout rate? General research studies on college and university attrition rates for students of all ethnic backgrounds have shown that variations in achievement scores, aptitude scores, and high school grades account for only a small fraction of the variation in graduation rates among individual students. (See, for example, Astin 1975:29.) This topic is explored in greater depth in the next chapter.

Specific data from a recent study of Indian students who are supported by Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) education grants confirms these general research studies. The mean ACT score for Indian students who earned a bachelor's degree was very similar to the mean score for all Indian freshmen, both dropouts and graduates (1973 through 1976). Graduates scored at the 23rd percentile on the ACT while freshmen were at the 18th percentile

(GAO 1977c:27). Examining these statistics in more detail bears out the initial impression; while 69% of the freshmen had scores at or below the 23rd percentile, 50% of the graduates also had scores at or below the 23rd percentile (GAO 1977c:27). In other words, the statistical information presently available leads to the inference that even if all Indian students scored above the 50th percentile on the college entrance assessment tests, a significant attrition problem would still exist.

Neither can the problem be attributed to lack of aptitude for intellectual pursuits. In a nationwide test of first-graders in 1965, American Indian students' mean scores on nonverbal intelligence tests were slightly above the national mean score for all students. In comparison to white children, the mean Indian score was only about one-quarter of one standard deviation below the mean scores for white first-graders. In verbal ability, the Indian children--who might be expected to do poorly because many use English only as a second language--still scored only about one-half of one standard deviation below white children and only very slightly below the mean score for all students (Coleman Supplement 1966: 488-520). These same children, tested in the first grade in 1965, were entering postsecondary institutions in 1977. Although the gap between the test scores of the American Indian students and all American students widened

significantly during that twelve year period, as the ACT scores quoted above indicate, the scholastic ability of American Indian students at the time they entered the educational system appears to have been adequate for normal scholastic success.

Is the problem, then, one of aspiration or interest in college? To state the question theoretically, is college attendance important, after all, to Indian Americans? Won't most of them return to the reservation area, where job opportunities for college graduates are even more scarce than in urban areas? And doesn't a college education threaten to produce a misfit for reservation Indian society? It is not in spite of these concerns, but rather because of them, that Indian Americans believe higher education is important today. Many American Indian nations today are attempting to create educational, social, health, and economic programs on their reservations which will make possible a dignified and self-directed life for their Indian peoples. In order to do this, many of the technical skills of contemporary American society must be utilized. These technical advances can be brought successfully to the reservation community only if they are brought by tribal members themselves. This need has thus created a new market for college-educated Indians on the reservations. For instance, although the need for additional teachers in most American locales has

diminished in the early 1970's, this same era has seen an increased demand for Indian teachers in the schools which serve significant groups of Indian American children on or near reservations. The same may be said for such positions as health workers, foresters, agricultural extension officers, and various other federal government and tribal program administrators.

In addition to the whole field of public service jobs, educated personnel in other fields are needed to implement the important goal of self-determination for Indian tribes. "By the 1970's...Indian identity was now seen as hinging on self-determination of Indian life" (Weinberg 1977:225). Self-determination depends upon economic independence, in order that the tribe can control significant decisions about economic development, types of human services to be provided, and relationships with extra-tribal groups. This economic independence in turn requires that Indian people be trained in the management of various types of resources and in running small businesses. It also requires that the new adult generation of Indians be able to deal knowledgeably and competently with the non-reservation, non-Indian world. Indian tribal leaders believe their young people can gain this competence and knowledge through a college education. Martha Yallup, Director of the Yakima Tribal Education programs, expressed the goal this way:

> ...to get Indian people trained so they can be competent and qualified to work in jobs where there are presently non-Indians... I want the Indian people to take the lead in the protection and development of our reservation. (Yakima Nation Review April 5, 1978:2)

With this kind of compelling argument, interest in and aspirations toward achieving a full college education are being fostered in Indian youths.

In summary, it does not appear that the attrition rate of Indian students can be accounted for simply by looking at their often-poor academic preparation and consequent low achievement scores; nor is there a lack of intellectual ability for or aspiration toward a college education. Where else, then, might an explanation be found?

Causal Factors in Greater Depth

There have been only a limited number of studies of higher education for American Indians. In fact, Weinberg points out that the 1970 compilation of data on the attendance of Indians at institutions of higher education by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Office of Civil Rights forms the first solid benchmark for all subsequent studies of American Indian enrollments in higher education, and at Weinberg's writing it was less than ten years old (Weinberg 1977:338). The few studies which have been done, however, have consistently

pointed out the relationship between a low persistence rate and the cultural differences which an American Indian student experiences in dominant culture colleges and universities. Each of these studies uses different terms to attempt a description or identification of this cultural factor.

Brewton Berry was one of the first to survey what was known about Indian higher education (Berry 1968: 71-83). He identifies six factors commonly cited in the literature as being related to the success of Indian students in higher education. Two of these relate to academic preparation, which we discussed above; the three other factors (related to college environment, home background, and finances) have produced very inconsistent findings. Only one factor emerges as having a consistently clear relationship to college success: "There is clear evidence that values and value conflict are related to achievement" (Berry 1968:77).

What Berry calls "value conflict" was called "culture shock" in the study of college students who received Bureau of Indian Affairs assistance between 1973 and 1976. But the authors of this latter study are at a loss to describe the nature of this "cultural shock" except to mention the obvious contrast between a "largely noncompetitive rural environment" and "an intensely competitive urban campus setting"; and their

solution is simply to call for more counseling, supportive services, and orientation programs to help students "overcome culture shock" (GAO 1977c:12-13). Weinberg's history of American Indian higher education calls Indian students in the late 1960's and the 1970's "strangers on college campuses," and explains the emergence of courses in Indian studies largely as an "effort to meet problems of cultural identity" (Weinberg 1977:339-340). Chadwick has surveyed research on the failure of Indian education at all levels and gives this analysis: "The ironic conclusion reached is that the educational feast prepared in good faith by white society is inedible to the Indian student by virtue of his culture" (Chadwick 1972:141; emphasis added).

Narrowing Down the Search for Causal Factors

What the studies of Berry, Weinberg, Chadwick, and the GAO (as well as others) have shown about American Indian higher education in the late 1960's and the 1970's is that the unique cultural experience of the American Indian is a very significant factor in the successes and failures of American Indian college students. Whether the interaction between the Indian student's cultural background and the college environment is labeled "culture conflict," "culture shock," or "value conflict," it seems to form a vital field of inquiry in the search for causes of attrition among Indian college students.

Can such a formidable yet amorphous factor be properly dissected so that its discrete parts can be better understood? This question has thus far divided researchers into two camps. On the one hand stand the anthropologists who study the cultural environment of the Indian student--but primarily in his own home or reservation setting. These scholars are interested in understanding the Indian's culture as it is in itself, whether it be in a state closely allied with that of pre-Columbian days or that of a significantly altered adaptation to Euro-American culture. On the other side of the question stand the education specialists who are interested in manipulating the variables in the teaching-learning environment to achieve maximum results for the students. But these educators' specialities rarely provide specific insights into the cultural milieu of the student, or its interaction with the school setting, so that the learning climate for the college student can be improved. Most of the education literature suggests only that the teachers be changed through the assimilation of additional knowledge of the cultural heritage of students, or through becoming "culturally sensitized" (whatever that means).

Thus we have a no-man's-land in the middle of the culture conflict problem: what is the precise relationship of culturally-determined student characteristics to specific teaching-learning characteristics of the

college or university? The tools of both educational and anthropological research are needed to analyze this complex problem. Without such an analysis, the nature of the Indian student's "culture conflict" will continue to remain mysterious and beyond the reach of ameliorating efforts.

The Core Problem

To summarize, a significant problem of attrition exists among Indian students; this phenomenon is not adequately explained by poor academic preparation, ability level, or interest in college of American Indian students; and some researchers who have studied this problem have blamed a vague factor called "culture conflict." But it is not sufficient to know that "culture conflict" or "culture shock" is a significant factor contributing to the attrition problem unless the meaning of this factor can be specified. If culture conflict can be described as an aggregate of observable phenomena and each of these phenomenon can be sufficiently explicated, then college educators can determine appropriate steps to lessen cultural conflict and tribal education leaders can prepare their young people for educational experiences in the dominant culture's colleges and universities.

This study attempts, therefore, to analyze the precise meaning of culture conflict for an Indian college

student. It does so by analyzing culture conflict phenomena in the lives of particular Indian students in a particular set of colleges and universities. From this process there emerges a model helpful in identifying probable culture conflict experiences for Indian students on American college and university campuses.

Overview of the Study

The study begins with a review and appraisal of the contributions made by educational and anthropological research to the study of both the culture conflict and the college dropout phenomena. These topics are explored in the second and third chapters, respectively. The fourth, and the fifth chapters proceed to an analysis of culture conflict in which several methodologies are employed in a specific American Indian higher education setting. First, the techniques of ethnography--systematic observation of the behavior traits of a given set of people--are used to produce detailed cultural information about the specific Indian culture and the socio-cultural setting of the colleges and universities. Secondly, analyses of historical documents associated with early contacts between these Indians and Euro-Americans verifies much of the ethnographic data. Thirdly, the writings of anthropologists who have studied this Indian culture and the studies of educational researchers who have

investigated higher educational institutions provide corroborating information. Together these three sources of information make it possible to develop an inventory for this Indian culture of behavior traits which have a direct bearing on the college experience of Indian students. Fourthly, survey research conducted among both the Indian students and the personnel of specific colleges and universities is used to verify the significance of the behavior trait inventory.

The Yakima Indian Nation, whose ancestral home and present-day reservation is in south central Washington state, has been selected as the specific Indian culture for this study. The Yakimas and their involvement in higher education provide an appropriate case study for the analysis of culture conflict in higher education settings. The Yakimas are the largest of the reservation-dwelling tribes in the Pacific Northwest; more than 625 enrolled tribal members attended institutions of higher education during the five year period of 1972 through 1977. The majority of these students attended five institutions: one public community college and four public universities in the state of Washington. It is these students, their parents, tribal education leaders, and other members of the reservation community who are the sources of information for this case study. Likewise, administrators and faculty from the five primary

institutions attended by the Yakimas have provided information specifying the college and university environment. The case study data was gathered between August of 1977 and August of 1978.

The sixth and final chapter of this study examines generalizations which can be made from the case study of culture conflict for Yakima Indian students in higher education. These generalizations are synthesized into a model which is intended to assist both Indian educators and college administrators in mapping a heretofore "terra incognita" in the American Indian's college experience: culture conflict.

CHAPTER II

DROPOUT RESEARCH: STATISTICS VERSUS UNDERSTANDING

One of the most anomalous characteristics of higher education in the United States is its relatively high attrition rate. Virtually everyone who is involved in operating the higher education system conceptualizes it as a more-or-less coherent four-year entity, although in the years since the community college movement has gained momentum, the four-year entity is visualized in two distinct halves. Faculty organize the curriculum on the assumption of a progression through four years of sequenced courses: prerequisites followed by core or required courses, followed by selected electives. Student service offices project everything from financial aid packages to placement and career planning services over a four-year or a two-and-two-year continuum. Administrators project budgets and even build new residence halls on the basic projecton of a four-year college experience. Yet studies conducted over the past fifty years have consistently shown that a very significant number of students do NOT experience college as a coherent four-year, or even a two-and-two-year, entity.

For some, the interruption or discontinuation of their college experience may be a healthy occurrence. Problems with living in a new social environment or with finding an appropriate field of study sometimes can be solved best by withdrawing entirely from college. In an era of open door colleges, some may find that they lack the aptitude for college study. However, there is a great disparity between the number of students who actually withdraw from higher education before completing a four-year degree (about 30% to 35%--see below) and those who say as freshmen that they plan to withdraw sometime before receiving a four-year degree (about 12% of all students--National Center for Education Statistics 1977a:90). It would appear that the difference between these two figures--about 20% of the college population--experiences dropping out as an unforeseen, unplanned, and therefore failure or hard-luck experiences. On most campuses, neither the college's curriculum, its academic advising system, nor its career planning office is structured to assist such students. They fall outside the pale, forming a significant segment of higher education's clientele for whom the system has little sympathy or assistance. If more were known about the attrition phenomenon, higher education would be in a position to evaluate the appropriateness of the dropping out behavior by one-third of its students. Based on this evaluation, it

could then move either to lessen the occurrence of attrition or to adapt college services and structures to meet the needs of dropouts as they decide to leave the system. However, in the current state of confusion concerning attrition there are a good number of students--approximately one in five--for whom the college experience ends as a disjunctive and upsetting experience. As such, the dropping out experience should be viewed with concern by educators whose commitment is to the full human development of each person entering the higher education system.

Overview of Attrition Studies

The most recent survey of attrition studies in higher education concludes that on a nationwide basis three out of every ten students who currently enroll in college will never earn a four-year degree, and six out of ten will not earn a four-year degree within the expected four years at the college in which they initially enrolled (Pantages and Creedon 1978:49). These essential facts have not changed much over the past fifty years (cf. the earliest study, reviewed by Summerskill, 1962, which dates to 1929). However, the sophistication and complexity of efforts to draw meaning out of these data have become increasingly labyrinthine. In order to approach a study of Indian higher education dropouts from a

knowledgeable vantage point, we must review this field of dropout studies, concentrating on those elements significant for understanding the problem at hand.

An overview of the scope and extent of studies on attrition in higher education can be gained by a careful reading of Summerskill's review of thirty-five attrition studies between 1929 and 1960 (in Sanford 1962), and by studying the Pantages and Creedon review which utilizes more than 135 sources in appraising studies between 1950 and 1975 on college attrition. Two additional specific studies published since these reviews are also of special significance; one is the final report from Astin's large-scale analysis of attrition in the class of students attending college between 1968 and 1973 (Astin 1975). The other study is based on the National Longitudinal Study (NLS) of the high school graduating class of 1972 being conducted by the National Center for Education Statistics. The NLS study traces those who attended college through their first three years (Fetters 1977). Both studies bring the statistics up to date; aside from certain refinements in definitions, and distinctions between four-year and two-year colleges, these studies bear out the general trend of earlier studies.

On a national scale, a fairly good estimate of the dropout rate from higher education (not simply from

a given institution) seems to be about 30% to 35%. Astin's study concluded in 1975 that 10.9% of the students are "stop-outs" and 24.3% are dropouts (1975:3, 10). The NLS after the first two and one-half years of the freshman class of 1972's college years, concluded that there had been an overall withdrawal rate of 29% (Fetters 1977: 22). And Pantages and Creedon's survey of the field concluded--with some caveats--"whereas earlier studies placed the figures at the 40% level, Eckland [1964] and others revised the estimate downward to the 30% level" (Pantages and Creedon 1978:56).

In addition to statistical studies, a recent trend has been an emphasis on developing theoretical models of the withdrawal process. These models attempt to specify precisely the factors which influence the success of a student from the time the decision is made to attend college until the student actually withdraws from a given college or from higher education altogether. (See especially Tinto 1975; Hackman and Dysinger 1970; and Rootman 1972.) Such models take into account factors which have not yet been successfully measured (or, in some cases, stated in measurable terms), in contrast to the standard mode of research in this area which has generally restricted itself to items for which statistical measures exist. Unfortunately, this latter form of research had produced mounds of statistics but only limited

correlations between specific measurable items and the attrition rate of students. It is informative, however, to examine some of these detailed, careful attempts to produce significant correlations.

Efforts to Identify Correlates of Dropping Out

One of the first problems facing the attrition research is that of definitions. The widespread use of the term "dropout" in the 1970's highlights the basic problem: when is a dropout really a droput? Generally, the following factors have come to be considered important in devising a definition: whether the student drops out from a given school, or from higher education in general (the former condition is often called a transfer rather than a dropout in recent research; cf. Fetters 1977); whether the student withdraws with satisfactory grades or with insufficient grades to achieve a degree (for example, Starr, Betz, and Menne 1972); whether the student withdraws for one year or less, rather than indefinitely (for example, Fetters 1977 and Astin 1975); and whether the student who withdraws has any intention of returning to earn a degree in the future (Astin 1975:7-10). Unfortunately, there has not been any general adoption of a definition based on the above points of distinction. Thus, "the results of many attrition studies are not comparable because in fact they deal with different

phenomena" (Panos and Astin 1968:70). This is important to note in examining the results of various attrition studies, and in proceeding to study American Indian college attrition. Since there is no mutually-agreed-upon definition, the specific definition used in each study must be noted as the occasion arises.

Attrition studies, regardless of how they define the dropout, have generally focused on an effort to identify one or more factors which seem to be related either to persisting in college or to withdrawing. Table 1 provides tabular presentation of many of these factors.

The somewhat nebulous sense one gets from reading table 1 is confirmed in the following conclusions, taken from the two most comprehensive and recent studies of college attrition. These summarize succinctly what we know about student attrition:

1. From the Astin study, which included 129,000 students most recently surveyed in the summer of 1972:

> The corresponding multiple correlations after the final step [addition of all the most significant variables in the regression equation] in each analysis are: White men (R=.379); White women (R=.382); Blacks in black colleges (R=386); and Blacks in white colleges (R=.540). (Astin 1975:29)

These translate into <u>explained</u> variances (R^2) of only 14.5% for white men, 14.6% for white women, 14.9% for blacks in black colleges, and 29.5% for blacks in white colleges.

TABLE 1

SOME OF THE FACTORS WHOSE RELATIONSHIPS TO ATTRITION RATES HAVE BEEN INVESTIGATED

Factor	Relationship to Attrition	Source(s)
1. High school grades and assessment tests	"Significant correlations"	Fetters 1977:60
	Correlation exists, "but seldom above .50 level"	Pantages and Creedon 1978:62
2. College grades	"Most important student variable" but...	Astin 1975:107
	"Does not predict all attrition"	Pantages and Creedon 1978:53
	"Academic difficulty existed in approx. one-third of cases of withdrawal"	Summerskill 1962: 643-45
3. Attending a two-year college	10% greater attrition rate at two-year colleges for each group of students	Fetters 1977:26
	Students of two-year colleges generally have lower scholastic ability; may explain lower persistence at two-year schools	Fetters 1977:15
4. Size of institution	No significant effect on withdrawal	Fetters 1977:27
5. Age of student	"Rates of attrition are similar for students who are either younger or older than the average age"	Pantages and Creedon 1978:57

TABLE 1 - Continued

Factor	Relationship to Attrition	Source(s)
6. Sex of student	"Strong evidence that sex is not a significant variable"	Pantages and Creedon 1978:58
	No significant differences except perhaps between black and white males in two-year colleges	Fetters 1977:32
7. Aspiration level	Related to withdrawal rate, but not all withdrawals show low aspiration level, even when controlling for high school grades and socioeconomic status	Fetters 1977:35
8. Well-defined educational goals	When measured by frequency of changes in one's major, little relationship to persistence	Pantages and Creedon 1978:69
9. Size/type of home town	Varying results on research from rural/ small town vs. large town students	Pantages and Creedon 1978:60
	For institutions between 500 and 20,000 enrollment, "no consistent pattern"	Astin 1975:139
10. Socioeconomic status	No relationship between parental income and attrition	Trapp, Pailthorp, and Cope 1977
	Family income is not a direct factor in attrition	Astin 1975:35
	Sharp increase in withdrawal rate as SES level goes down, but not strong predictor	Fetters 1977:37
	"SES variables are of limited value in predicting attrition"	Pantages and Creedon 1978:60

2. From the National Longitudinal Study, which included a carefully stratified sample of more than 18,000 students, last surveyed in the fall of 1974:

> The total variance of withdrawal behavior (i.e., R^2) that can be accounted for by a set of the 11 most important variables is about 13% for both four- and two-year college total withdrawals. This means that about 87% of the withdrawal behavior is related to other unknown variables. (Fetters 1977:94 emphasis added)

In other words, efforts to establish the existence of a statistical relationship between specific factors and the likelihood of either persistence or withdrawal from college or university have been largely unsuccessful. Fetters concludes, "What seems to be needed in future studies is to discover those manipulable variables which affect college persistence" (Fetters 1977:115).

Statistics Concerning Attrition and Race/Ethnicity

All of the problems attendant on attrition studies in general also affect the studies aimed at a special understanding of attrition and racial background. In other words, the evidence is not very decisive. Most of the research concerns the comparison of attrition rates between white and black students, since these are the largest groups of racially distinct students in American higher education. The general trends of the findings are aptly expressed in the title of a 1974 article by Ralston: "An Endangered Species: Black

Students at White Universities" (Ralston 1974). Table 2 summarizes the results of some of the more prominent studies of attrition and race or ethnicity in the 1970's.

Table 2 illustrates both the wide variations in estimated dropout rates and the generally consistent finding that ethnic minorities have a larger dropout rate than whites. For blacks, it appears that Astin's estimate of a 5% larger dropout rate for blacks than whites is probably an accurate figure, although the preliminary NLS data indicate that the difference may be less. For Hispanics, the dropout rate appears to be slightly higher than for blacks, according to both the Astin and the NLS studies. For American Indians, Astin found an overall droput rate at least 7% higher than that of whites, while in four-year colleges Indian students' attrition rate was 10% higher than whites. The General Accounting Office estimated in 1977 that 90% of the Indian students funded by the BIA education grants did not complete a four-year degree (compared to 46% of non-Indians), but these figures may be inflated due to the large number of Indian college students who receive no BIA funds and consequently are not in their records. The most recent and comprehensive study (Brown and Stent 1977) hesitates to give a percentage figure but confirms that Indians have a higher-than-average attrition rate. Even a

TABLE 2

SUMMARY OF STATISTICS OF THE 1970'S CONCERNING RACE/ETHNICITY AND ATTRITION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Ethnic Group/Dates		Estimated Dropout Rate and Comments	Source
Blacks	1968-72	29% (compare to 24% for whites) Sample of 130,000 from institutions in Cooperative Institutional Research Program	Astin 1975:36-37
Blacks	1971-74	59.1% (compare to 42.8% for whites) Estimated from total enrollment in each year of higher education	U.S. Bureau of the Census in Condition of Education 1976:229
Blacks	1972-74	31.3% (compare 32% for whites) based on drop from freshman to junior years	NCES National Longitudinal Study, from Condition of Education 1977:211
Blacks	late '60's	71% dropout before graduation (compare to 50% for whites)	Quoted from Civil Rights Commission data for southwestern states in Folger, Astin, Bayer 1970:34
Chicanos	late '60's	75% dropout before graduation (compare 50% for whites)	Quoted from Civil Rights Commission data for southwestern states in Folger, Astin, Bayer 1970:34

TABLE 2 - Continued

Ethnic Group/Dates		Estimated Dropout Rate and Comments	Source
Chicanos	1968-72	31% (compare to 24% for white) Sample of 130,000 from institutions in Cooperative Institutional Research Programs	Astin 1975:36-37
Hispanics	1972-74	34% (compare to 32% for whites) based on drop from freshman to junior year	NCES National Longitudinal Study, from Condition of Education 1977:211
American Indian	late 60's	86-96% of Indians attending two-year colleges do not attain a four-year degree (compare to 75% of non-Indian students)	Estimate made by Frank Newman before House Special Subcommittee on Education, April, 1971; quoted in Flaxman 1976:34
American Indian	1968-72	31% (compare to 24% for whites) for all institutions. 28% for four-year institutions (compare to 18% for whites). Based on small sample of Indians	Astin 1975:26
American Indian	mid-70's	90% estimate by Bureau of Indian Affairs (compare to HEW estimate of 46% for all students)	Quoted by U.S. General Accounting Office report 1977c:10

conservative estimate, then, indicates a special drop-out problem exists for American Indian students.

These generalizations about attrition rates for ethnic minorities, however, are also affected by other considerations raised by researchers. Both the Astin study and the National Longitudinal Study (NLS) found that some of the larger differences in percentages of student withdrawal between ethnic groups lessened considerably when other factors besides race were considered. With regard to American Indians, Astin found that a significantly higher droput rate did not exist for American Indians if high school rank and scholastic aptitude test scores were held constant in comparing them to white students (quoted by Pantages and Creedon 1978:59). Bringing in these additional factors, however, illustrates the complexity of the situation; one cannot summarily conclude that American Indian students have no special attrition problem.

In the first place, Hispanic Americans, Blacks, and Indian Americans enroll more frequently in two-year colleges than do other students (Brown and Stent 1977:59), and the dropout rate from two-year colleges is significantly higher than that of four-year colleges, even when student characteristics such as scholastic aptitude and socio-economic status are held constant (Astin 1975:113). The reason for the high attrition rate in two-year colleges

is not known, but virtually all studies have borne out this fact. The most plausible explanation is that two-year colleges tend to enroll more students from a lower socio-economic status since the price of education at these institutions is minimal; this probably also accounts for the high enrollment of minorities in two-year colleges. Studies have indicated a sharp increase in the withdrawal rate of college students in the lower socioeconomic groupings when compared to the upper groupings (for example, Fetters 1977:37). This attrition phenomenon is particularly pertinent to the community college enrollment, although it does not explain entirely the increased attrition rate at two-year institutions. In relation to Indian students, it appears that a disproportionate number enroll in two-year institutions (for financial or other reasons) from which there is, nationwide, a larger dropout rate. If Indian students register a dropout rate above the average rates for these institutions, then it can be inferred that the attrition problem is indeed severe, both in percentages and in the educational loss of students who should have originally enrolled in four-year institutions where the attrition rate is often half that of two-year institutions (Astin 1975; Fetters 1977).

A second factor is that ethnic minorities, including American Indians, have not in many cases had

a comparable educational experience to non-minority students before they reach the postsecondary level. Hence, using such factors as high school grades, rank in class, or scores on achievement tests as variables in studying the dropout rate has questionable validity. When researchers hold constant these measures of academic success and then compare Indian and non-Indian students on attrition rates, they are masking the true picture for Indian students (and other minorities). An Indian student who has a low index of academic success (e.g., rank in class, College Board scores) may actually have a much higher ability level and therefore should be compared with students having higher academic success indices. If this were done, the dropout rate for Indian students in studies which control variables would emerge as considerably worse than it already appears.

The evidence for this point is contained in the Coleman Report (1966) which concluded that "the scores on ability tests are at least as much affected by school differences on surveyed characteristics as are scores on achievement tests" (Coleman 1966:294). In other words, if students have had significantly different schooling experiences, then the scores on both ability and achievement tests are apt to be misleading. Coleman documented many of the non-comparable aspects of the minority student's schooling experience. For American Indian students these

included not having secondary teachers and administrators from one's own ethnic background--only 2% of the average Indian's high school teachers were Indian compared to 97% white teachers for the average white student (Coleman 1966:127); being enrolled in a grade below the modal grade for one's age--43% of Indian 16-year-olds, compared to 13% of whites (Coleman 1966:452); and being enrolled primarily with students of another racial background than one's own--99% of white students were enrolled in schools in which they were the majority in 1965; only 9% of Indian students were in schools in which they were the majority (Coleman 1966:40). In other words, if test scores on achievement tests and on aptitude tests do not reflect the same set of variables for students whose schooling experiences have been significantly different from the majority of students, it is not valid to compare their dropout rates by matching their test scores and grades, since these very test scores denote something different for the two groups.

We can conclude, then, that the statistical evidence, along with data about the pre-college experience of ethnic minorities, substantiates the claim that there is a particularly acute problem of attrition among American Indian college students. If the average attrition rate for American college students is about one-third, we can estimate that the comparable rate for Indian students

is anywhere from two out of five to four out of five. (Chapter VI gives specific figures for the Yakimas.)

We can further conclude that the many statistical studies of attrition among college students have not succeeded in isolating exact variables which consistently correlate with withdrawal, although low achievement in the first year of college and poor scores on assessment tests do indicate an increased chance of dropping out. Lastly, we can note that some of the statistical correlates of being an ethnic minority, such as lower socioeconomic status, including such things as parents' education, father's occupation, and family income, do not show a clear pattern of relating to withdrawals. All of this leads us to hypothesize that the variables considered thus far in attrition research are not the ones which really count. This is, in fact, the tentative conclusion reached by Fetters (1977) after an exhaustive study of the NLS data for 1972-74.

New Directions for Attrition Research

How can we go about uncovering the variables which do count in attrition? Because of the conflicting results from different studies investigating the same variables, a first step might be to examine the possibility that there has been an overaggregation in the methods of analysis--too many factors have been lumped together

under one heading. When these factors have distinct and differing relationships to dropping out phenomena they simply produce a muddled picture if considered as a monolithic whole. As an example: suppose that the variable, "size of home town," is used to predict attrition behavior statistically. For American Indians this variable may imply a multitude of experiences and customs, including such factors as rural living, living with an extended family, limited use of telephones, and very flexible time scheduling. Each of these factors, when taken individually, might relate to attrition in different ways. The overaggregated category, "size of home town," therefore tells us almost nothing about the causes of attrition. Thus, some of the variables considered in attrition research may need to be disaggregated.

A second possibility is that the variables used in attrition research are simply symptoms of much more important underlying factors. This line of reasoning is akin to that of researchers who, baffled by the inability of massive statistical studies to reveal significant factors in the withdrawal process, have turned to working on conceptual models. The assumption is that perhaps through investigating the withdrawal phenomenon from a theoretical viewpoint, crucial factors which have been omitted heretofore from dropout studies will be uncovered. The essence of this modelling approach is

to use a longitudinal and interactive design. That is, the researcher hypothesizes how various factors have been important throughout the student's life, and how such factors have interacted with each other in bringing the student to the point at which the decision is made to withdraw from higher education. The extent to which such a model can be elaborated is illustrated by the "General Educational Development Model" contained in the theoretical framework for the National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972 (Tabler, 1977:10). In this model there are thirty-seven independent variables, many of them interacting with two or three other variables. Table 3 lists those thirty-seven factors, which could be incorporated in any theoretical model of the college withdrawal process. Note that each factor presupposes a complex set of sub-variables.

Even a cursory reading of this list of thirty-seven variables reveals the complexity of developing a model of the withdrawal. In a very real sense, the entire life experience of an individual is involved in the withdrawal process. Is there a way to simplify the conceptualization of dropping out without simultaneously ignoring some of its crucial elements? Several such attempts have been made. Perhaps the most helpful is that of Fetters, which synthesizes the work of Rootman (1972), Spady (1971), and Tinto (1975). The primary

TABLE 3

FACTORS PERTINENT TO A MODEL OF THE COLLEGE WITHDRAWAL PROCESS (after Tabler, 1977)

Factors Affecting an Individual's Decision to Withdraw

A. Genetic and Home Factors

1. Sex
2. Race
3. Constitutional Factors (e.g., Physiology, Nutrition, Metabolic Level)
4. Social Class Background
5. Sex Roles Identification
6. Psychological Climate of Home
7. Cultural Resources of Home
8. Socialization in the Home (Parent-Child and Family Interpersonal Relationships)
9. Intelligence and Native Abilities

B. Childhood School and Social Factors

10. Childhood Level Cultural Standards and Sanctions
11. Educational Institutional Policy and Screening
12. Socialization in School (Peer, Teacher, Counselor, Personnel Relationships)
13. Congruences of Peer and Peer Subculture Values and Education
14. Congruence of Family Values and Education
15. Educational Opportunities and Experiences (e.g., Curriculum, Special Classes, etc.)

C. Adolescent School and Social Factors

16. High School Performance

TABLE 3 - Continued

17. Social Support (Peers, Teachers, and School Personnel)

18. Social or Interpersonal Relationships

19. Social Support of Parents

20. Intellectual Achievement

21. Expectations

22. Cumulative Psychological Gratification

23. Self-Concept

24. Aspirations

D. Adult Education and Social Factors

25. Adult Level Standards and Sanctions

26. Education and Vocational Institutional Policy and Screening

27. College Attendance and Experiences

28. Congruence of Family Values with College Experiences

29. Congruence of Peer Values with College Experiences

30. Employment

31. Marriage

32. College Performance and Attainment

33. Vocational Performance and Initial Attainment

34. Educational Satisfaction and Development

35. Intellectual Satisfaction and Development

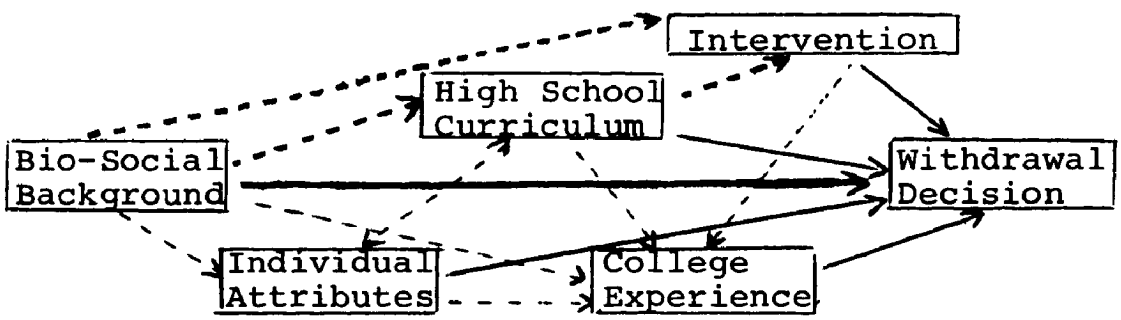
36. Personal Satisfaction and Development

37. Vocational Satisfaction and Development

factor in simplification is the grouping of variables under appropriate headings, such as "individual attributes" or "bio-social background." Also significant is the identification of both direct and indirect paths of influence in a person's overall experience. Fetter's unique contribution to the conceptualization is adding the variable he calls "Intervention," which includes any action which could be taken by the student, by significant others in the student's life, or by the college to influence the decision to become a dropout or to remain a student. Figure 1 demonstrates, with minor changes, Fetter's basic model.

FIGURE 1

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE WITHDRAWAL PROCESS
(adapted from Fetters 1977:47)



Note: Direct relationships with withdrawal are indicated by solid lines, and indirect relationships by broken lines.

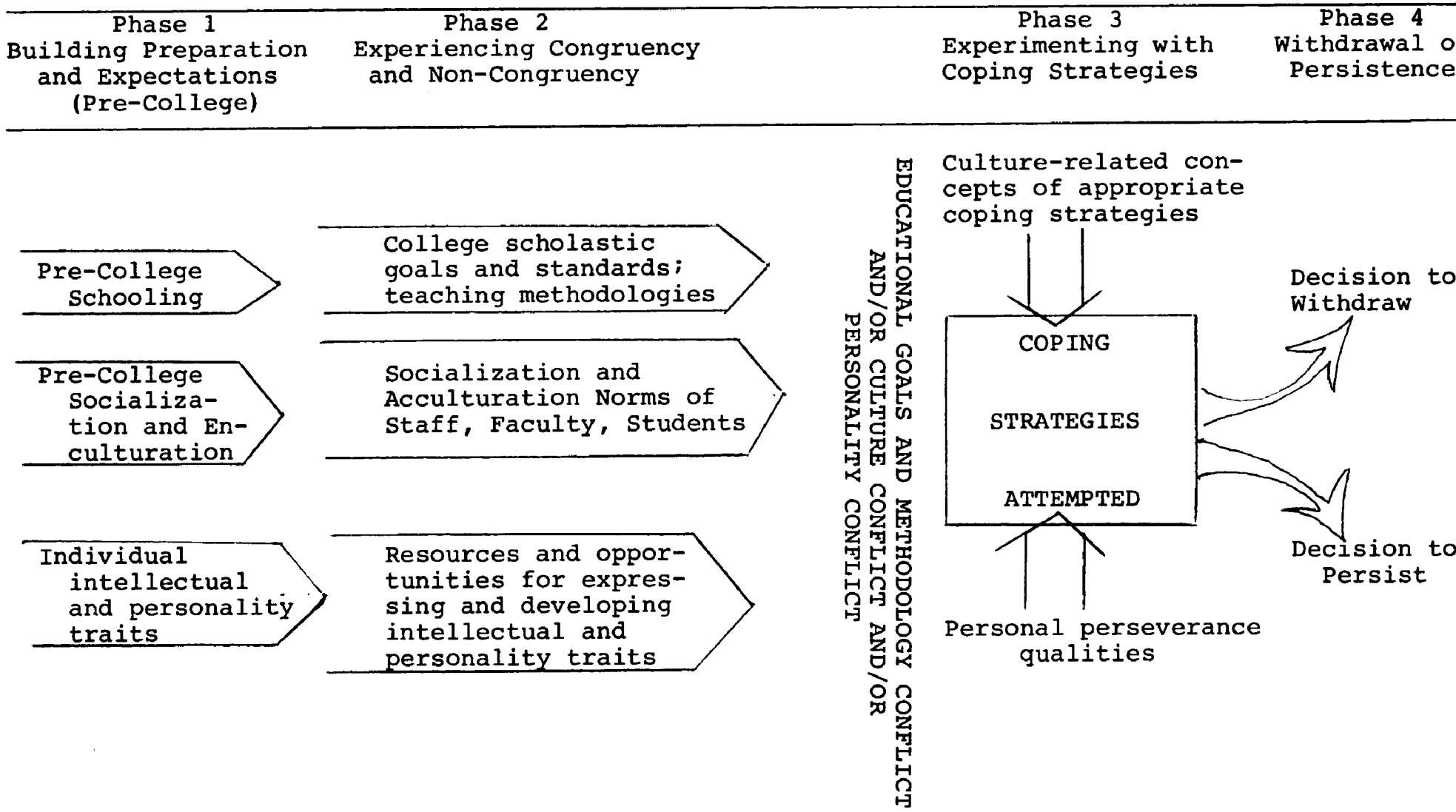
This figure expresses a clear and straightforward synthesis of the major concepts included in theoretical studies of attrition. An underlying theme of these theories is the "goodness of fit" idea:

> ...this theory posits that the student brings to the college certain skills, attitudes, and expectations, and that the college demands, either directly or indirectly, certain skills and attitudes before it will "reward" the student (e.g., with passing grades or a degree). The extent to which the student can meet the demands of the college and derive satisfaction from doing so is the degree to which the student may be expected to persist at the college. (Pantages and Creedon 1978:94)

In the "goodness of fit" approach to the attrition problem, student variables are visualized as indications of the likelihood that the student will "fit" the college's demands and that the college will "fit" the student's demands. Expanding this concept to include all the essential variables included in Fetters' synthesis (figure 1), the interaction of variables in the withdrawal/persistence process might be visualized as presented in figure 2. The "goodness of fit" theory operates here in three interactions: 1) the student's pre-college education interacting with the educational program of the college; 2) the pre-college socialization and enculturation experienced as the student grows up in a specific cultural and social milieu interacting with the new norms to which the student is socialized and acculturated in the college environment; and 3) the individual's unique traits interacting with the college's

FIGURE 2

PHASES OF THE PERSISTENCE - WITHDRAWAL PROCESS



provisions for expressing and developing these traits.

Figure 2 takes into account a more global understanding of the student entering college and interacting with a variety of persons there. Starting at the left of the diagram, the student is visualized as coming with a certain background of schooling experiences, certain intellectual abilities and personality traits, and certain socio-cultural behavior traits. As students encounter the college setting, the ways in which teachers, registration clerks, dorm assistants, fellow students, academic advisors, and department chairpersons interact with students generates feelings which lie somewhere on a continuum of satisfaction to alienation. If feelings of discomfort or alienation prevail over a period of time, the students are experiencing culture conflict (or personality conflict or educational conflict) and must deal with this very uncomfortable feeling through some coping strategy. The repertoire of coping strategies which are available to students is determined partly by their unique personal traits and partly by their socio-cultural experiences which have indicated acceptable and/or workable coping strategies. Based on the success experienced in utilizing one or more of the coping strategies in the college milieu, the "goodness of fit" problem becomes reconciled by the student in favor of either withdrawal from the college or of persistence in the student role, possibly with alterations

in the form of participation in the institution, and/or in the coping strategy.

What this model includes which has been omitted in many considerations of college attrition, is the importance of the entire social and cultural experience which has shaped the behavior traits of the student--and expectations about others' behavior--long before enrollment in college. If this is to be a helpful insight into the attrition problem, however, it must go beyond the conceptualization of an important new element--social/cultural experiences--and specify the variables which comprise social/cultural experience in such a way that their relationship with "goodness-of-fit" in a given college setting is made explicit. This is precisely the task of the present study with the Yakima Indians. If, as Pantages and Creedon have concluded "the evidence . . . strongly supports the 'college fit' theory, which stresses the interaction between student and institutional characteristics and its effect on persistence and attrition (1978:80)," then the challenge is to identify precisely those Yakima Indian student characteristics which interact with specific institutional characteristics and thereby affect the "college fit" experience of these students. If this can in fact be done, perhaps avenues will be opened up for future researchers to test a new category

of variables--socio-cultural traits--which may have more explanatory and predictive power in attrition research than the disappointingly weak predictors and variables identified thus far in the study of higher education dropouts.

CHAPTER III

CULTURE CONFLICT: INSIGHTS FROM ANTHROPOLOGY

> The main reason for Indians' dropping out of college stated by this group of students [Indians at the University of Washington, 1977] could be grouped under the category of "cultural conflicts."
>
> (Spence 1977:13)

Culture conflict emerges again and again from the literature as a crucial factor in the higher education experience of American Indian students. Yet virtually none of these citations are able or willing to define what is meant by culture conflict. Since the study of culture is a primary component of anthropology, it is within the writings of anthropologists that the search for an understanding of culture conflict should be undertaken.

Culture: An Anthropological Approach

An understanding of the concept of "culture" is basic to a definition of culture conflict. Such an understanding, however, is not easily acquired; the word "culture" has been used to describe every aspect of phenomena which distinguish human beings, from material

artifacts--such as tools, dwellings, clothing, and utensils--to the entirely non-material, ideational elements which structure a human being's world into a coherent whole. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1963) compiled an inventory of the ways in which the concept of culture had been used by anthropologists; the resulting list was very extensive. From among this wide choice of definitions, the ideational approach seems the most useful one for an exploration of culture conflict. One statement of this approach is the following:

> A society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members, and do so in any role that they accept for any one of themselves. It is the forms of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them. (Goodenough 1957:167)

This is the definition which will be used in this study. It tells us that a person's culture is his or her way of looking at life by right of being a member of a particular society; it is a "mind-set" from which a person operates. Note, however, that an individual's culture only becomes evident to another person when that individual's mind-set expresses itself in actual behavior patterns--words or actions observable to another human being.

From this definition of culture, it is possible to derive a working definition of culture conflict. If culture is essentially a mind-set, then culture conflict is basically a conflict between mind-sets. Here we must

make a distinction between that aspect of a person's mind-set which develops as a result of the cultural heritage in which an individual lives, and that aspect of a person's mind-set which is unique to the individual. Wallace (1970:15) refers to the mind-set as a person's "mazeway" which is "the entire set of cognitive maps of positive and negative goals that an individual maintains at a given time." Wallace further subdivided the mazeway into a whole set of "cognitive maps," each of which contains a mental image of some aspect of reality as it appears to that individual. Part of these cognitive maps reflects the culture in which the individual was raised; another part of these cognitive maps reflects the unique experience of this particular individual. Applying this distinction to the concept of culture conflict, it becomes evident that culture conflict refers to situations in which the cognitive maps of two persons do not contain the same cultural "images . . . of the real world" (Wallace 1970:15).

Conflict, however, can also occur when two persons within the same culture, whose cognitive maps contain very similar cultural images, have areas of dissimilarity in their cognitive maps because of the unique experiences of each individual. This is an important distinction between types of conflict which can occur between individuals. Not every conflict between individuals is a cultural one. Only those in which the differences in mind-sets

are a result of differences in culture can be identified properly as culture conflict situations.

An example will clarify this vital point. Suppose that generally persons in Culture X place a higher priority on conforming to standards of politeness than on sleeping whenever one feels tired; this is a part of the "mind-set" for most Culture X persons. Standard behavior in Culture X means conforming to this priority. A person who is hostessing a party and proceeds to take a nap during it would be regarded as exhibiting non-standard behavior. However, if a person from Culture Y were hostessing a party and proceeded to sprinkle the guests with water as they entered, guests from Culture X would see this behavior as neither standard nor non-standard, but rather as unintelligible. The mind-set of Culture X simply does not contain any information or explanation concerning sprinkling guests with water. While both napping and hostessing a party are within the repertoire of behavior choices for Culture X, sprinkling the guests with water is not. Thus, this behavior is either unintelligible or misleading for members of Culture X.

To put this example in terms of cognitive maps, the hostess and the guests from Culture X had some differences in cognitive maps in relationship to the appropriateness of napping while hostessing a party; but for all members of this culture, both napping and hostessing a

party are part of their cognitive map images of the real world. However, in comparing one of the Culture X members with a Culture Y person, the difference between their respective cognitive maps is much greater. For a Culture X person, sprinkling guests with water does not even exist within this person's cognitive map as a part of the repertoire of behavior choices. Thus, cultural differences usually mean a greater dissimilarity between individual's cognitive maps, increasing the chances of conflict between persons.

For a study of culture conflict the significance of cognitive maps, mazeways, or mind sets is that culture always provides the setting or syntax within which individual choices--and judgments about other people's choices--occur. What is unintelligible behavior in another culture could be a standard part of the repertoire of choices in the culture of which it is a part. (We might also note that the occasional cases of unintelligible behavior patterns on the part of a person within a culture are generally interpreted as evidence of mental illness; the person's conceptualization of life has been altered so radically that functioning as a normal member of the culture has become virtually impossible.)

To summarize, using the anthropologist's ideational definition of culture, culture conflict can be described as the result of situations in which behavior that is

perceived as unintelligible or misleading by members of one cultural group is at the same time seen by members of another cultural group as acceptable and expected behavior arising from a coherent conceptualization of life.

Cultural Relativism

One of the concepts of anthropology which is helpful to a study of culture conflict is that of cultural relativism. Culture conflict, by definition, refers to interactions between members of two or more cultures; consequently, the question of attitudes toward one's own culture vis-a-vis other cultures and the question of the comparative value of various cultures is inevitably involved when culture conflict is discussed. Cultural relativism is a concept which addresses these questions.

Edgar Hewett was one of the first anthropologists to discuss the issues of cultural relativism in light of educational programs. His interest in writing on this topic was aroused by the contemporary political issue of education for Filipinos whose land had just been annexed by the United States as a result of the Spanish-American War. In 1905, Hewett stated his opinions on the subject in an article for The American Anthropologist. Hewett was convinced that each culture has its own "ethnic mind" which cannot be significantly altered in less than several generations, if ever; and that each such "ethnic mind"

had its own coherent and meaningful set of values. Thus the education system for any given culture should be that which passes on the best of its "ethnic mind" to the new generation. For Hewett, then, the best education was that education which makes "a Filipino, the best Filipino, an Indian the best Indian, and an American the best American" (Hewett 1905:15).

Although Hewett's understanding of "what an American is" was colored by the ethnocentrism of his day, he expressed an underlying assumption that anthropologists have consistently elaborated upon since the beginnings of anthropology as a science. Simply stated, the concept is this: every culturally distinct society of human beings has developed, by virtue of its very nature as a surviving human society, a complex and internally consistent set of attitudes, beliefs, and values which are expressed in a finite set of coherent behavior patterns.

The logical corollary of this axiom is that any distinct culture can best be understood by getting to know its own internally consistent "way." This is in contrast to the attitude of an outsider who tries to "understand" another culture by comparing specific practices in the alien culture to those in his own culture. In most cases, isolated practices from another culture seem to the outsider quaint at best; more often they seem inappropriate or inefficient, and sometimes downright

counterproductive. This may be true of anything from body postures to marriage customs or linguistic patterns.

The underlying idea here is referred to as "cultural relativism" by anthropologists. It is an extremely important concept which assumes that all cultures are basically equally "good" in themselves. That is to say, each culture's coherent set of values and norms of behavior deserve equal respect as reasonable ways of meeting common life problems in given social and environmental settings.

If there is no recognition of the principle of cultural relativism (i.e., recognition of the equal validity of two culturally different mind-sets) culture conflict is inevitable. When persons believe that the culture in which they were raised is an essentially better, more reasonable, or more valuable culture than others, they are almost incapable of gaining real understanding of another culture or of offering genuine acceptance to persons whose behavior arises from another culture's norms. This happens simply because a rational corollary of believing that one's culture is intrinsically better than others is that one would attempt whenever possible to impose aspects of one's own culture upon others in order to "help" them improve their own cultural heritage. Persons who take this stance in situations where culture conflict is possible will usually experience an inability to solve

the culture conflict situation, since they cannot genuinely attempt to put themselves in the mind-set of the other person in an effort to understand the meaning of that culture as a whole. Regardless of their protestations to the contrary, rejection is the message usually communicated by this inability or unwillingness to "try to see it the way I do." Thus, a stance of appreciating other cultures--the cultural relativism principle in some form--is essential for anyone studying culture conflict.

Culture Transmission: Socialization and Enculturation

A second basic concept in anthropology which sheds light on the concept of culture conflict is that of culture transmission. Anthropologists, from the beginnings of their science, have asked themselves how different cultures are transmitted from generation to generation. This question is also pertinent to an investigation of culture conflict. Since different persons have different mind-sets partly by virtue of the culture to which they belong, it is important to look at the process by which the cultural content of mind-sets is communicated to individuals. Studies in cultural transmission have made it clear that this process is a very complex one which begins in the

earliest stages of a person's life. This is an important point in studying culture conflict situations because it emphasizes the extreme difficulty which is involved when persons attempt to abandon or significantly change the cultural content of their mind-sets.

An understanding of how people acquire the mind-sets they have is the subject of socialization and enculturation studies. While these terms are frequently used interchangeably, Margaret Mead has insisted upon an important distinction between the two (Mead 1973:passim). Socialization refers to the process of learning roles and behaviors; enculturation refers to absorbing the entire cultural framework of a society. In reference to a particular minority cultural group within a larger society--such as American Indians--Mead's distinction implies that while children in both the majority and the minority cultures may be socialized to some of the same roles and behavior, there may be entirely different underlying cultural frameworks for these behaviors. If this is not recognized, interpersonal relations between the two cultures may be difficult because similar behaviors are mistakenly taken for similar mind-sets.

From the wealth of insights flowing from studies of culture transmission, several points seem to hold special insights for the present study of culture conflict in higher education. Although the choice of these points

is not exhaustive of the insights which might be helpful to a theoretical groundwork for culture conflict analysis, these particular insights will at least establish the importance of examining the culture transmission process as part of culture conflict analysis.

One such insight is the distinction made between the mind-set of a person who has been raised in a culturally homogeneous setting and one who has been raised in a culturally heterogeneous setting. Franz Boas was one of the first persons to note this important difference between persons reared in different settings (in Spindler 1955:15). Those who are raised in an essentially homogeneous setting have observed a limited set of behavior responses which are appropirate in certain settings. From these experiences such persons develop a limited repertoire of behavior responses for given settings; their expectations of appropriate behavior responses on the part of others are also shaped by this homogeneous socialization and enculturation process. On the other hand, persons who are raised in an essentially heterogeneous setting learn quite early that there are a large variety of behavior responses to a given situation; they learn that different people have different expectations about appropriate behavior responses. Hence, both their own behavior responses and their expectations about appropriate

responses from others are based on a very broad repertoire of possible behavior responses.

The application of this insight to the educational scene provides an interesting contrast between the typical instructor and the typical minority culture student. Most instructors have completed most or all of their education in culturally homogeneous settings. For these instructors, a great majority of their teachers and most of their peers were from the American dominant culture; appropriate behaviors for students in various academic settings (classrooms, conferences with instructors, labs, tests) were learned through participation in these homogeneous educational settings. The average instructor, then, has expectations that student behaviors will be drawn from a specific finite set of behaviors.

Contrast to the experience of a typical instructor, the heterogeneous experiences of minority culture students. Having been in classrooms with students from at least one other culture (and often two, as is the case with Yakima students attending elementary and secondary schools with white and Mexican-American children), these students have observed a much wider variety of behavior responses. Reactions in various classroom situations have reflected different cultural backgrounds; hence, students have gradually acquired a wider repertoire of behavior choices and expectations; this variety of contrasting responses seems as

natural to the minority students as does the narrower range of acceptable behaviors to dominant culture students in homogeneous settings.

When students from heterogeneous educational backgrounds enter a college classroom where the instructor and many of the other students are from homogeneous educational backgrounds, the stage is set for several kinds of incidents. Students from a heterogeneous background might use a behavior response in class which is not seen as appropriate from the instructor's experience (for instance, sitting postures), but which has no such connotation to the student. More confusing to the instructor, a student from a heterogeneous background may experiment with different behavior responses on various occasions, drawing on the wide repertoire of behavior possibilities learned in multicultural classrooms. While the instructor may see this change in behavior responses as inconsistent, baffling, and even subversive, the student may find the instructor's reactions to behavior alternatives to be overreactions or oppressive. Thus, a knowledge of the extent to which one's experience of cultural transmission in the area of education has been homogeneous or heterogeneous can be very helpful to both the student and the instructor in understanding interaction between faculty and students on college campuses.

A second insight useful to the analysis of culture conflict concerns the differences between the learning process in traditional cultures and in industrialized cultures. The terms traditional and industrialized society refer to the differences in the rate of socio-cultural change in the two kinds of societies, due to the absence or presence of very rapid technological change. In traditional socieites (sometimes called "primitive" societies by Mead in her analysis of this distinction; cf. especially 1943 and 1973), there is an expectation that cultural continuity from this generation to the next will prevail. In rapidly changing societies, where technological innovations are undermining the current socio-cultural framework, the expectation is that there will be cultural discontinuity between this generation and the next. The place of learning in these two kinds of societies is vastly different. In a traditional setting, learning makes possible the preservation and perpetuation of the cultural heritage; the content of learning is that which the elders have to pass on; the process of learning is an essential for remaining a member of the culture and hence becomes itself a motivator for younger people to learn. In contrast, learning in an industrialized society makes possible innovation and the demise of former socio-cultural ways; the content of learning is based on mastering the tools of further learning and innovation; the process of learning is

an essential for future technological innovation and continuing change.

For students who have been raised in a society which is more traditional than industrialized, the experience of attending higher education in industrialized America in the 1970's creates a tension between the two types of learning environments proper to traditional and to industrialized societies. With regard to the contrast between innovation and continuity, a conflicting motivation for learning is likely to plague the American Indian student in college today. The constantly repeated goal for higher education in the 1970's is "coping with change," or "preparing for a new future," or "creating new knowledge and new art forms." To a student from a culture where the highest life goal is the perfect preservation of a beautiful heritage from one's ancestors, these goals contradict the motivation for learning acquired at home and may present a serious internal tension for the student.

With regard to the content of learning, schooling in industrialized societies teaches primarily the mastery of tools through which future innovations can be developed. However, for students from traditional cultures where learning is immediately useful and relevant--not simply a means to later developments--the content of coursework may appear highly irrelevant, making it difficult for these students to justify to themselves or their families

the lengthy and costly study time needed to master these subjects. With regard to the process of learning, the student from a traditional culture has learned in his home culture those things necessary for participation in that society precisely because they are necessary for membership in the culture. Young people are thus intrinsically motivated to learn the skills, legends and behavior traits acquired from elders and relatives. In contrast, the vast majority of academic learning in the college setting does not carry with it the same intrinsic motivation; it is not necessary to the Indian youth for membership in the Indian society. When intrinsic motivation was strong in the home culture, the student felt responsible for a good deal of the learning that would take place. In the college setting, the entire educational structure presumes that the faculty member is responsible for the learning: instructors set the time for class, order the textbooks, prepare the course outlines, and make out the examinations. This strong contrast with home learning experiences in which students are largely responsible for the progress of their learning may explain the feeling of resistance to participation in college classes which Indian students sometimes experience.

The three aspects of the contrast between learning in traditional and industrialized societies detailed above (continuity versus innovation, practical knowledge versus

tools of knowledge, and learner-centered learning versus educator-centered learning) may give rise to culture conflict in various settings. For instance, when instructors or academic advisors are strongly directive, Indian students may feel oppressed rather than stimulated to pursue their own learning needs. When courses of study do not leave room for emphasis on learning to preserve what has been, or when students are not encouraged to take courses which parents or grandparents believe are important, Indian students may feel that they are being cut off from their roots. When coursework is unrelated to the student's experience and interests, the contrast may be so strong between academic learning at college and practical learning in the home environment as to undermine the Indian student's interest in remaining in college. In these and in other circumstances, the important contrast between the traditional and the industrialized environments in the Indian college student's experience must be considered when studying culture conflict.

A third insight from the field of culture transmission studies refers to the experience of moving from one culture to another and back again, as one attempts to "live in two worlds." In 1936 Malinowski spoke of the difficult task facing Africans who were being given entirely European educations and yet needed to acquire competence as functioning adults in their own cultures.

This he called "living in two worlds" (Malinowski 1936). Obviously, this concept is pertinent to a study of culture conflict, because it deals with the difficulties facing persons who encounter conflict in the process of interacting with a culture other than their own. Living in two worlds is not always accompanied by culture conflict situations; these will occur only if the mind-sets associated with the two cultures are significantly different on those points involved in interactions across the two cultures. Those who have studied the situation of American Indian people in the 1950's, 1960's, and 1970's have written frequently about the American Indian's attempts to live in two worlds (cf. Spindler 1955; Spicer 1968; M. Wax 1971). In all of these writings, the emphasis is on the difference in mind-sets between Indian Americans and dominant culture Americans in such crucial areas as the structure and importance of the family, prestige and how to attain it, and the purpose and use of accumulated wealth.

The phenomenon of living in two worlds has been studied to determine what psychological and sociological dynamics are at work in this process. One result of such study is the insight that living in two worlds goes beyond simply adopting the external behavior patterns of another culture. When one begins to acquire behavior patterns from another culture, these can neither simply be traded for former patterns (since the old ones are part of a

coherent whole), nor can they be merely external imitations of new behavioral patterns (since any consistent behavior must flow from an understanding of the cultural world which it expresses). Living in two worlds, then, requires internalizing aspects of two different world views or mind-sets. This kind of adaptation calls for an inner flexibility which can be difficult to maintain. In many cases, efforts at living in two worlds may cause mental strain or even psychological crises, because changing from one mind-set to another can come dangerously close to intruding upon one's own identity as a person, as well as the sense of continuity and personal integrity so essential to psychological well-being. Returning to Wallace's vocabulary: "The mazeway of a culturally disillusioned person, accordingly, is an image of a world that is unpredictable, or barren in its simplicity, or both, and is apt to contain severe identity conflicts" (1970:189).

Another difficult dynamic involved in living in two worlds is the process of making value choices for oneself. As Ann Beuf (1977:29) remarks in her study of American Indian children caught between two worlds, Indian students often "must choose between being a good Native American and being a good student." This happens because some behavior which is applauded by the dominant culture in school settings is considered inappropriate or is disdained in Indian society. In situations where such choices

have to be made, the student is experiencing a tension between two cultures, and no matter which choice is made, culture conflict will occur in the misunderstanding of that choice by persons from one or the other of the two cultures. As the present study proceeds with its analysis of culture conflict situations for Yakima Indian students (in chapter V), it is well to remember that each of these situations creates for the student another dilemma in the overall problem of living in two worlds.

In the next section of this chapter, some notions from the anthropological sub-fields which study language and cognition will be explored. The topics chosen for inclusion in this section are not exhaustive of the insights which these fields can offer to the study of culture conflict. However, they illustrate the presence of valuable theoretical insights in these fields which reinforce the importance of culture conflict analysis. For these insights point out some of the almost infinite number of ways in which the human communication and thinking systems can become involved in misunderstandings when two or more persons are interacting.

Insights from Cognitive Anthropology and Anthropological Linguistics

Anthropologists and other social scientists have, for some time, been investigating the interrelationships

between language, culture, and cognition. Although the exact relationship is still hotly debated, it seems evident that,in some way, language helps to structure cognition and perception. This becomes evident in the study of comparative linguistics when one notes the very different systems of categorizing things,which different languages have developed. It also becomes evident in the studies of cognitive psychologists studying human thinking processes through an analysis of language acquisition. The strongest expression of this language-cognition relationship has been made by Whorf, who writes about an unspoken "agreement" which operates in the pattern of language. Although this viewpoint is seen as somewhat extreme by many, it clearly states the case for the presence of an unspoken "agreement" by virtue of a language's very existence:

> Its terms are absolutely obligatory; we cannot talk at all except by subscribing to the organization and classification of data which the agreement decrees . . . [How a person] analyzes nature, notices or neglects types of relationships and phenomena, channels his reasoning and builds the house of his consciousness [depends on the language he speaks]. (Whorf 1955:212)

The concept that language helps to structure cognition is important for understanding culture conflict, because it implies that persons who have been raised in one language and learn a second language later will have some differences in their concepts compared to native speakers of

this second language, even if they speak it fluently. For Indian students in American colleges, this point is relevant even for those who no longer speak a native language; for the concepts they have learned in their home culture are usually not more than one generation removed from the aboriginal language and hence have been affected by that language.

In concrete terms, the importance of language in structuring cognition in a college setting might be illustrated by the meaning (or concept) attached to such words as "deadline" or "urgent." If the native language of an Indian student contained no word or special word phrase equivalent to "deadline," it is likely that the strong finality connoted by this word in English would not exist in the Indian mind-set. Thus, when a dominant culture instructor announces a deadline, it may be that this concept conveys something different to the Indian students than to the instructor. To the student from another cultural background, this term may mean "a suggested finishing date" because the student has rarely experienced situations in which an assigned task must--for an arbitrary reason--be completed by one, final date. This confusion in concepts between the Indian student and the instructor may prevail even if the student has attended a dominant-culture school before. Not meeting deadlines on earlier occasions may have met with disapproval or

even sanctions, but this does not guarantee that the student understood the concept behind the term "deadline." Rather, punishment may have been interpreted as irritableness or prejudice on the part of the teacher, since the concept of an arbitrary "deadline" did not make sense to the Indian mind-set.

A second aspect of the interrelationship between language, culture, and cognition is that language reflects much that is important about a culture. In terms of culture conflict analysis, this means that it is important to study carefully the language structure, usage, and vocabulary as a part of an analysis of distinctive cultural traits. In chapter V it will be noted that several words which are part of the English vocabulary of Yakimas, but not of the vocabulary of the surrounding dominant culture population, express concepts of social relationships and interactions which are important to the Yakima culture. These clues to cultural uniqueness should not be overlooked by those who wish to understand the cultural whole which a group's language reflects. Coping with culture conflict depends upon establishing such bases of understanding.

Cognition and its relation to learning in various cultures is another important field of study for the culture conflict issue. In cross-cultural cognition studies researchers examine how persons from differnet cultures think and what aspects of their learning processes have

brought them to these thinking modes. The kinds of thinking investigated include methods of organizing knowledge, methods of recalling information, and methods of problem-solving. In each of these areas, research has demonstrated that culture can profoundly affect ways of thinking.

One significant research study on cognition was undertaken by Michael Cole, John Gay, and their associates in Liberia with the Kpelle people. The significance of their findings for culture conflict analysis in educational settings is this: differences in cognitive skills possessed by people from different cultures lie "more in the situations to which particular cognitive processes are applied than in the existence of a process in one cultural group and its absence in another"(Cole et al. 1971:233). This insight emerged when the researchers found that Kpelle performed certain cognitive tasks at a much higher level of competence, when the researchers changed the situation in which the task was presented. Later research in other cultures has borne out this basic insight (Cole 1978).

In educational settings, culture conflict can occur when an educator believes that students from a certain minority group do not have the ability to perform certain basic cognitive tasks, such as abstraction or categorization, because the educator has mistaken an instance in which students could not perform a given cognitive task for an overall inability to perform this task. What has

happened is that the particular task which was used to trigger certain cognitive functions was not such that the minority culture students could respond to it. Of course, it is true that certain cultures, and certain individuals within cultures, develop some cognitive skills at a higher level than others do; but it is no longer tenable to believe that a basic cognitive skill does not exist in a given subject because those skills are not demonstrated on certain tasks.

Performance on all types of cognitive tests and tasks is affected by "situational factors"(Cole et al. 1971:233) which are frequently related to culture. The specific factors of culture which affect cognitive skills for Indian students are, in many cases, not yet analyzed. But the instructor who is aware that this grey area exists in cross-cultural situations will refrain from making generalizations which are not warranted and which can form the basis for severe culture conflict in college settings.

Another researcher who has contributed significantly to an understanding of cognition is Witkin (cf. 1977 for a review of his and related work since 1950). His research verified the presence of different modes of learning, called "cognitive styles" in various persons. Applying this concept to cross-cultural situations, Rosalie Cohen and others at the University of Pittsburg have done

a good deal of fieldwork in an effort to correlate two main cognitive styles with specific socio-cultural factors. The cognitive styles are defined as "integrated rule-sets for the selection and organization of sense data" (Cohen 1969:836). Persons with an analytical cognitive style organize knowledge into labeled, categorized units, while those whose dominant cognitive style is relational learn new knowledge by relating it to its immediate setting. After identifying which cognitive style the subject possessed, the research moved on to a study of the primary group experiences of the person. Primary group experiences were designated as either "shared-function style" or "formal style," depending on how much or how little formal definition of roles, authority, and function existed in these groups. The primary groups to which this style analysis was applied were the family, the school, and the peer group.

Cohen's research revealed that persons who have experienced shared-function groups in family, school, and peer group are much more likely to have developed the "relational" (non-analytical) cognitive style. Since the formal schooling process is strongly oriented toward the "analytical" cognitive style, and since "relational and analytical conceptual styles were found to be not only different but mutually incompatible" (Cohen 1969:842), the research concluded that

> children who had been socialized in shared-function environments could not participate effectively in any aspect of the formal school environment even when native ability and information repertoires were adequate. (Cohen 1969:842)

In other words, a difference in learning styles--sometimes thought of by educators as aptitude for learning--is more accurately seen as a result of cultural differences.

The applicability of Cohen's research to culture conflict analysis in colleges is quite evident. Since academic settings are organized primarily around the analytical cognitive style--stressing categorization and abstraction for the organization, presentation, and recall of information--students whose primary group experiences have led them to develop the relational cognitive style will be at a disadvantage in these academic settings. This disadvantage is due not to a lack of aptitude for learning (Witkin--1977--and others have consistently demonstrated that cognitive style is not correlated with intelligence), but rather to the cultural background which determined the structure of most of the primary groups in the students' experience. In looking at American Indian cultures, if there is evidence of shared-function styles among family and peer groups, one might expect to find a greater development of the relational cognitive style among Indian students. Translated into the college classroom setting, this means that students who find it difficult to learn certain materials which dominant culture students

learn readily may be suffering from a subtle example of culture conflict. Culture conflict analysis, then, should consider aspects of the organization of academic materials and the type of primary group structures prevalent in a given culture.

The discussion of special insights from cognitive anthropology and anthropological linguistics now turns to the field of sociolinguistics. The study of language usage by various individuals in a culture quickly reveals to the observer that there is a significant amount of variability in language within a given culture from individual to individual. This variability is more than a casual or random phenomenon. Labov's studies of English spoken in New York City established empirically that language variants are directly correlated with socioeconomic status (1966). Further, Labov concluded that social structures within classrooms (as a reflection of the socioeconomic standing of the students) were a clue to learning problems in the language arts among students (1975:43). Thus, the use of language variants by different persons within the same general culture has been identified as a source of misunderstanding and conflict.

When one introduces into this setting persons of another cultural background, but who speak the same language as the general dominant culture, even more opportunities for misunderstanding and conflict can be

expected to exist. This has been true among speakers of Black English, and many studies on this aspect of linguistic variability in the United States have been undertaken.

> While linguists such as Labov, Steward, and Bailey have begun to define some of the structural characteristics of Black English, folklorists such as Abrahams and sociolinguists such as Gumperz have focused on the functional characteristics, and have found equally great differences from white speech in the discourse systems used, the types of settings for speaking, the values and expectations placed on speech acts and speaking ability, and even the purposes to which speech is put. (Abrahams and Troike 1972:210)

This summary of some of the findings from the study of Black English is relevant to the present study of culture conflict for Indian students on college campuses because it highlights the complexity of the language question. The key conclusion is this: speech patterns and practices can carry much more cultural information than is intended by the speaker or is consciously recognized by the listeners.

For instance, Halliday has pointed out (1977) that vocabulary items used by certain social subgroups actually indicate their desire to be recognized as a member of this subgroup and to preserve the group from intruders. If an outsider cannot follow what is being said because he does not know the vocabulary, obviously he is being excluded from the group. For Indian students in a college setting, many words in academia may be unfamiliar to them because so few of their parents' generation attended college.

Moreover, since they are already keenly aware of belonging to a cultural group different from the dominant culture of the university campus, they may be more hesitant to ask the meaning of words which are unfamiliar to all freshmen than are their white peers. The reverse application of this sociolinguistic insight is that since the Indian student's home environment contains many vocabulary items which are unknown to the student's peers on campus (see chapter V and table 7), the Indian students will also feel isolation when they attempt to mention anecdotes from home and find that the other students do not know what they are talking about. Another instance of the fact that language can carry more information than is intended or recognized is the use of non-standard English in the classroom by students. This practice has long been taken by college educators to indicate that the speaker is not intelligent enough and/or undereducated for the role of college student. In this case, the student is involuntarily communicating more than simply the ideas he is expressing. The student is also communicating to the instructor that his intellectual level or educational level is somehow wanting. In many cases, the student is unaware that this second message is being communicated to the instructor. Consequently, when the instructor reacts to the underlying message (educational incompetence) the student will be startled and probably irritated.

The mind-sets regarding usage of language here are different for the teacher and for the student, and culture conflict begins to occur. Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez have proved empirically that "being able to speak standard English is not an intrinsic requirement for any cognitive process or educational task" (1972:161); and Galliman and Tharp (1975:2-16) have shown that even young children can be competent in standard English while generally choosing to speak a non-standard dialect. Yet part of the cultural heritage of most white educators is the cognitive map which requires the use of standard English in any educational setting. Thus, the question of usage of standard English in college classrooms by Indian students should be considered from the viewpoint of culture conflict.

Hymes (1972) points out from his experience in sociolinguistics that in order to study adequately a single speech event, the entire context of this event must be considered. This he calls the "ethnography of speaking." Indeed, it is this communication process between any two persons which is the central concern of culture conflict analysis. The ethnography of communication events is, of course, a detailed and complex field. Only two of the insights from this type of fieldwork are pointed out here as being especially helpful to the theoretical background of a culture conflict study.

The first concept is that of an "agenda" which accompanies any person who enters a communication event. This agenda is a set of assumptions and expectations about the particular communication event taking place. It is a "piece" of the person's mind-set, made applicable to this particular setting. Both persons coming to this event have an agenda, which includes such things as one's expectations about the style of speech to be used, the length of the communication event, the purposes to be accomplished, the importance of the event, and the relative social status of the parties involved. However, very few of these agenda items are ever made explicit during most communication events (indeed they are frequently entirely unrecognized by the participants). Thus, unless the persons' mind-sets are very similar, the chances are that the agendas of each person will be different and some of the expectations of each concerning the communication event will not be met (Gearing 1973:186). If the mind-sets of the two persons are rooted in different cultures, the likelihood that their agendas for a given communication event will be dissimilar is very high. In terms of a college setting, communication events for which Indian students may have different agendas than those with whom they are communicating may include such things as conferences with academic advisors and faculty members or dining hall table conversations.

A second useful concept from the ethnography of communication is that of the role definitions which are implied in communication events. Speakers envision themselves to be in certain roles; they envision the receiver(s) of their communications to be in certain roles; and the receivers also envision a role for themselves and for the speaker. Even in a simple communication transaction between neighbors borrowing eggs from each other, these role perceptions are present. Bernstein has shown that the perception of roles affects the speech variants which are used by the participants. Speakers who see their roles as socially more important than those to whom they speak often use less formal and exact variants of the language, whereas speakers who see themselves in a role of less social importance than those to whom they are speaking, generally tend to use more formal variants of the language (Bernstein 1972:140). Leacock describes this as "editing" of speech patterns which a person does according to the social relationships existing at the time. It is in this way that a person communicates to another the way in which the social relationship which exists between them is perceived.

When Leacock (1972) applied this to a study of classroom settings, she found that in fact the teacher's perception of the social role of certain students affected specific aspects of the teacher's speech patterns, even

when teachers were well-meaning and very conscientious toward all students. For example, significant patterns existed in these instances: how long a pause was allowed after a question was asked of one child before moving on to ask another child the same question (the shorter the pause, the less expectation that the child would know the answer); how much responsibility was given to small groups of children in carrying out tasks (the more important the task and the briefer the teacher's instructions, the higher the teacher's expectations that the task could be accomplished); the amount of verbal encouragement given to a specific example from the child's background (the shorter the time given to encouraging phrases or additional followup questions, the lower the social standing of the child as perceived by the teacher).

Thus, subtle but nonetheless real differences in language patterns may be used unwittingly to communicate one's perception of social roles. This could be a very significant factor in interactions between college personnel and students. Perhaps it is a contributing factor in the celebrated "Pygmalion effect" in education (Rosenthal 1968) in which teacher expectations seem to shape the performance of students. In the context of culture conflict analysis, teacher expectations and disappointments about student behavior, based on cultural differences between teachers

and students rather than on actual deficits in student abilities or interests, can create cultural misinformation situations. The minority students may then perceive, through the speech patterns of the teachers, role perceptions or assignments of which the teachers themselves are not overtly aware and which make the students feel unequal to their dominant-culture peers.

Throughout this chapter,various insights from anthropological studies have been explained to throw light on the concept of culture conflict. Each of these ideas has been illuminating, but together they do not form a unified and coherent picture. They are bits and pieces of theory without a unifying structure. For this reason, the final pages of this chapter will explain a theoretical framework within which culture conflict occurrences can be organized, described and investigated.

The framework is based on a classification system developed by John Regan (1978). Every communication event involves these components: a sender, a message, a message system, and a receiver. Regan's classification system deals only with one of these components, the message system; it is described as the total complex of linguistic and non-linguistic means which may be used by two persons in sending and receiving a communication. The message system which particular persons use is dependent upon their mind-sets; various linguistic and non-linguistic

elements take on certain meanings because of the cultural and personal experiences which have shaped each person's mind-set. When differences exist between two persons' cognitive maps relating to a part of the message system being used, Regan calls this a communication mis-match. The categorization framework described below is based on Regan's classification system for communication mis-matches.

Within a given cultural setting, each person has learned both linguistic and non-linguistic components of a message system. From these experiences a complex set of expectations and rules for using the message system are built up. Usually the person is unaware that these expectations and rules are culture-bound--that is, that they are not absolutes for all human beings. Using the message system acquired since infancy, a person encounters a communication mis-match when the message sent to another person is not received according to the expectations and intent of the sender. Due to differences in mind-set--an information gap regarding the message sysem--the receiver has misinterpreted the meaning of the communication received.

In order to understand more fully the communication mis-match process both within and between cultures, Regan has tried to categorize the kinds of mis-matches which can take place. This kind of analysis is helpful to culture

conflict analysis, for culture conflict situations are almost always based on some kind of communication mis-match (the exceptions being deliberate deception or discrimination). Thus, a categorization system for communication mis-matches helps to organize knowledge about likely culture conflict situations.

Figure 3 illustrates an adaptation of the Regan system which is a helpful way to categorize communication mis-matches in culture conflict situations. It divides mis-matches into linguistic and non-linguistic categories (those involving language and those involving primarily non-verbal communications); it also divides the linguistic category into the signal system (the actual components of language) and the function system (the different purposes to which the same words or other language signals can be put).

Using this categorization scheme, the nature of some simple culture conflict situations become clear. For example, when a student from Rhode Island tells an instructor at a western university that she is going "to go practice the /hawp/" and he thinks she is rehearsing a dance step instead of a harp concerto, a mis-match has occurred on the Linguistic Signal level. The sounds of a word as pronounced by the girl did not match the information in the instructor's message system for the word harp.

FIGURE 3

CATEGORIZATION SYSTEM FOR COMMUNICATION MIS-MATCHES
(adapted from Regan 1978)

Premise:

If all parties to the communication event do not have similar information about the message system component which is involved, a communication mis-match is likely.

Components of the Message System:

I. The Linguistic Signal Information System

- A. Sounds used to form words
- B. Meanings for sound combinations
- C. Syntax for words, phrases, sentences
- D. Paralanguage (gestures, inflections, kinesics, proxemics)

II. The Linguistic Function Information System

Verbal communications intended to--

- A. Express reaction
- B. Play with linguistic sounds or ideas
- C. Establish contact or create distance
- D. Name, categorize, represent the out-of-sight
- E. Evaluate, recognize, locate, identify others
- F. Think with these learned categories
- G. Establish an identity bond with a linguistic community
- H. Persuade or influence others' use of time or resources
- I. Find out, inquire

III. The Non-Linguistic Signal and Function System

- A. Sender overtly aware (e.g., clothing, table etiquette)
- B. Sender covertly aware (e.g., geometry of handshaking)

A mis-match on the Linguistic Function level occurred when a guest from Africa was terribly shocked to hear fans at a baseball game shouting, "Kill the umpire!" The guest's message system did not include information concerning the function of this phrase at baseball games; while it was intended by the fans simply to express a reaction, the guest believed it was intended to persuade others to a particular action. Thus, the communication mis-match terminology and the categorization system explain the mechanics of a culture conflict situation. When the parties to a communication event lack shared information on one or more components of the message system which was learned in their cultural backgrounds--part of their respective mind-sets--and these components come into the communication event, a culture conflict situation exists. Depending upon the type of mis-match occurring, and whether or not the persons involved are aware of the components involved, the mis-match can be categorzied under one of the headings in figure 3.

Using the mis-match categorization system, the insights from varous fields of anthropology which have been explored in this chapter can be organized into a systematic framework. This synthesis is illustrated in figure 4; the basic categorization system of the communication mis-match approach is used, with other concepts which were explored in this chapter grouped under the headings

FIGURE 4

A FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY OF CULTURE CONFLICT IN ACADEMIA

M E S S A G E S Y S T E M C O M P O N E N T S

LINGUISTIC SYSTEM		NON-LINGUISTIC SYSTEM
Linguistic Signals	Linguistic Functions	
A. Pronunciation	A. Speech Patterns which imply role assignments and expectations	A. Behavior expectations in an academic setting
B. Usage		.agendas for communication events
C. Vocabulary	B. Speech Patterns which imply perceptions of social relationships	.situational factors triggering specific cognitive activities
		B. Presumed primary motivations for succeeding in college
		.continuity vs. innovation
		.family vs. personal advancement
		C. Preferred ways of doing things
		.cognitive style
		.cognitive skills

of this system. Figure 4 thus serves as a unifying structure for the investigation of specific culture conflict situations on college campuses for students from an American Indian culture.

It is possible that other specific areas under the three components of the message system beyond those mentioned in figure 4, will be identified in future research. However, the basic categories mentioned in figure 4 provide an adequate basis for this initial exploration of the specifics of culture conflict for American Indian college students.

In chapters IV and V, research is presented to determine if, in a specific American Indian cultural setting, such categories as language pronunication, vocabulary and usage; speech patterns related to roles and social status; expectations about appropriate behavior in academic settings; primary motivational factors; and preferred ways of doing learning tasks and other cognitive activities do uncover specific culture conflict situations. If this effort is successful, it will provide a means of pinpointing the exact locations of some heretofore unexplored nerve centers inside the "black box" of culture conflict on campus.

CHAPTER IV

THE CULTURE CONFLICT THEORY, HIGHER EDUCATION, AND THE YAKIMA INDIAN NATION

An older Yakima related this favorite story about his grandfather. When an issue of mutual concern with the white man arose, he had a last piece of advice before the negotiator set off for the meeting. Making a wide gesture with his hands, he would say, "Always be careful because the white man has a dictionary THAT big!" (Portland District Corps of Engineers, 1954:8). Perhaps if this wise grandfather were to read the first chapters of the present study, he might give the same admonition. A lot of words have been used to describe a theory about culture conflict, but the challenge now remains to reduce a theory to specific propositions and apply those propositions to concrete situations. Only in this way can one judge whether the theory is useful in understanding and coping with culture conflict experienced by American Indians on college campuses.

Culture Conflict Analysis

In previous chapters an unknown quantity called culture conflict has emerged from the work of various

researchers as the factor responsible for many of the difficulties experienced by American Indian students on college campuses. In the previous chapter the meaning of culture conflict was explored, leading to the conclusion that it denotes a communication problem in which information concerning either linguistic or non-linguistic cultural systems is not shared by both parties to a communication event. A further conclusion was that these information gaps, in relation to college educational settings, probably lie primarily in specific areas (see figure 4), such as certain speech patterns (denoting social expectations), preconceptions about appropriate behavior, motivations for success, and preferences in ways of doing things. It now remains to make the leap from this theoretical framework to specific linguistic and cultural information for students in specific settings.

The task is to design a method for discovering the content of the "information gap." The key to this is identifying information from the linguistic and cultural systems of an American Indian culture which is likely to be information <u>not</u> shared with members of the dominant culture on college campuses. There are two major methodological challenges here. First, the information we are seeking to uncover may be overtly recognized by members of the culture or it may be only covertly recognized and thus nonverbalized (cf. Regan 1978). If it is only covertly

recognized, then it can only be discovered by examining the actual behavior of members of the culture because it would be futile to ask them to describe traits which they have never verbalized even to themselves. Observation, then, is the first challenge. Secondly, some information may not be observable in the ordinary behavior of members of the culture because the situations triggering this behavior may be very rare in their daily lives, although such situations may be more common in a college campus setting. In such cases, since observation is not feasible, members of the culture must be asked to describe their behavior patterns and preferences. Eliciting descriptions of behavior, then, is the second challenge. These two, observation and descriptions of behavior, form the foundation for the methodology used in this study: culture conflict analysis.

There are other methodologies which might be used to uncover the "information gap" which in turn precipitates culture conflict. But none of these seems as satisfactory. The most obvious one is interviewing Indian students and/or college personnel concerning specific experiences in which the interviewees felt that culture conflict was occurring. The difficulty here is twofold. First, it is often difficult for the participants in a communication conflict to identify accurately whether or not the conflict arose from personality/battle-of-wills issues rather than genuine

cultural misunderstandings. Secondly, the very definition of culture conflict indicates that it is based on non-shared cultural information; this implies that in many instances one or both of the persons is unaware of the factors which caused the culture conflict. Interviewing therefore would frequently be unproductive and would be very uneven in effectiveness as a research tool.

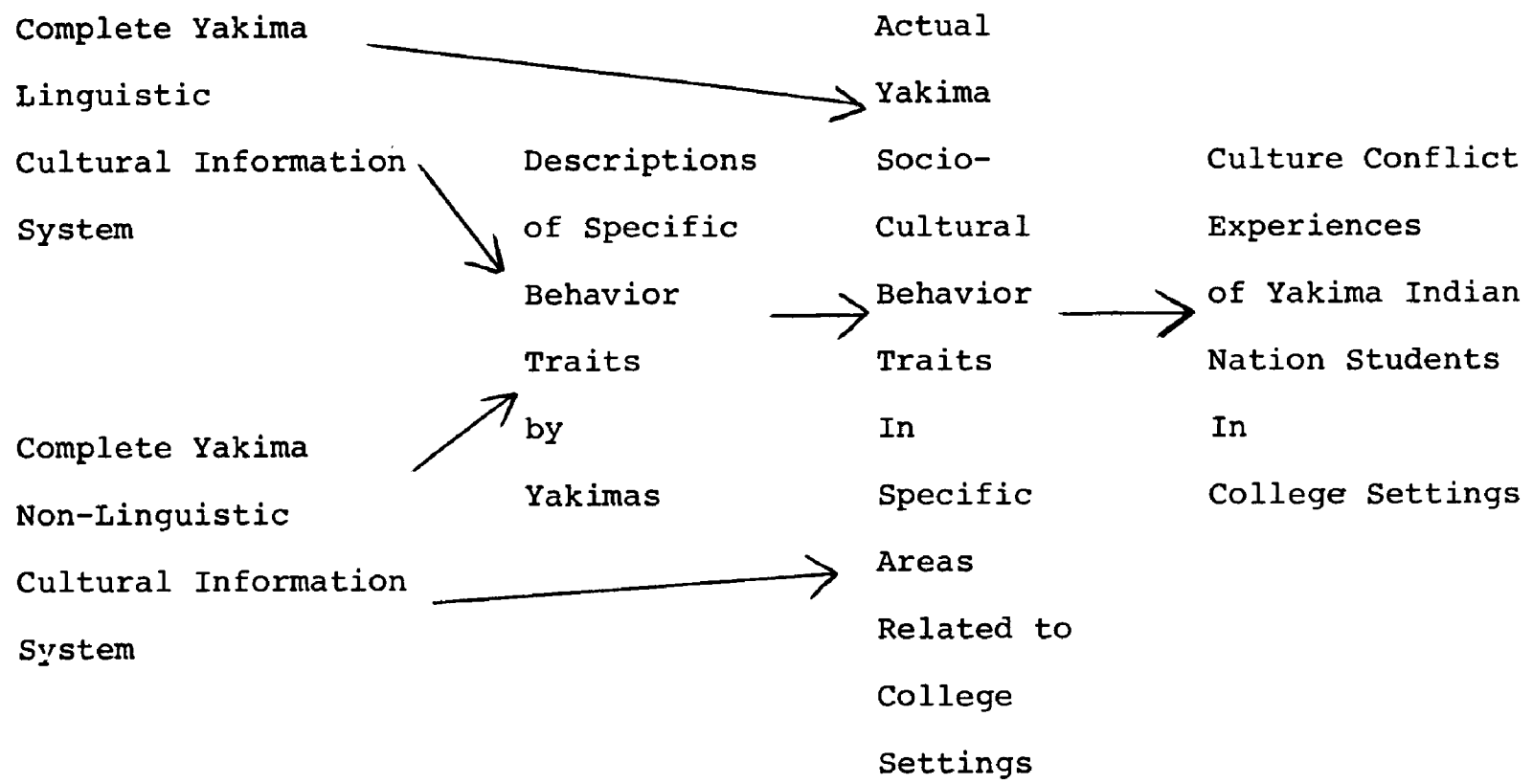
Another methodology would be to draw upon the descriptions of Indian cultural uniqueness which are available in educational, anthropological, and Indian press publications. But this, too, gives the researcher incomplete information. In the first place, such writing often generalizes across Indian tribal lines. Such generalizations may indeed sketch the basic outlines of Indian culture uniqueness, but the specific items of the cultural information system for a given Indian nation would be missing. A culture conflict analysis based only on generalizations would be hazy in many areas, completely incorrect in some areas, and significantly accurate in only a few areas. Moreover, the same weakness applies to this methodology as to interviewing; many significant factors in a cultural information system are not overtly recognized and therefore have never been verbalized. Depending only upon what has already been verbalized would eliminate many significant items from an analysis of culture conflict and would cast doubts on its validity.

A methodology of special interest to anthropologists would be the construction of a complete ethnography of the American Indian cultural group in question. Besides the difficulty of carrying out such research (an extended period of participant-observation would be required), there is an important distinction between pure ethnographic research and the culture conflict analysis which is undertaken in the present project. While the ethnographer's ideal is to understand a culture in its own terms, as an integral whole, the culture conflict approach is to become sensitized to those apsects of a culture's information system which are likely to be misunderstood in interaction with another given culture. In other words, in this study the emphasis is on recognizing precisely those Yakima behavior traits which form a distinct contrast to the Pacific Northwest college and university behavior trait milieu. Figure 5 illustrates the place of culture conflict analysis--the methodology of the present study--in relationship to other methodologies. It also presents a graphic picture of the process by which an Indian student's cultural background may become involved in actual culture conflict situations in a college milieu.

Putting the approach of culture conflict analysis into the form of a research question, then: the precise objective of this case study is to identify specific

FIGURE 5

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURAL INFORMATION SYSTEMS, CULTURE CONFLICT ANALYSIS, AND HIGHER EDUCATION RESEARCH (APPLIED TO THE YAKIMA INDIAN NATION)



socio-cultural behavior traits in a given American Indian culture which are significant to communication events in college settings and which embody linguistic and/or non-linguistic cultural information not shared by dominant-culture college personnel.

Clarifying the Methodology

This objective requires that a means be established for verifying the existence of specific behavior traits. The sources available for this purpose are of three kinds: written records of persons who have observed behavior traits in the past (see Pitt 1972 for guidelines in assessing the validity of these); statements of members of the culture about their own behavior traits; and observations by the researcher of behavior traits currently existing (see R. Wax 1972 and Becker 1958 for guidelines in using the latter two sources). For written materials, both historical and anthropological records could be consulted. Statements of members of the culture can be obtained from materials produced by various organizations and writers in the culture as well as through interviews with culture members. Lastly, observations by the researcher can be made utilizing participant-observation techniques of the social sciences.

There is an inherent quality of any living culture which must be noted here. This characteristic is its

constant state of flux and adaptation to meet changes in its environment. What this means for the kind of research proposed here is that the nature of "unique behavior traits" characteristic of the Yakima Indian Nation, or of any other cultural group, is constantly changing. One might compare the culture's behavior traits to the collection of pebbles at the seashore: they are constantly being worn down, occasionally disappearing into minute grains of sand, cracking into altered shapes, and even being added to by the action of the waves. From day to day, or year to year, there is a sufficient continuity in the beach's pebbles to characterize a particular handful as "from the Black Sand beach" or "from the Westport Beach," but only if a number of samples of the pebbles are considered and idiosyncracies are overlooked. Thus it is in identifying behavior traits specific to a culture group. To be reliable, our information must come from more than one kind of source (for example, not simply historical sources); it must also show enough consistency across individuals to eliminate the possibility that the trait is only idiosyncratic to a single individual.

Another characteristic of any given culture is that the culture does not operate as a homogenous equalizer with all its members. Rather, within the culture various groups identify more strongly with some

behavior traits than others. Some groups may be almost lacking in a particular trait, while another group within the same culture may utilize this trait to a very high degree in maintaining their identity. Consequently, another methodological caution must be against limiting the research to the traits of any one group within the culture. Within an American Indian Nation, which group or class might pose this problem for the researcher? Perhaps it would be the group often characterized as "the real traditionals." While it may be true that they represent a closer replication of behavior traits important to the tribe's identity several generations ago (although some contemporary Native American scholars dispute this; cf. Robbins in Castaneda, James, and Robbins 1974:83-104), they do not in most cases represent the entire--or even most--of the tribal members. To be reliable, then, findings about a behavior trait must be consistent from group to group within the culture. If a trait is of special significance to a sub-group within the culture, it may deserve special mention with regard to the population of this sub-group, but it must not be generalized to the entire culture.

To summarize and pull together our research needs: the methodological requirements of the search for behavior traits include four criteria. Each proposed behavior trait must meet all of the following criteria before

it can be considered a verified trait of use to the study of culture conflict on campus.

1. Consistent
   .between generations; concurrence between historical and current sources
   .between individuals; not idiosyncratic
   .between sub-groups; not unique to a sub-group
2. Relevant
   .to campus settings; applicable in a college situation
   .to current college-going population; not confined to the elderly population only
3. Observable
   .either directly (by any researcher)
   .or indirectly (as related by several separate informants from the culture)
4. Distinctive
   .from typical dominant-culture behavior
   .from dominant-culture college personnel behavior

Traits which meet all of the four criteria can be considered with some certainty as significant to the culture conflict theory we are investigating.

The Case Study Setting

The methodology of culture conflict analysis requires that the methodology outlined above be used to find the socio-cultural behavior traits in one particular non-dominant culture. It would not be possible to combine several non-dominant cultures in a single study, since the essence of the culture conflict hypothesis is that crucial behavior traits are traits specific to a person's particular cultural background. In speaking of American Indians, this means that an application of the hypothesis must be done separately for a particular Indian culture. Although there is some agreement that Indian Americans have certain socio-cultural traits in common (see, for example, Havigman's conclusion: "a high degree of psychological homogeneity characterized the American Indian" [Havigman 1961:93]; also see the listing of common Indian values in Thomas 1973:29-30), the consensus of the Indian people themselves and anthropologists is that there is no such thing as "an American Indian culture," but rather there are "many American Indian cultures." For example, in 1971 Dr. Beatrice Medicine commented: "Increasingly, it should be apparent that it is impossible to speak of THE American Indian. Therefore, a holistic view of 'Indian education' is an impossibility" (Medicine 1976:284). This is not surprising, since there are at

least a dozen major language stocks among the native peoples of what is now the United States (M. Wax 1971:7).

Given the uniqueness of each Indian culture, it will be helpful in this study to choose an Indian culture which still has a fairly substantial population so that applications from the study can benefit a good number of future college attendees. It would also be helpful to carry out the case study with a group of Indians whose culture is related to that of a number of other cultural groups, so that the maximum number of applications to other Indian cultural groups can be made without a completely new application of the theory. Lastly, the culture chosen should have a demonstrated interest in higher education and a sufficient population attending postsecondary institutions to provide an adequate sample for research purposes.

The Yakima Indian Nation meets these research specifications well. Located primarily on the Yakima reservation in south central Washington state, the approximately 6,650 Yakimas (Yakima Indian Agency 1975:14) have a tribal council which has placed a strong emphasis on increasing educational opportunities for everyone. The Yakima tribe is the largest single tribe living on or adjacent to a reservation area in the western states, with the exception of the Indians from the southwest cultures who live in Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona (M. Wax 1971:217-218). Moreover, Yakima students have received

a large amount of postsecondary scholarship funds from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and from a Tribal Scholarship program, thus allowing more than 625 Yakimas to attend college or university between 1973 and 1977 (Portland Area BIA:1973-76). Lastly, the Yakima cultural heritage has some elements in common with other tribes in a large radius from its geographic center, due to the fact that the Yakimas were deeply affected by contacts with both the Northwest coastal tribes and the Plains tribes for more than one hundred years prior to the coming of the white settlers (see Burns 1966:5-12; also French 1961: 340). As one of the tribal council members commented in a 1970 conference, "Our culture in the plateau is similar to that of the plains" (Saluskin in Morey 1970:10). Thus, the results of a look at Yakima socio-cultural traits may be helpful to other cultural groups living far beyond the boundaries of the Yakima ancestral homeland; at the very least, these results will not look entirely foreign to such peoples. For reasons of size, cultural relationships, and educational interests, then, the Yakima Indian Nation has been chosen as the site for the case study of the culture conflict theory related to higher education.

Introduction to the Yakimas

The natural way in which one becomes acquainted with members of another culture is precisely through

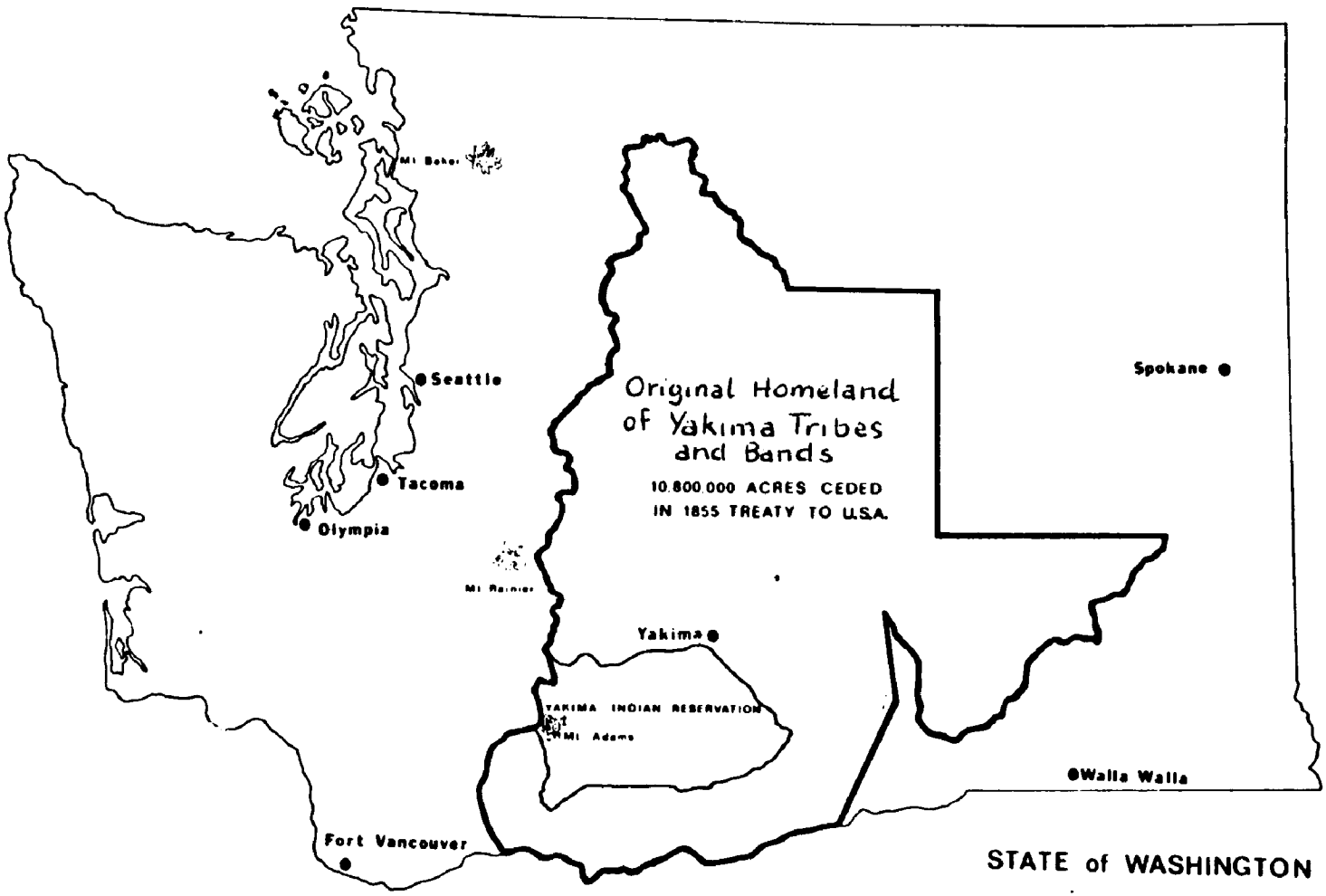
the bedrock of this research study: behavior traits. As we uncover and describe behavior traits, the reader will become increasingly familiar with the Yakimas. However, since most readers have not had the benefit of personally meeting any of the Yakimas on their own reservation, a preliminary introduction to their homeland and cultural setting is in order.

Fortunately for the Yakimas most of them live upon their ancestral territory, unlike many American Indians who have been relegated to reservations foreign to their ancestors. The reservation to which the Yakimas were "removed" during the so-called Great Treaty Decade of the 1850's was actually a truncated remnant of their traditional land. Figure 6 is a map indicating the region known as the Yakima Indian Reservation following the Treaty of 1855. Before this time the Indians who came to be known as the "Yakimas" were actually fourteen separate tribes and bands. Commencing with the imposition of the reservation by the Treaty of 1855, the fourteen tribes and bands have become progressively more amalgamated into a single "people," although individual tribal members still treasure the precise heritage received from ancestors of specific tribes or bands.

The reservation land--only a small portion of the ancestral lands of the Yakima tribes and bands--covers 1,865 square miles (Schlick 1968:6). By comparison,

FIGURE 6

YAKIMA INDIAN NATION HOMELAND



the island of Oahu in the state of Hawaii is only one-third this size, and the state of Rhode Island is barely two-thirds the size of the reservation. Mt. Adams (14,000 feet) sits on the western boundary of the reservation as a year-round snow-capped reminder of the dense evergreen forests which cover the western portion of the reservation. The central and eastern parts of the homeland are low rolling hills and extensive open farmlands which would be semi-arid desert without the benefits of irrigation and the several streams which flow through the area. The reservation is primarily rural, although several small towns are located on the reservation. Toppenish, the largest at about 8,000 population, is on the eastern edge of the reservation; together with Wapato, just eight miles away, these serve as the centers for small businesses and have a large white population. In addition, White Swan, population about 1,500, is located about thirty miles from the eastern edge of the reservation near the historic site of Fort Simcoe. The city of Yakima, fourth largest city in the state of Washington, is a main convention center located about ten miles north of the reservation. It is the main shopping center for persons on the reservation and throughout the lower Yakima valley region.

Two-thirds of the approximately 27,000 persons living on the Yakima reservation are non-Indian; most

are white farmers permanently settled on land leased or bought from tribal members years ago, or are small business owners or workers in one of the towns on the reservations. However, there is also a growing population of migrant and semi-migrant farm workers of Mexican heritage living on the reservation. Indian homes are scattered throughout the reservation, interspersed among homes of non-Indians--both in towns and in the farmlands--except for three clusters of dwellings built as housing projects for Indians on low income under a tribal program in the 1960's and 1970's. One project is in Wapato; the other two are in rural areas near the southern edge of the reservation. A fourth cluster of buildings in Toppenish near the Tribal Headquarters was completed in 1977 for elderly members of the tribe who need subsidized housing.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs reported in 1975 that only about 40% of the "available labor force" (which excludes women for whom no child-care substitutes are available, students age 16 and over, and disabled persons) are employed in jobs paying $5,000 per year or more. Another 30% are employed (mostly in seasonal jobs) but earning less than $5,000 annually, which leaves an unemployment rate of about 30% (Yakima Indian Agency 1975:17). Although it does not have verified data, the Bureau of Indian Affairs at the Yakima Agency

estimated that the 1972 per capita income for Indians was $2,100. By comparison, the per capita income for Yakima County was estimated at $3,063 in 1972. The median family income figures are even more divergent: $4,330 for an Indian family, compared to $8,096 for the typical Yakima county family.

A large majority of Indian families speak only English in their homes; it is very rare to find anyone under 45 years of age who is fluent in one of the Yakima dialects. However, there is now an effort to revive interest and facility in one of the local dialects of Sahaptin, which is locally called "Indian" or "Yakima." The average grade completion of the adult population is approximately 7th grade, as compared to a non-Indian grade level of 11.0 for the entire state of Washington (Yakima Indian Agency 1975:25). Yakima students attend public schools in one of the six school districts on or adjacent to the reservation. In one district Indians form almost half of the school population, but in the other five districts Indians are only one-fifth or less of the total enrollment (Yakima Indian Agency 1975:26). Less than 2% of the Indian students attend BIA boarding schools (Yakima Indian Agency 1975:25), the closest one being 200 miles from the reservation. The Yakima Tribal Council has established a Division of Education which operates a number of educational programs for Yakima

people, including an extensive pre-school program for almost 500 children, an adult education program for completing high school degrees, and an on-site teacher training program staffed by college teachers who commute from two eastern Washington institutions of higher education.

Before the alteration of life style brought about by the arrival of white settlers, the Indian mode of livelihood necessitated a cyclical residential pattern of moving to the river to catch salmon; to the mountains to dig roots, gather berries, and catch game; and to the valley to survive the winter in more permanent and sturdy dwellings while producing useful handcrafted items. The religious elements of Yakima culture were intertwined with this life style, including ceremonial meals and worship services at the start of each new phase of the cyclic change in residence and occupation; funerals; and key points in the socialization process of young people. (See Schuster 1975, for a complete historical description and ethnography of the traditional Yakima life style.)

Today the religious traditions of the Yakimas are expressed in several different forms. A number of Yakimas are active members of Protestant and Catholic churches on or near the reservation; their affiliations go back to the early missionaries who settled on the Yakima land. Secondly, a religious group indigenous

to the northwest, the Shakers, have three active congregations on the reservation; here the religious traditions of Christianity are adapted to some of the cultural ways of the Yakimas. Lastly, the religion referred to as "the longhouse" by many tribal members, but more properly called "wáshat" is the contemporary expression of the traditional religious beliefs and rituals which became somewhat codified at the end of the nineteenth century (cf. Schuster 1975:Chap. 2). There is little rivalry between these three religious groups, with an emphasis on each person's individual responsibility to attend to one's own spiritual life as best fits the individual. Tribal celebrations, including "pow-wows" and dance contests, are held several times a year. But aside from the few who frequent the dance circuit or the rodeo circuit (where considerable prize money is offered), and aside from the teenage girls who compete for positions of royalty for each of the celebrations, these occasions do not absorb much time or energy from most of the Yakimas, except on the day or days of the festivities. While these are special occasions, they are by no means an all-absorbing focus of activities on the reservation.

The economic assets of the Yakima tribe are primarily large timber holdings, and these provide a significant income which is managed by the Tribal Council.

The fourteen members of the Tribal Council are elected by enrolled members of the tribe; in addition there is a General Council, composed of all members of the tribe eighteen years of age and older, which meets periodically to consider issues of special concern. Elected officers preside over meetings of the General Council (Pace 1977:23). Governance of tribal affairs, under the direction of the Tribal Council and its committees, is handled through administrative divisions such as Education, Community Services, and Real Estate. Central administrative services, including plant maintenance and accounting, are organized under a Director of Administration. Thus, the organization and operation of tribal affairs resembles in many ways the operations of a small municipality. Of course, the local arm of the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs--the Yakima Indian Agency--also has considerable responsibility and authority in a number of fields.

This bird's-eye view of the Yakimas and their homeland portrays a people in touch with their historical heritage through their land, their crafts and celebrations, their religion, and their self-government system. At the same time, it sketches the outlines of a people who are in close proximity to the dominant American culture because of geographic intermingling, shared schooling experiences, and shared language usage; but who are far-removed from sharing in the benefits of the dominant

culture as measured by family income, educational attainment, and unemployment rates. It is within the context of this milieu that the search for distinctive behavior traits and the application of culture conflict analysis takes place.

The Research Design

The first phase of the research design was "uncovering" and accurately verbalizing these behavior traits. The research was a joint project of the Education Division of the Yakima Indian Nation, under director Martha Yallup, and the present writer. The collaboration of Robert Pace, Director of tribal Media Services and informally the archivist for historical materials relating to the Yakimas, was also important. Searching for behavioral traits which would meet the criteria listed above (p.93) began with a study of historical sources for mention of Yakima customs and habits in earlier days. Some of these sources were readily available, such as the journals of Lewis and Clark; others were available only on microfilm, such as the nineteenth century attempts at preparing a Yakima language grammar. Still other sources emerged from obscure and unlikely places, such as old newspaper clippings and soldiers' diaries.

At the same time that historical sources were being combed, the writer was involved in the educational

programs offered by the tribal Education Division. Two courses for college credit were taught at the tribal education building in Toppenish; one was part of a master's degree program in Adult Education and the other was a curriculum development course in which a pre-school multi-cultural curriculum for the Yakima Indian Nation early childhood programs was developed. In the first course, about 40% of the participants were Indian, mostly Yakima; in the second class, the majority of students were Yakima Indians. These course--particularly the development of the pre-school curriculum--necessitated a number of stays on the reservation. In all, seven trips to the reservation and more than nine weeks in residence occurred during the 1977-78 academic year.

The nature of the curriculum-building process at the Yakima Indian Nation Education Division necessitated many discussions about the basic values and the desired educational outcomes which the Yakima wished to see for their children and grandchildren. Statements of these views were developed by class participants for inclusion in the new curriculum. As a consequence, the writer became immersed in situations--before, during, and after class hours--where the important socio-cultural behavior traits of the Yakimas played a vital role, both in action and in word. Thus, the second phase of the search for behavior traits involved listening, observing and keeping notes.

Thirdly, a careful search for materials written by anthropologists and other researchers on the Yakimas was completed. When the results of the historical and anthropological literature searches were combined with the researcher's field notes, some behavior traits which met the criteria for this study began to emerge.

With a tentative list of traits identified, the research moved into a second phase in which each of the hypothesized traits was subjected to tests of validity from members of the Yakima culture. Initially, the Education Division provided comments on the proposed list of traits, sharpening the exactness of the description, commenting on those which were becoming obsolete, and suggesting some additions. This information was compiled into an inventory of behavior traits and re-worded into more casual English. A random sample was drawn of Yakima Indian students who had been raised on or near the reservation and who had attended some institution of postsecondary education. An effort was then made to contact one parent of each of these students for an interview concerning the behavior trait inventory. Of the thirty-five students whose names were randomly drawn, twenty-five had parents who were able to participate in the interviews. From the final results of this interviewing process, a list of approximately twenty behavior traits has emerged as meeting the criteria for this culture conflict analysis.

The next two chapters (V and VI) detail these traits and their relationship to culture conflict.

It should be noted that about fifty sociocultural behavior traits were originally identified. This list was narrowed as the result of two factors. One was the necessity of keeping the proposed interviews with a random sample of Yakima parents of manageable length. The second factor was evidence either from discussions in the Education Division or from the interviews with Yakima parents that certain traits were not typical of current Yakima behavior practices or expectations. The list which is given below contains only those traits which remained after these two distillation processes occurred. The traits which were discarded are of only peripheral importance and will be discussed briefly in chapter V.

The third phase of the research design was to test the inventory of behavior traits on a random sample of administrators and faculty members from the five institutions which most Yakima college students have attended. By comparing the results of the inventory testing on the Yakima parents with the results from the college personnel, the actual distinctiveness of the Yakima culture behavior traits could be ascertained.

The final phase of the research design was to examine the records of the 625 Yakima students who have attended postsecondary institutions between 1972 and 1977

to determine whether or not there is any correlation between certain demographic characteristics indicating closeness to Yakima culture, and attrition rates from higher education. This question is explored in chapter VI.

Yakima Traits and the Four Criteria

The research design was constructed so as to assure a final list of behavior traits which would meet the basic criteria for validity (above, p. 4). Each of the behavior traits listed in table met the four criteria of being consistent, relevant, observable, and distinctive. Consistency of a trait was verified by both written historical evidence and contemporary informants or by observation. Relevancy as a criteria depended upon identification of specific instances in college campus life where the trait might encounter an "information gap" from dominant culture members. In chapters V and VI these specific instances will be listed and amplified; in most cases the instances include actual examples related to the researcher by various Yakima college students or their parents. Traits listed in table also met the criterion of being observable. That is, they do not simply describe a feeling or an attitude which is not evidenced in actions; rather, each trait resulted in specific behavior which was either observed personally by the researcher or related to her by more than one

TABLE 4

SOME SOCIOCULTURAL BEHAVIOR TRAITS OF THE YAKIMA INDIAN CULTURE SIGNIFICANT FOR ACADEMIC SETTINGS
(Traits numbered consecutively)

A. Traits in the Yakima Linguistic Cultural Information System

I. Linguistic Signals

1. Phonemes -ing and r; lengthening vowels in accented syllables

2. Usage of adverb forms; double negatives; past participles; conjunctions "to where" and "seems like"

3. Vocabulary: "stay," "on the car," "Indian way," "digging," "niece/nephew" and "aunt/uncle," "longhouse," "outfit," "trade," "giveaway," "memorial," "wing dress," "baby board," various governmental units

II. Linguistic Functions

a. Speech patterns which imply role assignments and expectations

4. Waiting for others to speak up first

5. Omitting English courtesy phrases in giving and receiving

b. Speech patterns which imply social relationship

6. Maintaining quiet and distance in uncertain relationships

7. Expressing personal beliefs only to one's own people, if at all

TABLE 4 - Continued

B. Traits in the Yakima Culture's Non-Linguistic Information System

I. Expected behavior applicable to academic settings

a. Agenda for communication events

8. Expecting as few words as possible to be sufficient

9. Expecting mutual assistance rather than task assignments in accomplishing a group endeavor

10. Expecting a sizable time lapse in any personal decision-making

11. Expecting consensus and freedom of expression to be considered more valuable than efficiency in group decision-making

b. Situational factors triggering specific cognitive behavior

12. Expecting references to a person's mistakes or direct contradictions of another to be avoided at all costs

13. Expecting mention of family problems outside the family circle to be avoided at all times

14. Expecting withdrawal from a situation which is very stressful to be acceptable coping behavior

II. Presumed primary motivations for succeeding

a. Emphasis on continuity over innovation

15. Being motivated by the interests and concern of one's extended family

16. Being motivated to protect from outsiders and from change the "Indian way" and its beliefs

TABLE 4 - Continued

b. Emphasis on family advancement rather than personal advancement

17. Being motivated to succeed only in so far as it does not conflict with loyalty to family expressed by such duties as attendance at funerals

18. Being motivated by attainment of benefits for one's family rather than just for one's self

III. Preferred ways of doing things

a. Cognitive style

19. Preferring to see something demonstrated rather than to hear it described before attempting to do it

20. Preferring to verbalize knowledge only when it is actually needed to solve a problem at hand

21. Preferring to situate any discussion within the context of one's Yakima Indian cultural background

b. Cognitive skills

22. Preferring, in dealing with bureaucracies, to contact acquaintances rather than to follow established procedures

23. Preferring to regain peace-of-soul by spending time alone on the reservation

24. Preferring to maintain calmness of mind rather than to become anxious or irritated when a time commitment is not being kept

informant. Lastly, the traits had to pass the test of distinctiveness. This criterion was meant to weed out traits which might be important to the Indian way of life but in fact are not significantly different from behavior traits either in the dominant culture or in the dominant culture of college campuses. An example of the type of trait which did not survive this criterion is respect for nature and an effort to conserve the gifts of nature. This is indeed an important trait of Indian culture, but in the 1960's and 1970's, it has also become very important in the dominant culture on college campuses. Hence, it is no longer a distinctive Indian trait. More will be said below about applying this criterion of distinctiveness.

The criteria of consistency required that a trait characterize many Yakimas from various sub-groups. It was tested through the process of interviewing of Yakima parents of college students. Appendix A contains a sample of the interview schedule. Interviewees were personally contacted on the reservation and handed a copy of this form with a pencil; one of the Yakima collaborators on the project who accompanied the researcher then read through each question from her own copy of the form. After each question, the reader paused until the interviewee had marked his or her answer. The twenty-five persons who were interviewed were parents of a random sample of thirty-five Yakima students chosen from the complete population

who had attended postsecondary institutions between 1972 and 1977 (according to BIA and tribal scholarship office records). In two cases in which parents were too feeble or deceased, an older brother or sister of the college attendee was interviewed. Ten of the original sample either could not be contacted (eight) or declined to be interviewed (two), leaving a sample of twenty-five. Only one of those interviewed needed an interpreter into the Northwest Sahaptin language, although the use of Yakima collaborators to read the English sentences in several of the other twenty-four cases proved to be very helpful, since Yakima English has certain distinctive qualities of inflection and pronunciation.

Interviewees rated each statement in the interview on a scale of one to five to express their agreement or disagreement with it: i.e., 1 = disagree strongly, 2 = disagree somewhat, 3 = agree a little, 4 = agree quite a bit, and 5 = agree entirely. No number was given the designation of "no opinion" or "neutral" since it was felt that this might invite some Yakima respondents to refrain from expressing an opinion, out of deference for the "educated researcher," in accordance with a cultural norm of deferring to those with greater status by keeping silence, especially if one disagrees. For a similar reason, the "agree" responses were given three gradations of meaning, while the "disagree" was given

only two, so that those who would be inclined to agree simply out of deference could express a little more nuance of meaning without disagreeing.

In compiling the results of the twenty-five interviews, traits which received a mean rating of more than 3.0 were considered to meet the criterion of consistency. However, traits also had to meet the criterion of distinctiveness to be included in table (above). Of the original twenty-seven items on the interview schedule, two had a mean rating below 3.0, thus failing to meet the criterion for consistency. Six other items did not pass the test for distinctiveness, as will be explained below. To the surviving twenty items (one of which was used to indicate two traits), three linguistic traits and one cultural non-linguistic trait were added to compile table 4. In table 5, these twenty-four traits are listed again, together with the item used to measure consistency of the trait among Yakima persons on the interview form, and the mean score each trait received from the twenty-five interviewees. (Note that the linguistic-signal traits 1, 2, and 3, and the last trait, number 24, were not given scorings as they were not included in the interviews.) From this chart it is evident that items 4 through 23 are, in fact, important to the Yakima people, as measured by the random sample of college students' parents. Evidence for items 1, 2, 3, and 24 will be presented in the following chapter.

TABLE 5

MEAN SCORES FROM INTERVIEWS ON YAKIMA SOCIOCULTURAL BEHAVIOR TRAITS

Sociocultural Behavior Trait	Item From the Interview Form Used to Measure Trait	Mean Score of Yakima Respondents (5 = hi agreement 1 = no agreement)
1. Phonemes -ing; r; lengthened vowels	none	-
2. Usage: adverbs, negatives, past participles, conjunctions	none	-
3. Vocabulary	none	-
4. Waiting for others to speak up first	It is better to wait until those older or more important in a group have given their opinions on a subject before you give your opinion.	4.2
5. Omitting English courtesy phrases in giving and receiving	When your role requires you to give something to someone or to do something for someone, you should not expect them to say Thank you or make other statements of gratitude.	3.4
6. Maintaining quiet and distance in uncertain relationships	When you're not sure how another person is feeling toward you, it's better to be quiet and keep a little more physical distance from the person till you sense that the situation is better.	3.8

TABLE 5 - Continued

Sociocultural Behavior Trait	Item From the Interview Form Used to Measure Trait	Mean Score of Yakima Respondents (5 = hi agreement 1 = no agreement)
7. Expressing personal beliefs only to one's own people, if at all	People aren't supposed to express their deepest spiritual beliefs or their personal values; those things are expressed by the kind of life you live.	3.3
8. Expecting as few words as possible to be sufficient	The fewer words you use to say something, the better, no matter what the circumstances. Extra words or repetitions sound phony and thoughtless.	3.6
9. Expecting mutual assistance rather than task assignments in accomplishing a group endeavor	When you are in a group which is trying to accomplish something (like a church dinner) it's better if everyone just pitches in and helps in the best way each can, instead of someone assigning specific responsibilities to each person. (Of course, on a regular job, with a boss, it may be good to assign jobs to each person.)	4.2
10. Expecting a sizable time lapse in any personal decision-making	It is wiser to take a good amount of time to make any decision, even if other people want to hurry you up.	4.2
11. Expecting consensus and freedom of expression to be considered more valuable than efficiency in group decision-making	When a group is deciding something, the most important thing is that every person's opinion is respected and the decision is reached by common agreement of everyone in the group, not simply by taking a majority vote.	4.1

TABLE 5 - Continued

Sociocultural Behavior Trait	Item From the Interview Form Used to Measure Trait	Mean Score of Yakima Respondents (5 = hi agreement 1 = no agreement)
12. Expecting references to a person's mistakes or direct contradictions of another to be avoided at all costs	Don't ever contradict persons or bring up their mistakes to their face. If you don't agree with them, you can bring in the other view indirectly, but not directly.	3.4
13. Expecting mention of family problems outside the family circle to be avoided at all times	Even if you have family or personal problems that might be interfering with your work, you don't talk about them except within the family or very close friends. People at work should just presume that you are doing your best to cope with whatever problems are there, without having to know what they are.	4.2
14. Expecting withdrawal from a situation which is very stressful to be acceptable coping behavior	Before you get really hurt, physically or emotionally, in a difficult situation it is best to get out of the situation entirely.	3.5
15. Being motivated by the interests and concern of one's extended family	Very often your grandparents, your aunts and uncles, or your cousins are as imporant in your life as your brothers and sisters or mother and mother.	4.6

TABLE 5 - Continued

Sociocultural Behavior Trait	Item From the Interview Form Used to Measure Trait	Mean Score of Yakima Respondents (5 = hi agreement 1 = no agreement)
16. Being motivated to protect from outsiders and from change the "Indian way" and its beliefs	(See above #8)	3.3
17. Being motivated to succeed only in so far as it does not conflict with loyalty to family expressed by such duties as attendance at funerals	Going to the funeral service of any member of your extended family is really important. It shows loyalty and responsibility toward them.	4.6
18. Being motivated by attainment of benefits for one's family rather than just one's self	The only kinds of life goals that mean much are those which would mean helping one's family and community and/or tribe in some way.	3.8
19. Preferring to see something demonstrated rather than to hear it described before attempting to do it	When you are trying something new, it's better if you can see some examples done by others first. It's not enough to have someone just describe what the project or activity is supposed to be like.	4.2

TABLE 5 - Continued

Sociocultural Behavior Trait	Item From the Interview Form Used to Measure Trait	Mean Score of Yakima Respondents (5 = hi agreement 1 = no agreement)
20. Preferring to verbalize knowledge only when it is actually needed to solve a problem at hand	People should try to learn all they can, but they should be very careful not to seem like "know-it-alls" with their knowledge. It should come out in the open only when it is needed to solve a problem.	4.3
21. Preferring to situate any discussion within the context of one's Indian cultural background	It's frustrating to be in a non-Indian environment where your Indianness and/or Yakima heritage are never mentioned or acknowledged.	3.5
22. Preferring, in dealing with bureaucracies, to contact acquaintances rather than to follow established procedures	When you run into red tape in an agency or office, about the only way to get out of it is to find someone whom you know personally or are related to in the offices to help you out.	3.6
23. Preferring to regain peace-of-soul by spending time alone on the reservation	One of the most important ways of getting your peace-of-soul back in times of stress is just to be on the Yakima land and quietly absorb its beauties.	4.2
24. Preferring to maintain calmness of mind rather than to become anxious or irritated when a time commitment is not being kept	none	-

Lastly, it was necessary to ascertain whether these traits were really distinctive to the Yakima cultural milieu. In order to do this, a comparison of the scoring assigned these traits by the Yakimas to scorings from college personnel was needed. In choosing Yakima parents to score these items the hypothesis was that the parents represented the cultural milieu which the students had experienced on the reservation. A logical contrast to the parental milieu was that of the setting provided by the colleges Yakima students attend. Consequently, the same interview form (substituting other phrases in two instances where specific reference to tribal or Yakima life had been made--see Appendix A) was sent to a college personnel population in the five institutions most frequently attended by Yakima students. These included a community college in the neighboring city of Yakima and four state universities; more than two-thirds of the Yakima students in postsecondary education between 1972 and 1977 attended these institutions. (The only other institution showing a significant number of Yakima enrollees was Haskell Institute. Since it is a Bureau of Indian Affairs high school and junior college attended by Indians only, it does not readily fit into the culture conflict hypothesis being studied in this project.)

The interview forms were sent to five administrative staff persons in each of the institutions (Directors of Admissions, Financial Aid, Counselling Services, Career Planning, and the Registrar), and to a random sample of ten faculty members who teach freshman subjects in each institution. Of the seventy-five forms distributed, thirty-eight were returned (50%). The mean scores on each of the items was computed for this college personnel sample. Table 6 shows these scores as compared with the scores of the Yakima sample. The last column indicates the level of statistical significance for a t-test between the mean scores of these two populations. These statistics verify that the traits listed do indeed meet the criteria of distinctiveness.

TABLE 6

DIFFERENCES IN SCORING SOCIOCULTURAL TRAITS:
YAKIMAS AND SELECTED COLLEGE PERSONNEL

Sociocultural Behavior Trait	Yakima Mean Score (5 = hi agreement 1 = no agreement)	College Personnel Mean Score	Statistical Significance (for t-test)
4. Waiting for others to speak up first	4.2	2.2	.001
5. Omitting English courtesy phrases in giving and receiving	3.4	2.4	.005
6. Maintaining quiet and distance in uncertain relationships	3.8	2.3	.001
7. Expressing personal beliefs only to one's own people, if at all	3.3	1.9	.001
8. Expecting as few words as possible to be sufficient	3.6	2.5	.001
9. Expecting mutual assistance rather than task assignments in accomplishing a group endeavor	4.2	2.0	.001

TABLE 6 - Continued

Sociocultural Behavior Trait	Yakima Mean Score (5 = hi agreement 1 = no agreement)	College Personnel Mean Score	Statistical Significance (for t-test)
10. Expecting a sizable time lapse in any personal decision-making	4.2	3.4	.02
11. Expecting consensus and freedom of expression to be considered more valuable than efficiency in group decision-making	4.1	3.1	.005
12. Expecting references to a person's mistakes or direct contradictions of another to be avoided at all times	3.4	1.9	.001
13. Expecting mention of family problems outside the family circle to be avoided at all times	4.2	3.1	.005
14. Expecting withdrawal from a situation which is very stressful to be acceptable coping behavior	3.5	2.7	.02
15. Being motivated by the interests and concern of one's extended family	4.6	3.2	.001

TABLE 6 - Continued

Sociocultural Behavior Trait	Yakima Mean Score (5 = hi agreement 1 = no agreement)	College Personnel Mean Score	Statistical Significance (for t-test)
16. Being motivated to protect from outsiders and from change the "Indian way" and its beliefs	3.3	1.9	.001
17. Being motivated to succeed only in so far as it does not conflict with loyalty to family as expressed by such duties as attendance at funerals	4.6	3.2	.001
18. Being motivated by attainment of benefits for one's family rather than just for one's self	3.8	2.1	.001
19. Preferring to see something demonstrated rather than to hear it described before attempting to do it	4.2	3.0	.001
20. Preferring to verbalize knowledge only when it is actually needed to solve a problem at hand	4.3	3.8	.03

TABLE 6 - Continued

Sociocultural Behavior Traits	Yakima Mean Score (5 = hi agreement 1 = no agreement)	College Personnel Mean Score	Statistical Significance (for t-test)
21. Preferring to situate any discussion within the context of one's Indian cultural background	3.5	--	--
22. Preferring, in dealing with bureaucracies, to contact acquaintances rather than to follow established procedures	3.6	2.2	.001
23. Preferring to regain peace-of-soul by spending time alone on the reservation	4.2	3.4	.01
24. Preferring to maintain calmness of mind rather than to become anxious or irritated when a time commitment is not being kept	not in interview form		

CHAPTER V

YAKIMA CULTURE TRAITS IN COLLEGE SETTINGS

In 1977 Pantages and Creedon concluded their survey of research on college attrition with this statement: "The degree to which the attitudes and values of the student correspond with those of the institution is also the degree to which the student is likely to persist at that institution" (1978:80). In the same year (1977) at the University of Washington in Seattle, Spence asked the fifteen Indian students in an introductory Indian Studies course why so many Indians drop out of college. Two-thirds of them gave answers such as "culture shock"; "don't understand white ways"; "feel alienated"; "feel unwanted"; "don't understand the system"; "Indians are pushed around"; "not belonging"; "white supremist attitudes" (Spence 1977:Appendix C). The relationship between the Pantages/Creedon theory and actual practice is uncomfortably clear. Culture conflict is a reality for Indian students today, and hence so is college attrition.

In the previous chapter, twenty-four specific items likely to be the occasion of culture conflict

for the Yakima Indian college student were identified and tested for validity. The theory behind the interview methodology used in this process to test these behavior traits for authenticity may be described as follows. Each individual's sum total of behavior traits are the result of the interaction between the cultural setting experienced within the family and the idiosyncratic traits and preferences of the individual. Thus, if a particular behavior trait is actually important to a given cultural setting, a majority of individuals will be practicing it or at least expressing a preference for it. However, we will not find that all individuals in a culture prefer this trait, because in some cases the idiosyncratic qualities of an individual will take precedence over the cultural norm. To understand this balance between the influence of culture and the unique qualities of each individual human being is essential. In the college setting it means that not every trait typical of a culture will be found among the trait repertoire of a given individual from that culture. As the present study moves into a discussion of particular traits, it is essential to remember that not every "Yakima trait" will be typical of every Yakima college student, and not every "college milieu trait" will be true of every college instructor or administrator. The significant factor is that in general there will be conflicts between the "typical

college traits" and the "typical Yakima traits" which presage problematic situations for the Yakima student attempting to experience a "goodness of fit" with the college setting. It is to these problematic instances that both the student and the college should look if solutions are to be found. The remainder of this chapter and chapter VI are devoted to detailed descriptions of Yakima behavior traits and their relationships to culture conflict instances in colleges as well as implications of these.

A. Traits From the Yakima Linguistic System

The Linguistic Signal System

Table 4 in chapter IV listed three traits of the linguistic signal system which were not included in the interview schedule. These would be more accurately described as three clusters of speech behavior traits having to do with pronunciation, usage, and vocabulary. Most of these items were ill-suited to the interview format used, but during the interview process and the periods of residence on the reservation the author noted carefully the occurrence of these speech variants. Although a linguist would undoubtedly identify additional traits, the following examples of distinctive pronunciation, usage, and vocabulary are recorded here simply to illustrate the point that in fact a subtly distinctive form of English is spoken by many Yakimas.

It has been pointed out by many writers that the English spoken by a present generation whose forefathers spoke another language is often affected by the characteristics of that ancestral language. In reference to speakers of a Salish tongue (the language family of many of the Yakima's neighbors), Patterson says, "the Indian's use of English is often not standard because the mother tongue, though not in general use, still has a strong effect upon his ideation, syntax, and grammar" (Patterson 1967b:16). And, we might add, his pronunciation. A linguist who worked with Yakima children identified specific effects of Sahaptin on their use of language, although she could find no children who were actually bilingual speakers of Sahaptin and English; they all spoke nothing but English (Weeks 1972:4). Although Weeks felt that most of the distinctive features of children's language would be lost by adulthood since "Yakima adults do not have a noticeable dialect" (Weeks 1972:4), Schuster and the present writer have both observed a number of distinct characteristics of adult Yakima English. "The influence of their native language pervades their English speech patterns, which are marked by typical Sahaptin sound patterns as well as grammatical constructions" (Schuster 1975:346). Whether the examples of Yakima English described below are actually the result of the Sahaptin influence, or whether other forces such as rural

American English have been most influential is not certain. What is evident is the presence of minor but distinct signals in the linguistic information system of the Yakimas.

In Yakima pronunciation, the final /-ing/ is always pronounced / n/, even in slow or formal speech. The /r/ sound, which apparently did not exist in the Sahaptin dialects of the Yakimas (Pandosy 1862:viii), assumes a softer and less pronounced character in Yakima speech. In Yakima children's speech, Weeks found that the /r/ was "usually very soft or missing altogether, particularly in final position" (Weeks 1972:8). A more pervasive characteristic of Yakima English is the lengthening of the vowel sound in an accented syllable. So, for example, there is a slight distinction in the way Yakimas pronounce the word /Indian/ and the standard English pronunciation; it consists in slightly prolonging the sound of the i in the first syllable, and consequently slurring quickly over the vowel diphthong in the second half of the word: /I-in-dyun/. Inflection assists the lengthening of the accented vowel by placing a higher tone on this syllable and a much lowered tone on the unaccented syllable or syllables. This quality of pronunciation gives the allusion that Yakima English has a slower pace of speech than non-Yakima English. The habit of prolonging vowels seems the first to disappear when a Yakima spends time living away from the reservation.

Many of those who have worked or attended school away from the reservation do not have this quality of speech.

In usage, there are several characteristics of rural, non-standard English which Yakima English has adopted. One is the use of adjectives rather than adverbs to modify either verbs or adjectives. Examples heard by this writer have included: "she runs quick"; "you write good"; "she types slow." A transcript of a Yakima speaking at a national conference gives "watched him very close" (Morey 1970:13). "Real" is consistently used in place of "really," as in "it was real scary"; "that's real good"; and "it's a real tasty dish."

Another characteristic of Yakima English which is shared with much of rural American English is the absence of past participles. When the third part of a verb is called for according to standard English usage, one simply uses the past form. "I had <u>went</u> for that yesterday"; "she has <u>ran</u> every day this week"; "the salesman had <u>came</u> twice already." Of course this usage is evident only with irregular verbs, since both the past and past participle of regular verbs have the same form. A last characteristic of Yakima English common to many speakers of non-standard English is the use of the double or even triple negative in some sentences. For instance, "I haven't never registered before"; "No one never told me about that'; "When nobody's never here."

There are several additional usage characteristics which seem to be unique to Yakima English. Two of them will be mentioned here. The first is the use of "seems like" to begin a statement, as in "seems like she should be at home by now," when the speaker means about the same thing as "I think that..." or "In my opinion she should be at home by now," in standard English. Perhaps more precisely it is a contraction of "it seems to me as if..." Another transcripted example is this: "Seems like I had slept all night..." (Morey 1970:13) which might be expressed in standard English as "I guess I had slept all night." "Seems like boarding school was good for you kids" carries the same nuance as "in my opinion boarding school was good for you kids"; but it is a more modest way of stating one's opinion without drawing attention to the speaker as the one stating the opinion.

A second special usage phrase is "to where," used as a conjunction indicating that an action or situation has progressed to a certain limit. For instance, "the kids teased her to where she couldn't take it"; or "I went huckleberry pickin' with them to where they all thought I was Yakima, too." Standard English equivalents are probably "to the point that" or "such that." However, in Yakima English "to where" is a very frequently used phrase, linking former events to latter ones, and

thus replacing constructions which would have used "then" or "consequently" as conjunctions.

Lastly, we turn to vocabulary. Any group which has a significant degree of cohesion and shared experience over a period of time will develop vocabulary items with specialized meanings (cf. Halliday 1977). The Yakima are no exception. Table 7 provides an introductory list which will give some idea of the kinds of words having unique meanings in the Yakima usage.

What is the significance of the unique pronunciation and usage of Yakima English to the college setting? Simply stated, it requires linguistic adaptations which a Yakima student must make in order to conform to the standard English which is expected in college oral and written work. Performance in academic tasks is more difficult when one must continually "edit" one's speech from acceptable at-home English to formal English, as anyone who has tried to participate in a foreign language class discussion knows. But there is another twist here which may be even more significant for the Yakima student in the college classroom. According to Basil Bernstein's research, the ability to edit one's speech patterns to conform to a given setting is developed by most speakers early in life; but this ability is intertwined with the ability to function in various roles. "If you cannot manage the role, you cannot produce the appropriate speech"

TABLE 7

EXAMPLES OF YAKIMA ENGLISH VOCABULARY ITEMS

Yakima English	Standard English Equivalent
"on the car"	"in the car," when used of persons
"Indian way"	May refer to a value or attitude as well as an external, observable way of doing something
"stay at"	"live at," when used to refer to one's place of residence
"outfit"	Indian costume, as worn in Indian dances
"longhouse"	Community center; church; the Yakima longhouses' appearance is similar to rural Grange meeting halls
"memorial"	No standard English equivalent; refers to a religious service and/or a religious-social affair held in honor of someone deceased some months previously
"baby board"	Similar function to a baby car seat, but baby may spend many hours of the day in it and be carried about in it; traditional Indian construction
"wing dress"	Style of dress for Yakima women and girls, now mostly for ceremonies; usually of buckskin
to "go digging"	Refers to digging roots, for traditional food dishes, in mountain and wilderness areas
"aunt/uncle," "niece/nephew"	May refer to special relationship of protector or protectee rather than a precise kinship relationship
"tribal police"; "tribal court"; "Tribal Council"; "General Council"; "BIA"; "the Agency"; "allotment";"enrolled"; "water rights"	Various governmental units or terms which have meaning only in relationship to tribal government and/or federal-Indian relations
"legend"	Parable; a story whose significance lies in its implications about desirable and undesirable behavior

(Bernstein 1972:140). Even if a Yakima student has learned the formal English equivalents to sounds, usages, and words in Yakima English, unless the student is able to assume the role of functioning college student, it will be difficult for this student to produce the formal English speech patterns. If a student does not use these standard patterns, the instructor and the student's peers' reactions will typically be that the Yakima student is undereducated and/or incompetent, which will simply reinforce the student's feelings of inadequacy and inability to assume the role which goes with the standard English speech. Even very well-meaning teachers and students who react to unexpected non-standard speech patterns with an extra display of concern for the student or a belabored repetition of the point at hand will be communicating their perceptions of the student's inadequacy. Thus, the fact that at-home Yakima English has some distinct differences from formal English is important <u>in relationship</u> to other factors of culture and background which make a student feel incompetent or out of place. Indeed, this is true for any students whose speech contains significant dialect differences from their peers. In addition, for a Yakima student the significant number of words which are an important part of the reservation experience and are almost meaningless to persons on the campus will inevitably

present barriers to open and relaxed communication, particularly with the student's peers.

The Linguistic Function System

Waiting for Others to Speak Up First

The trait, "waiting for others to speak up first," is based on the underlying value of respect for elders. It is one of the strongest values among many American Indians (cf. Bahr 1972:37), including the Yakimas. This respect is not merely the perfunctory gesture of opening doors or giving the most comfortable chairs to elders. Rather it is a strong conviction that elders have gained an unusual wisdom and insight which should be regarded as a precious gift by those who are younger. In contrasting this Yakima quality with the dominant culture values, Fiander (a Yakima writer) describes the latter:"parents are respected but children have a say in a family matters," whereas in the Yakima value system, the elder members of the extended family "have much respect and can make the rules" (Fiander 1978:9). The Director of the Tribal Education Division describes "the value of the children and of the elders" as one of the most important values to the Yakimas. In a curriculum development project at the Tribal Education Division, the importance of respect for elders was expressed in various ways by different Yakimas: "Listen to your grandparents...many hidden

messages are there for you to learn from"; "always have respect for your elders"; "they must honor their elders."

This attitude is ingrained from a Yakima's earliest days; it is expressed particularly in a behavior preference which specifies that "it is better to wait until those older or more important in a group have given their opinions on a subject before you give your opinion" (Behavior Trait Interview, table 5). With this upbringing, it would be normal behavior for a person in a group to hesitate before expressing a view; for in a group in which the ages or importance of other members is not known, only silence spares one the risk of showing disrespect to others. One traditional Yakima put it very strongly when he said, "Even if an older person is drunk, we are taught respect for elders" (Quoted by Schuster 1975:410). Several Yakima women remarked that their grandparents had expected them to remain quiet when a topic was discussed until all those who were older and all those who were guests in the household had expressed an opinion. More than one of these women stated that they still felt it was better to wait before expressing their views when they were in any adult group.

Another aspect of the same behavior trait is highlighted by Weeks when she pointed out that there are places in the Yakima community "where the children were 'silent Indian children.'" This was when they were

attending tribal meetings with their parents, or attending religious services, or any number of other meetings. By and large...parents could count on the child to remain silent in this formal setting (Weeks 1972:17). This childhood training would also tend to make one very reticent in groups which appeared to have a formal setting, such as college classrooms for a college freshman.

The effect of this behavior trait on the experience of a Yakima Indian in college is obvious and does not need belaboring. What should be noted is that a non-directive, discussion mode of instruction would be a situation particularly susceptible to culture conflict. When an instructor, rather than giving his opinion to the class, asks "What do you think?", a Yakima student's inclination would be to hold back from speaking out until the teacher had expressed an opinion, since the teacher is obviously older and more qualified to have an opinion. Contradicting the norms of politeness to which the student has been socialized would result from speaking up immediately and risking a possible contradiction of the teacher's view which remains unknown to the class at that time.

In Chickering's study of student development in college, the following two questions were among those used to measure progress toward the ideals of a college education:

> How much does the student speak up in class? How ready is he to express his own ideas and join the battle? Does he brood and maintain a stoic silence or does he externalize his feelings and ideas?
>
> How easily does he communicate with the instructor? How free is he to disagree? (Chickering 1969:69)

It would appear that college educators hold as a goal of their educational program a type of behavior which contradicts established norms of politeness for Yakima students.

In Martin's study of various diverse campuses across the nation, he found that at a western state multiversity a large majority of the freshmen students favored "a teaching and learning arrangement featuring group discussions rather than lecture" (68% to 83% of students, depending on the college); moreover, across all campuses in his study he noted that there was "broad support" for group discussion (Martin 1969:175). Students also place a high value on discussion methods of learning and teaching. How will these student peers react to Yakima students who wait for others to speak up and consequently participate only minimally in class? Culture conflict is clearly occurring; the Yakima "mind-set" about speaking up is unintelligible and even counterproductive in the eyes of typical college professors and students.

This Yakima trait, of course, does not preclude students' ever speaking up in class. Phillips found that with the Warm Springs Indians (closely related

through intermarriage and pre-treaty relationships to the Yakimas), student participation could be successfully stimulated when small student groups were given extensive learning tasks to accomplish. In these groups, everyone could speak up and an individual's opinion did not have to be pitted directly against the teacher's or the most outstanding student's. Although Phillip's work was with junior high school students, its relationship to the behavior trait under discussion here makes it relevant to a college classroom setting (Phillips 1968:390).

Omitting English Courtesy Phrases

A second aspect of the linguistic function information system which was identified in table 7 was the omission of English courtesy phrases in giving and receiving. In the dominant American culture, it is important to use phrases like "please," "thank you," "excuse me," and "you're welcome" to denote respect for the other person, appreciation of one's status in relationship to the other (i.e., not having the right to dictate to the other), and one's desire to remain on good terms in future interactions. In the Yakima native language, such courtesy phrases do not exist (Weeks 1972:15). In Weeks' work with English-speaking Yakima children, she reported, "I didn't ever hear one of these English

courtesy forms. The children asked a good many direct questions...but such requests were never accompanied by polite forms. It is not a question of whether or not a child knows the meaning of the lexical items, thank you, please, or whatever. It is a question of whether such routines are considered an essential, or even desirable, part of the culture" (Weeks 1972:16).

In order to understand whether or not courtesy phrases are "desirable parts of the culture" for Yakimas, it is necessary to look at the norm of reciprocity which is "crucial to Yakima social organization in the past and remains[s] so today" (Schuster 1975:55). As a pervasive ethos, the norms of reciprocity maintain the importance of "mutual aid, hospitality, responsibility for the welfare of others, sharing, and cooperation" in the Yakima culture (Schuster 1975:56). The reciprocity ideal is reaffirmed every time one participates in giving or receiving; it is particularly strong in formalized transactions, which accompany such occasions as weddings, funerals, memorials, new births, receiving of honors (such as when a daughter becomes queen of a reservation celebration), and even graduations. In such settings, the "participants accept an obligation to help, an obligation to give, and an obligation to receive" (Schuster 1975:185).

The longstanding importance of giving and receiving in the Yakima culture is verified by a great deal of historical evidence. To summarize the evidence: at the time of the Yakima Treaty negotiations, the secretary for the American negotiator, James Doty, reported that when he tried to give gifts to Kamiakin, a leading chief of the main Yakima band, Kamiakin replied that "he had never accepted from the Americans the value of a grain of wheat without paying them for it" (Doty 1855a:4). A document commemorating the centennial of the treaty explained that in tribal law if one accepted a gift or a meal, one became a friend or brother and could never take arms against this brother (Relander et al. 1955:59). The tradition continued unhampered after the treaty; Agent Thomas Priestly reported in his 1888 report that the most traditional band of Yakimas said they "do not want any cattle to be issued to us by the government because they do not wish to be indebted to the government" (Thomas Priestley 1888:231). It is evident that the traditional Yakima feeling toward giving and receiving was that it could never be taken lightly.

Thus, giving and receiving appear to be key activities to the social solidarity of the Yakima culture. As such, the emphasis is on the transaction itself and its meaning, not on courtesy phrases. The person who is giving does not expect "thank you" to be exchanged

for the gift; rather, the giving is part of a lifetime sequence of giving and receiving gifts and maintaining relationships of mutual support and helpfulness. Related to this sense of reciprocal responsiblity is the early Yakima custom, still cherished by a few grandmothers in the 1970's, of entering the house or room of a friend or relative without knocking. As one young Yakima woman told me, "My grandmother would be mad if I knocked on her door. 'Don't you think this old lady want you to come in?' she would say to me!" A pioneer white woman reminisced in the 1940's about the days when Indians were her friends; "we no longer see or meet the Indians on our streets of Ellensburg and they do not enter our homes unannounced as they once did" (Kern n.d:12).

The interview form used with the Yakima parents included two formulations of the giving and receiving process in relation to verbal phrases.

> 9a. When your role requires you to give something to someone or to do something for someone, you should not expect them to say Thank you or make other statements of gratitude.
>
> 9b. The person receiving something in this type of situation should feel free to take or use it at the appropriate time,without asking.
>
> (Interview Form, Appendix A)

Informants frequently commented while marking this item; "Yes, in the Indian way, we don't say anything. Just give something or take something; don't expect

words."[1] The same woman who related her grandmother's desire for her grandchildren to come into the house without knocking added that her grandmother also would be insulted if, while she was at her house, she asked for a cookie or a sandwich, rather than simply helping herself. Apparently the grandmother sees her role as a provider and would be insulted if this role were called into question through a grandchild's request for permission to take some food. Translated into a generalization, in the Yakima culture it is through one's role rather than one's verbal phrases that the responsibilities of giving and receiving are fulfilled.

How does this trait relate to culture conflict in a college setting? Most dominant culture individuals have learned from childhood that "please" and "thank you" are phrases which establish rapport with others and are very useful for smoothing out tense or uncertain situations. In a college setting, for instance, a "please" or "thank you" can smooth relationships with faculty members who allow students to borrow books from their offices, with Teaching Assistants who provide extra tutoring help, with a roommate who has carefully turned

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[1] Some did not score it at the high end of the scale because they do not follow this custom when they are dealing with those "that aren't of the Indian way." They have adopted the dominant cultural practice with regard to "please" and "thank you."

out a light when the student has gone to bed early. From the Yakima cultural perspective it might be said that the faculty member, the teaching assistant, and the room-mate are carrying out the behavior expected of persons in those roles, and therefore it does not appear that a "please" or "thank you" are necessary. For a Yakima student who is accustomed to seeing persons fulfill their normal role obligations without courtesy phrases it would seem safer to say nothing in these circumstances, rather than appear officious or fawning. This conclusion might be much diffeent from that of the dominant culture faculty member or student, who may feel that the Indian student "takes things for granted" or "doesn't like me." Different mind-sets about courtesy phrases can definitely be occasions of culture conflict.

Maintaining Quiet and Distance in Uncertain Relationships

This trait may be a good example of an information system item which remains on the level of covert awareness for members of the culture. There is little written historical evidence for it and no mention of it in writ-ings of Yakimas. However, when presented in the inter-view, it received a solid endorsement by the majority of the Yakimas (mean score of 3.84) but only a mean score of 2.47 from college personnel.

One observes this trait among Yakimas on first entering a room where others who are not well-known to the newcomer are working. One can also observe it between two or more persons when any intervening event has occurred since their last cordial talk with each other. Such events may include a long lapse of time, a disagreement, an unfortunate event in the family of one of the persons, a change in the status of one of the persons (job promotion, marriage, move to a new location). Generally after a number of minutes have elapsed, or after one has entered and re-entered the room several times (as in an open workspace), one of the parties who senses that there is no hostility on the part of the other(s) will open a conversation on a very quiet note with a brief comment.

This social convention for dealing with uncertain feelings may be related to another older custom which is described in more detail for the Wasco culture (a southern neighbor of the Yakimas and a closely associated tribe due to the Columbia river fisheries) by Dell Hymes: "Wasco practice is <u>not</u> to greet someone who joins a group: courtesy requires that one does not call attention to the newcomer until he or she is no longer such" (Hymes 1971:72-73). This precise practice among Yakimas exists in the 1970's only among some of the oldest generation, but the underlying attitude of allowing silence and

observation of non-verbal cues to be the initial mode of communication is generally present when relationships are uncertain.

According to Martin, "colleges and universities have emphasized a 'philosophy' featuring cognitive rationality... Approaching the emotions by the mind has been favored over coming to the mind by the emotions" (Martin 1969:217). This is certainly a contrast to a communication system which stresses the interpretation of minute non-verbal clues--as does the trait of maintaining quiet and distance in uncertain relationships--training one to come to a rationalized and verbalized position through careful perception of emotions. Dumont called this part of the "multiple reality" according to which an adolescent Indian student appears, upon very close observation, to be "engaged in the most intricate web of sociable interacting"despite the presence of few if any words (Dumont and Wax 1969:226). Dumont was speaking of Cherokee youth, but his comments aptly describe the communication system conventions of the traditional Yakima. Dumont further pointed out the helplessness of most white educators in dealing with this level of communication, since it was not part of the learning conveyed by the dominant culture to them in their youth. This contrast between verbalized and nonverbalized communication is probably the key to understanding the information gap which Yakima students may experience in dealing with uncertain relationships in the college milieu.

B. Traits from the Yakima Non-Linguistic System

Expected Behavior Applicable to Academic Settings

Expressing One's Personal Beliefs Only To One's People, If At All

One the things which whites may find most surprising when visting their Yakima Indian friends is the lack of any effort to explain their religious beliefs. The Yakima attitude (shared by most American Indians) is "respect all religions" (Fiander 1978:7); the Creator gave each people their own way to worship him and order their lives, and there is no reason to attempt proselytizing or even explaining in detail one's own religion. In addition to this view, the Yakimas have a strong tradition concerning the individual and therefore incommunicable nature of religious experience. "That was their secret. The old people never related how they got the power, never said this is the way I acquired it" (Saluskin in Morey 1970:25). The result is that beliefs and basic values are often implicit rather than codified or articulated. Moreover, they are very closely intertwined with actions, both of a formal ritual nature, and commonplace, daily tasks. Thus, there is no clear distinction in thought or in verbal expression between religious beliefs and normal behavior patterns (Schuster 1975:148). The only time that beliefs are articulated is occasionally within the wáshat religious service for the traditional

Yakima when one may "speak out," expressing beliefs for one's own people in attendance at the service (Schuster 1975:409). For those who belong to the Shaker church, a similar lack of proselytizing may be observed, except perhaps to Indian relatives or those for whom religious conversion is evidently needed (alcoholics, suicide-prone persons). Even the Yakimas who belong to Christian churches (including those who identify themselves as "born-again" or "charismatic") are very careful to refrain from putting any religious pressures--no matter how in-directly--on others unless it is requested.

In the preparation of the Yakima pre-school curriculum, this point was very strongly registered. The Yakima educators involved in the project came from a variety of religious groups, and each valued spiritual growth as an important educational goal. But all were adamant that no mention of specific religious beliefs of any group be allowed in the classroom. The following two value statements were developed through a consensus process as part of the curriculum development. They express the maximum amount of breadth and depth which all members of the group could assent to concerning religious beliefs:

> We value the human ability to believe, to have faith, to be open to spiritual realities.
>
> We value a hopeful attitude in life, perseverance in difficulties, and giving selflessly to meet the needs of others.
>
> (Yakima Indian Nation Education Division, 1978b:6)

For the Yakima, then, "each individual has his own songs, which were handed down to him or blessed directly to him who is interpreting the song...no one is going to influence my soul unless I'm the one who's going to. I'm the only one who's responsible for that soul" (Saluskin in Morey 1970:27). The effects of this trait in a college setting may be illustrated by an incident narrated by a faculty member about a Yakima student. In a speech class the Yakima girl was not doing well and seemed to feel out of place. After a conference with the teacher, she became enthusiastic about presenting a talk on Yakimas and their Indian ways. "If the class just knew what it's like where I come from, they'd understand better," she said. But during a weekend trip home, her father told her not to tell her white classmates and teachers anything about the Indian way; he was convinced they would never understand and that it was very imprudent to try to explain the Indian way. So the girl changed her plans, giving a rather listless talk, and remaining isolated from class members (Private communication to author, 1978).

This basic attitude toward sharing values prevails even in relationship to other Indian tribes which are unrelated to the Yakimas. A Yakima woman told how delicate the situation was when some Southwest Indians asked her daughter to give a presentation on her Yakima beliefs

for them at a conference; she handled the situation by giving a detailed explanation of how Yakima homes, clothing, and crafts are made. "But I had to figure out how to help her do it," her mother added. The girl herself felt obligated both to keep Yakima beliefs private and to please her Indian hosts, and she needed her mother's help to meet both obligations simultaneously.

A Yakima teacher in the public schools of the reservation area related that a common difficulty of Yakima students is dealing with requests of teachers to "keep journals, or write personal reflections or ideas"; students are very reluctant to do these things because they are afraid of "losing something of their identity when they put things like that in words."

Perhaps the real information gap which occurs for Yakima students in college with regard to expressing personal beliefs and values relates to the current status of values and beliefs in the dominant culture. "The general erosion of traditional culture and symbols...makes inadequate many of the old formulae once used to give meaning and legitimation to our values and achievements" (Parsons 1965:92). Thus, in the dominant culture it is commonplace to try to express values in order to re-evaluate and restructure them in one's search for meaning. To the extent that Yakima values are part of a coherent culture which has not lost its meaning and which should

be kept intact by those whose heritage it is, efforts to get Yakima students to express and refine these values in the classroom will fail. On the other hand, the Yakima student may be cut off from some of the most significant dialogue which occurs on college campuses.

Expecting as Few Words as Possible to be Sufficient

An Indian educator, wife of a Yakima, gave her analysis of this behavior trait:

> Probably the source of the stereotype of a nonverbal tribal person rests on his concept of waste. A waste of words, a waste of emotions, were looked upon with the same abhorrence that waste resulting from needless behavior would be viewed. (Redbird-Selam in Chatham et al. 1972:17)

Another explanation of the preference for brevity in words might be derived from the nature of the original Yakima language. Sahaptin had developed highly refined meanings for many words and made use of prefixes and suffixes to give exact meanings. For instance, there were three sets of cardinal numbers, one referring to persons, one to things, and one to time words. One could then shorten an expression by leaving out the noun to which the number referred, since in context the noun would often be implied by the form of the cardinal number used. The verbs exhibit most remarkable examples of shortcuts in language. To express an action "done far from the place where we are and which implies motion,

add /msh/ to the verb." To express an action of very short duration, insert /we/ before the verb form, as in "we timata" which means "I will write a few words" or "I will write for a short time." There are similarly brief one or two syllable additions to indicate such things as the following: that something is done during the night, that the doer is being forced to carry out an action,that an action is being repeated many times (Pandosy 1862:27-28). Obviously, such linguistic aids would greatly reduce the length of a sentence in communicating a given idea. Perhaps it is the influence of Sahaptin brevity which has led Yakimas to prefer fewer words to accomplish a communicative task. (See also Caruana, n.d.)

Another explanation for the preference for brevity is similar to an idea explored above: that the communication system relies more thoroughly on nonverbal communication signals. Patterson, although describing specifically the Quinault culture of western Washington, remarks that "the Indian society is less verbal. This is because their intimacy permits much nonverbal communication" (Patterson 1968:91). A similar comment is made by Dumont and Wax about Cherokee adolescent students: "a gesture, an inflection in voice, a movement of the eye is as meaningful as a large volume of words would be for their white peers" (Dumont and Wax 1969:226).

An interesting illustration of this among the Yakimas is contained in a feature story of the Yakima Herald for May 17, 1894. Under a heading of "Impressions of Red Men," by Bernice E. Newell, the writer describes arriving at a "great root feast" at Fort Simcoe. "Not entirely aware of how we would be received, our party began to put careful inquiries which were received with an impressive though inexpressive silence." It would be more accurate to say that the silence was "inexpressive" for the visiting whites. Later in the evening the party entered a large tipi where drumming had begun and were again met with what appeared to be blank stares and silence from the Indians. After some time had passed without comments from their hosts, one of the whites asked, "Do they want us to go?" The reply was a monosyllabic "No" and a gesture indicating where the visitors could be seated (Yakima Herald May 17, 1894). The inability of the whites to understand the communication information system of the Yakimas is aptly illustrated by this anecdote.

A more contemporary example of brevity in words, in which one can easily sense the shrug of the shoulder and other gestures which probably accompanied it, is the following conversation segment reported by Schuster. In response to a question about the Yakima custom of living with both sets of in-laws after marriage, the woman responded, "Live after married? Either way. I

felt I should help my mother; he wanted to go to Oregon and stay with his folks. We spent time with both each year" (Schuster 1975:66). In a few short phrases, this woman has adequately described what a white anthropologist might have spent paragraphs relating.

The Yakima trait of word conservation is in direct contrast to certain college settings in which verbal fluency is valued. These settings will be occasion for culture conflict due to the different mind-sets about the value of words. Martin refers to an emphasis on verbal fluency in academic circles when he speaks about "Measuring institutional success by the criteria of . . . command of certain language skills, use of code words and concepts, a social style and personal manner thought to reflect academic values . . . " (Martin 1969:22). The function of words in such settings is often for smoothing transitons or for manipulating the person, conversation, or situation. Such skills are often needed in student government politicking, in getting needed assistance from the library or the health services, in straightening out a clerical error made in the offices of the Registrar or Financial Aid, and even in getting additional help with a confusing concept from a reluctant professor. In those situations, the Yakima student may face a definite disadvantage due simply to an information gap between the Yakima and dominant cultures.

This trait may also pose a problem in written English, as this researcher has noted in some of the papers submitted by Yakima students for whom brevity in words is a habit. Such papers omit transitional phrases and words; often insights of the writer are stated once very succinctly, without examples or explanations of what may be a significant key idea. After a heavy dose of the professor's red pencil, the length of the paper may be almost doubled while little change in actual content has occurred. But this kind of revision is essential to adapt the original writing to standard formal English used in academia. The process of helping students achieve such revisions has revealed that they frequently do not see any reasons for adding transitions, explanations, and summarizing phrases. These things are simply not necessary in their personal experience of language usage.

It is not difficult to envision situations in which Yakima students would find the function of spoken and written English--for such things as transitions, reiterations, or maintaining social contact--difficult to grasp and to adopt.

Expecting Mutual Assistance Rather Than Task Assignment in Group Endeavors

Schuster comments toward the end of her extensive study of Yakima traditional culture, "When I began this study of traditional longhouse Indians, I was bothered

by their apparent lack of concern with design and organization...Nevertheless, with little or no apparent formal organization, the necessary tasks are done, efficiently and well" (1975:394). This is the typical white impression of the Yakima trait discussed here. It seems to get its central focus from the way in which activities at the longhouse are carried out and has special relevance to the women's work in longhouse activities. When a funeral dinner is being held, those who assist with the cooking and set-up simply pitch in with whatever is at hand and work until the job is accomplished. Members of both wáshat and Shaker religions commented to this researcher at various times that although no particular dishes were assigned to be brought by certain persons, there is always an ample amount and variety of foods at the meals accompanying one of the services. They seemed to take pride in this result of mutual cooperation.

Beyond the reaches of church social activities, the same preference is often manifested in other group endeavors. Cooperation is one of the "principal guides to right and good behavior today among the traditional Yakima community, who make frequent references to 'keeping a free heart and an open home'" (Schuster 1975:59). Cooperation together with a strong sense of individualism and personal freedom (cf. Patterson 1967:9-11) probably account most clearly for the trait of expecting mutual

assistance rather than task assignments; for it leaves the individual free to assume those tasks appropriate to one's talents and inclinations while maintaining an equality between all participants in the task.

Perhaps this trait would assume importance on the campus primarily in student activities, where a Yakima might feel overly dominated and/or mistrusted if assigned a specific task. Moreover, a Yakima student might also feel less responsibility to carry out such a task assignment, expecting others to participate jointly in achieving the endeavor. Hard feelings might easily result from such a situation.

Expecting a Sizable Time Lapse in Any Personal Decision-Making

There is undoubtedly a fine distinction between various persons' preferences for the amount of time necessary to make a decision. But beyond preferences which are unique to individuals, there seem also to be preferences embedded in cultural information systems. An adequate study of this would entail identifying a number of specific situations and ascertaining exactly how long, on the average, persons from a given culture would allow for a decision of a particular type to be made. Short of such a study, observation of the Yakima culture, as well as the response to the interview question (see table 5) on taking time for personal decision-making,

leads one to hypothesize that the Yakimas generally prefer a somewhat longer period of time than the dominant culture. A respected tribal leader commented: "If I were to pick a councilman, I'd pick . . . He's reserved, dignified. We look up to these traits in this tribe. He patient . . . waits to make a decision . . . then waits to act" (Schuster 1975:53). Another person had uncomplimentary things to say about someone lacking the ability to make decisions patiently. "He can't wait for things to happen. He has to act. That's no good for the Indian way" (Schuster 1975:109). Perhaps these preferences in the latter twentieth century are related to an old Wasco tradition (from the Yakima's souther neighbors) described by Dell Hymes: "A Wasco prefers not to answer a question on the day of its asking" (1971:75).

Part of this behavior preference is due to the importance of the decision-making right which belongs to each individual (Schuster 1975:67). A decision should not be made simply on the advice of another (in most cases) since this abrogates some of a person's humanness as a free and responsible individual; consequently, a lapse of time sufficient for a personal decision-making process is essential.

In the campus setting, the prevalence of deadlines for accomplishing everything from registration to signing up for cap and gown provide the scenario

for many conflicts with this Yakima trait. One Yakima mother related to me how her son jumped into his car and drove more than two hundred miles from his university to their home because a situation arose in which he had to make a decision in one afternoon concerning how to handle an error made by the Financial Aid Office. He simply could not make a decision with which he was comfortable in that short a time and he saw no other choice in not meeting a deadline than to come home. Fortunately, his family was able to convince him that he should return, even though a deadline had not been met, and a few helpful phone calls smoothed the way for his return.

Similar occurrences when students are required on very short notice to choose another course at registration when their preregistration choice is no longer available, or to name a topic for a research paper in a very brief period might create the feeling of panic in a Yakima student. It is not that the student cannot think of various options, or that an initial preference or attraction toward one choice is not felt; rather, it is the uneasiness which arises when one doubts that all the alternatives and their consequences have been adequately considered. It is much like coming upon a freeway exit sign too quickly and having to make a snap judgment to take the exit without considering the entire situation adequately. An unsettled feeling of self-doubt is the

immediate reaction which the freeway driver and the Yakima student may experience. If the experience is repeated too frequently, these feelings may become more than passing reactions to the given setting.

Expecting Consensus and Freedom of Expression to be Considered More Valuable than Efficiency in Group Decision-Making

The tradition of consensus is one of the strongest among the Yakima's many prized cultural strengths. In the first records of Yakima negotiations with whites (1855), Kamiakin was very reluctant to speak his opinion because many of his people were away on food-gathering expeditions and he insisted that he had "to see my Indians"--gather their opinions--before he would speak (Doty 1855b:57). A quaint piece of journalism in the 1890's bears witness to the same trait: at a government meeting with the Yakimas concerning the sale of reservation land, "nothing of course was done of a definite character as the Indian is the creature of much deliberation but the commissioners were fully impressed with their statecraft and made to realize that their undertaking would require time as well as diplomacy" (Yakima Herald Feb. 28, 1897). Shared responsibility for group decision-making operated in the self-governing systems of the Yakimas and of neighboring tribes. For instance, the huge fisheries at Celilo Falls on the Columbia River, which was the main source of salmon for a number of tribes until inundated by the

backwaters of the Dalles Dam in 1957, was regulated by an "Indian group composed of three representatives from each reservation contributing fishermen" (Schoning, Merrell, and Johnson 1951:10). The resolution of the General Council (composed of all Yakimas eighteen and older) which established the Tribal Council in 1944 to transact tribal business had an important proviso attached:

> Hereafter the Tribal Council, a body of fourteen Chiefs, is hereby empowered to transact all business of the Tribe, provided that any measures of great importance may be referred back to the People. (Quoted in Pace 1977:23; emphasis added)

The continuing importance of recourse to the opinion of all the people was bluntly reiterated by one of the Tribal Councilmen who was negotiating with the Army Corp of Engineers over the Dalles Dam issue in 1954. After the negotiating Councilmen had reluctantly accepted an offer made by the Corps, they were asked how they felt the people as a whole would respond to this new arrangement. "In my opinion I don't think they would go along, this tribe will bluntly turn it down. They always accuse the [Tribal] Council of committing other things, and I believe we will get the worst [over this offer]" (Minutes of Meeting July 20, 1954). In the Treaty Centennial (1955) description of tribal government, the General Council's (all Yakimas) method of decision-making was restated: "Each has the right of free expression, and debate is unrestrained" (Relander et al. 1955:38).

In the 1970's the importance of consensus remains strong. Schuster notes that "decisions concerning long-house activities are largely based on consensus" (1975: 181); and the research analyst for the Yakima Indian Nation Education Division identifed one of the key elements in the Yakima system of values as "preference for consensus over decisiveness: the belief that how the decision is arrived at is as important as what the decision is to be" (Yakima Indian Nation Education Division 1978a:n.p.). The role of consensus is related to the role of authority; in earlier days there is strong evidence that the "willingness of a family or individual to submit to the headman's or council's judgment" was a crucial factor in the existence of social control (Schuster 1975:54); to some extent this personal autonomy persists into the latter decades of the twentieth century.

With this tradition of each adult's inalienable right to his own opinion and the overriding importance of gaining consensus before a decision is implemented, the Yakima student might experience difficulty in a number of college settings where the motive of "not wasting any more time" is often given to cut short a discussion and allow a majority vote to determine a course of action. Many student committees, student clubs, student housing governing committees, and class decisions about kinds of exams or papers operate on the assumption that a

decision made by majority vote after a discussion of limited length is acceptable to and binding upon all. If the Yakima student feels not bound by such decisions, it may be due to his sense of adult integrity; white peers or teachers may see it rather as stubbornness or lack of cooperativeness.

It is interesting to compare this Yakima trait with the findings of Wilson and Gaff in a 1969 survey of faculty attitudes toward student participation in academic decision-making. Only one-third of the faculty felt that students should have some voice in academic decision-making, and only one-fifth felt students should be given full responsibility for their own social regulations (quoted in Martin 1969:132). Martin speculates on the results of forcing acquiescence on students: "the result of forced conformity could destroy the spirit of goodwill and cooperation that have basic components in the educational tradition" (1969:130). Without speaking of culture conflict at all, Martin has accurately described one of its possible consequences for Yakima students in regard to the information gap with dominant culture college personnel on the topics of consensus and dcision-making.

Expecting References to a Person's Mistakes or Contradicting Another to be Avoided at all Costs

A children's book describing life for a Wyam young child (Wyams are southern neighbors of the Yakimas) has this description of disciplining the toddler, Linda, the main character of the story. "Mrs. Thompson [Linda's grandmother] has a low, soft voice. She does not shout at Linda. She does not take her arm and shake her. She does not scold her. She does not slap her. She just looks at Linda like this. She tells her what is right. She tells her what is wrong. She speaks in a kind voice. Linda listens to her and learns" (McKeown 1956:72).

Right from one's earliest years in the Yakima culture, as with the neighboring tribal cultures, openly contradicting or ridiculing a person is avoided. Being shamed in front of others is very disgraceful; hence, to cause another to be shamed in public is a very serious matter. Fiander's description of Yakima values explains the motivation for adhering to rules as keeping oneself from suffering shame (Fiander 1978:7). As a very strong social force, the tendency to avoid shame and keep from shaming others includes a disinclination to contradict another person. The present writer gradually became aware of this unspoken convention in the process of discussing with Yakimas the probable causes for college

dropouts. When the conversation lagged, a comment was often interjected concerning a reason for dropping out which had been suggested in the literature or by another informant. Particularly when the other source was not directly quoted, but appeared perhaps as the writer's opinion it was noted that the respondents were extremely reluctant to contradict the statement. In fact, in all the formal and informal sessions held, only once did someone directly disagree with a statement made by the writer, and this was after a full hour's discussion in which rapport had been established. Moreover, this was someone with little Indian ancestry, although the wife of a Yakima. In every other case, the respondent deftly turned the conversation to another angle of the topic, or, if this was not possible, after a brief period of silence began an entirely new topic of discussion. In the few cases in which the writer was directly quoting a person who was not present, the informant showed no hesitation in disagreeing with the statement, even when the quoted source was a good friend or respected elder of the informant. It became clear after some time that the custom in force forbids contradicting someone to their face. When one wishes to express a contrary view, it must be presented later in the conversation and couched in such a way as to bear no direct reference to the earlier statement with which it is in disagreement.

In the dominant white culture, such a method of registering disagreements might appear confusing. However, the result of the consistent practice of Yakima avoidance of contradictions is that persons also gain skill in perceiving when another disagrees with him, before this is openly stated in any way. This undoubtedly accounts for the oft-repeated dictum that "Indian people are very sensitive. . . they are easily hurt and embarrassed" (Thomas 1973:28). Or, more correctly stated, it appears to the white dominant culture that they are easily hurt, because the white information system does not contain highly refined signals for communicating disapproval or disagreement.

This trait is a particularly important one on the college campus, because the entire educative process has to do with assisting the learner to see one's errors or shortcomings and to press on to achieve better results. Since white dominant culture allows the direct mentioning of one's mistakes in public, especially in a classroom setting, as a non-shameful way of seeking improvement, the Yakima student is very likely to experience more embarrassment and discomfort in such situations than white peers. Although previous experiences in grade school and high school may have included open discussions of the students' errors, making such an experience less shocking or startling to the college Indian student, these previous

experiences do not make it any less painful, because the basic orientation toward public shaming and the integrated cultural outlook of which it is a part are still integral to the student's psyche.

Another way to look at the Yakima student's experience in a public discussion of mistakes is to see these occasions as ones in which a teacher or a fellow student is using an unreasonable amount of pressure for change. Speaking of Apache students, Parmee says, "Traditionally, public disapproval and ridicule have been used by Apaches as strong corrective measures for teen-agers and adults alike . . . The use of such methods by school personnel for minor infractions was considered by Apaches to be unjustly harsh and discriminatory" (Parmee 1968:54).

Another aspect of this problem is the use of teasing in relationship to the foibles or faults of another. In many Indian groups, this was a more acceptable form of mentioning someone's mistakes, but nonetheless pointed in purpose; consequently, an Indian person may interpret this type of teasing--which is usually only good-natured fun for dominant culture persons--as a subtle way of correcting undesirable traits, and very hurt feelings may result (Redbird-Selam, 1972:15). To what extent this is true of an individual depends upon individual personality as well as cultural traits. However, one rarely if ever observes a Yakima adult teasing another adult about anything

except the mildest of personal mistakes or foibles. One reason for this may be that teasing is often used as a means to control a child's behavior; it would therefore be very insulting for an adult to use this method of behavior control or modification on another adult.

Expecting Mention of Family Problems Outside the Family Circle to be Avoided at all Times

Since this trait focuses on NOT talking about something, it is not surprising to find that evidence of this trait--except through long-term personal observation--is minimal. One of the Yakima adults taking a class in educational management from the writer made the following observation in a written paper: "Indian people often keep their problems to themselves until they develop a sense of trust. Culturally, Indians have a horror of ridicule so that it is extremely important that a supervisor never ridicule, or betray a confidence." This implies that unless a personal friendship has developed between a worker and the supervisor, or between a student and an advisor or faculty member, a Yakima would not find it appropriate to reveal the presence of or the nature of any family problems, even if these were interfering with one's duties (see table 5, interview questions). In addition to noting the complete absence of any reference to the personal problem(s) of an employee during working hours at the Education Division Office of the Yakimas

(although other occurrences outside the office had revealed the presence of some serious problems), the writer was also told by two close friends after they finished an evening discussion of alcoholism among several families that "these things would never, never be discussed outside the family. You'd just never hear a word about them outside, like we're talking now." The exception seems to be when an individual has become a close friend and confidante of another; occasionally this occurs between a supervisor and worker or two co-workers, but it appears to be the exception. Of course, the universal human phenomenon of gossip provides under-cover information about more serious or scandalous situations, but this kind of information is not admitted to unless it becomes very obvious that something is general knowledge, as when it appears in the local press. As one informant remarked, "Whatever you did becomes much worse if it appears in the paper because then you've shamed not only your family but all Indian people."

Perhaps this trait is important only in contrast to a dominant society trait of which most people are only covertly aware. It is the generally unspoken assumption that if a person gives a reason--even in very general terms--for one's inability to fulfill a responsibility, it is generally presumed that "the person couldn't help it; he didn't mean to." But if no explanation is given,

the assumption is that the fault lies with the individual; otherwise reasons would have been given for his failure. In the college setting, when a student cannot hand in a paper on time, he is expected to give some hint of a reason in order for the teacher to feel justified in allowing an extension of time. In fact, official policy with regard to late work in colleges often states that an extension of time must be given "for sufficient reason," as in giving a grade of "Incomplete." (See Appendix B for attendance policies of colleges and universities attended frequently by Yakimas.) It has probably not occurred to most dominant culture faculty members that a student involved in a prima facie case of severe family difficulty (i.e., a sibling has attempted suicide, or a father is jailed for drunken driving, or a home has burned down) might say "I couldn't get my paper done"--with no additional comments whatever. In the dominant culture, by mentioning either a very general problem situation ("There've been some difficulties in my family recently"), or even some specifics ("My father's having a lot of difficulties these days"), one expects to receive an expression of sympathy and a lessening of pressure to fulfill responsibilities. For a Yakima, making such explanatory statements might appear rather as breaking family loyalties or "forgetting who you are" and thus inviting pity, disdain or paternalism from the listener, rather than a sympathetic

hearing. Since significant policies of academia--such as receiving "incompletes" and delaying final exams, which may make the difference between passing and failing courses--rest largely on the individual judgment of professors, this Yakima behavior trait is an important one for the academic success of Yakima students on college campuses.

Expecting Withdrawal from a Very Stressful Situation to be Considered as Acceptable Coping Behavior

With this trait an attempt is made to distinguish between two attitudes toward withdrawal from difficult situations. One attitude tends toward the view that to withdraw is to admit defeat; the other attitude tends to hold that withdrawal can often be a healthy tactic, allowing the individual time to re-group personal strengths or choose a new approach toward coping. The difference between these two attitudes is probably largely a matter of personality characteristics and individual preferences. However, on a continuum which ranges from withdrawing at the slightest sign of trouble to the opposite characteristic of withdrawing only when physical death is imminent, various cultures tend to locate themselves at different points as to what is considered ideal behavior. From the interview form and from observation, it appears that the Yakima culture identifies the ideal spot on the

continuum as being more toward the withdrawal end than the dominant culture which tends to be closer to the "stick-it-out-no-matter-what" end of the continuum. Although several Yakima parents expressed a certain dissatisfaction with the tendency of young people attending college to withdraw when they became homesick or discouraged, they always stressed the opinion that withdrawal before a break-down or serious alcohol problem developed was definitely desirable. Yakima parents also expressed the opinion that leaving college early to come home is often a helpful move since the family members could encourage and re-strengthen the young person before a "new encounter with" the college or university would be undertaken.

Whereas for some dominant culture persons, the perseverance of a student who stays in a very difficult situation even to the point of illness may be praised as unusually courageous or the sign of a very strong drive to achieve--"he just tried too hard"--Yakima reaction would more likely be that the person showed very poor judgment and a lack of appreciation of the family's concern by staying until illness overtook the student. A Yakima family might well feel hurt and somewhat embarrassed that the student did not appreciate their love and concern sufficiently to come home before a poor state of health developed. The difference in reactions between the Yakimas

and the dominant culture is based on a different perception of when it is appropriate to withdraw from a stressful situation.

In the college setting, there has been a traditional push toward finishing each course, each semester, and ultimately each degree which one begins. For a student who is not able to find ways for solving difficulties as they arise, due to the kind of information gaps being investigated in this chapter, Parmee's description of Apache students may be apt: "In the midst of these frustrations, some students simply withdrew into themselves and retired from the scene, first mentally, then physically" (1968:111). Such withdrawal may appear to dominant culture persons as giving up too easily, because they can still visualize ways in which solutions might be worked out. But such solutions may not occur to or seem feasible for a Yakima student. Patterson's analysis of the mental process involved in such a decision applied to younger children in the original, but the insight has much to say for older students as well: "The Indian child does not rationalize this conflict, and he ought not to be expected to do so. To him the whole thing resolves into a question of basic loyalties. When the school system cuts across his loyalties, he does what any normal human would do--he remains an Indian, for whatever that might cost

him at school or anywhere else" (Patterson 1968:88). For a college student in a strange environment, this means leaving the campus and returning to Indian land.

This trait may tap a different reality for Yakimas and for dominant culture persons. Whereas for the latter, it may refer primarily to leaving college when academic achievement becomes difficult, for Yakimas it may denote a situation in which culture conflict and the resulting emotional upset are so strong as to threaten not only academic achievement but also mental balance. As Chickering notes: "When management of emotions is impaired, learning is hampered and achievement falls short of potential" (Chickering 1969:46). The distinction here is that what may appear to observers in the dominant culture (instructors, peers, and advisors) to be a situation which can be overcome through a change in use of time or resources, may well appear to the Indian student as a situation requiring withdrawal if good human judgment is to be exercised. While an instructor or peer may feel let down or "a failure" when an Indian student returns home, the latter may be very surprised on a return visit to campus to re-enroll, that the instructor or peer is less friendly and supportive.

Presumed Primary Motivations and Support Systems

Being Motivated and Supported by One's Extended Family

With this trait, we turn to the section of the explanations which deal with motivations and support systems for success in college. This is, of course, a highly complex subject. Its treatment here will be restricted to whether or not certain goals presumed by the college establishment to be motivators of students and certain support systems operative on campuses are actually significant for Yakima students. Without directly testing motivations and personal support systems with some psychological test instrument, the discussion will have to rely on statements from the Yakima culture concerning appropriate life goals.

The first motivation and support system which we consider is that of the extended family. It is both the numerous members of the extended family and their support which are important for the Yakima student. A wide variety of bilateral relatives are important in a Yakima young person's life. "The significance of the bilateral kindred for defining and regulating social relations is perpetuated by the traditional segment of the reservation community to this day" (Schuster 1975:51). Evidence of this trait in three specific instances may be mentioned: the grandparents, whose role as the legend tellers and the respected elders has already been discussed;

the aunts and/or uncles, who may be chosen as tutors in the Indian ways for the young,either formally or informally; and one's sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law which terms (in Sahaptin) are also used as a term of friendship for other non-kin who have a close relationship with the family (as related by Schuster 1975: 64, and by others who have become close friends of traditional Yakima families).

Kinship relationships play an informal role in the life of a Yakima student before the college years, because many cousins (in both the strict and the loose sense) participate in recreational and social activities with the young person continually. Never does the youngster experience isolation from relatives, so that when things may not be going well in one quarter, there are other relatives elsewhere with whom one can find companionship, if not sympathy. The trip to a college campus normally changes this entire personal setting for the new college student. For the individual Yakima, the kindred has been "the principal factor for socilization, validation of social status, social control, and maintenance of social ties" (Schuster 1975:100). Sudden removal from a social reality of this magnitude is bound to be a difficult emotional adjustment.

Since relatives are for the most part within driving distance of each other on the reservation, and see each

other often at church or at sports events, as well as at family social outings, there is very little established custom of writing letters to maintain contact with those who are away (although some mothers are extolled by their sons for the letter-writing carried on during one of the recent wars). This leaves the telephone as the only form of contact, short of a car trip of several hours. Both cars and phones are expensive ways of maintaining contact, and college students' budgets are not often sufficient to provide much of either. Thus, a support system which is very powerful for the young person on the reservation is significantly reduced when the student goes away to college. This experience is more significant for a Yakima student than for most dominant culture students because of the size of the family left behind, and because of something Reber calls "the close democracy of the extended family, as opposed to the independent actions of the nuclear family" (Yakima Indian Nation Education Division 1978a:np). This "close democracy" dictates that one's actions--and that of one's immediate family--have to be coordinated with the needs of the other extended family members. In contrast to that, an independent nuclear family need only accommodate the needs of three, four, or five persons in choosing activities and making plans. Thus, the Yakima coming to college for the first time experiences a sudden focusing on himself and his needs which can be very

disorienting. A personal support system which also served as a motivating force is suddenly gone. One who is used to being called from reading a book to babysit, drive, harvest, shop, or clean for a needy aunt or uncle might find it difficult to concentrate on studying for long periods of time at college, with little or no human contact throughout the period. Thus, it is both the responsibility for and the support of the extended family which are important to a Yakima student.

The typical college or university environment today approaches the antithesis of the extended family setting on the reservation. Sandeen concluded, "The dominant feature of the university classroom is that there is little personal contact between the students and the professors" (Sandeen 1976:75). Astin and Panos' study of withdrawals argues that there is a higher rate of dropouts from universities than from liberal arts colleges because of the lack of personal relationships between students and faculty (1969; quoted in Sandeen 1976:75). Chickering reported that in response to the item, "Nothing in life is worth the sacrifice of losing contact with your family" from the OPI), about one out of every four students at Goddard College disagreed with this statement (1969:138), which would seem to indicate that it is widely held, though a minority position, that family ties are not really that important. It is not surprising that in this environment

Yakimas might feel alienated and out of place, since there are few if any substitutes for the sense of support and motivation generated by one's extended family on the reservation. The personal encounters which do exist on the campus are often scheduled for specific and limited time periods (conferences with advisors or faculty, physical education classes, student dances or club meetings) and lack the spontaneous and open-ended quality of extended family relationships.

Being Motivated and Supported by Loyalty to Family as Expressed by Such Things as Attendance at Funerals

In the previous sections, it has become clear that the family and its traditional values are primary elements in the motivation system for most Yakima students. This trait focuses particularly on funerals and other times of traditional celebrations as being essential ways in which family values and loyalty are expressed.

"When somebody die, that's when our religion really goes strong. That's when you wanta watch" (Yakima informant quoted by Schuster 1975:136). The religious significance of the mourning period to the Yakima religion greatly exceeds the significance of the funeral in most dominant culture religions. One Yakima woman in describing Yakima spiritual beliefs listed only two things: "that there is life hereafter, and that during the mourning

period, family and friends participate." An economic report on the Yakimas stated, "the funeral dinners at which the family feeds as many as three or four hundred people . . . are basic to being a Yakima Indian" (Schantz 1969:19).

When one combines the importance of the funeral with the Yakima sense of family which includes a large number of kin, it becomes obvious that most Yakimas will attend several funerals in a year, and that these mourning services (which in the wáshat or Shaker services may last up to three days, including services which last twenty-four continuous hours or more) are a key experience in the religious and family life of a Yakima. Transferring these insights to the Yakima student away at college presents the picture of a student who must leave the campus on short notice for a drive of several hundred miles to attend mourning/funeral services which may absorb all of the student's energies for three days. After another long drive back to the campus, the student faces a dominant culture where telling the professor, "I've been gone for four days because I had to go to my aunt's funeral," may not create much credibility let alone sympathy.

The crux of the matter in the information gap concerning attendance at funerals really has to do with regulations concerning attendance and make-up work at college and universities. Since most of the Yakima

students attend college or universities which are within four or five hours' driving time of the reservation, students are not prevented from attending funerals by a costly airfare, which might be the situation if they were several hours' flight time away. However, neither are the campuses close enough (except Yakima Valley Community College) to allow the students to commute to the reservation for certain portions of the funeral services. Thus, the problem resolves itself into a question of how to handle a three to five day absence from the campus, which usually occurs on very short notice and during which the student has little or no free time to keep up on reading or other make-up assignments. Appendix B contains the statements of policy for attendance at the five colleges and universities most frequently attended by Yakima students (with the exception of Haskell Institute in Kansas). The general trend of these policies indicates that absences are treated as an irregular and lamentable occurrence; as such, the teachers deal with them on an ad hoc basis, and the student is responsible for working out whatever arrangements for make-up work can be negotiated. The academic calendar's beginning and ending are seen as virtually immoveable objects, between which a student and faculty member must complete a specified amount of work. In view of the unplanned nature of human deaths and therefore funerals, the rigidity of the academic

calendar--taken for granted in institutions of higher education--presents a real occasion of culture conflict for Yakima students. There is, however, a special note in the policy of the University of Washington which may point the way to handling this absentee problem for funerals. "University policy requires make-up finals in case of illness or religious holiday conflicts" (Appendix B, emphasis added). Perhaps if funerals were more clearly labeled and understood as religious occasions of great significance, the crisis which often ensues after a student misses several days of class to attend a Yakima funeral might be lessened.

What has been said here about the problem with attendance at funerals applies also to attendance at special tribal celebrations during the year. However, there are two differences which make the problem less severe: first, the celebrations are predictable, in contrast to funerals; secondly, they are more readily recognized by college personnel as cultural and/or religious celebrations of great importance to the Yakimas. In addition, most of these celebrations (with the exception of the First Foods celebration in the spring and/or the Washington's Birthday celebration) do not take place during normal academic year class days. In spite of these mitigating factors, attendance at celebrations is still sometimes a problem, particularly if the student has a relative(s) who is

taking a special role in the celebration. A Yakima mother describes how she sees the problem: "School people don't understand that Indian people have their own customs. Like going to celebrations, that's the Indian way. They just have to go. But if the kids miss school, the teachers won't help them make up the work. They say that's no excuse. It's rough on our Indian kids. They know they're not wanted" (Schuster 1975:307). Note that this mother interprets the reluctance of teachers to help students catch up as a non-verbal hint that they are not wanted in the school. This is further evidence of the information gap operating here; the Yakima mother knows that the student's absence is unavoidable, and consequently interprets the teacher's lack of helpfulness as deliberately letting the student fail. On the other hand, the teacher may well consider the absence as not necessary and hence as a sign that both student and parents have little real interest in school. In order to cope with the culture conflict situations related to attending funerals and celebrations, the information gap between parents and academic personnal must be closed, and perhaps some of the structures of the academic world embodied in its academic calendar and policies may have to become more flexible.

Being Motivated and Supported in Attaining Benefits for One's Family not just for One's Self

This aspect of the motivation and support question is perhaps the clearest one in discussing Yakima students in higher education. However, it is necessary to distinguish between competitiveness and achievement motivation in order to understand this trait. It is often said that Indian students are not competitive, and the statement is generally meant to imply that therefore they cannot be motivated to achieve. This is an oversimplification and misrepresentation of Yakima students. As one of the Yakima elders explained with regard to the legends and stories which were the main vehicle for training the young: "The training was for honesty, aggressiveness and accumulation. If you have wealth, you are capable of providing for your family as well as the old and the dependent people" (Morey 1970:84).

Competition and achievement-orientation are not identical; they must be carefully distinguished from each other. Competition for the Yakimas does exist, but in a different context than the dominant culture's. "Among the Yakimas, competiton among themselves seems stronger . . . Competition . . . has a dual end of self-improvement along with cooperating and improving the group to which the loyalty exists" (Schantz 1969:29). Competition for the Yakimas seems to operate primarily within one's own people;

competition with outsiders is rarely undertaken or considered relevant. Furthermore, what may be competition situations in the dominant culture tend to be achievement-oriented situations for the Yakima in which one attempts to improve one's own record and especially the record of one's group, rather than pitting an individual's effort against another individual. "The Yakima Indian is motivated by the incentive of pride, and pride comes from self-sufficiency among his people" (Schantz 1969:16).

In the college setting, traditional ways of spurring achievement among the students by fostering individual competitiveness do not, in many cases, fit into the Yakima scheme. Posting grades from an exam or a laboratory experiment; publishing a Dean's List; listing students' Grade Point Averages--these actions place emphasis on the competition of one individual against all other individuals, known or unknown to each other. There is little indication that one's accomplishment reflects well on one's tribe, home town, or family who are usually not mentioned in this recognition of individuals. In fact, these actions come dangerously close to contradicting a strong teaching of Yakima legends and stories: "When you brag about your good fortune, it creates bad feelings from the other people who are not as fortunate. This generates negative vibrations and this will give you bad luck. Sometimes misfortunes

may befall the person or thing about whom you are bragging" (Beavert 1974:xi). It should be clear, however, that the problem is not with the concept of achievement or of group competition, but rather, according to Yakima ideals or according to dominant culture ideals, how individual competitiveness functions in these circumstances.

Concepts of individual competition versus achievement motivation also underlie the question of the meaning of accumulating material goods for the betterment of oneself within Yakima culture. "Traditional Yakima have never internalized an urban, middle class economic ethic of individual acquisition and saving for personal gain. On the contrary, as a society organized on principles of reciprocity and sharing, they find the concepts of acquisition and saving, as introduced and promoted by the dominant society, unacceptable and discordant" (Schuster 1975:59-60). This does not undermine the value of earning and having a sizable income and/or wealth for Yakimas; rather it places the value of such wealth on the benefits it brings to one's family. Schantz noted that "many of the people earning a sufficient income to finance a larger or more expensive house have made no attempt to do so. Housing does not indicate the income of the occupants" (1969:23). Rather, it is the ability to share and give to others as needed which is the chief

benefit derived from having a good-sized income. Barnett noted in 1941: "A Yakima is esteemed not because he has much in material wealth and the comforts of home but because . . . he shares much" (Barnett 1942:51). In 1970, a Yakima elder summed up the reasons why his ancestor, Chief Saluskin, was so highly respected: "His interest in his people was stronger than his desire to make personal gains" (Morey 1970:58). This emphasis on providing for others extends to those of one's kith and kin who are unable to provide for themselves for whatever reason, including causes which in the dominant society might be passed off as "laziness" or "irresponsibility." "To refuse to provide for a relative in spite of his lack of productivity is highly frowned upon" (Schantz 1969:19).

One quickly notes the relationship of this attitude toward material goods and the reciprocity/giving ethic described earlier. The traditional custom of giveaways is still practiced to a fairly large extent, especially at the time of funerals. An informant explained the attitude toward giving away hundreds of dollars of goods at such events: "There were no regrets over loss of possessions. It was good and right to give, to honor traditional custom" (Schuster 1975:146). This custom affects even those Yakimas who have abandoned this custom as wasteful of basic family resources, since relatives who still wish to hold giveaways may request help in

the form of sizable money loans to buy the items for the giveaway. Although one can refuse such requests occasionally, or give much less money than requested, family loyalties frequently win out and money is provided for the giveaway. These occasions are certainly frequent enough on the reservation to give young Yakimas a strong sense of the fleeting qualities of personal monetary gains as well as the family expectation that responsible adults provide for others at any time needed.

Two peripheral points reinforce these Yakima feelings toward material accumulation. One is the spiritual concept that the Creator has provided all the goods people need for survival as free gifts, and this is an example for them of how they should treat others. In the legend of the White Eagle who lives on top of Mt. Pah-to (Mt. Adams) and is interpreted by many as representing law for the Yakimas, the White Eagle states: "That is why I always give freely, why I feed the hungry without pay. It is the Law . . . Since they are the gifts of the Great Maker, the foods which were planted for his children must all be free" (Clark 1953:20). Traditionally, some Indian foods such as huckleberries, roots and chokecherries, were not sold; this tradition is still explained in recent Yakima culture teaching materials (Haggerty 1976:32). Another example of the strong feeling that some things must never be used to earn a profit is contained in an

anecdote related by McWhorter about an elderly Yakima woman from whom he was learning a number of stories of the early days. One day when he arrived for the story-telling session, the old woman told him that "an old Indian was telling all the Indians that I was giving you stories for money. This has made my heart sad. I feel bad about it. . . . My stories are good, but not to be told for pay" (McWhorter 1937:22). These instances of items which cannot be sold give additional weight to the Yakima disregard for personal gain through accumulating material wealth.

A second peripheral point is also worth mentioning; it is the attitude toward various types of work for pay. As far back as 1894, the Indian agent noted that the group of Indians who refused to take any government money or allotments lived "by doing the smallest possible amount of wild farming . . ." (Yakima Herald May 17, 1894). Additional work beyond the minimum was apparently not valued. A consulting firm which drew up plans for the economic development of the Yakimas' resources stated flatly: "Retraining the Indians for conventional industrial work does not appear feasible because they are reluctant to adapt to regularity and regimentation" (Consulting Services Corporation 1964:5). It would appear that earning a good income does not override enduring conditions of work which seem unnatural to the Yakima's normal life style. In an economic survey of Indians working on or near the

reservation in 1969, Schantz found that of those employed in industry previous to their present job most had left the earlier job because it was "too tiring" or "too boring." "Dislike of factory monotony is strong" (1969:35). The general Yakima attitude toward work once again reinforces a detached attitude toward accumulating material wealth.

Turning now to the campus scene, it is evident that many of the motivating factors important to college personnel are not equally important to the Yakima student. Martin's portrait may be a little extreme, but if "the modern professor is more often than not a 'cosmopolitan,' at home in the centers of power, capable of handling large contracts and public responsibilities, policically astute, selfish, well-organized" (Martin 1969:6); the Yakima student is bound to find himself in an alien environment when such a professor encourages him to strive for accomplishments (high-paying jobs located away from the reservation and involving long work hours and heavy pressures) outside his world of desirable life-styles.

The key to a suitable motivational environment for the Yakima student is in understanding the concepts of individual and group competition, and achievement motivation, as they exist in the Yakima cultural traditions. It is informative to note that there is a very high degree of interest on the reservation in competitive team sports; various Indian teams in baseball, basketball, volleyball,

and other sports from hundreds of miles away are included in the league, and spectator involvement is very high. But this competitiveness relates primarily to team sports. In a national study of competitiveness, Ryan found that a poor competitor is "more poorly adjusted. He had difficulty expressing his aggression and his inability to compete in athletics seems to be a specific instance of that difficulty" (in Chickering 1969:28). It is obvious that many of the Yakima youth are anything but poor competitors, judged by the extensive Indian sports teams and programs, But the setting is team competition, not individual.

This seems to imply that colleges could profitably utilize motives of competition and achievement for Indian students only when the setting is group competition and the achievement is for one's family, tribe, or some other community group. The insight here could apply to approaches used by academic advisors and student counseling services in getting underachieving students to improve. It would also be very important for individual instructors to be aware of this refinement in the meaning of competiton and achievement, because a Yakima student could find it very repugnant and virtually counter-motivating to have a teacher insist that "you should have a higher score than so-and-so" or "you should be the top student in this class." The motivational factor of group competition might also be utilized in establishing learning teams of students who work

together on projects; or in setting up small tutoring groups in which better students help those who are having trouble, and the effort of the entire group is recognized rather than that of individuals. Many other variations on these approaches are possible, if the faculty and staff members bear in mind the crucial difference between individual and group competition in the Yakima ethos.

> More effective education requires taking more clear accounting of differences among students and acting accordingly . . . and sound decisions about what is needed must derive from knowledge of where a student is, where he wants to go, and what equipment he brings for the trip. . . When significant differences are ignored, some students will be missed entirely, and many barely touched. (Chickering 1969:285)

Being Motivated and Supported by Commitment to Preserving the Indian Way

Another aspect of the motivation question for Yakima students is the question of what kinds of studies and coursework would be intrinsically motivating for them. That which is perceived as helping to preserve Indian values and the Indian way would appeal to a traditional Yakima youth as deserving of study. But that which seemed patently to contradict or change Indian values would not be looked on as worth learning. There are two important distinctions to be made here; the first is that the motivation to preserve applies to basic values, but not to skills or technologies (in the economic sense). In drawing up a "Position Statement" for the pre-school curriculum,

Yakima educators stated that they wanted their children "to learn the skills of the dominant society and the values of the Indian culture" (Yakima Indian Nation Education Division 1978b:2). They distinguished between those skills--social, intellectual, manual--which make it possible to achieve economic independence and prosperity, from those values which are basic to one's life choices. The first benefits from innovation; the second suffers from it.

The second distinction to be made is between novelties or innovations which challenge basic values and those which do not. "Novelty is not perceived by traditional Yakimas as being as disruptive as incompatibility" (Schuster 1975:491). New techniques and new ideas are welcomed if they can be incorporated within the traditional value system. A 1978 photograph which greatly delighted a National Geographic Magazine reporter visiting the Yakima reservation was the shot of Watson Totus, chairman of the Tribal Council, in traditional braids and attire, sitting in front of the tribally-purchased computer, reading reams of printouts strewn across his lap. A computer is seen by the Tribal Council simply as a new technique which can assist in carrying out traditional tribal government responsibilities.

A former Tribal councilman stated that he was willing to spend his older years in working on behalf of his cultural heritage in "the anticipation of using

the same cultural values in the future and trying to bring them to the present and future generations" (Saluskin in Morey 1970:110). A student who has been raised in the Yakima traditions would feel a weighty responsibility to distinguish between that which could be adapted to Yakima cultural values and that which might be disruptive. This is not to say that the student would feel competent or confident in making such distinctions. Yet most academic settings provide little if any support for the value choices faced by students. The Gross and Gramsbsch study of sixty-eight universities in the 1960's revealed that "American universities . . . manifest relatively little interest in students beyond developing their scholarly abilities" (quoted in Sandeen 1976:29).

A Yakima student who felt that value questions should be addressed as a part of choosing a schedule of classes for a given semester would certainly receive little assistance from the departmental handouts of suggested and required courses. Without some genuine sign of interest in discussing such issues on the part of the advisor, most students would be at a loss to bring up questions concerning the value of content to be covered in a given course. Yet these concerns weigh on the mind of Yakima college students; several dropouts mentioned to this writer that "there wasn't anything worth learning in all those courses." It is very likely that none of the faculty

members explained the relevance of their course material to the cultural continuity concerns of these students; most were probably entirely unaware that the concerns existed.

Extensive research into changes which occur during college attendance has shown that students typically become more liberal with regard to social, economic, and political issues (Bowen 1977:275). Some of these changes may be compatible with Yakima values, but others undoubtedly are not. How does a student swim upstream in a college environment without becoming too isolated or having one's self-concept severely damaged? This is the challenge facing a traditional Yakima youth who wishes to acquire new knowledge for the purpose of preserving traditional values, not changing them.

Preferences in Ways of Doing Things

Preferring to see Something Demonstrated Rather than Hearing it Described Before Attempting it

With this trait we move into a new area of investigation: preferences in ways of thinking, conceptualizing, and using knowledge. The first trait deals with an entire area deserving a separate research project: the question of cognitive or learning styles among Yakimas. Without presuming to give this adequate treatment in the context of the present study, it must be mentioned that several of the Yakima educators interviewed remarked on the general characteristic of the Yakima students which is described

as preferring to see something rather than simply hear about it. Examples were given by the educators of such things as writing a new kind of report or essay; preparing a new science project; producing a certain kind of art piece. In each case, the Yakima students were extremely reluctant to try their first version of the assignment without seeing an actual sample of the work. Lengthy verbal descriptions would not suffice; many times a student could simply not be induced to make a creative attempt without this preliminary glance at a possible finished product. It is hard to determine whether this is the result of avoiding ridicule from others for a product which is "different" or whether it is the result of an actual learning style difference. Because of the Yakima stress on respect for the individual, the latter interpretation seems more tenable.

Cohen describes (see above, chapter III) cognitive styles as "integrated rule-sets for the selection and organiation of sense data" (1969:836). Two basic dichotomous cognitive styles are generally identified in the literature (Witkin 1977:passim). These may be called "analytical" and "global." The preference of many Yakimas for a visual counterpart to written or oral data before a reorganization and reproduction of knowledge can take place is often associated with the global cognitive style. The global style, as opposed to the analytic

style, is characterized by an emphasis on the context in which something is perceived and on the relationship of the parts to the whole, rather than to each other. Several other names are also used for this learning style; Cohen calls it the relational cognitive style (1969), which emphasizes the fact that relational learners tend to absorb knowledge in relationship to the environment--both human and ideational--in which it is presented. Thus, the reinforcement and praise of the instructor are more important to a relational learner. Still another designation for this style is field-dependent cognitive style. This is the basic terminology used by Witkin (1977) and others who have been testing the existence of distinct learning styles in people since the 1950's. The field-dependent term stresses the fact that this approach to learning relies heavily on the surrounding cues for knowledge to be retained or grasped. Seeing a specific example of something which is to be produced seems to be a concrete example of this emphasis on surrounding cues before something can be learned.

All of the research on cognitive styles stresses the fact that the academic organization of knowledge in schools and universities is heavily weighted toward the analytic or field-independent style of learning. If a student has a tendency toward a global (relational, field-dependent) style of learning,the academic setting

poses an immediate difficulty. Of special interest in assessing where Yakima students stand regarding cognitive styles is the research of Rosalie Cohen (1969) which found that an experience of informal structure in one's family, peer groups, and schooling in early years tended to correlate with the development of the relational or field-dependent cognitive style. (Formal structures in one's early primary groupings, on the other hand, correlated with the development of the analytic or field-dependent style of learning.) The extended family setting, the emphasis on individual religion and spiritual experiences, and the preference for consensus and for group cooperation in accomplishing tasks (see below) all seem to verify the existence of informal structures among the family and peer group experiences of young Yakimas. Thus, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the relational or field-dependent cognitive style is predominant among the Yakimas. This hypothesis deserves further study, but it does indicate the significance of noting the learning preferences of Yakima college students. The one element related to cognitive style in the behavior trait interview form (see item Appendix A) indicates that Yakima students learn more easily when at least this aspect of the global (relational, field-dependent) cognitive style is taken into account.

Cross (1976:6) has devoted considerable analysis to the place of the field-dependent cognitive style in

understanding the "New Students" (the lowest one-third of academic achievers, among whom American Indians are over-represented). She believes that a larger number of these students have a relatively stronger tendency toward the field-dependent learning style. Such students "prefer clear directions and instructor responsibility . . . similarly, field dependents are less likely than field independents to do well in organizing their own learning materials" (Cross 1976:128; see also Witkin and Moore 1974). This description sounds a great deal like the Yakima preference for seeing a project over hearing about it, a preference verified in both the interview form and in discussions with educators who deal with Yakima students.

Cross' analysis explains why this trait may prove a handicap in the college setting.

> I found that, at the college level, New Students are twice as likely as traditional students to say that they prefer having a problem explained to them to figuring it out for themselves. Most teachers are convinced that the 'independent' learner who figures out the problem for himself is considerably ahead of the 'dependent' learner . . . I also suggest that traditional education has been geared more to the style of field independents than to the style of field dependents, giving field independents the advantage in school situations . . . It is possible that field dependents find themselves in less hospitable learning environments than field independents. (Cross 1976:122-125)

It is certainly true that if many Yakima students are field-dependent learners, they would have experienced

similar difficulties in learning in the high schools and elementary schools which they attended on or near the reservation. However, in at least some of these schools, the teachers have learned to make adjustments for both the Indian and the Mexican-American students. As one school counselor related about a school district which has almost half Indian schoolchildren: "The teachers either become Indian or leave; it's as simple as that. They just can't survive otherwise." "Becoming Indian" connoted adaptations in teaching style and in teacher expectations; these are exactly the items which cognitive style considers. Thus, it seems likely that students who have attended high school either in reservation area schools or in Indian boarding schools have experienced an education which has made at least some adaptations to the Yakima cognitive style. By contrast, the Indian population in the colleges and universities attended by these same students is so small--always less than 1%-- little such accommodation has probably occurred.

Preferring to Verbalize Knowledge only When it is Actually Needed to Solve a Problem at Hand

With this trait the question is again one of amount rather than kind: when is it appropriate to share knowledge with others; when is it appropriate to speak out with a piece of knowledge. In chapter III, reference

was made to the study of Cole, Gay, et al. in which cultural factors emerged as significant in triggering certain cognitive behaviors. This trait deals with the cognitive behavior of speaking out one's knowledge.

A Gros Vente woman (a plains tribe originally living east of the interior plateau area where the Yakimas lived) once explained how she felt in a white classroom when the teacher asked students to give answers learned in the previous night's homework. She could not bring herself to raise her hand and give an answer which was in the homework assignment "clear as day. It was silly to be giving answers that everyone already knew" (personal communication to author, 1974). This attitude toward holding back knowledge which is likely known by others is characterized by the Yakima Indian Nation Education Division's Research Analyst as "modest rather than assertive use of knowledge" (Yakima Indian Nation Education Division 1978a:n.p.). Perhaps it arises originally from the traditional value of humility and modesty in one's self-assessment.

> Every child is expected to be proud of what he is, but not to be better than anybody else. To think you are better than somebody is only fooling yourself, like Coyote in the legends. He was always bragging about himself, but he had to stop and ask his wise sisters for help when he got into trouble. That's why it is wise to listen to someone with more experience and knowledge. Nobody is so smart that he does not need help at one time or another. (Beavert 1974:211)

An interesting insight to this trait can also be gained from linguistics; in the native Yakima language, Sahaptin, an early white who learned the language noted that what he translated as "first person pronouns" were actually used both for what is called "first person" in English and French, and also for "the one who performs the action expressed by the verb" (Pandosy 1862:16). In other words, there was no one word in the language which unequivocally expressed "I" or "me"; this in itself deemphasizes the speaker. In reference to speaking out one's knowledge, this grammatical characteristic of Sahaptin points out that it is not important who is speaking out; rather the what is important. When this is a piece of knowledge, it is obviously important only if the knowledge is currently needed. Reference to who knows this piece of knowledge is unimportant.

Current observation points to the "Indian unwillingness to raise his hand with the answer in a group discussion" among the Yakimas (Yakima Indian Nation Education Division 1978a:n.p.). In a college setting, this trait might cause a Yakima to appear less bright or prepared than peers, particularly in certain types of classroom settings. Particularly difficult might be the oral exam; besides mastering the knowledge for the discussion with the examining teacher, the student would be battling a natural reticence which would keep him from giving

anything but the bare minimum necessary to answer a question.

On one such occasion, an Indian woman (unknown tribal affiliation) in Spokane almost failed an oral examination because when relating the accomplishments she had completed in a practicum in journalism with a small newspaper, she always said "we did such and such" rather than "I"; and the white professors evaluating her performance believed that she had personally done almost nothing on the practicum, since she had related almost nothing that "I" had done. The intervention of a college staff person who realized the nature of the information gap occurring was necessary before the student received a just evaluation of her work (personal communication to the author, 1974). Adjustments and understanding on both the student's and the instructor's parts are necessary to avoid repetitions of this situation. In addition, college occasions in which nominations by other students or faculty are needed for certain honors (acceptance to academic honoraries, Who's Who Among American College Students, etc.) the student whose use of knowledge has been modest rather than assertive may not receive the recognition actually deserved. The key problem is understanding the difference between cultural cues which trigger speaking out one's knowledge in the dominant culture and in the Yakima culture.

Preferring to Situate any Discussion Within the Context of One's Indian Heritage

The description of this trait only makes sense in the context of the opposite occurrence, which according to a number of Yakimas, occurs frequently. They are referring to the fact that when they are in a predominantly white group, it is an unsettling experience to carry on a long conversation without the slightest recognition of the Indianness of one of the participants. This is interpreted by many as a sign that the other members of the group are uncomfortable with Indians or feel that it is something one might be ashamed of and consequently is best left unmentioned. It is important to note that not all Yakimas find this a disturbing situation to be in. Some feel very comfortable in situations where no reference to anyone's ethnicity is made. However, on the interview form, the majority of Yakimas (fifteen out of twenty-five) agreed at least to some extent with the statement: "It is frsutrating to be in a non-Indian environment where your Indianness and/or Yakima heritage are never mentioned or acknowledged" (see Appendix A). The economic survey made of the reservation in 1964 listed among the five "cultural constraints" for planning future economic devleopment, "The Indians' special personal and cultural pride" (Consulting Services Corporation 1964:5).

Several Yakimas who had attended college or university ten to twenty years ago mentioned the alienation whcih they felt when no rcognition of their Indian heritage was made by any faculty or peers. One tells of sitting in a course on United States history and hearing the teacher speak of the Indians as if they no longer existed. "I could hardly stand it. I felt like a freak, sitting there in the middle of the class and knowing I was Indian and thinking that no one else in the class even knew I existed" (personal communication to the author 1977). However, the response received from the college personnel who received the interview form illustrates that perhaps this outlook has changed in recent years. In response to the statement, "When there are one or two persons of another ethnic background in a group, it's better not to make any reference to their ethnicity in the conversation," only 16 out of the 34 respondents agreed with the statement; 12 disagreed somewhat and 6 disagreed strongly. Better than half of the college personnel are aware of the appropriateness of bringing ethnicity into conversations, but there are still a sizable number who seem to disagree. These persons might make a Yakima student feel unwelcome and uncomfortable without having any intention of doing so.

Another aspect of this issue is the discomfort experienced by Indian people when they are "lumped together"

by non-Indians into a general category of Indians, and in which they are identified with and responsible to explain or defend all other Indians. (See Question 26A in the Indian form of the interview schedule, Appendix A.) Although this attitude is also apparently changing, some problem still exists. The college personnel response to the statement "There aren't many real differences in attitudes or behavior between Indians of various tribes in the U.S." showed that 25 of the 34 respondents disagreed strongly, and only 3 agreed with this statement; 6 disagreed somewhat. Probably with the personnel of the colleges under consideration (i.e., those most frequently attended by Yakimas), the recognition of tribal differences is growing.

Preferring, in Dealing with Bureaucracies, to Contact Acquaintances Rather Than to Deal with Established Procedures

Yakima Indians living in the reservation area are undoubtedly unaware of how much experience in dealing with bureaucracies they have had. Between the tribal government structure and the Bureau of Indian Affairs with its educational, health care, and real estate functions, most Yakima students have probably spent more time in and visited a greater number of offices than most of their white peers. But one very large difference exists: a great majority of the persons working in the

various offices are personal acquaintances or relatives of the student's family. Due to this difference as well as the extensive contact with bureaucracies a certain sophistication in dealing with bureaucratic problems develops among Yakimas as they mature. They learn to find persons in the structure with whom some personal contact exists and to use such contacts to handle other difficulties. Political maneuvering, and intra-tribal disagreements are common; evidence of this can be found in the Yakima city newspapers dating back to the early twentieth century. According to the assessment of the BIA agent in the mid-1940's, "The Indians are split apart into small cliques or groups opposing each other on questions of importance, or at least failing to support whole-heartedly any one particular undertaking" (Yakima Agency 1944:43). While strong tribal leadership has emerged with the granting of more self-determination to the tribal council, political disputes are common.

When the Yakima student enters the college setting, there is no lack of experience with bureaucratic structures but there may be a serious misunderstanding as to the best way to deal with those structures. On most campuses, when bureaucratic problems impede a student's registration, financial aid, or release of transcript, the only successful way to deal with the situation is to follow the established lines of authority and procedures, patiently

and perseveringly, until the problem is resolved. To the Yakima student who has never dealt with a succession of total strangers from one office to the next, and for whom the most logical solution to red tape has always been telephone calls or visits to kith and kin in the office structure, a bureaucratic problem in registration or financial aid can bring on a serious personal crisis. Martin noted in 1969: "Organizing life on campus for the convenience of faculty and administrators, and the aucillary effect of professionalism, may have improved faculty morale and helped to promote order, but it has negative effects on student creativity and self-realization" (Martin 1969:230); and Sandeen concluded in 1976: "The 'layers of Bureaucracy' that some institutions have created between students and 'the university' have contributed to feelings of alienation" (Sandeen 1976:129). If college and university structures have created difficult situations for dominant culture students, it is not surprising to see a special problem occurring with those students whose experiences with previous bureaucratic structures have been quite different. Yakima students fall into this latter category.

Preferring to Regain Peace-of-Soul by Spending Time Alone on the Reservation

The land has a particular significance to the Yakima people, and this significance becomes especially meaningful to them in times of stress. "The Yakima People believe that this land is theirs and that they are inseparable from this land" (Fiander 1978:ii). This is partially because of the spatial continuity which the Yakimas have maintained with their ancestral lands; many can trace back generations beyond memory of forefathers and mothers who are buried on exactly the same land where today's young people roam the hills. Barnett compares the Yakima's feeling for the land with the dominant culture's feeling for one's home. "Sentimental devotion to the thing 'home' does not enter into the thinking of the Yakima as it does with us. Home is spacially over a wide area of root grounds, creeks, hills and woods; not localized in a boarded living room" (Barnett 1942:52). While driving through the Toppenish Hills on the reservation where her ancestors had lived, a Yakima woman commented that many times she had seen her father "weep, when he saw those fences [marking off grazing lands]; 'how can they do that to the land,' he would say."

During the negotiations over the Dalles Dam, when the Yakimas were discussing the loss of some land due to flooding of the Columbia River when the dam was

completed, Alex Saluskin tried to communicate the importance of this land to his people: "Our people feel very deeply the loss of the religious value . . . When that is all covered by water, the history and legendary value will be lost to our people . . . It may not concern the white people in a monetary value but to an Indian, he feels much different and is much more attached to his homeland and his place of worship" (Portland District Corps of Engineers 1954:13). The relationship of the land to worship makes it clearer why peace-of-soul is more easily achieved in this setting.

For the Yakima college student, the important of returning to the reservation land for even a short amount of time may be something of even greater significance than the bouts of homesickness suffered by virtually every new college student. For in addition to seeing his family and familiar places, it may well be that this student has learned to settle his inner conflicts and to achieve internal peace only by being in a certain physical setting. Other students may learn to achieve inner peace through attending a church of their denomination or by listening to certain music. Undoubtedly these are also helpful to some Yakima students. However, it is likely from the importance given to the physical setting of the reservation in the celebrations and the religious ceremonies of the Yakimas, that there are some

Yakima students for whom a trip to the reservation--no matter how disruptive to college schedules--is a psychological necessity. How this can be accommodated within the rigid time pressures of the academic world is not very well answered at the present time but should be given consideration.

Preferring to Maintain Calmness of Mind Rather than to Become Anxious or Irritated When a Time Commitment is not Kept

Jokes about "Indian Time" are common on the Yakima reservation; but it is the experience of many whites who visit the reservation for meetings that scheduled events in the offices of the Tribe or the Agency are generally as punctually begun as elsewhere. "Indian Time" is often still important in beginning such Yakima events as a longhouse wedding; but even such a traditional event as the Grand Parade of the Tiinowit Pow-Wow in 1978 began precisely at the announced time of 6:30 each evening of the national dance contest. Thus, the dominant culture's understanding of "Indian time" may be somewhat lacking if it covers only the propensity to start events late.

Another misconception concerns the importance of present and future time. A common stereotype of Indians holds that they cannot be motivated to work for the future, because only the present is important to them. Fiander's value description says, "[Yakimas] think mostly in terms

of now. Doesn't do too much good to worry about tomorrow" (Fiander 1978:7). However, Patterson distinguishes between goals, which focus on the future, and purpose, which focuses on the present. Speaking of Quinaults (a western Washington tribe), he points out that they "may not have goals because it is hard for them to concentrate on a nonexistent future condition . . . What they do have is purpose. What is the purpose?--to live a full, satisfying life now" (Patterson 1968:60). It should be noted that there is a great deal of logic in this attitude on the part of Indian tribes today; considering the level of poverty, disease, suicide, and the death rate on reservations, the emphasis on the present is probably a very healthy mental attitude. Robbins talks about the "contrived culture" of the reservations resulting from the "imposition of a foreign set of values."

> If today's American Indians are present-oriented, for instance, there must be an intellectual attempt to determine why this trait has come to form an observable value in the modern Indian way of life. The concept of time utilized by aboriginal Americans . . . cannot be functionally equated with the present time concepts of reservation people, whose life-style has been predetermined, for the most part, by non-Indian people." (Robbins 1974:102)

It may be that the reservation life-style would require of any healthy person an emphasis on "now" rather than the future, due to the dependency of persons in this system. At any rate, this writer observed that many Yakima leaders today are future oriented in the ways

in which they plan for tribal development; elders continually speak of future generations and how they will be raised or if they will be supported by the land and allowed freedom of culture and worship. It is probably fair to conclude that the Yakima culture does not focus on the present to the exclusion of the future, but neither does it emphasize the future to the detriment of the present. In a college setting this attitude is probably comparable to that of most college students. Thus, an emphasis on the now does not seem to be a complete image of the Indian's understanding of time on the Yakima reservation.

More important to the Yakima concept of time is the attitude toward each individual's use of time and toward intervening events which unavoidably disrupt scheduled events. As Fiander's value chart explains, in the Yakima way "Time is for the convenience of all" (1978:7). It is not only for the convenience of those who came to see an event happen at a particular time, even if they are the chief participants in the event. It is also for the convenience of those who may have been unavoidably detained and are thus holding up the event for others. It is considered a sign of maturity and wisdom to be able to endure changes in time schedules without any visible signs of upset. This attitude might also be described as "the absence of time consciousness

and rigidity" (Schantz 1969:19), which is not to say that time schedules are resisted, but only that they are not idolized.

College personnel may identify the problem of "Indian Time and Indian students" as one of getting students to classes on time, and in some cases this is true. However, Yakima educational leaders do not see this as a cultural trait which should be given special consideration; they insist on the ability of Yakima students fully in tune with their culture heritage to meet class schedules with approximately the same regularity as other students (unless perhaps the problem of an unreliable old car may intervene). The real occasion for the issue of time to assume importance is in the reactions of college faculty and staff to unmet time commitments. When a Yakima student does not keep an appointment with an advisor, arrives late for an examination, or does not get a paper in on time, the dominant culture behavior traits call for a firm and strong reaction on the part of the faculty member; this is seen as necessary to maintain academic standards. To the Yamkima student, a strong reaction from the professor may appear to be an over-reaction, for the professor is not exhibiting the calmness and restraint considered desirable among older Yakimas in the face of time problems. If the professor seems to be overreacting, the student may well ask himself why and come up with the answer

that the professor must have been previously upset with the student and wishes to punish him or force him out of school. A Yakima woman's description of the results of these feelings is very perceptive: "Sometimes, because of the cultural background these individuals were nurtured in, they have experienced such a lack of communication it has rendered them unable to continue their schooling. They are labeled 'dropouts,' but 'shut-outs' may be a more accurate description" (from a paper written for a course taught by the author, 1977). Misunderstanding over the importance of meeting time commitments and proper reactions to missed time commitments may well provide one of the opportunities for the "shut-out" process in higher education.

Summary

In this chapter, twenty-four traits which are found frequently in the Yakima culture have been explicated in relationship to college and university settings. In a very real sense, it is impossible to summarize such explanations; the essence of these traits is their specific characteristics. However, it is possible to summarize the importance of these traits to the college experience of a Yakima student. On the one hand, it would be naive if not utopian to suggest that a student should experience no discomforts or conflicts in values during a college

experience. "Expressions of discomfort, signs of upset, are not necessarily negative signs. On the contrary, these signs may be evidence that developmentally fruitful encounters are occurring, that stimuli for progress are being felt" (Chickering 1969:283). But such feelings must be in some way intelligible to the student if learning is to result from them. The majority of the traits discussed in this chapter are only covertly recognized, if at all, by Yakima students and college personnel. Here is the locus of the problem: without recognition and intelligibility, the situation cannot be improved. It is precisely to these little-suspected corners of unintelligibility that educators must look for a real understanding of the culture conflict problem. As one college administrator commented in 1962: "a student's responses to classroom instruction, as well as other aspects of the college environment, will be in large part determined, not alone by his general mental ability, but also--and sometimes more significantly--by his social and cultural backgrounds, his attitudes and values, his interests and motivations, and other dominant attributes of his personality" (in Sutherland, et al. 1962:42).

CHAPTER VI

CULTURE CONFLICT ANALYSIS: CRITIQUE AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The previous chapters have traced the development and application of a process identified as culture conflict analysis. The process was developed and justified as an answer to the blind alley which attrition research has faced in trying to explain the increased and high dropout rate of American Indian college students. After identifying behavior traits which met the four criteria of consistency, relevancy, observability, and distinctiveness, each trait was carefully examined for its meaning and its operating relevance to dynamics on college campuses. This process produced a scenario of culture conflict situations for Indian students.

All of this analysis is useful only in so far as it actually is associated with attrition on the part of Yakima Indian college students. How can such a relationship be determined? On the one hand, qualitative data may be examined. These include primarily the opinions of Indians themselves; in general it would be accurate to say that the factors covered in the culture conflict

analysis in previous chapters are precisely those mentioned most frequently by Yakimas as the causes for the dropout problem. Of the more than fifty Yakimas with whom this problem was discussed during the 1977-78 academic year, all but five put the primary blame for Yakima dropout problems on the cultural strain experienced by students on college campuses. Those who expressed another viewpoint (five persons) felt that the students had not shown enough perseverance and determination, because of a lack of sufficient academic discipline, to weather the difficulties on campuses.

This informal consensus of opinions from Yakimas is strongly supported by research concerning other groups of Indian students. Parmee concluded in his study of the Apache young adults in the early 1960's:

> Off the reservation in a less secure environment of limited social acceptance . . . Apaches were faced with the additional problem of adjusting to the question of their social identity and of accepting the values and behavior patterns established. (Parmee 1968:110).

McGrath's study (1962) of Indians at a large university reached a similar generalization:

> Indian students who are most successful in higher education have committed themselves to learning and accepting the dominant culture or have completely identified with White society. (Quoted by Miller 1968:15)

After Patton (1972) completed his study of personal characteristics related to persistence of Indian students in college (at the University of New Mexico and New Mexico

State University), his recommendations all had to do with creating a more receptive environment on campus for Indian students. Leitka (1973) hypothesized that if institutions had Native American Studies Programs, some of the culture conflict problem would be alleviated through the presence of Indians as counselors, faculty members, and student peers. His research bore out this assumption, showing that while institutions without Indian Studies programs had attrition rates of around 80%, those with special programs for Indian students had much lower attrition rates (Leitka 1973). Ryan's (1973) study of personality traits revealed that there are significant differences between the personality traits of non-Indian and Indian students in colleges and universities. Leaving aside questions about the relationship between culture and scores on personality trait tests, it seems evident that Ryan's study again verified the uniqueness of some behavior traits in Indian college students.

Turning from qualitative corroborating evidence for the importance of culturally-determined behavior traits to the attrition rates of Yakima students, some statistics about Yakima attendance at institutions of higher education in the 1970's can be used to test the accuracy of the culture conflict analysis. Between 1972 and 1977, 628 persons attended postsecondary institutions under the auspices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)

education grant program, the Tribal Scholarship program, or the Project SECEP program. (It is likely that a few other Yakimas attended college during this time, for whom records are not available. However, due to the large amount of resources available through the above-mentioned three programs on the Yakima reservation, it is unlikely that very many persons have attended college without using any resources from any of those programs. Moreover, persons very active in tribal matters have been involved in this research and they have been unable to add any names to this list; this gives further validity to the estimate that very few Yakimas from the reservation area who have attended college between 1972 and 1977 have been omitted from the list of 528 persons.)

Of the 628 Yakima Indian students, 230 were still attending postsecondary institutions when the data gathering for this project ended, leaving 398 who were either graduates or dropouts. Of these 398, two earned certificates at technical schools, 12 earned two-year degrees but no highr degree, and 44 earned four-year degrees. This leaves 340 students who can be classified as dropouts, making a dropout rate of 85.4% for two and four year degrees. In comparison with the generally stated attrition rate of about 35% for four year degrees (Astin 1975: 10), this figure is certainly an affirmative of a severe problem of attrition among the Yakimas.

It seems appropriate here to point out that the present culture conflict research does not presume to solve the entire attrition problem for Indian (Yakima) students. In chapter II a review of the literature on attrition in higher education indicated that on the average about 35% of college students never earn a four-year degree. It was further noted that statistics on Indian students indicate that at least an additional 7-10% do not finish baccalaureate degrees, with some estimates putting the total Indian attrition rate as high as 90%. Culture conflict studies can only hope to address the amount of attrition which is above and beyond the "average" attrition rate for college students in the United States. Whatever factors cause attrition (about 35%) for non-Indian students are certainly also operative for Indian students. It is the additional factors associated with culture conflict which this study attempts to address. Thus, statistics on drop-outs by Yakimas should be compared with national averages, not with an ideal rate of attrition, which does not exist for any group of students.

With the exception of a single group, all of the Yakima students in the 1972-77 data attended postsecondary institutions representative of the dominant culture. The exception is the group which attended Haskell Institute in Kansas. This is a junior college run by the BIA specifically for Indian students. A comparison of the

graduation rate from this Indian two-year college with that of all two-year colleges attended by Yakimas is supportive of the culture conflict hypothesis. A total of 203 Yakima students attended two-year colleges between 1972 and 1977, either graduating or dropping out of higher education by the end of this time; of the 203, 14 received two-year degrees. This is a graduation rate from all two-year colleges of 6.9%. On the other hand, for the 46 Yakima students who, between 1972 and 1976, had attended Haskell Institute, the graduation rate was 17.4% (8 students out of 46). It should be noted that the national graduation rate from two year institutions was 18.7% in 1975 (Grand and Lind 1977:96 and 130). Thus the graduation rate from an institution in which culture conflict can be presumed to be less, since many of the college personnel and all of the students are Indian, is two-and-one half times higher than the graduation rate from all two-year institutions attended by Yakimas. Moreover, the graduation rate of Yakimas from Haskell is very close to the national graudation rate for two-year colleges.

A further association between attrition figures and cultural factors was found. Data were gathered on two factors for each Yakima student in the pool of 628 college attendees: the high school from which the student graduated, and the amount of Indian ancestry (i.e., quantum of Indian blood). Using these two variables,

the hypothesis that students who were more than one-half Indian and who had attended an all-Indian high school would have higher attrition rates than those who were less than one-half Indian and who had attended largely non-Indian high schools could be tested. The assumption was that if students were more immersed in their cultural heritage, they would exhibit more Yakima behavior traits, causing an increase in culture conflict and hence a higher attrition rate. Table 8 presents the test results for the first variable, high versus low Indian ancestry: Table 9 presents them for the second variable, attendance at an Indian versus a dominant culture high school. In both cases, the results are statistically significant. Greater Indian ancestry is associated with a higher attrition rate than lower Indian ancestry.

The statistics relating to quantum of Indian blood should perhaps be examined with some caution, since some studies have shown that amount of Indian ancestry is not always a good indicator of personal or cultural preferences. However, it would seem obvious that in most cases a higher level of Indian ancestry would be more indicative of a closer fit with Indian cultural preferences and practices than would a lower level of Indian ancestry. This would then seem to be an appropriate measure of cultural behavior traits, which helps to confirm the hypothesis that greater

TABLE 8

AMOUNT OF INDIAN ANCESTRY AND

GRADUATION RATE

(four-year degree)

	More than one-half Indian		Less than one-half Indian	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
No 4-year Degree Earned	254	94%	108	85%
Graduated with 4-year Degree	15	6%	16	15%

(Total N=393 Yakimas not in college in fall, 1976, but attended between 197? and 1976)

Chi-square = 5.776 p = less than .02 (statistically significant)

TABLE 9

HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDED AND

GRADUATION RATE

(four-year degrees)

	Dominant Culture High Schools		Indian Boarding Schools	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
No 4-year Degree Earned	234	90%	102	96%
Graduate With 4-year Degree	27	10%	4	4%

(Total N=367 Yakimas not in college in fall, 1976, but attended between 1972 and 1976)

Chi-square = 5.216 p = less than .03 (statistically significant)

immersion in the Yakima cultural heritage is associated with a higher attrition rate.

The statistics in table 6 are somewhat alarming if one compares the 15% graduation rate for Yakimas having less than one-half Indian ancestry with the 65% graduation rate nationally, which is inferred from the national attrition rate figure of 35%. However, these two sets of figures are not comparable. The 35% attrition rate refers to overall attrition--including only those who withdraw permanently, not those who have withdrawn temporarily and then re-entered, higher education--while the Yakima data refer, with few exceptions, only to students who earned a four-year degree in a four-year period. Moreover, the national figure is based primarily on a student population which attends four-year colleges or universities from the start (only about 15% of the higher education population attends two-year institutions); whereas the Yakima student population had 43% starting college at a two-year institution. Since two-year institutions have a higher rate of attrition, this factor also influences the statistics. A better comparison with the Yakima statistics might be provided by the Trent and Medsker finding that only 28% of college students had earned a bachelor's degree within four years. Of those who began higher education in a two-year college, only 12% earned a bachelor's degree in four years (Trent and Medsker 1968:78-79). In comparison with these figures,

the Yakima graduation rates for those of less than one-half Indian ancestry and those who attended dominant culture high schools (15% and 11%, respectively) are not so low as one might think, particularly in comparison to the rates of 6% and 3% for those more fully immersed in Yakima culture (more than one-half Indian or graduates of all-Indian high schools).

Table 9 which explores another possible indicator of Indian cultural involvement--attendance at an Indian Boarding School versus a dominant culture one--indicates statistical association between this cultural indicator and higher attrition. Presumably, students who have attended Indian Boarding Schools have also been more steeped in Indian ways and will thus exhibit more Yakima behavior traits.

Thus, there appears to be a statistical basis for the argument that students who are more immersed in Yakima culture prior to attending college or university have a greater tendency to dropout. Of course, the argument would gain in strength if specific cultural traits could be measured and correlated with attrition rates. Such research is possible now that some of the specific components of culture conflict have been identified.

New Directions

This statistical support for the basic hypothesis of the present study makes it very clear that educators of Indian students--both in colleges and in tribal education offices--need to look seriously at the problem of culture conflict. A superficial reading of the statistics described in the earlier pages of this chapter might give rise to the impression that Yakima cultural traits are a disadvantage, something to be eschewed if progress toward further education and economic development is to be made. Nothing could be further from the truth. More than one hundred years of experience with the white man's way of bringing progress to the Indian peoples of America has proven beyond the shadow of a doubt that abandoment of cultural heritage is a non-solution for Indian peoples. It leads only to alienation, mental and physical illnesses, and economic stagnation.

The question, then, is to find ways in which the culture of the Yakima college student can be used as a strength and a support in higher educational pursuits. This can happen only if institutions of higher education are willing to make adaptations in some of the settings in which an excessive amount of strain and confusion accompany the interaction of dominant culture personnel and Yakimas; and only if Indian educational leaders can

devise ways to prepare their students for the cross-cultural experience which will be theirs on college campuses. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to some suggestions along these lines.

Some Recommendations

Throughout this study it has become increasingly evident that the culture conflict problem for American Indians in higher education is sufficiently acute to require remedial action. There are a number of possible solutions which should be considered.

1. Continue to improve current efforts on campuses. Many colleges and universities which enroll a significant number of Indian students have special programs such as Native American Studies or Indian Counselling Services. In so far as these programs help students recognize and cope with the culture conflict they are experiencing, they are healthy approaches to the problem (cf. Leitka 1973). There are limitations, however, which include the problem of getting students who need help to consult the Indian Counselling Services, and the problem of reaching students in other majors--especially professional majors which allow very little time for electives from Native American STudies programs. Some Yakima students and parents also mentioned the tendency for special Indian programs to evolve into social clubs whose members spend

a great deal of time planning and carrying out dance contests, pow-wows, and other Indian events. This development can undermine the purpose of an Indian association on campus by deflecting energy from academic endeavors.

Current campus efforts at understanding more fully the culture conflict problems of various student groups should continue and be augmented. For instance, studies to establish the association between particular cultural behavior traits and attrition or persistence should be undertaken. Only with additional research information will the problem be clarified to the extent that specific solutions can be readily formulated.

2. Establish more colleges specifically for American Indians. In the tradition of Navaho Community College in New Mexico, colleges established primarily for Indian students, and located on sites near concentrated Indian populations, are another answer to the culture conflict problem. Such institutions make it possible for Indian students to experience higher education without risking failure and humiliation from factors not specific to the essence of a higher education. Moreover, such institutions help Indian students to develop leadership skills with other Indian students and under the tutelage of outstanding older Indian leaders who may be faculty members, board of trustee members, staff, or consultants. Cultural behavior traits affect styles of leadership, making it

important that the Indian leaders of tomorrow learn leadership skills in their own cultural environment if they are to exert leadership influence over their tribal peers in the future.

Establishing Indian colleges on or near reservations might also be helpful for the goal of economic development among Indian peoples. A useful parallel here is the establishment of small colleges--many of them denominational--in the tiny frontier towns of the mid-west and west during the mid-nineteenth century. Town fathers at the time considered it a great boon to get a college established, figuring that this would provide the development of human resources so essential to economic development; and that it would also promote interest in homesteading and business activities in the vicinity of the college as young people began to put down roots during their college years (Rudolph 1968:85). There seems to be an instructive parallel here with the situation on many reservations today.

For some Indian students, and perhaps for some future generations, separate Indian colleges may not be the answer. Those who can withstand the culture shock, who need to specialize in fields which a small college cannot adequately offer, or those who plan to move into jobs off the reservation where they will be interacting primarily with the dominant culture, would probably benefit

most from attending college away from the reservation. However, this group seems at present to be a small one; these students can continue to attend dominant culture institutions, as will most of those students who wish to pursue graduate study.

3. Establish branch campuses on reservation sites. This solution to the culture conflict challenge may have several advantages over the establishment of independent colleges on reservations. The first advantage is that a branch campus does not incur the expenses and the administrative superstructure which an entirely independent reservation college would. Most of the centralized expenses and the record-keeping required by accrediting agencies and federal regulatory agencies are supported on the home campus, relieving those involved in the college program on the reservation of some of the financial and administrative headaches which plague university administrators. A second advantage is that the branch campus brings with it a level of academic credibility based on the status of the home instituion, which is of great importance in gaining admission to graduate school for one's graduates, applying for grants to establish further programs in the branch college, and attracting good faculty. A third advantage is that the students at a branch institution have the opporutnity to experience faculty members from a dominant-culture college

(who commute to the branch campus), so that the way is paved for a transition to campus attendance at another college or university for later study. At the same time, the support from Indian peers, the closeness of friends and family, and the access to Indian coordinators or supervisors of the branch campus arrangements, lessens the chances that culture conflict situations will beomc overwhelming.

These advantages of a branch campus arrangement may be subverted if several important conditions are not met. The first condition is that the tribal education leaders have some input into the operation of the branch campus on the reservation site. If a college or university simply opens a branch campus under its own conditions and without reference to the needs and suggestions expressed by the local educational leaders, the branch campus will be little better for the Indian students than a campus attendance at a dominant culture institution. The influence of the tribal education leaders must be felt not only at the outset of the branch campus program, but these leaders must have an institutionalized process at their disposal for dealing with problems which arise. For instance, tribal education leaders might hire an educational counselor or a coordinator of tutoring services for the branch campus; since this person would be responsible to the tribe (which pays the salary for this

position) as well as to the college, an official channel would exist for registering complaints or suggesting changes in the college's procedures or programs. Without such an official channel, it is likely that severe difficulties would arise after the program was in operation.

A second difficulty which may arise with the branch campus arrangement is that student support services available on campuses are often omitted in planning a branch campus, and these services need to be available to students in order for many to finish the programs they start. The main services needed are counselling services and tutoring services. Unless provision is made for them--utilizing staff persons who can interact well with the Indian students at the branch campus--the entire program would be in jeopardy. This is especially true since most of the branch campus faculty would commute from home campuses and would not be available for office hours or special assistance to students having difficulties.

A program organized by the Yakima Indian Nation Education Division has attempted since 1976 to provide a branch campus program at Toppenish, Washington; it utilizes the educational programs of two four-year institutions in eastern Washington. While the program is open to all interested and eligible college students, the primary enrollment is Indian. In the first two years of the program, it appears that the persistence rate of students in the

branch campus program is much higher than that of students in other colleges and universities away from the reservation. Although the numbers are too small to make any definitive judgments yet, the early results of the program seem very encouraging. The Toppenish model also provides some insight into another problem of both the branch campus and the independent reservation college models: enrolling enough students to make the program financially feasible. This problem was solved in the Toppenish case by opening the program to non-Indians in a rural area where no other four-year college opportunities were available. In addition, the degree programs available, including the majors, were narrowed so that a large enough enrollment in each class could be assured. Thus, the Toppenish program provides some hopeful signs that a branch campus approach can indeed help solve the culture conflict problem.

4. Provide better support services for Indian students on campus. New approaches are needed to reach a larger proportion of Indian students with more relevant support services. One approach calls for offering a course in cultural anthropology for new Indian students on campus. The purpose of encouraging all Indian students to register for this class, and having a sizable number of Indians in it, is to offer a class which can count toward the genral education requirements of all students, regardless of major, while at the same time providing a forum for

bringing to a conscious level and discussing the cultural differences being experienced by the Indian students on campus. This type of class might solve the problem of Indian students who need a supportive class with other Indian students but who do not wish to take courses specifically in Native American Studies. Moreover, it puts the culture conflict experiences of the students in their proper academic perspective as a valuable and academically justifiable learning experience.

Another approach to supportive services is the appointment of an advocate for Indian students, a sort of cultural ombudsman. This position is quite different from the Indian counselor whose role, like that of other college counselling service staff members, is to help Indian students cope with and solve their own problems. An ombudsman, on the other hand, has the specific duty of dealing with complaints or problems which are not simply personal in nature, but have to do with the structure or functioning of other offices on campus. If such a person served in an advocacy role, particularly during the early days of the semester, a concrete solution might be found to the problem of meeting so many strangers in order to complete the college enrollment process. On many campuses, students must deal with at least twenty strangers before completing the first day of class. Multiplying the probability of a communication mis-match

occurring with a stranger from the dominant culture by the number of persons in this list gives some idea of the advantage to be gained by having an advocate for Indian students accompany them to these persons' offices:

- Admissions Counselor
- Admissions Clerk
- Financial Aid Director
- Housing Director
- Resident Assistant in Dorms
- Registrar's Clerk
- Student Accounts Clerk
- Bookstore Clerk
- Library Assistant (validate library card)
- Major Advisor
- Campus Security (register vehicle)
- Food Service Asst. Manager (get meal ticket)
- Food Service servers, dishwashers
- Student Health Office (file health record)
- Several Faculty Members
- Indian Counselor/Counselling Office
- Club President or officer (welcoming party)

A third approach to support systems for on campus Indian students builds on the importance of family and family approval to the motivation of these students. This approach calls for organizing of family members to visit the students on campus, faculty and advisors, and seeing the physical setting of the student's learning environment. Such a plan could be implemented by tribal education offices, from the viewpoint of a particular tribe and its students away at college; or it could be organized by a Dean of Student's or Indian Programs office, bringing in family members from several reservations for a special visiting time on campus. The importance of this approach was highlighted during the writer's research time with the Yakimas

when, on several occasions, someone would mention Stanley Smartlowit. The education building for the Yakima tribe was dedicated to Mr. Smartlowit in 1977 because of the efforts he expended throughout his lifetime to the success of Yakima students' higher education endeavors. Several Yakimas who now hold positions of leadership in tribal affairs related how Stanley Smartlowit would travel to various campuses--even those at great distances--showing up unexpectedly to take the students out to dinner, inquire after each of their classes and projects, sometimes meet the faculty members or advisors, and leave them with a little extra spending money as a token of "how proud everyone at home is of you Indian students." According to the persons who related these incidents, these visits made a profound impression on them, convincing them that the tribe and family at home wanted them to persevere in spite of the difficulties. Perhaps a similar kind of encouragement is needed today to motivate Indian students at college.

5. Hold pre-college Orientation Programs. Another approach to the culture conflict problem is that of preparing the Indian students themselves more adequately for the differences they will encounter with dominant culture personnel and students. This preparation might take place on the college campus, or it might be held on the reservation.

Holding such orientation sessions on campus is not an innovation at many institutions where this process has been in use for some years. However, there are certain features of such a program which must be included if the culture conflict problem is to be specifically addressed. First, the orientation session should allow the students to experience a realistic "slice of life" during their stay on campus. This includes at least some exposure to an actual classroom situation and to the administrative offices which the student will be visiting during the enrollment process. Secondly, a careful follow-up after the real-life experiences on campus is necessary in the form of group discussions, de-briefing sessions, or question and answer sessions; a leader who is competent to discuss and point out culture conflict situations is a must. Thirdly, an orientation to the physical setting of the student's college experience is very important. Several Yakima students mentioned to the writer that one of the most difficult aspects of starting college classes was the feeling of being totally lost among the maze of buildings and hallways for the first several days. This sensation seems to be a more serious one for these Indian students than for dominant culture students, perhaps because they are coming from an environment which has a good deal of wide open space and in which they have gained a complete familiarity with all locations by virtue

of having lived there all their lives. Another possible explanation for the importance of the physical setting to Yakimas is the apparent predominance of the field-dependent or global learning style among them which makes the environment an important orienting factor in learning.

If the orientation sessions are held on the reservation, there is the advantage of offering the sessions over a period of weeks, rather than in an intensive week or week-end, thus easing the student into the new cultural situation a little more gradually. Video tapes of college classroom sessions might be used to illustrate some of the behavior expectations in a typical college classroom. These would also lend themselves to discussions in which specific items of culture conflict could be raised. Speakers or discussion leaders should be chosen from those who have attended colleges and universities and who can now serve as good role models. Using the specific list of culture traits derived from the present study, a reservation-based orientation program could cover each of these items, using various techniques of presentation and discussion. A follow-up session should also be held during the first vacation time of the academic year when most of the students would be back on the reservation.

An important assumption underlying the recommendation for orientation sessions is that much of the culture conflict which arises is due to specific culture traits

of which the students are unaware. The first step in dealing with the alienation which occurs in a culture conflict situation is to pinpoint the cause of the information gap which is occurring. A complete solution to the problem, of course, requires that the persons from both of the cultures involved in the situation recognize the factors involved in the information gap; however, since it is not possible to reach all the dominant culture personnel with whom the student will be dealing, it is at least part of a solution to have the students well informed. This would enable them to explain the situation to dominant culture persons in some cases; in others, it would at least keep them from feeling guilty and confrused in situations where their cultural heritage rather than their academic incompetence is the real issue.

6. Take administrative action in colleges and universities to alleviate culture conflict situations. After studying the nature of the culture conflict situations (as described in chapter V of this study), administrators can note several strategies which might be adopted to alter situations which are particularly conducive to culture conflict. The first strategy to be suggested here is that of streamlining some of the enrollment procedures involved in the first several days of the academic year. While the functions of helping students who are registering for classes, obtaining financial aid, paying

bills, establishing library privileges, meal ticket arrangements, and car permits, and moving into campus housing must be administered by different offices and personnel, it is possible to look on the student as a customer who should be served in the smoothest and least traumatic way possible. If this were done, in the light of the needs of the particular customers under consideration--the Indian students--it would mean streamlining the enrollment process so that students would have fewer persons to meet and less time to stand in lines. Each campus setting would require different adaptations to make this streamlining a reality; in most cases it would require additional training of some personnel in new enrollment procedures. However, the assistance of older students who already know the system should make this possible with little additional cost if administrators really believe that it is important. Because of the number of Yakima cultural behavior traits which may present problems when the dominant culture person is unaware of the Yakima cultural conventions, providing improvements in the enrollment process appears very important.

A second administrative action which might be taken would require more extensive commitment of institutional time and resources. This would be a culture conflict self-study of the college or university which could be conducted by the Dean of Students' office, the Director

of Counselling, or a similar officer. Several alternative goals could be chosen for such a study. On the one hand, the self-study might seek to understand the specific cultural traits of a given group of minority students on the campus; in this case, the same kind of methodology used in the present study should be considered. This would include extensive involvement with members of the minority culture in their home setting and applying such information to the college milieu.

Another goal of a self-study would be to identify likely settings in campus life where culture conflict may occur. This approach might examine four areas: 1) specific college personnel with whom the average student must interact and the characteristics of the interaction which generally takes place (including such problems as use of jargon, understaffing of an office which may cause hurrying and curtness in dealing with students, lack of office space for private conferences, lack of knowledge about the overall college program on the part of some offices); 2) places on campus which imply various behavior norms (large classrooms, seminar rooms, labs, dining halls, dorms, lawns and grounds, athletic facilities); 3) reward systems used in the college (including posted grades or test scores, report cards, Dean's List, honors and awards, election to offices, honoraries, athletic team membership); 4) support systems available to students

in the college (including academic advisors, counselling offices, chaplain's services, student union activities, tutoring services, lab partners). Under each of these categories, a self-study should ask what kind of problems might arise from each of the items identified for a person from a different cultural background. This would provide an inventory of possible contexts for culture conflict, i.e., trouble spots. The last phase of the self-study would be the selection of a limited number of these trouble spots for special remedial action during a given year, with a scheduled evaluation of these actions a year later and implementation of a new set of actions at that time.

The presence of an inventory of possible trouble spots for culture conflict might be very helpful to a Dean of Students or Counselor in identifying the real causes of students' problems as they occur. Such a tool would also sensitize the officers or committee which develops it so that additional barriers to smooth inter-cultural relations on campus might be avoided.

In addition to administrative actions which might be taken by a single institution, there are plans which might be implemented by a group of colleges and universities. Since culture conflict situations appear to be quite similar on most campuses (at least according to the present research), several institutions which enroll members of the same minority group(s) might establish an inter-institutional

team of persons mandated to prepare recommendations and reading material to improve the inter-cultural climate on campus. This team might prepare briefing materials on particular cultural traits of significance to campus settings; they might hold workshops for interested faculty members; they might visit, on request, a given campus to suggest steps for improving culture conflict problems; they might establish orientation sessions for minority students coming to any of the involved institutions.

Another approach based on inter-institutional cooperation would be that of holding a summer workshop in which members of the college and university staffs and faculty would meet with members of the minority culture group in question to carry out a culture conflict analysis similar to that produced in the present research. Such a project might warrant funding from a foundation or agency interested in intercultural understanding, so that leaders from the minority community could be brought to the workshop as well as members of the campus communities. The results of such a workshop could then be shared with each of the campuses, where the basic cultural trait data could be used in a variety of ways.

7. Carry out research on culture conflict in education at the high school level. College attrition caused by culture conflict does not start in college; high schools also register higher attrition rates for

Indian students than dominant culture students (Weinberg 1977 and 1978). "Evidence suggests widespread cultural insensitivity on the part of the school . . . Instances of outright teacher discrimination and unconcern are documented extensively" (Weinberg 1977:321). University departments of education could provide encouragement and resources for research on cultural factors in education for school districts. Such research has the advantage over research on college populations of having a more stable population (a somewhat captive audience) whose parents and cultural community are also close at hand. Moreover, the results of research at a pre-college level of education might have greater potential for assisting those students, whose negative attitudes toward the educational establishiment might otherwise be too firmly entrenched to be amoliorated by the time they reach higher education.

8. Use culture conflict analysis as a prototype for greater humanization of the higher education system for all students. The process of culture conflict analysis may appear to be too complex to be undertaken for a small group of students. However, there is an interesting phenomenon at work here. Many of the things which Indian students experience as alienating--culture conflict experiences--are also unpleasant experiences for dominant culture students. But the latter have learned through lengthy

exposure to the system that they "just have to put up with it"; their drive to succeed in college is strong enough to see them through these traumas. The Indian students, on the other hand, probably because of their very strong tradition of individual rights and their cultural understanding of the appropriate time to withdraw from stress,do not put up with these difficult situations as often as their dominant culture counterparts. Thus, the problem comes to light as Indian students withdraw from colleges or universities. However, it seems quite clear that if some of the complaints of the Indian students in higher education institutions were remedied, the dominant culture students would also find the institution more attractive.

Such an approach might begin with an effort to get the entire campus to participate in cultural awareness activities; perhaps a core course in the general education requirement could include some form of cultural anthropology. A second phase would concentrate on the unique qualities of each person and the human rights issues following therefrom. If students and faculty, as well as key staff members, actually experienced together such a program of study and activities, the entire campus experience might become more humane for everyone. Flexibility and meeting individual needs would become a higher priority in institutional functioning. Thus a higher education institution might

begin to model the behavior which faculty members and leading administrators often call for in today's technological society: competence not only in technical fields but in the art of being human.

Conclusion

Culture conflict is not a euphemism for the inability of minority students to perform well in higher education. It is not a vague abstraction on the level of "human nature" which cannot be analyzed or understood. It is not a mysterious force which can be called upon to explain failures in personal goal-setting or in learning skills.

A careful analysis of behavior traits distinctive to the Yakima Indian Nation culture has demonstrated that culture conflict is a predictable phenomenon which can occur whenever there is an information gap between two mind-sets rooted in different cultures. Once the nature of the information gap has been identified, it is the responsibility of persons from each culture to digest this new information and work to remedy the situation. This is the seemingly simple outcome of a rather complex study of culture conflict and its implications for higher education in the United States.

APPENDIX A

Interview Schedule for Parents of Yakima College Students (Administered orally, June, 1978)

I Disagree Strongly = 1
I Disagree Somewhat = 2
I Agree a Little = 3
I Agree Quite a Bit = 4
I Agree Entirely = 5

1. People aren't supposed to express their deepest spiritual beliefs or their personal values; those things are expressed by the kind of life you live. _____

2. When you're not sure how another person is feeling toward you, it's better to be quiet and keep a little more physical distance from the person till you sense that the situation is better. _____

3. The fewer words you use to say somethings, the better, no matter what the circumstances. Extra words or repetitions sound phony and thoughtless. _____

4. Going to the funeral services of any member of your extended family is really important. It shows loyalty to the family and responsibility toward them. _____

5. It is better to wait until those older or more important in a group have given their opinions on a subject before you give your opinion. _____

6a. If a person is quite a bit older or a very respected person, it is better not to look him or her directly in the eye. _____

6b. However, if you're having a one-to-one conversation with someone, it is always appropriate to look them directly in the eye. _____

7. People seem phoney or too pushy if they smile at you for no particular reason. It's better to keep a calm and non-expressive face whenever you're not trying to communicate a specific message to someone else. _____

8. Don't ever contradict persons or bring up their mistakes to their face. If you don't agree with them, you can bring in the other view indirectly, but not directly. _____

9a. When your role requires you to give something to someone or to do something for someone, you should not expect them to say Thank You or make other statements of gratitude. _____

9b. The person receiving something in this type of situation should feel free to take or use it, at the appropriate time, without asking. _____

10. When you are trying something new, it's better if you can see some examples done by others first. It's not enough to have someone just describe what the project or activity is supposed to be like. _____

11. Even if you have family or personal problems that might be interfering with your work, you don't talk about them except within the family or very close friends. People at work should just presume that you are doing your best to cope with whatever problems there are, without having to know what they are. _____

12. When you are in a group which is trying to accomplish something (like putting on a church dinner) it's better if everyone just pitches in and helps in the best way they can, instead of someone assigning specific responsibilities to each person. (Of course, on a regular job, with a boss, it may be good to assign jobs to each person.) _____

13. People should try to learn all they can, but they should be very careful not to seem like"know-it-alls" with their knowledge. It should come out in the open only when it is really needed to solve a problem. _____

14. When you happen to have a pretty good amount of money, spend it on something worthwhile or give it to needy relatives or friends; don't just horad it! _____

15. People should be ready to make long car trips on short notice and stay temporarily in other locations, when there are family needs which call for it. _____

16. Self-sacrifice is pretty meaningless unless it's necessary in order to take care of your family. Some people also make personal sacrifices for the good of their community or tribe, and that's OK, too. _____

17. When you run into red tape in an agency or office, about the only way to get out of it is to find someone in the offices whom you know personally or are related to, to help you out. _____

18. It is wiser to take a good amount of time to make any decision, even if other people want to hurry you up. _____

19. Very often your grandparents, your aunts and uncles, or your cousins are as important in your life as your brothers and sisters or mother and father. _____

20. One of the most important ways of getting your peace-of-soul back in times of stress is just to be on the Yakima land and quietly absorb its beauties. _____

21. Before you get really hurt, physically or emotionally, in a difficult situation it is best to get out of the situation entirely. _____

22. It is easy to insult people unintentionally and imply that they're not capable by things you say. _____

23. The only kinds of life goals that mean much are those which would mean helping one's family and community and/or tribe in some way. _____

24. When a group is deciding something, the most important thing is that every person's opinion is respected and the decision is reached by common agreement of everyone in the group, not simply by taking a majority vote. _____

25. If you have made a mistake or neglected to do something you said you would, don't give explanations or excuses (unless it's your boss at work and he expects them). If you want to, you can simply say "I'm sorry" when you're talking to the person again later, but that is sufficient. _____

26a. It's difficult and frustrating to be in a non-Indian environment where others think of you just as "Indian" and not as a Yakima with a distinct history and culture. _____

26b. It's also frustrating to be in a non-Indian environment where your Indianness and/or Yakima heritage are never mentioned or acknowledged. _____

The following items were altered slightly, as indicated by underlining, for the survey conducted among college personnel. Other items were the same as above.

4. Going to the funeral services of any member of your extended family* is really important. It shows loyalty to the family and responsibility toward them.
*<u>includes cousins,uncles,etc</u>. _____

16. Self-sacrifice is pretty meaningless unless it's necessary in order to take care of your family. Some people also make personal sacrifices for the good of their community <u>or friends</u>, and that's OK, too. _____

20. One of the most important ways of getting your peace-of-soul back in times of stress is just to be in a "nature place" special to your growing-up years and quietly absorb its beauties. _____

23. The only kinds of life goals that mean much are those which would mean helping one's family and community and/or friends in some way. _____

26a. When there are one or two persons of another ethnic background in a group, it's better not to make any reference to their ethnicity in the conversation. _____

26b. There aren't many real differences in attitudes or behavior between Indians of various tribes in the U.S. _____

APPENDIX B

Class Attendance Policies of Higher Education Institutions Most Frequently Attended by Yakimas

1. University of Washington

"The university has no policy on absences. Each professor has his/her own policy.

"The teacher has no responsibility to the absentee. It is the student's responsibility to make up work, etc.

"University policy does require make-up finals in case of illness or religious holiday conflicts."

(Personal communication from Office of the Registrar June, 1978)

2. Yakima Valley College

"Regular and prompt attendance at all classes and at conferences with instructors is expected of all students.

"All work missed by reason of absence, regardless of cause, must be made up to the satisfaction of the instructor. A student, knowing that he/she will be absent, is expected to get assignments from instructors in advance so that the class work is ready before he/she leaves or when he/she returns."

(College Policies 1978:11-12)

3. Central Washington University

"Regular class attendance is expected of all students. Although attendance is not compulsory, students are responsible for all requirements of the courses in which they are enrolled.

"The faculty has no responsibility to offer makeup work for casual absences, but may give such opportunity to students who have been absent from class for justifiable cause. Instructors or departments arrange makeup work."

(Personal communication from Office of Registrar June, 1978)

4. Eastern Washington University

"Failure to attend class may result in loss of registration in that course section or assignment of failing or no credit grade at the instructor's option."

(Eastern Washington University Catalogue 1977-78:7)

"Instructors establish policies for attendance for their specific courses."

(Personal Communication from Office of Registrar June, 1978)

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