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ABSTRACT

The Mountain-Plains Task Force on Indian families was established due to the low success rate of Indian enrollees in completing the Mountain-Plains program, a model educational program for the rural disadvantaged population. As a consequence, the task force was proposed to identify program failure factors and to suggest ways of retaining Indian families through to successful completion in the program. The major problems contributing to premature departures were identified as: alcohol; marital conflict; reservation life and majority institutional structures; isolation, worry, rigidity, self-rejection, and interpersonal isolation; extended family influences; input motivation and expectations; and conflict and aggression. The problems are explored in depth emphasizing the psychological, sociological, and cultural aspects forming the major underlying causes. Some major conclusions were that (1) cultural dissonance resulted in a difficult adjustment to the majority culture's world, (2) the Mountain-Plains program can only be a valuable experience for a narrow spectrum of the Indian population, (3) male heads of households are successful in mastering the vocational and educational requirements, and (4) the program is most successful with Indian families who are partially immune to culture shock. An indepth followup analysis substantiated the task force findings. A six-item bibliography is appended. (BP)

A REGIONAL PROGRAM IN
COMPREHENSIVE FAMILY EDUCATION

INDIAN EDUCATION APPLICATIONS AN

LIMITATIONS OF THE MOUNTAIN-PLAIN

FAMILY CAREER EDUCATION MOD

A TASK FORCE REPOR

MOUNTAIN-PLAINS
...QUARROW AFB, MONTANA 59221

AN AFFECTIVE EVALUATION REPORT

Indian Education: Applications and Limitations of the Mountain-Plains Family Career Education Model

A Task Force Report

General Report No. 3

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THIS STUDY IS A PRODUCT OF THE RESEARCH SERVICES DIVISION

David A. Coyle
Director

March, 1975

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THE TASK FORCE

Task force members were selected on the basis of their extensive contact with Indian students in the Mountain-Plains Program. Of the nine members, five are Indian by both legal definition and life experience and three others have had significant intercultural experience previous to the Mountain-Plains Program. A brief biography of each task force member follows in order that the reader may better acquaint himself with their experience, perspectives, and expertise.

Acknowledgements

The principle authors wish to formally recognize others outside the task force who have made important contributions to the report. Dr. Michael Fenenbock has given the report added dimension and depth through his considerable expertise in social history. His contributions and editorial assistance have been invaluable. David A. Coyle and Judy Schank have likewise given valuable editorial assistance. Finally, Kathy Steele deserves recognition for drafting, footnoting, and redrafting with both skill and patience.

TASK FORCE MEMBERS

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Staff Counselor
Task Force Chairman

Ms. Jore is a native of Montana and attended public school in Poplar, Montana. A graduate of the Montana college system with a degree in Education, Ms. Jore's experience includes secondary teaching as well as both manpower and college counseling. Ms. Jore is a therapeutic counselor. (Note: Ms. Jore has resigned from Mountain-Plains in order to pursue further graduate study.)

ROWAN W. CONRAD
Coordinator, Counseling

Dr. Conrad is a designer, administrator and researcher in the area of human development programs. A native of Kansas, he has a degree in Chemistry from Baker University, and holds the Ph.D. degree from Kansas State University in Counselor Education with an Anthropology support area. Dr. Conrad's experience includes work in secondary teaching in Ghana, International Education work with the United Campus Ministries, and University work in Student Personnel, Counseling, teaching, and research. (Note: Dr. Conrad has moved to the Mountain-Plains Research Department to devote full-time to project wide efforts in affective evaluation.)

GRACIA SCHALL
Staff Counselor

Ms. Schall is a native of North Dakota and attended public school in Minot, North Dakota. A graduate of Minot State College with a degree in social science, Ms. Schall's experience includes sales and secretarial positions in California, as well as three years as a counselor/social worker on the Ft. Berthold Reservation. Ms. Schall is a therapeutic counselor.

PAT PEPION
Community Instructor

Ms. Pepion is a native of Montana and attended school on the Blackfoot Reservation, Browning, Montana. Ms. Pepion's diverse work history ranges from agriculture through carnival concessions to social services. Ms. Pepion is a case aide and community development worker. (Note: Ms. Pepion has resigned and returned to Browning, Montana, for personal business reasons. In Browning she is active in social service and Indian community programs.)

CAROL TRAVERSIE
Student

Ms. Traversie is a native of South Dakota and attended school in Eagle Butte, South Dakota. Ms. Traversie is a student in the Mountain-Plains Program. (Note: Since completing the program, Ms. Traversie has been a student at Mary College, Bismarck, North Dakota.)

FRED BAKER
Associate Director
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Mr. Baker is a native of North Dakota and received a B.S. in Education from Bemidji State College, Minnesota, and has graduate work from the University of Michigan as well as UCLA. Mr. Baker has held various administrative positions in health, education and Indian agencies. Mr. Baker serves on boards and holds several positions in Indian organizations including service on the Board of Directors of the Haskell Institute. Mr. Baker is a teacher and educational administrator. (Note: Mr. Baker has resigned to accept a senior administrative position with the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Alaska.)

RICHARD MANLEY
Supervisor
Career Guidance Services

Dr. Manley is a native of South Dakota and attended public school in Rapid City South Dakota. Dr. Manley's education includes the B.S. degree in primary education, an M.S. in Guidance and Counseling, and the Ph.D. degree with emphasis in Student Personnel, Educational Research, and Vocational Psychology from the University of Iowa. Previous experience includes primary teaching and university admissions. Dr. Manley is a guidance counselor, educational researcher and vocational psychologist.

JANELLE GEYSER
Supervisor
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Ms. Geyser is a native of Missouri and received a B.S. in education from Southeast Missouri State College, Cape Giradeau. She worked as a speech and hearing therapist for several years in various secondary schools and served in that capacity for the Head Start program in Jackson, Missouri. Ms. Geyser is a speech therapist. (Note: Ms. Geyser has resigned to accompany her husband as he has accepted new employment in Michigan.)

JOE MORRISETTE
Student

Mr. Morrisette, a South Dakota native, is a student in the Mountain-Plains Program. (Note: Mr. Morrisette has now departed the Mountain-Plains Program and is reported to have joined the military.)

INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM

The Mountain-Plains Program, with its emphasis on individualization, student self direction, and extensive counseling and support services, offers one of the most complete, diverse, and flexible educational systems yet devised. This flexibility allows the program to address needs across a diverse and multi-problemed student population. Mountain-Plains' charge is to research and develop a model program having application for a rural disadvantaged population. Within that charge there are elastic limits, and that limit seems to be below the "stretch" required to meet the special needs of many whose values are divergent from those of the majority population; namely, a percentage of American Indians.

THE TASK FORCE

The Mountain-Plains Task Force on Indian families was established in response to an alarming program statistic: The success rate of Indian enrollees, in terms of program completion, was half that of the all student average.[1] As a consequence the task force was proposed by the Mountain-Plains Counseling Services Department in order to identify causes underlying this lack of Indian success and to suggest ways of retaining Indian families through to successful program completion.

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[1]The percentage of Indian dropouts (families not completing for whatever reason) has decreased of late to 43% (from 66%) whereas the proportion among other students has decreased to 20% (from about 35%). The "gain" in retention of Indian families is double that for other students, but the proportional gain in both dropout groups is similar. (At the time of initiating the task force the completion rate was the only "success" criterion available.)

The task force's original (and, in retrospect, naive) assumption was that improved counseling and/or community programs would allow Mountain-Plains to effectively retain Indian families in general. The task force was endorsed by program management and subsequently met twice monthly from January through May, 1974.

The task force was able to draw on the collective experience of its members as well as upon reports written on and, in some cases, by Indian families (both program completers and non-completers), interviews with individual Indian students, discussions with Indian student organizations, and psychological test scores.

THE QUESTIONS

The perimeters of the task force study were established in response to a specific question: What are the problems leading to premature Indian family exit? The foci of that question became: To what extent is Mountain-Plains successful in educating students of American Indian heritage? In course additional questions were developed, including: In what ways does Mountain-Plains succeed? In what ways do we fail? What types of Indian students respond best to the Mountain-Plains approach? Which Indian students do not respond? Is there a spectrum of the region's Indian population currently being served at Mountain-Plains? What factors and influences outside Mountain-Plains assist or impede the effort of Mountain-Plains to meet the needs of Indian students? Which of these can be modified by Mountain-Plains and which represent factors beyond the capacity of Mountain-Plains to affect, and thus represent boundary conditions

within which Mountain-Plains must work? In examining the data accumulated during and since these meetings, it has become clear that neither the question(s) nor the answer(s)[2] are simple. The major conclusion of the task force is that no one of the currently popular catch phrases or panaceas is appropriate to explain, let alone resolve, problems in the areas of "Indian" student success.

METHODOLOGY

The preparation of this report, as well as the logical pursuit of discussion that preceded it, are hampered by methodological considerations. It is helpful here to set out the general methodology, and its limitations, including those imposed by task force method.

What Is Indian?

Obviously, there is no such thing as the American Indian. "Indian" is a variety of tribal groups and organizations, evolving in a variety of historical settings, responding to a variety of geographical situations, in a variety of contexts.[3]

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[2]Simplistic solutions for the problem of Indian family retention at Mountain-Plains abound--the most frequent of which has been to hire more Indian staff. However, conversations with staff of primarily "Indian" programs reveals a long term success rate at least as unsatisfactory as that of Mountain-Plains. Therefore, the solution of hiring more Indian staff is obviously not the total answer. Other simplistic stock answers were found to be, in and of themselves, inadequate to the task of explaining or attacking the variables that emerged as critical in terms of premature termination of program involvement on the part of Indian students.

[3]Anthropologists point out that among Indians there is a greater difference in physical type than among the basically European types (both northern and Mediterranean) that followed. See. Richard A. Bartlett, The New Country: A Social History of the American Frontier (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 7-13.

We are speaking in this report of Indian families who generally fall in the group designation of "Plains Indian." And, more specifically, of those Plains Indians who have attended the Mountain-Plains Program.

Within that context Mountain-Plains Indian students range from: (1) Indians who have never seen a reservation or heard their "native" language spoken, through (2) reservation reared Indians having broad experience in the world outside the reservation including experience with such institutions as the university and the military, to (3) reservation reared Indians for whom English is strictly a second language and who hold such stereotyped perceptions as "all white men are rich."[4] Additionally, these categories are complicated by the fact that the first two contain many who, by genetic inheritance, are as little as one quarter Indian, and who have thus been socialized by families whose adult members adhere to divergent cultural values and who see themselves clearly as neither "white" nor Indian in terms of identifying with a cultural group or value system.

Indian student families who attend Mountain-Plains tend to be near the middle of the above spectrum--those with some experience of "majority" society and institutions including fluent spoken English language capability. In general, Indians in the first category are employable and employed without need of assistance from institutions such as Mountain-Plains, whereas the latter category usually find the prospect of relocating to a "foreign" environment (even if temporarily and for

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[4]Meaning generally, from the Indian perspective, the majority society.

study purposes) sufficiently threatening that the relocation is not attempted. In examining the records of Indian students who, for whatever reasons, did not complete certification, the vast majority were those where one or both spouses approached the "real Indian" end of the intercultural spectrum. The bulk of this report is, therefore, addressed to identifying problems among, and addressing the question of how Mountain-Plains can be successful in treating those Indian students that habitually seek out Mountain-Plains--namely, families where at least one member is somewhat sophisticated in negotiating the institutions of the "majority" society, but who are experiencing employability problems.

Ideal Types

We have tried to structure an "ideal type" problem Indian family. We do not, however, hold with any suggestion that our "ideal type" fits any individual, only that "ideal type," used as a model, is a meaningful device through which we may come to grips with a specific problem.

Social/Cultural Values

We will speak in the report as though there were a "fixed" set of common social/cultural values both for the Indian and for the majority. The reader should bear in mind, as task force members have, that to speak of fixed values is to assume a certain changing historical perspective. Social/cultural values are nothing more than an ebb and flow of individually held assumptions, attitudes, traditions, and familiar perceptions. Nevertheless, there is an arena within which we may model a set of "ideal type" Indian social/cultural values and set these values over and

against a set of "ideal type" majority social/cultural values. The lines of distinction blurr at the edges and the values of each group overlap. Indeed, the majority culture has been influenced by its historical perception of the Indian just as Indian cultures have been influenced by a perception of the majority.[5]

No one suggests that Indian social/cultural values are held by all Indians at all times, only that, this "ideal type" as with the one before, provides a useful tool for understanding.

Limitations

It is also necessary to point out the essential nature of this task force report. The report does not formally test statistical hypotheses by a collection of unbiased numerical data. Rather, it is a distillation of a broad range of events and observations by a group of sympathetic observers relying upon available data, professional training, and personal experience in what is, essentially, an attempt to look at the meaning of that multi-definitional term, "Indian Education"--both as it relates to Mountain-Plains and as it relates to Mountain-Plains students. This report, then, is interpretative. However, as the aforegoing task force biographies illustrate, it is interpretation based on the opinions of a well qualified, well balanced group.

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[5] There is one important sense in which Indian experience may be seen as a whole--all Indian experience vis a vis the federal government. The federal government has generally imposed similar treatments and procedures upon all Indians, regardless of wide ranging tribal differences. The government approach to Indians then is monolithic. Concomitantly, all Indian perception of the federal government, to one degree or another, is also monolithic.

PREVIEW OF THE REPORT

The major problems which the task force identified as contributing to premature departures are diverse. This diversity can be summarized under the headings of alcoholism and concomitant financial problems, marital conflicts, extended family influence, isolation, adjustment to structure, motivation, program expectations, "reservation" life style, child care, identity diffusion, territorial insecurity, peer pressures, and self-perception.

This task force's recommendations for increasing Indian persistence include improved opportunity for cultural expression (e.g., The Indian Club and its activities) as an alternative to the bar and house party; educational courses in the use and abuse of alcohol which emphasize the disadvantages of uncontrolled drinking and the majority society's standards of acceptance or rejection of particular drinking habits and behavior; improved guidance in selection; a system of procedures--particularly in the area of leave time--allowing for cultural differences (e.g., leave for funerals and weddings of persons outside the immediate family); and a program component to assist Indian wives with problems of isolation and childrearing[6] (e.g., a home visitor/counselor provided through the Counseling, Community Development, or Early Childhood Education Department).

Major conclusions reached by the task force were: (1) The Mountain-Plains Program, structured as it is to enable students to live productive satisfying lives in

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[6]This includes recognizing that Indian mothers, for whatever reasons, are extremely reluctant to entrust the care of small children to strangers (i.e., baby-sitters).

the majority society as it now exists, (not as we would like it to be or the way it might be someday), can be fully successful with only that segment of the Indian population suffering "disadvantaged" problems as opposed to purely "Indian" problems, and (2) Neither Mountain-Plains nor any other institution can be widely successful unless broader auxiliary social parameters are addressed.

ALCOHOL

The single major behavior problem among Indian students experiencing program difficulty is alcohol abuse. This problem emerges both in and of itself and as a contributor to a variety of other problems. It seems clear that among the population under study, alcohol mainly provides escape; although alcohol also serves as a status symbol[7] as well as providing an excuse for social gathering and interaction taking the place of traditional activities which have either disappeared or have been subverted. While in many ways the following is a description of alcohol problems in general, the areas focused upon appear to be more acute for the Indian.

Indian families manifest drinking problems in essentially the same manner as non-Indians. However, the frequency and duration of these manifestations appear to occur differently among Indians. Indians go on weekend and week long "parties", whereas others tend to confine drinking to one night at a time--usually on a weekend and most often only on Friday or Saturday nights. "Majority" students are more "time conscious" and have a tendency to structure their activities in order to insure being at work or in class on Monday morning. Indians, following an extended party, either lose track of, or reject outright, the five day work (school) week as a major organizing principle of life. In addition, resentment and depression seem to play an active part in the Indians' "don't give a damn" or "go to hell" attitude which is often apparent during intoxication.

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[7] The right to consume alcoholic beverages was long denied to Indians by law.

Resentment and depression--uncorked with the bottle--often lead to physical conflicts which are not always confined to friends and family. Often law enforcement personnel become involved, not only on the basis of public disturbance, but in response to a spouse's call for assistance as well. Non-Indians tend to have physical conflicts in private and are more hesitant to involve authorities (out of embarrassment, fear, or shame). Whether Indian violence while drinking is just more noticeable because Indians feel less compunction about "clearing the air" or "washing their dirty laundry" in public[8], or whether the actual incidence of violence is higher among Indians cannot be answered conclusively. Whatever the verdict, Indians do tend to display more overt observable violence and are more often involved with law enforcement while drinking than their non-Indian counterparts. Consequently, the first concomitants of Indian drinking are seen to be physical injury and legal problems.

Once initiated, anti-social behavior while drinking becomes a pattern. As an illustration, Indian males often vent their hostilities on their wives by a beating, and this pattern of drinking behavior repeats itself to the point where it becomes predictable. Further, should an Indian female retaliate by committing infidelity, her predictable behavior in future drinking bouts will be infidelity. Among non-Indian drinkers such activity does not occur in such a predictably established

[8]Among Plains Indians basic loyalty is to the extended family group (in the logical extreme to the tribe) rather than to self and nuclear family as among many in the majority. This seems, in a sense, to make certain "publics" a more acceptable forum. See: William Brandon, "The Real American Revolution", Progressive, Vol. 34, 1974, pp. 26-30.

pattern; although "fighting" and "game" patterns are common. Extreme forms of behavior are more often recognized and dealt with among non-Indians. Among Indians, such extreme behaviors as violence and infidelity perpetuate the already frustrating cycle in which they find themselves. Frustration and guilt seem to fuel (rather than dampen) destructive behavior--even when recognized. Indian drinking thus emerges as more patterned--apparently with less feeling that alternative behaviors are possible and/or that they would be meaningful improvements.[9]

Unwise spending presents problems in an Indian family where one or more of the members drink excessively; particularly among those families whose incomes are minimal. The family's already inadequate finances become seriously deficient when money is spent extravagantly in treating friends to drinks. This condition complicates strained family relationships; although intoxicated generosity is not limited to Indian drinkers. Two cultural explanations help illustrate the Indian need to share material possessions: (1) Many Indians are taught that sharing and generosity are virtues; greed and stinginess are defects. (2) Many Indians generally believe that one should not accumulate possessions for self but for the

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[9]Once into a drinking syndrome, majority and minority behaviors seem to follow similar processes. However, there appear to be more reinforcers for and fewer against drinking for the Indian. Inventing hostilities on safe close ones rather than upon the real object of hostility, Indians appear to resemble ghettoized urban minorities. See: Barbara Isenberg, "Red Man's Plight: Urban Indians, Driven to Cities by Poverty Find Harsh Existence", The Wall Street Journal, March 9, 1970, p. 1.

purpose of making life easier for others. (This concept is often negatively interpreted and leads to a perception of the Indian as having no sense of responsibility, ambition, motivation, or self-respect). Therefore, the kinds of financial problems that seem to accrue to all drinkers accrue more acutely to Indians because coping inhibitions are released and root cultural values come into play either sincerely or as a convenient rationalization.

Further speculation on cultural differences in drinking problems must include comments on the question of Indian identity. A majority of Indian families enrolled in the Mountain-Plains Program are young, racially mixed, and public school educated. These young Indians have had no single set of social/cultural values with which to identify since most attended public schools where "Indianness" was discouraged (only recently have changes occurred in that trend), and, for those of "mixed blood", no purely "majority" or "Indian" set of social/cultural values existed in the home. As a consequence, values portrayed in the home were often in conflict. In other words, for these Indians there was no consistent culture with which to identify--no one language, no one dress, no one set of internalized cultural norms or values.[10] Among Indians of mixed-blood,

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[10]Likewise, "reservation" life is a cultural remnant from which additional key elements are lost with each passing generation. See: William Brandon, "The Indian Community", The American Indian, Herbert L. Marx, Editor, Vol. 45, No. 5 (New York: H.W. Wilson Co., 1973), pp. 118-20.

conflict and confusion in cultural roles are established very early in life due to non-Indian father/mother, or Indian father/mother models.[11] Escape from such role confusion is seen as one of the prime causes of excessive uncontrolled drinking among Indians.

Until the 1950's, Indians on most reservations were not allowed to purchase liquor. Being able to drink in bars and buy liquor freely became a symbol of acceptance and recognition, as well as being a way to reject an unwelcome role as wards of the government. Consequently, Indian drinking is interpreted as a social/cultural status symbol, as well as an attempt to escape from value confusion/identity diffusion problems.

Indian problems in managing consumption of alcohol and behavior while under the influence of alcohol has been traced to: identity diffusion, resentment, hostility, feelings of inadequacy, and depression. Yet Indian students themselves seem unaware of the underlying components of their drinking behavior. When questioned, most are unable to coherently define a need to drink nor to explain anti-social behavior while drinking. Initial response to the question invariably indicates a lack of understanding of the problem. Typically, Indian students comment that they drink "to have a good time". When the issue is pursued, they pass off negative attitudes and unacceptable behavior as "just being Indian".

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[11] The observed phenomona of Indian children cheering for the cavalry in "cowboy and Indian" movies exemplifies this lack of and/or confusion regarding identity components.

(In fact, wife beating--which often results from drinking bouts--is often referred to by Indians as "Indian love".) Even those Indians who recognize that they have a drinking problem, and verbalize a desire to change the situation, reveal an accepting or perhaps a defeated attitude concerning drinking, anti-social behavior, and the consequent negative results. Lack of problem perception and defeatism are thus seen to characterize members of the population with drinking problems.[12]

Many Indian students have voiced the complaint of feeling like an outsider or intruder in the Mountain-Plains environment. Many miss the companionship and camaraderie found on the reservation which they maintain does not exist at Mountain-Plains. In these circumstances drinking activities offer the opportunity to meet other Indians in a familiar social setting (bar or house party). Friendships formed in this fashion are frequently destroyed during subsequent drinking parties due to incidents, (e.g., infidelity, and/or violence) which erupt while the participants are intoxicated. Isolation thus contributes to an overall negative mental state which culminates in drinking and often ultimately results in reinforcing rejection/isolation.

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[12] Insight therapy as a "cure" for drinking has been discredited since the early attempts to resolve alcoholism problems with traditional psychoanalysis failed. Only recently has the American therapeutic community realized that traditional psychoanalysis also failed heavily with many other problems. A whole new array of therapies are now emerging using behavioral therapy, Transactional Analysis (TA), Rational Behavioral Therapy, etc. The TA approach in particular has shown promise at Mountain-Plains.

Among Mountain-Plains Indian families, alcohol abuse and marital discord are observed to go hand in hand. At different times, each behavior pattern has been observed to act as a catalyst for the other, and while marital disharmony often occurs without alcohol abuse, alcohol abuse is almost always a prelude to marital discord.

An informal poll of Indian students experiencing problems as a result of excessive drinking reveals that drinking is also often viewed as "relieving tensions". These tensions emanate mainly from negative self perceptions (i.e., a negative self-concept). Most of those polled were not able to verbalize their frustrations; rather they indicated them by statements such as: "This place is too far away from town (recreation, stores, home, friends, family)"; "The instructors don't like (understand) me"; "My wife nags me"; "The kids get on my nerves"; and, "I just want to have some fun". The interpretation of drinking as an avoidance behavior is thus strengthened.

An added stimulus for excessive drinking among Indian families stems from childhood environment. Many were raised in homes where drinking among adults was commonplace. Extended parties, unemployment, violence, and family discord became commonplace--the norm. As adults, many Indians are repeating a pattern modeled for them in childhood. Thus drinking is seen as a result of perpetuating modeled behavior in an unbroken cycle with the original reinforcers for the behavior still present as well.

In summary, Indian alcoholism is interpreted as avoidance behavior and until the stresses being avoided are addressed, the prognosis is negative. To be, as a rule, successful in this area, it would require a more intensive and extensive focus than his hitherto been taken (one that seems to be beyond the scope of Mountain-Plains or any other single institution).[13]

MARITAL CONFLICT

The second common factor emerging from the task force study was marital conflict--already touched upon in the previous section. Three particularly troubling areas and an interpretation are offered in this section.

The task force found that marital problems in Indian families do not differ in kind from those of other families, but rather Indian marital problems tend to be more frequently encountered and more intense. A large and growing literature deals with types of marital discord and a full treatment of this topic would be redundant. Instead, we will mention briefly only some particularly salient aspects.

One major symptom of marital discord is infidelity. Infidelity seems most often to result from an inability to achieve a true intimate relationship between spouses. While this finding is neither new nor unique, it appears to be more prevalent among the study group. When the intimacy level is shallow, the rewards of a

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[13] However, a Mountain-Plains type situation would seem to have more potential for coping with Indian drinking problems than any other single setting yet devised. See: Isenberg, p. 2.

"proximity close" relationship do not accrue, whereas proximity problems do. As a result, the balance is badly tipped toward distrust and disagreement. This in turn may result in one or both partners in a marriage seeking outside relationships (which present no daily interpersonal problems and offer less demanding intimacy expectations). Infidelity may also occur when one seeks escape from situations through alcohol and a loss of inhibitions. Often this not only involves infidelity, but spouse or child abuse as well. For Indians, as with other groups, strong emotions often surface under the influence of alcohol, and the emerging guilt and frustration are often turned toward other family members.

Among Indians, marital conflict seems to have broader shock waves than among the majority society. Marital conflict in the Indian culture tends to send especially deep waves into the extended family. Many Indian families are fiercely defensive of their members and will react strongly to the slightest provocation. Any suggestion that their son or daughter is being abused by his/her spouse will stimulate the family to actively defend him/her. Sides are taken and accusations flung from both sides, at times resulting in a deep breach between families exacerbating already existing strains.

The severity of violence arising from marital disputes seems generally more intense among Indians. Due to spouse or child abuse, authorities may be called, resulting in charges which range from drunkenness to assault and battery or even murder. Law enforcement agencies appear, at times, to press minor

charges more vigorously with Indians than with others.[14] As a result marital problems are often accompanied by legal difficulties.

Heightened levels of infidelity, alcohol abuse, and violence seem to accent marital conflicts and combine with a host of other problems to characterize marital conflicts in the study population. Problems in self identity skills appear to create and/or reinforce an inability to form a truly intimate spouse relationship. An additional hinderance to marital intimacy and harmony results from an inability to deal with resentment and anger caused by external events and/or people. Often Indians erroneously vent these negative feelings on family members who, in most cases, will tolerate the mistreatment. Indians often hesitate in dealing directly with those outside the family who may cause frustration; instead, frustration and/or hostility is repressed in the presence of a non-Indian with emotions released only on "safe ground"--the home environment. The family consequently suffers because one member is unable to cope with frustration in the majority society's expected manner. Since others often do not understand Indian behavior, even the well intentioned often misinterpret it (e.g. assume that silence indicates acceptance), a non-productive situation persists and the Indian family unit continues to disintegrate.

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[14] This seems to be a strange dichotomy in that reports critical of law enforcement are almost equal and opposite in reporting enforcement agencies to be either indifferent or overly punative.

RESERVATION LIFE AND MAJORITY INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE

Generally, Indian reservation life has a leisurely rather than a time oriented atmosphere. Institutions which are dominated by "majority" social/cultural values (Mountain-Plains being no exception) place a high emphasis on "measured" time--a student must arrive at orientation on time, catch the bus on time, even pick up a paycheck on time. Jumping from the lax time structure of the reservation to the rigid time structure of Mountain-Plains often causes disorientation among Indian students. Even though the occurrence of time disorientation cannot be disputed (Mountain-Plains' instructors and counselors attest to the fact), it is not particularly difficult to deal with "time" if it is not complicated by other problems (e.g., drinking).

On the reservation laxity in observing time structure seems to result, in good part, from a high unemployment rate and the lack of productive activity among the population.[15] When an individual has no reason to account for time and is gaining no rewards for doing so, the tendency is to disregard others' time. As "reservation Indians" gain meaningful employment they learn to be time-conscious, as it is rewarding via self-respect, others' respect, income, heightened consumer capacity, and independence. As Mountain-Plains Indian students realize that rewards will be reaped from time-consciousness, they will become inter-

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[15]Some anthropologists would argue the "foreignness" of clocks and other devices which dissect times of day (morning, noon, evening, night) into minute units as the root cause. However, the "why" is not really important. The fact of a different inner-time value/sense is.

nally motivated to observe the Mountain-Plains time structure. However, if the previously-mentioned rewards do not occur, (i.e., if the reward system is not consistent) the previous lack of time-consciousness will continue.

The channels of the Mountain-Plains bureaucracy which one must negotiate to gain objectives are often seen by the Indian student as especially confusing, frustrating and time consuming. (The fact that these channels tend to facilitate movement toward continuing change adds to the frustration). Further, Mountain-Plains, through procedures which are seen as bureaucratic structures, reinforces learned behaviors which are the exact opposite of the program's established goals. Indians who have been raised on a reservation are thoroughly competent in responding appropriately to bureaucratic demands, (e.g. Indians who wish to lease, mortgage, sell, or gain any type of benefit from certain types of land must deal with various bureaucracies.)[16] The unfamiliar Mountain-Plains bureaucracy in its "foreign" setting has sometimes proven too much to handle.[17]

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[16]Member Personal Comment: In order to gain approval for such transactions, Indians are often obliged to behave in a humble, servile manner. Emotions such as humiliation, anger, and resentment are often suppressed in order to appear in the expected manner. Mountain-Plains' objectives for completing students will not be achieved, especially with the Indian families, if opportunities for honest expression and action are not provided, encouraged, and accepted by all program staff and personnel.

[17]"On the reservation" one has friends, relatives, inside contacts, etc., to assist with bureaucratic necessities. At Mountain-Plains such a range of assistance is not available. Also, Indian students have not been used to dealing with extensive "other imposed" rules that concern personal behavior. New rules, new procedures, interacted in a new geographic and interpersonal environment with a personal as well as a task focus are often too much to cope with. Also see: Sar A. Levitan, Indian Problems (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1971), pp. 9-10.

The continuous need to account for time through timecards is often interpreted by Indian students as a lack of trust. Additionally, timecards are seen as an "invasion of privacy" by the student who is unaccustomed to accounting for his time.

The emphasis placed on student production can become an exhausting fear; if production is not at an average level, the student may be called to account. Although Mountain-Plains is essentially individualized, a high value is placed upon production and real pressures are extended upon the student to produce. "On line on time" production is a foreign concept to many Indian students.

Time, bureaucracy, accountability and production are an assumed part of the majority culture. Faced with "majority" expectations the Indian student often feels trapped, berated, humiliated and lost. Unable to cope adaptively in this new environment, self-concept and self-confidence deteriorate (in spite of intensive counseling efforts). Drinking, violence, and desertion occur when stress outruns coping skill. At the time of the task force's convening, stress leading to non-completion was the winner in these races some 66% of the time.[18]

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[18]Although this statistic has improved dramatically in the year since convening the task force, the gain has largely been through stricter selection and a smaller percentage of minority students, and only secondarily through improved treatment.

ISOLATION

Indian families often experience a strong sense of isolation after entering Mountain-Plains. Having left family and lifelong friends, their sense of loneliness and isolation is intensified when they find no one to replace these people in the new environment. When questioned about interpersonal relationships and methods of establishing new friendships, Indian students responded that they felt "different" from other students and that, concomitantly, they believed non-Indians did not want their friendship. Caution in forming new friendships and a feeling of intimidation (by non-Indians) represses individual personality so that relief from a sense of isolation is not easily found. The more unsuccessful in finding new friends the stronger the feelings of isolation grow. When this sense of isolation becomes intolerable the Indian student eventually seeks relief by withdrawing from the program and returning to where he feels like a part of the population and environment.

Although every Indian student at Mountain-Plains has a working knowledge of the English language, some feel more comfortable speaking their native language. Women seem to feel the lack of communication more than men. When women are unable to find others with whom to converse in their native tongue, desire to return to their homes and families is strengthened. On these occasions, males are often influenced by the urgings of their wives.

Lack of cultural opportunities is an additional explanation for premature exits among Indian families. Some Indian students are accustomed to frequently attending powwows throughout the year--particularly during the summer months. Although at least one powwow is held at Mountain-Plains each year, this seems insufficient to satisfy the students' needs to participate in Indian cultural/religious ceremonies. Other powwows are held nearly every weekend during the summer at points throughout the state and region, but attendance at these ceremonies involves more expense and time than the student can afford. Because of the current revival of Indian heritage, attendance and involvement in cultural activities has become a high priority with many Mountain-Plains Indian families. When this priority is forced out of the realm of possibility, dissatisfaction is experienced and program resignation presents itself as the only acceptable solution to the problem.

Many Indian students have expressed a desire to learn about their heritage, culture, philosophy, religion, and language through a cognitive setting. Even though this lack of instruction is not one of the problems which causes premature exits, creating such a method of instruction could enhance Indian student chances of successfully completing the program.

The All-Tribes Indian Club at Mountain-Plains, in existence for two years, could be more effectively utilized to combat the problem of Indian drop-outs in several capacities: (1) Acting as a welcoming committee to meet all new Indian family arrivals in order to immediately lend a sense of belonging; (2) Sponsoring, in

addition to the annual powwow, workshops and seminars on Indian heritage, culture, philosophy, religion and language. This need not be expensive. Speakers could be students or could be drawn from tribal volunteer members of the nearby reservations. Hosting such educational and cultural events which would serve two purposes. lending Indian students a sense of identity and dignity and, offering insight and understanding to non-Indians. (3) Establishing a means of reviving and teaching Indian singing, dancing, and cooking in order that students who possess these skills would feel needed by teaching, and students without these skills could enhance their sense of "Indian" identity by learning.

WORRY, RIGIDITY, SELF-REJECTION, AND INTERPERSONAL ISOLATION

All entering students are tested with the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire (16PF) and the Personal Orientation Inventory (POI). These tests represent quite different perspectives on both psychological theory and test construction methodology. Therefore, they give a broad perspective as regards the psychological condition of persons taking the tests. As selection criteria are applied equally to persons of all racial and ethnic groups, the Mountain-Plains population should be homogenous--at least as regards selection variables and probably as regards attitudes and personality traits. Yet Indian families are twice as likely to drop out of the program as students in general; indicating that differences do exist between the two sub-populations. An examination of test profiles for Indian versus other students was undertaken in order to determine if the results could in any way highlight the area of difficulty.

As chronicled in Counseling Services Report No. 12, Indian students are reported scoring lower than others ($p \leq 0.05$) on the following POI scales:

> Time Competence (Tc) - Indian students (Mean of 13.3) are indicated to be more apt to daydream and worry (as opposed to focusing full attention on the task at hand) than other students (Mean of 14.6).
>
> Existentiality (Ex) - Indian students (Mean of 13.9) are indicated to be less flexible in applying values than are other students (Mean of 17.7).
>
> Self-Acceptance (Sa) - Indian students are indicated to be less acceptant of themselves (Mean of 12.1), than are other students (Mean of 14.4).
>
> Capacity for Intimate Contact (C) - Indian students (Mean of 13.4) are indicated to have more difficulty with formation/interaction of warm and genuine interpersonal relations than other students (Mean of 15.5).

Because of the unequal N's. (4: 1 ratio) the confidence estimate, $p \leq 0.05$, may be in error by a few hundredths. However, the most striking feature of the results is not that Indian students score slightly lower than other students but that the report showed that Mountain-Plains students score, on the average, about a standard deviation below adult norms on these scales.

The psychological development of Indian family members does not appear to differ in kind from those of Mountain-Plains' other disadvantaged students--but rather only in degree on four of twelve POI variables. The implication is that, while treatment objectives would not seem to be different for Indian families, perhaps more treatment and/or different techniques (e.g., different out-of-treatment reinforcers) may be required.

No difference between Indian and other students was found on any 16PF variable. Thus both the Indian and other disadvantaged students show uniform psychological characteristics on 24 of 28 scales on the two tests and differences on only four. This would appear to further strengthen the conclusion of gross psychological trait similarity between other disadvantaged students and the Mountain-Plains Indian population.[19]

In order to more clearly interpret differences due to the unequal N's used in Report No. 12, an equal number of other students of the same sex were mechanically random sampled in April, 1974, to match the (then) current number of Indian students (N=52) for whom test scores were available. With this sample, the Tc scale differentiated populations at the 0.07 confidence level, the Ex at the 0.14 level, the Sa at the 0.26 level, and the C scale did not differentiate. However, the mechanical random sampling method did not balance the female single heads-of-household between groups, and thus probably artificially decreased ethnic group differences slightly.

A "no difference" effect on scales would indicate a random effect as to which group scored higher on any one scale on the POI. Examination showed that "other" males scored highest on five scales and Indian males on seven. However, "other" females registered the highest (most favorable) scores on the twelve scales.

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[19]This fact shifts focus more to differences between the groups as regards the actual and perceived environments in which the personalities interact and the values the personalities pursue in the external environment.

A frequent theme reported in program drop-outs by Indian families has been problems of the (female) spouse in negotiating Mountain-Plains. The POI score distribution lends support to an interpretation of Indian family drop-out problems being contributed to by the psychological development of the spouse. However, this would appear to be a difference in degree (not in kind) as mean profiles of spouses in all drop-out families (not just Indian families) deviate negatively from the entry norm for Mountain-Plains students on certain scales (see Psychological Characteristics of Noncompleters, Mountain-Plains, July, 1974).

While there are some psychological differences between Indian and other students indicated in the test data, these differences appear to be of degree rather than kind with Indian students differing only slightly from other students on four (4) of twenty-eight (28) scales, but with all students tending to differ markedly from adult norms. Results indicate that efforts toward retention might most heavily focus upon: (1) the spouse, (2) such psychological variables as time competence and values, and (3) external environmental factors (although the latter are clearly beyond the control of Mountain-Plains).

EXTENDED FAMILY INFLUENCES

A strong root assumption regarding the role of the extended family is common to Indian tradition. This group (versus individual) focus creates strong pressures and is not compatible with majority society views in many areas.

Many Indians feel a strong obligation to attend weddings, funerals, baptisms, and adoption ceremonies of not only the immediate family but also of relatives of such a distance (both lineal and geographical) that would pass from the attention of most in the majority culture. Time spent at such ceremonies is many times greater for Indians than for others. In any residential educational setting (or employment situation), the participating Indian is faced with the conflicting demands of upbringing and the "on line on time" expectations of the institution. This "no win" situation as regards school/employment versus family and financial problems (frequent trips are expensive) tends to inhibit Indians in efforts to become students or employees--particularly at any distance from home.[20]

Older Indians seem to believe that taking a child away from home is "bad" and consequently urge younger Indian families to remain among the extended family (usually on the reservation). Whether this is due to tradition or disguised self-interest is not certain. Nonetheless, when minor illnesses that often accompany a change in geography (slight differences in water type and viral strains) the "wisdom" of the elder family members (age is still revered among Indians) is remembered, guilt for jeopardizing the child is felt, and thus another item is generated which adds to a set of arguments for leaving Mountain-Plains. For similar

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[20]This is a central dilemma in Indian advanced education. Programs, community colleges, etc., on the reservation are set in a difficult environment and those at a distance are often not attended or dropped out of for reasons of ties to that environment. See: Carl N. Degler, "Indians and Other Americans", Commentary, November, 1972, 54: 68-72.

reasons, Indian mothers are sometimes hesitant to leave small children to the care of others[21]--even for the month necessary to complete the minimum spouse requirement at Mountain-Plains.

In the majority society, giving up and going home is often considered a disgrace. Since the type of activities usually forsaken are not within the Indian value system, when an Indian quits school or a job and returns home, it is not viewed as a disgrace. Indeed, the extended family influence among Indians is such that returning home is regarded as a virtue. Thus Indians do not experience the same "being kicked out of the nest" pressures as others, but rather seem to have attachments which pull them back into the "nest".

Among Indians employment and self-sufficiency are not valued in the same way as they are by the majority society. Rather, as has been pointed out earlier, group interdependence is the value, and employment--as the majority perceive it--is not a part of Indian tradition of values. Therefore, among Indians, there is no reinforcement value in these activities that resembles those held by the

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[21]At one time, the quality of child care available was a legitimate complaint of most Mountain-Plains students (Indian and non-Indian alike). However, this is a historical rather than a current problem. Nevertheless, the reluctance of Indian mothers to leave small children with "strangers"--particularly with "non-Indian" strangers lies as much in a fear and a perception as in "the facts", and needs to be dealt with.

majority society.[22]

Finally, the extended family has a strong influence on marital conflict, and often pressures are exerted to "desert the spouse" and return to the family (preferably with children in tow). Mother-in-law jokes are no joke as regards the Indian marital conflict--especially since there are several persons offering advice and solutions of a questionable (and often self-serving) nature.

The extended family system, once a viable and vital part of a flourishing culture is, in its current subversion, a major obstacle to even those young Indians who wish to adapt themselves to majority culture. Efforts to strengthen this cultural institution enabling return to a former place of positive strength or intensive efforts to help the young escape it would work, we believe, to the benefit of the young Indian. The current situation of half proud tradition and half hopeless crippled remnant seems to yield a benefit to no one.

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[22]Learning research works well with pigeons because the reinforcement value of a given thing is constant. People, unlike pigeons, have no such constant; what rewards one punishes another. Indians are people, not pigeons. The practice of blaming Indians for not responding to the majority society's reinforcers must be stopped, and the endeavor of providing Indian rewards undertaken--then, and only then, will programs for Indians begin to "show results". It must be emphasized that we refer not only (nor even mostly) to "in program" fragmented attention to this issue but also to a focus on this issue of a scope infinitely larger than any one program or school.

INPUT MOTIVATION AND EXPECTATION

Many Indian students formerly felt that they were "sold" on entrance into the program rather than guided. A Madison Avenue approach to recruitment which promises a panacea was never an intention of Mountain-Plains; although, in earlier stages, some of this seems to have been imparted to prospective students. (The question of whether the above situation exists because student prospects were hearing what they wanted to hear or whether recruiters were a bit over-zealous aside). One lesson of these early recruits is that an effort must be made to explain the exact nature of the program such that those students who respond affirmatively will be those with a maximum chance for success. (This "sales-manship" argument applies to not just Indian students and, happily, is a decreasing complaint. Consequently, the above is in the nature of historical commentary on drop-out rather than a suggestion for current program development).

At times the extended family, in one manifestation or another, reverses its traditional role and decides that an Indian family should go to school. Forms are filled out and other necessary arrangements made. Such student families arrive at Mountain-Plains with no internal motivation to either attend classes or pursue course requirements. A few letters home saying they hate the program and are unhappy is usually sufficient to eliminate the only obstacle to early program exit (family expectation) and the final push is often provided via a letter from relatives admitting a mistake and asking the family to return home.

Many Indian students expect the program to be a substitute for the extended family--one which will provide warmth, succor, and support of the type they received from the family. Often, a "stand on your own feet", "focus on yourself", "make your own decisions" ethic comes as a rude shock, reinforcing feelings of inadequacy, isolation, and loneliness.[23] No amount of explanation is likely to really prepare the Indian for a sudden culture shock with so many interconnected elements. But if Mountain-Plains is what the student wants, the supportive resources that are available may be tapped and the crisis surmounted. Even very successful Indian students have spoken of rough times in adapting. Factors in success invariably involve either a strong personal drive to learn the survival skills necessary to negotiate such institutions and/or strong support for learning such skills from parents and/or others especially significant in the extended family. Support from a member of the extended family who has gone through such traumatic experiences and learned to balance both worlds seems to be the best sort of support. However, the pool of such models is small, the "learning by watching distant others" model only partially effective, and only the rare family has within its umbrella such a model of its own.

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[23]Yet, one task force member with considerable "Indian Programs" experience contends that an overreaction to this need is the root of the post program failure of successful completers of other "Indian" programs. As with so many efforts, the answer seems to lie in finding a middle ground that provides support without nurturing dependency.

Recommendations in this regard are basically in the area of heightened awareness of the problems described herein by those who recruit Indian families for Mountain-Plains, such that guidance into the program is the norm. Thus, those students who have a chance to succeed will be those who attend Mountain-Plains. The frequent negative effects of some educational programs (see Model IV, September, 1974) on the unsuccessful should be strong in the minds of those who recruit and select for program attendance. While the critic could call such selection "creaming", he would only be showing his lack of educational sophistication. All institutions have parameters and boundary conditions. Some are self-decided and others imposed by conditions in the larger society. As a responsible educational institution, Mountain-Plains is aware of boundary conditions imposed from without regarding its education of Indian students and does not offer dependency-building program practices that could maintain Indian students in a protected environment, but which, in the end, would only be an interlude on the road to hardship.

CONFLICT AND AGGRESSION

One major consideration seen here as a contributor to most of the problems described is the manner in which Indian society deals with conflict and aggression. Competition and the resolution of issues through hard negotiation--which at times can be perceived from the outside as fierce argument--is considered acceptable behavior within the context of the majority social/cultural value system. Indian behavior tends to exhibit what might be termed "repressed hostility".

Repressed hostility is most openly manifested through "wildness" when drinking and various passive/aggressive behaviors. Aggression training (for which counseling techniques are available) could be an important factor in assisting Indians who wish to function as peers in majority institutions.[24]

CONCLUSIONS

Problems

The findings of the task force can be succinctly summarized as cultural dissonance among native Americans resulting in a difficult adjustment to the majority culture's world, as exemplified by tight time schedules, individual versus group focus, and the disappearance of "relevant" adult success models. These dissonance factors combine with dependency conditioning (and feelings resulting therefrom) in the reservation setting to manifest themselves through such behaviors as alcoholism, marital and family conflicts (often resulting in violence to family members and/or friends), high tardiness/absenteeism from work, and generalized avoidance behavior.

Task force members concluded that awareness of these problems itself prescribes the remedy, namely: (1) structure an institutional and interpersonal environment that takes into account the traditional values and conditioned dependencies

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[24] One Indian Task Force member (a therapist) expressed the belief that the antipathy to open conflicts with persons outside the family were so strongly fixed in Indians with any traditional upbringing as to be beyond treatment by the usual aggression training and similar therapeutic techniques.

that characterize the population and/or (2) select for participation only those whose "Indian" values are so well-internalized that conformity to majority norms in the world of work is sufficiently non-threatening to be possible, and/or (3) select only those with clear motivation to undergo cultural change, those who can be willing participants in a program geared to prepare students for life in current majority society.

On the surface, remedy number one seems appropriate, implementable and, in fact, ideal. However, unless a pool of employers are identified that are equally willing to take Indian values into account in terms of what is broadly describable as working conditions, then education, heavily structured around Indian values, is indeed only an academic exercise. Our experience indicates that significant numbers of such employers are not available and are not likely to become available. Therefore, extensive program modifications of this type, while theoretically possible, are seen to be of little long term benefit to the student, the majority society or the minority society. Rather, some intermediate "bridging" environment would seem to be appropriate for that segment of the Indian population that wishes to either assimilate into majority society or learn to live productively with a foot in each world.

A related conclusion the task force reached is that attempts to treat Indian alcoholism, Indian marital conflicts, Indian employability, and Indian emotional problems as entities in and of themselves miss the point. "Indian Problems" are an interrelated complex of: (1) cultural values which are at variance with

those of the majority society; (2) dependency engendered by being placed on reservation lands that offer no intrinsic opportunity to sustain one's self and family; and (3) value confusion and identity diffusion resulting from an inability to interact root values of either the traditional or majority society. Nothing short of either a massive effort to assist Indians in building (not deciding and building for Indians) within their allotted enclaves the type of institutions, including economic institutions[25] that allow the rediscovery and interaction of cultural values in a self-sustaining fashion, or a massive effort to eradicate cultural tradition and replace it with majority values, will be broadly effective. Overall attempts to resolve "the Indian problem" without urging decisions on related matters can be only selectively and partially effective.

Extent of Success

As regards Mountain-Plains, the technology exists to develop the external pre-conditions within which the program could successfully educate Indian students. However, in the absence of the above external pre-conditions, Mountain-Plains can only be a valuable experience for a narrow spectrum of the Indian population and can deal responsibly only with this group. Certain program improvements can aid in educational development of this group, and these steps should, and undoubtedly will, be taken. But the majority of the Indian population of the region is not "treatable" by Mountain-Plains (or other such externally originated efforts) in the absence of a total problem focus that includes factors without (as well as within) any treatment.

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[25]The intrinsic lack of economic viability for most reservations as now allotted may make this difficult or even impossible. See: Levitan, p. 10.

In response to general student needs, two changes have been made since convening the task force--though only indirectly in response to it. A new and more flexible leave policy for all students is in effect. A home visitor program through the Child Education Program was undertaken and discontinued due to staff and financial pressures. Currently an attempt is underway to continue this effort in some fashion through the Community Development Program.

Mountain-Plains is only partially successful in dealing productively with Indian students. By careful selection of the spectrum it serves, and minor program adjustments, Mountain-Plains has the potential to be very successful in terms of percentage completion and post-program employability. However, by comparison to the need for educational development of the sort offered by Mountain-Plains, Mountain-Plains does not make a significant impact on the Indian population of the region. With major program adjustments, Mountain-Plains could increase the spectrum of Indian students served--probably more so than any other program with which the authors are familiar. However, external realities such as those previously discussed severely limit the extent of possible broadening.

Types of Success

Indian head of household (male) students have been able to master the vocational and foundation education requirements. Spouses (female) have usually limited involvement to orientation and to the minimum general classes (Consumer Education, Home Management, Parent Involvement, Health, Career Guidance, and Counseling) which are largely confined to a one month period.

Indian students in general, and spouses (female) in particular have experienced difficulty (elaboration of which has consumed most of this report) in the area of personal, family, and social skills. Mountain-Plains has not been successful in creating a personal and social environment that enables the full spectrum of potential Indian students to maintain themselves in the program's environment for the time necessary to make the educational progress necessary for the post-program employment and life style gains that are Mountain-Plains' objectives.

It was assumed, prior to the task force, that these Indians who did not complete the program dropped out early. Examination of the data showed the average time from entry to drop out to be four-and-a-half months. It appears, then, that problems leading to drop-out are cumulative, and that Mountain-Plains has been unable to mitigate strains, or facilitate sufficient coping skills despite, in most cases, having considerable time available to work with the family. Therefore, past methods must be considered as failures with many families. It cannot be said with confidence whether this failure is centered in type or extent. The current working assumption is "both".

Types of Students

Mountain-Plains is most successful with Indian families who are partially immune to culture shock--that is, families where both members have had significant experience in dealing with "majority" institutions and practices. The best such experience takes place away from the influence (support) of the extended family.

Mountain-Plains is somewhat successful in dealing with families wherein only one spouse (usually the male) has had such intercultural experience. Mountain-Plains has been unsuccessful in dealing with students where both spouses basic experience is Indian socialization in a reservation setting.

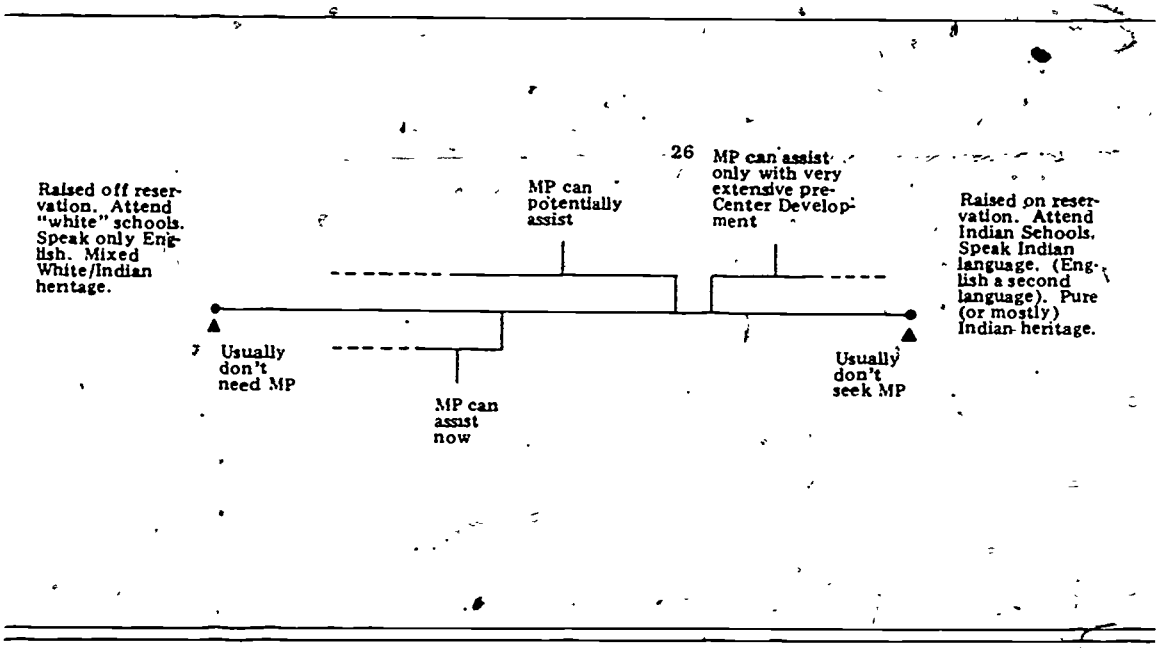

Figure 1

Spectrum of Indian Population Served by Mountain-Plains

POST LOG

Subsequent to the deliberations of the task force, five Indian families were selected among a random sample for indepth follow-up analysis for preliminary program effects. Four of the families did not complete the program. Three of the non-completing heads of household were employed. All three were very highly rated by their

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[26] This could be a pre-program program administered by Mountain-Plains on center, or administered elsewhere. The core of the program would be developing intercultural sophistication.

supervisors in terms of skill, work traits (e.g., attendance, punctuality) and interpersonal ability. All four families had a history of both alcohol and marital problems. (In two cases, dropping out was caused by the wife deserting the program.) Three of the couples are still together (including both families where the wife deserted) and the fourth is still married but separated. Two families now experience no alcohol problem.

The one "drop-out" that was not employed was unemployed due to a funding technicality, was very highly rated, and is expected to be re-employed shortly (as the problem has been resolved). Table one reports relevant hard data.

Table 1

MSS Scores for Indian HOH's Not Completing Program

HOH	Over-all	Perform-ance	Conform-ance	Depend-ability	Personal Adjustment
1	93	99	90	75	75
2	75	60	70	75	99
3	83	85	99	99	99
4	93	99	90	99	75

Note: Percentiles from[27] MSS Manual "Workers in General".

[27]Data from those Indian families sampled in the preliminary effects follow-up study.

Based on this data, it seems that Mountain-Plains is more effective based on the criterion "post-program performance of Indian student head of households with significant time in program" than on the criterion "program completion."[28] Criticisms of the Mountain-Plains Program based on percentage completion should, perhaps, be made with caution. Criticisms based on the narrowness of the spectrum of Indian's treatable, however, remain valid. In each of these four families the male spouse had significant intercultural experience prior to the program. In one, so did the female spouse. The other three female spouses were "true Indians" both by "blood" and by upbringing.

With each of the four families, Mountain-Plains has proven a significant positive influence in at least one dimension of their lives. While generalizing a sample of four across all Mountain-Plains Indian drop-outs is not technically valid nor a proof of effect, it is an indication that Mountain-Plains may have been considerably more effective with this group of drop-outs than had hitherto been assumed.

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28 This should have been expected from the income follow-up data which shows that overall, completers make more money than drop-outs who in turn make more money than an equivalent non-attending control group (Mountain-Plains Special Board Report, April, 1974). (i.e., the worsened situation on follow-up of "failures" seen in some programs is now known not to typify Mountain-Plains drop-outs).

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