

THE FRIENDSHIP ROLES OF AMERICAN
ASSOCIATES OF THAI STUDENTS ON
A MIDWESTERN CAMPUS:
IMPLICATIONS FOR A NEW BINATIONAL
THIRD CULTURE

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ABSTRACT

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The study attempts to use the concept of role as a unit of analysis, in its sense as a culturally-defined pattern of behavior, to investigate the building of regularized associational patterns of persons from different cultures. Culture is conceptualized as being composed of formal, informal, and technical aspects. It is proposed that when persons of different cultural origins interact on a regular basis, the technical aspects of the two original cultures may be formalized within the interactions, thus forming a "binational third culture."

The obligatory association patterns with Thais appeared to incorporate a new work dimension, thus lending credence to the propositions. In general, however, the associations of the Americans with the Thais were not as full and rich as their associations with other Americans.

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All these findings appeared to be consonant with those in the existing literature on third cultures, as well as interpretable in terms of the known patterns of the original cultures.

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I also wish to express my deep gratitude to my husband, Marc Asch, who not only patiently read and reread these pages, but put up with me while I wrote them.

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CHAPTER I

GENERAL THEORY

The proposed empirical area for investigation was that of interactions of persons from different cultures; specifically, the cultural bridges that are built up in these interactions, and the new possible sets of roles, conceptualized as norms and values, which become appropriate to the interaction when they are continued over a period of time.¹ Theoretically, and especially since this study was intended as a portion of a larger one, it was limited to the investigative area of roles directly and crucially involved in the interaction, as they are related to each other and organized within.

The roles studied are a specific species of the generic interpersonal type; this species is the group of reciprocal roles rather loosely known in common parlance as "friendship." A truly rigorous definition of this was not attempted; it was simply taken to mean those same-sex, or platonic opposite-sex, non-family reciprocal relationships which demand at least a minimum degree of emotional involvement, and regular voluntary investment of time

¹George Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1950), pp. 108-113.

in mutual activities. The research was directed towards investigation along these lines in order to avoid the complications arising from report error in touching upon relationships possibly involving family bonds or differential sexual mores. (This had been a possible problem in earlier studies of this type.) This definition seemed flexible enough to admit relationships based on personal, social, and work-centered activities. It also allowed breadth and depth of study without involving other obvious and possibly highly-loaded factors, which were not investigated systematically within the interview structure (and most probably could not be, given the particular methodology).

Several of the ways in which these cross-cultural interactions differ from new intra-cultural interactions, with especial reference to interactions that cross sub-cultural boundaries, have been elucidated by Selltiz et al., in Attitudes and Social Relations of Foreign Students in the United States. They say that "one difference between the two kinds of situation is likely to be the extent to which persons in one group have well-structured preconceptions about the other group. . . . Members of two [intra-cultural] groups, being products of the same culture, are alike in many ways. They speak the same language; they are likely to have similar ways of looking at things. Once they begin to communicate, it is

usually not difficult for them to understand each other. Under these circumstances, contact provides an opportunity for observing individual behavior that does not conform to previously held negative stereotypes and that may lead to the perception that these people are more like oneself than one had supposed. . . . In cross-cultural contact . . . it may happen that neither party has any clear initial stereotype, or that one or both have favorable preconceptions. . . . A person may be more struck by the differences in outlook and behavior than by similarities.

"Another important difference between cross-cultural contact and inter-group contact within a country has to do with the influence of the broader context in which the personal interaction takes place. Usually it can be assumed that the only major new experience that is likely to lead to changes in ethnic attitudes is the personal association. But this is not the case for at least one party to cross-cultural contact-the person who is in a strange country. For him, personal associations are but one part of a whole new experience.

"There are differences in the range of relevant objects of attitudes. Within the United States . . . these beliefs and feelings refer to . . . a group (and) the reference is essentially to a collection of individuals. . . . In cross-cultural and cross-national contact, the objects of attitudes may range from individual persons to

foreign policy. Thus the question of the extent of the generalization of attitudes that develop in the course of interpersonal association becomes even more salient than it is in studies of relations between two ethnic or racial groups within a single country."²

Thus, it can be seen that these roles are not pre-formulated in toto within the original cultures for the interacting persons, and that they must indeed be new roles, based on new sets of normative expectations and new value combinations.³ (This is not to say that these norms and values do not have antecedents within the interactants' original cultures. However, sets of norms and values are interaction systems in and of themselves, and their results in terms of attitudinal and behavioral models must be viewed as a product of this total system, not as isolated segments, each the total resultant of a particular separable component.)⁴ Therefore, new norm-value set combinations result in new structured behavioral models delineated by the norms and values; that is to say, new roles.

² Claire Selltiz et al., Attitudes and Social Relations of Foreign Students in the United States, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963), pp. 7-9.

³ Ibid., pp. 116-122.

⁴ Ruth Benedict, Patterns of Culture (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1934), p. 24; A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Structure and Function in Primitive Society (New York: The Free Press, 1952).

Inasmuch as many different definitions and interpretations have been applied in the study of role, it seems necessary to define the use of the term herein. It appears that Yinger's terminology⁵ is useful in organizing research, in that he makes clear differentiations between the various concepts which are often included under the heading of role, and so this will be utilized. Briefly, he states that position is a unit of social structure, defined as a location in a system of social relationships. Implied in this definition is the concept of structure with connotations both of recurrence, or some degree of permanence, and of relatedness to other positions. A characteristic of structured relationships is that the participants have expectations concerning their own and others' behavior.

Role is a unit of culture; it refers to the rights and duties, the normatively approved patterns of behavior for the occupants of a given position. It is a structured behavioral model relating to a certain position of an individual in an interactional setting. It is a list of what most members of a social group believe a position occupant should and should not, may and may not, do; it is the culturally prescribed obligations and privileges of a position.

⁵J. Milton Yinger, Toward a Field Theory of Behavior (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965), p. 99.

Internalized role refers to that part of the self which represents a given individual's tendencies to perform a role in a given way.

Role behavior or role-playing is the actual process of carrying out the role, which is influenced not only by the internalized role, but by the self and the total personality of which it is a part. It will also be affected by the situation within which the activity occurs, including the actions of persons occupying reciprocal positions, and by the larger setting within which the interaction takes place.

The major concern was with the role itself, as defined above. The basic question here, then was: what are the friendship roles played by a person(s) of a host culture⁶ relative to a person(s) from another culture(s), and what, in the view of the host culture members, are the roles played by the person(s) from the other culture relative to the hosts? How do these differ from the same type of interpersonal roles played by the hosts to others from the host culture? Although only cross-cultural interactions within the university setting were studied, hopefully some features of these interaction patterns are

⁶ John Useem, Ruth Hill Useem, and John Donoghue, "Men in the Middle of the Third Culture: The Roles of American and Non-Western People in Cross-Cultural Administration," Human Organization, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 169-179; Fall 1968, p. 1.

common for all cross-cultural interactions, and unique to them. These may then be regarded as some evidence of a "third culture" as it has been defined by Drs. John and Ruth Useem,⁷ with its own specific characteristic roles, role components, and role clusters, for more or less general cross-cultural social structures or position networks.

It is not without importance that this particular set of cross-cultural interactions takes place on an American university campus, and between persons whose avowed central reasons for being present in this setting are academic. This means that, for the most part (and especially since the Thais on the MSU campus are, in the main, graduate students), the major portion of each person's day will be devoted to autonomous and solitary, or semi-solitary, scholarly activity. Moreover, these pursuits are more compelling in terms of both time and emotional investment than a conventional job. The work has an unfinishable nature, and judgment is perennially imminent upon the quality of one's own work in comparison with that of others. Further, these others are essentially the only persons with whom one has any face-to-face contact. The family, and the other community-wide institutions, such as the church, are often far away, and their

⁷Ibid., p. 3.

replacements in the university setting are generally "scaled-down" versions with little stability of membership. The population of the university community itself is constantly shifting.

In short, relationships must be formed in the context of little time, constant work pressure, and in the company of a youth-adolescent age-grade, a shifting population, and generally, a restricted social class range, with the work of whose members one's own work (and, therefore, right to be present in the community), is constantly compared. Also, the relationships must be formed out of the context of familiar institutions, and without reference to a family group. All the persons involved in the relationships are also involved in a consuming process of adjustment to this context, and removal from others, and in preparing themselves to enter other contexts of marriage, occupation, and adult status in the larger community. These conditions must certainly have some effect upon any relationship, and it must be borne in mind that this is the backdrop in ecological and individual terms for this cross-cultural exchange and relationship-set construction.

Internal to the roles, the problem centered around the role components. Essentially, these components may be considered to fall into three general areas: positive obligations, options, and negative obligations, the

particular contents of which are considered to be culturally defined. Obligations correspond in some measure to Hall's⁸ informal areas of culturally-defined behavior patterns (from both a positive and negative approach) and options to the technical areas, though not coincidental in exact detail. This is partially due to the fact that these are specific component areas of particular roles, rather than the more macrocultural assumptions upon which the formation of roles depends.

"Positive obligation" is comprised of that group of normative behavioral expectations which a particular culture holds and with which performance must accord, since it defines these as vital for the maintenance of the role in society; therefore, these are the norms and values supposedly exhibited in role behavior, which it is felt necessary for a role-player to hold and exhibit in order to be defined by the society as playing that role within the normal range.⁹

Options are those specific normative behavioral expectations and cultural values whose whole pattern should exemplify the actual content of the broad obligatory framework for the player of a certain role, but

⁸Edward T. Hall, The Silent Language (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, 1961).

⁹Robert Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," ASR, Vol. 3, Oct. 1938, pp. 672-3.

which are neither individually prescribed nor proscribed [by a culture] as a necessity for the maintenance of the role. Essentially a whole, separately they are the minutia of everyday life. Options may be further broken down into preferred, indifferent, and non-preferred. In an emerging role, this may be an important distinction, in that the preferred and non-preferred options may be on the verge of leaving this optional-technical realm, and becoming a part of the obligatory framework. In fact, in the nascent stages of third-culture role-sets, the obligatory categories may be wholly defined by the culture of origin; the optional-technical may reveal the beginnings of these obligatory areas for the new third-cultural roles.

Finally, negative obligations may be considered, or null normative cultural expectations and values; that is, expectations that those norms and values whose behavioral manifestations threaten the maintenance of a role either within the society or as a viable conduct-choice for the individual, will not be held by the player of this role.

From a comparison of these the formal¹⁰ may be deduced--that is, the underlying cultural assumptions which may differ, within an interaction-space continuously containing assumptions of two other cultures, from the assumptions of these other cultures.

¹⁰Hall, op. cit.

Externally, the problem was that of role, or role definition, and the integrative linkages of these roles into third and host culture role clusters. Analysis of the internal linkage structure of the role set was also considered pertinent. The problem, then was not seen as purely structural, but was concerned with the normative values inherent in these roles, components, clusters, and their linkages. As implied earlier, the scope of this investigation was limited by addressing it to these problems from the viewpoint of only one of the parties to the interaction, the American student. The rationale behind this was based on an attempt to avoid interjecting a secondary cross-cultural or third-cultural, role (interviewer-interviewee) into the investigation of the primary one between the American and Thai associates. Thus, the results of the study only properly treat of the affected roles in the host culture, or, at best, half of a third-cultural role system. (That is, the American's definition of, and feelings concerning, his own role, and that of the Thai.) However, since this was apparently relevant in terms of a "third culture," the profits in generalizing power yielded by the results were much greater, as they may be regarded as having relevance for the whole interaction (when both parties are in the "third culture").

A series of questions was formulated, in an attempt to tap the variables concerned in these problems.

These roughly followed the form of role definitions by components (through internalized role). For all of these the interest was explicitly in their form, and implicitly in their salience and antecedents. In the final analysis, an attempt was made to see if these fell in any distinct empirical patterns, and what, if any, theoretical conclusions could be suggested on this basis.

For the research problem, the major questions were: (a) Is there evidence of a third culture between same gender Thai and American students on MSU campus? (b) If so, what is the content of this third culture? (c) Does it conflict with the content of the host or guest cultures?

On a theoretically specific level, with regard to a particular role, it was asked, as a way of approaching these major research questions: are there differences in the role definitions by Americans for Americans and Thais who occupy the same positions? If so, what are these differences? Do they follow a definite pattern? Do the differences represent opposing definitions or modes of behavior? The same things might be asked for Americans and foreign students in general.

Within this study, however, the investigation was limited to American-Thai and intra-American defined associational patterns, in an effort to control for background guest culture referents, while the methodology was constructed with an eye to comparability with similar studies involving other cross-national relationships.

There were a number of other questions that arose in connection with these, although they could not be systematically investigated here. Among these were: what are the differences between role definitions and role behavior for Americans? Are there differences for Americans and Thais in the same positions? What is the salience of these differences and those in the role definitions for the individual? Are they dependent on depth of involvement? Are they situationally dependent? What are the pathways to the roles? What structural patterns and salience do the positions held have relative to Americans? Relative to Thais? Are there differences in these saliences and patterns? How do the internalized roles compare to the role definitions as an aggregated phenomena? How do they compare to aggregated role behavior? As individual phenomena? Is the comparability of internalized role to role behavior and role definition, aggregated or individual, related to depth of involvement and/or the interaction situation? Are there fewer conflicts between role behavior and internalized role for persons who have a more accurate perception of the role definitions of the group? (Or are these conflicts structured by the group itself?)

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH MODEL AND HYPOTHESES

The set of problems posed by the questions of major concern were visualized as the schematic diagram below, where a solid arrow denotes a reciprocal role relationship which was tapped. A dotted arrow indicates an operationalized hypothesis of similarity or non-similarity. The word "American" or "Thai" indicates the group¹¹ for which the role definition is being considered.

The prototype or basic model, is this:

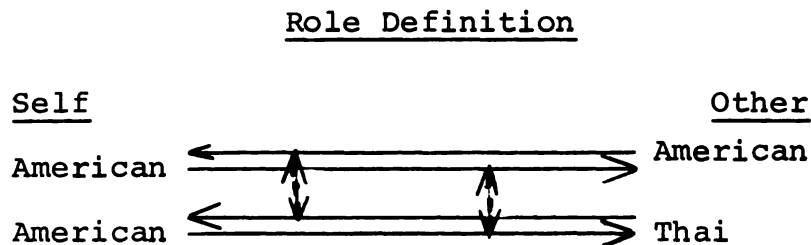
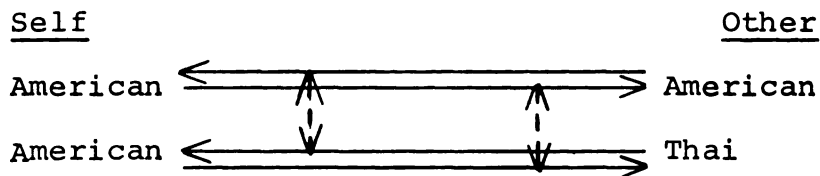


Fig. 1.--Schematic Diagram of the Reciprocal Role Relationships Between Americans and Thais, and Comparisons to be made Between Them.

¹¹Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, Towards a General Theory of Action (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951). Group being used here in the sense of an aggregate, with no supposition of a collectivity.

From these we may derive a more specific model, organized around conceptual components of role. It is possible to see how these following specific models combine to form the basic type (above) if each is visualized as printed on a card, and the cards stacked into a deck that comprises this basic model. And just as in a deck of playing cards, though each has a symbolic value of its own, these values have no meaning without reference to the other cards in the "deck" and the "game" being played.

(A) Positive Obligations



(B) Negative Obligations

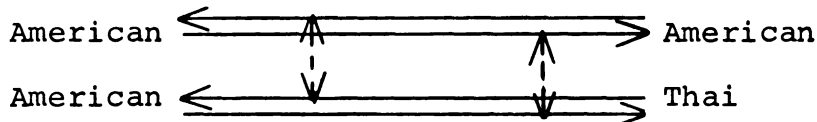


Fig. 2.--Schematic Diagram of the Reciprocal Role Relationships Between Thais and Americans and the Comparisons to be Drawn for the Obligational Framework.

Every general cultural role has a specific temporal, spatial, and social locus. Specific content questions must relate to this locus, and thus the following questions concerning the specific content of the Thai-American student's

friendship role were related to a spatial location on the Michigan State University campus, temporally in 1968, and, socially, largely in the midwestern, white, American college student frame of reference, as will be described in the methodology. The reciprocal relationship was not broken down into two separate orientations in the following visualization, as was done previously, in the obligational schematic illustration. This was done to correspond with the operational model, in which the question was posed as a whole, containing the reciprocity in its structure (by use of the word "with" rather than "to"). This strategy was adopted when subjects on the pretest indicated that they felt that two questions concerning one relationship were redundant (and, therefore, boring in the extreme).

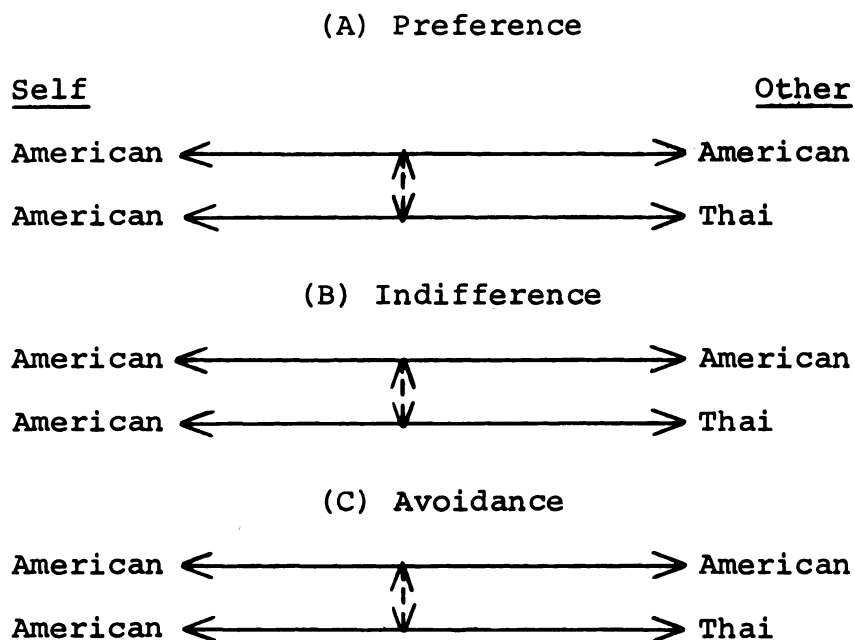


Fig. 3.--Schematic Representation of the Reciprocal Relationships of Other Americans and Thais, and the Comparisons to be made Between Them (for Activities Which the Subject Feels Are Optional).

The above is intended as a non-verbal model. This was investigated in depth, rather than the verbal model, to control, to some extent, for the differentials in English language proficiency of the Thai students, partially because there was no way in which this could be accurately ascertained in the context of this research.

Further, as Goffman suggests¹² the self may be presented in both verbal and non-verbal forms. Verbalization differences in terms of both expression and acceptability across cultures, may be more readily recognized and allowed for, or corrected, on a conscious level, than non-verbal differences. Thus, it would seem that the points of most constant difference, and therefore, the most ripe for adaptation in a new way, would exist on the non-verbal level. This, then, seemed to be the most fruitful investigative area in which to find the beginnings of a new third-cultural exchange. In the case of the Thais, relative newcomers to the campus of the university in question, this may be a particularly crucial factor.

Finally, the third culture was an area in which very little investigation had been carried out, although its outlines had been established for some time. The verbal model, on the other hand, had been closely scrutinized, and studies of quantitative elegance¹³ had become

¹²Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959).

¹³Charles Osgood, George Suci, and Percy Tannenbaum, The Measurement of Meaning (Urbana: U. of Ill. Press, 1957).

apropos in this area. An attempt to combine the two at this level of development might have introduced triviality into the former and uncalled-for globalism into the latter. The non-verbal model, besides presenting a particularly rich and untapped area for investigation, also avoided the outlined difficulty and the chronic controversies surrounding the verbal model.

It may be noted that theory has been treated in levels first dealing with a very general and encompassing theory-level and then narrowing the focus of interest to a specific segment of this model (role, within general systems analysis). Secondly, distinctions were made within this segment (position, role, etc.) and examination and comparison of these distinct concepts (role definition, through the process of aggregating internalized role),¹⁴ was proposed. Third, an attempt was made to distinguish the culturally-defined components of this concept (positive obligation, option, and negative obligation), and next to

¹⁴That is, the actual questions utilized within the instrument dealt with the individual concept of the role requirements. By aggregating these, an attempt was made to reconstruct the more general cultural concept of the role, rather than dealing with the individual variants of the concept. The difficulties in this approach, in terms of group versus individual measurement of concepts are obvious the syntality (see Mills, The Sociology of Small Groups, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1968) effect is essentially ignored, except inasmuch as it affects the individual concepts. However, since our sample is just that (a culture sample, although non-random on several variables), rather than constituting a functioning small group, in and of itself, it would seem that we would be methodologically justified in not allowing syntalic effects to become a central consideration. The advantages of parsimony along this line are also manifestly obvious.

establish the empirical meanings of these components, for which specific cultural interpretations can be given (preference, indifference, and avoidance). Finally, the empirical model was operationalized within an instrument, which posed the empirical questions in a slightly less formal and technical style, but was essentially aimed at gathering information of the same level of generalization and abstraction as the foregoing empirical meanings of the components.¹⁵

In conjunction with the development of the instrument, several specific hypotheses were constructed, whose testing comprised the actual stuff of the data analysis, and which corresponded on an empirical level with the theoretical question posed before the presentation of the model. In review, this question was: are there differences in the role definitions for Americans and Thais who occupy the same position ("friend")? It follows that we also wanted to know what these differences are, whether they form a definite pattern, and whether they represent interculturally opposed definitions or modes of acceptable role behavior. These differences may be either qualitative or quantitative. The hypotheses, then, and their related exploratory questions are:

¹⁵ See Appendix I for the operational model.

(1) A. There will be a qualitative difference in what is visualized by the American subjects as their positive obligations to their American friends, and what is felt to be their positive obligations to their Thai friends.

B. Such a difference also exists in the negative obligations of the self to American and to Thai friends.

C. The areas of difference, for both positive and negative obligations, will be substantially the same.

Exploratory question: What, specifically, are these differences in the positive and/or negative obligations to American friends and to Thai friends?

(2) A. There will be a qualitative difference in what the American subjects feel are the positive obligations of the Thai friend to the self and the American friend to the self.

B. Such a difference also exists in what are considered to be the negative obligations of the two friends to the self.

C. The areas of difference in the obligations of the friends to the self for both positive and negative obligations, will be substantially the same.

Exploratory question: What, specifically, are these differences in the positive and negative obligations of the friends to the self?

(3) A. There will be a substantial qualitative difference in the activities which the subjects would prefer

to pursue with Americans and those they would prefer to pursue with Thais.

B. There will be a substantial qualitative difference in the specific activities which the subjects are indifferent to pursuing with Thais and those they are indifferent to pursuing with Americans.

C. There will be a substantial qualitative difference in the specific activities which the subjects would rather avoid pursuing with Americans and those they would prefer to avoid pursuing with Thais.

Exploratory question: If any or all of the preceding substantial differences exist, of what do they consist?

By "substantial" difference, different behaviors regarding one or more whole classes of phenomena was meant, rather than differences on one or two unrelated items which might only reflect a consistent difference in the opportunity structure, or availability of a particular activity.

Here, then, both discursive and visual models of the process of abstraction (or extraction) from a general level of theory to the level of operational empiricism are presented, which were followed in the research, and through which I eventually retraced my steps, in the drawing of some tentative conclusions.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The study was limited to the interactions between Americans and Thais, and the interaction of the American associates with foreign students in general and other Americans. These interactions were investigated only through the American associates of Thai students, as previously mentioned. It may be noted that references to "Thai" or "American" relationships to self are those as perceived by the self, not judged by a more objective criterion. This provided a control on the interposure of perceptual screens, by using only one observer report of each empirical life-space (in this case, the life-space occupant). It is probably apparent that the reciprocals of the intra-American "questions" have not been handled for this reason. The Americans were found by surveying, by telephone, a sample (N=30) of Thai students proportionately stratified as to sex and residence (on-campus, grad dorm; on-campus, other dorm; and off-campus). This sample contained married and unmarried graduate students from several areas in Thailand, who appeared in the random sample taken from each gender residence category, out of a population of 60. (16-7 women and 9 men from the grad

dorm; 8-5 women and 3 men from the other dorms; and 7-4 men and 3 women from off-campus.) About two-thirds of the Thai population lived in the graduate dorm, and half were women, in the population and in the graduate dorm. One man had recently transferred from off-campus to the grad dorm, so men were over-represented in this portion of the sample. The sample from the grad dorm was randomly drawn, while the other represented all the graduate students available in those categories. (There were two undergraduates, who were not included in the sample, and who lived off-campus. One other, of the 60 Thai, was a non-student; 40 lived in the grad dorm.) The residence category was disproportionately balanced away from the graduate residence hall, where Thais were predominately lodged; this was done to avoid finding only the contacts of one group, rather than more scattered associates with whom relationships might be less standardized by a clique. Thus, Thais living elsewhere than Owen Hall are over-represented, proportionately.

The list of names from which this sample was drawn was a composite, gathered from the Foreign Student Office listings, the foreign student directory, and the directory of the Thai Association (given to the researcher by an officer of that association). Several of the officers introduced the researcher to many in the Thai community, thus easing the telephone survey. These officers were

met through contacts in the Institute for International Studies in Education.

Thai students are not a new group on American campuses--members of the royal family had been attending college here for at least 30 years. (These are a rather large group--there are eight degrees of relationship to the king, who until recently did not confine himself to one wife.) However, in 1968, 2629 Thai students were reported on American campuses.¹⁶ On the MSU campus, where there had only been Thai for 6 years at the time the sample was drawn, 60 Thai students were listed in the Foreign Student Office registry. All but three of the sixty were graduate students working towards a degree, making up approximately 6% of the foreign graduate student population on the MSU campus. Of the 242 foreign undergraduates reported for MSU, only two were Thai. The Thai population at MSU was unusual in two ways: first, 48% were women, as opposed to only 31% for the general Thai exchange student population in the U.S.; and second, 95% of the MSU Thais were graduate students, in contrast to 46% of the Thai student population in the U.S. as a whole. Since Thai male undergraduates are often young men from wealthy families who cannot meet the entrance requirements for

¹⁶The figures reported, unless otherwise stated, are from Open Doors, 1968: Report on International Exchange, Institute of International Education, 1968.

Chulalongkorn U. (in Bangkok) or even the less prestigious Tammasat U.¹⁷ (in Bangkok), this indicates both an absence of the elite Thai "playboy" type, economically and academically, and the presence of an older and more academically serious group, who may have a more adult, middle-class Thai outlook on social and personal situations. There is not a great number of married students, however, since this class of city- and college-bred Thais marry in their late twenties or early thirties.

Each Thai was asked to name the five American students on the MSU campus that he "knew best" and then to indicate if any of these were particularly "good" friends. From these American friends a further sample was drawn (N=30), stratified as to sex, residence (on or off campus, since no group seemed too highly concentrated in one living hall), and academic level. From these categories a proportional sample was drawn, but containing as many persons named as "good" friends and roommates as possible. In keeping with the intention to investigate the friendship role in particular, an attempt was made to choose at least one person from each Thai's list, and to include those persons who were mentioned by more than one Thai. All others necessary to make up the correct

¹⁷Conversation with informant (Thai) specializing in Higher Education.

proportional sample from each category were drawn from the remaining names in that category by a standard randomizing process.¹⁸

Of the 70 Americans named as "friends," 59.6% were graduate students, while the remainder were undergrads; 39% live off-campus, while the rest lived on. Fifty-one % were male, and 49% were female (indicating that approximately the same number of Americans were named by male and female Thais, since all were asked for same-gender friends). In the sample of the population drawn, 59.9% were graduate students, 50% were male, and 40% lived off-campus. Slightly under half of both male and female graduate students, who lived on-campus, lived at Owen, in both the population and the sample.

The sample was interviewed by the researcher, using the instrument partially composed of standardized, precoded questions (though care was taken to encourage respondents to mention any additions or exceptions to the answer categories), and partially of open-ended questions. About one-third were open-ended. The standardized questions were largely applicable to pathways, depth of involvement, the interaction situation, and partly to one question on obligation, three areas of verbal role-definition, and three areas of non-verbal role definition and behavior. These were, in

¹⁸Frederick Mosteller, Robert E. K. Rourke, and George B. Thomas, Probability with Statistical Applications (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1961), use of a random number table, p. 430.

large part, the questions asked in the four preceding studies in the same area¹⁹ and the coded answer categories that had been derived from these in the field. This allows comparability with the previous data collected on American-foreign student interaction.

The interviews took from one and a half to three hours; they were held in private offices and allowed for an uninterrupted space of time. All questions were pre-tested and revised accordingly before the schedule was used in the field, within trial interview situations. The lists were obtained from the Thais during the winter quarter of 1968, and the interviews with the Americans were held in the spring quarter immediately following. The responses to the interview and a short evaluation of the researcher's overall impressions of the interview (respondent, situation, etc.) were written immediately after the interview. These sketches may hopefully form part of a base for the rudiments of a typology of third-cultural contacts, at some later date.

Everything was done to insure both comparability of the parts of the study which are a replication of four previous studies in this area, and internal comparability of the questions on the instrument. Necessarily, due to the

¹⁹M.A. theses of Jerry Judy, Howard Borck, graduate research of Barbara Kirk, and a senior honors project done by Kaye Snyder, concerning, respectively, the American associates of Indians and Pakistanis, Europeans, Latin Americans, and Nigerians.

present instrument being a third revision of the original, and the interviewer difference in what is unavoidably a highly personal interaction situation (the in-depth interview) some deviations will occur which may only be partially controlled for. Nevertheless, it appears that these will not have invalidating consequences because the instrument has been used in various stages of revision by five different interviewers, while evoking basically the same responses from widely differing sample groups, over a period of several years. This "construct validity," then, may be presumed to carry over into the present study if similar responses continue to be evoked; it thus seems possible to proceed on this basis with some assurance of continued validity and comparability.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS PROCEDURE AND CATEGORIZATION OF DATA

The specific terms used to delineate the obligatory dimensions by the subjects may be subsumed under three broad areas: work, social, and personal.²⁰ These activities might be those considered appropriate, respectively, to the functional, categorical, and congeniality third-culture groups postulated by the Drs. Useem. However, these also contain a connotation of increasing depth of member involvement, or personality encompassment, as well as group function, and may, in this case, represent behavior related to role segments rather than the sole behavior of a group, or solely appropriate to a role in its entirety.

"Work-centered" dimensions will be those concerned with occupational or academic standards and behavior; "social-centered" dimensions will concern particular diversion-oriented activities, and the maintenance of good interpersonal relationships within, or as mediated

²⁰ John and Ruth Hill Useem, "The Interfaces of a Binational Third Culture: A Study of the American Community in India," Journal of Social Issues, January, 1967, pp. 130-143.

by, a group. "Personal-centered" dimensions are those which concern the building and maintenance of an intimate dyad, outside the public or semi-public sector, and are those most likely to deal with the mutual recognition of emotional tenor.

For instance, "work" obligations invariably centered around the academic sphere, as would be expected in a university setting. These ranged between obligations not to let an irresponsible person handle laboratory equipment to obligations to correct English grammar on elementary education papers.

"Social" obligations also tended to center around campus life--the dormitory bull session, the "cultural" event, or the playing field. The more traditional college activities, such as fraternities and glee clubs, had little place in these relationships, nor were dating situations mentioned to any great extent (although the study admittedly focussed away from this). This latter lack of cross-gender activity may be caused by the nature of the Thai view of such relationships--a "nice girl" (there are only two kinds: nice girls and bar girls) should never be seen alone in the company of a man, nor should she ever touch or be touched by one publically. (Before marriage, she is never with a non-related male privately.) Deputations of Thai men have been known to visit American males who made advances (such as asking for a date) to Thai student women,

and ask that these Americans desist. If the woman herself accepts these advances, she is ostracized from the Thai community, which is a rather tight-knit group, centering in Owen Hall. This provides a setting in which the Thais may interact with persons of the opposite sex, and same culture, in the approved large groups. Two or three women, for instance, will always be seen together.

The "no-touching" taboo, mentioned earlier, was seen in operation when the researcher, a Thai girl, and an American man were conversing. This other American, a small, nervous man, touched his listeners on the arm, lightly, to gain and maintain their attention. He at first directed his remarks to the researcher, with these gestures, and then turned to the Thai girl (an apparently rather Westernized student in a short skirt and make-up). The contact was never effected--the Thai moved quickly (one might almost say she leaped) out of the range of his hand, with the sureness born of lifelong avoidance. The conversation was disrupted--and the American man left, somewhat bewildered. This sort of incident would seem to curtail the social activity of Thais and Americans across sex lines.

"Personal" obligations seemed to center around a complex of patterns of mutual openness and honesty, mutual support (material and psychological), mutual trust, and mutual respect. These were often phrased in the terms

given here, although responses ran from, "He should not ask me to do anything which is wrong by my moral standards," to, "He shouldn't try t' hold hands with me in the hall, an' all that crap," (both quotes are from American men, speaking of Thais). These included intimate living problems, from window-opening in the winter to being alone with the wife of the other. They often reflected the American's bemusement at the "formalness" or "shyness" of a Thai they felt they had come to know well, or their confusion when a Thai whom they thought of as being a friend, but not an intimate, "opened up" his inner life to them, and expected a reciprocal outpouring. This may occur due to the differing conceptions of the degrees of intimacy attained by a "friend" in the host and guest cultures, or, as a Thai informant told the researcher, "When you get in with a Thai, you're in all the way," and as an American friend of the same researcher once said, "I have ten shells --most people don't get below the first three." The bases for personal exchange would seem to be entrenched in the sub-conscious formal assumptions²¹ concerning the constitution of intimacy in the cultures under study, and are thus more difficult to compromise with, when a personal exchange

²¹Robin Williams, Jr., American Society (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1959), p. 24.

complex based upon another set of such assumptions is proposed as the base for the reciprocal role exchange.

Although open-ended questions were posed first to obtain the obligatory dimensions, and precoded later for the optional, the response types fell similarly within these three areas. As noted before, the obligatory dimensions tended to be defined in somewhat more abstract terms, while the optional content of this framework was defined on a more specific level. For instance, the obligation might be seen as the duty to "share possessions and exchange favors," while the option might be "lend my car." The results are presented as percentages, in order to allow for the differing number of empirical indicators used for each, though specific examples are cited throughout the discussion to indicate the scope and range of response type.

It was apparent that the subject responses to the questions concerning the obligatory dimensions of the relationship, with regard to both reference groups, differed widely in degree of specificity, nuances of phraseology, and emphasis upon particular points. In the absence of a forced scaling device or precoded response categories, it seemed appropriate to carry out a modified form of content analysis of the responses, centered around the distinctions in third-culture relationship type outlined above. The procedure followed was to determine the number of

different dimensions mentioned concerning each major behavioral area (work, social, or personal). This allowed at least a basic comparison of the qualitative and quantitative properties of these dimensions concerning American friendships, as opposed to Thai-American friendships.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

Before reporting the results of testing the hypotheses concerning the form and content of the relationships between Americans and Thais, it seems pertinent to explore the social identity of the Americans vis à vis the Thais, as has earlier been done for the Thais themselves. (It should always be borne in mind that relationships are formed between people, and not between abstract concepts.) The perceived identity of these Americans, in a very real way, will come to be a national identity in the eyes and actions of the Thai interactants.

These Americans were, as has been seen in the chapter on methodology, equally balanced as to gender, and tended to be graduate students living on campus. For the most part, the Americans living in Owen Hall seemed to be a part of one of several multi-national and multi-racial dating groups; however, their relationship with the Thai almost never occurred within this group, but was an isolated, one-to-one relationship, or was the focal relationship of an American with a group of Thais. In only one instance was the Thai part of a multi-national group, and this case occurred off-campus, and was a one-gender living

group; the American was not part of this group himself. For undergraduates, and graduates living off-campus, the Thai was often only one of several isolated relationships of the American with foreign students, while these were a distinct minority of this American's "friend" relationships. In the other cases, the Thai was again part of an isolated relationship with the American, and was the only relationship with a foreign student that the American student had. Neither did these Americans form any cohesive, recognized group; they were apparently unknown to each other.

The Americans also tended to be of working-class or lower-middle-class background. The few professional parents were in fields such as teaching agricultural engineering. Few of them seemed to be the attractive, self-confident, well-to-do student associated with the large, midwestern university campus. Rather, they were often hesitant, lacking in assurance, and had what might even be described as a hunger to express themselves, about themselves, to a sympathetic listener. They were often studious in their demeanor, and varied in dress from exceptional neatness to off-beat casualness.

These Americans did not conform to the general pattern of campus fashion, such as full make-up, short skirts and patterned stockings, and elaborate hair-dos for the women, and V-neck sweaters, tinted shirts, press slacks and a Princeton or English school-boy haircut for

the men. They were, however, a fairly well-kept group, with clean, pressed clothes, combed hair, and polished shoes. None could be described as bizarre, with the possible exception of one boisterous graduate woman dressed in "hippie" clothes, and one graduate man who held himself stiffly and answered every question in terms of his own moral concerns. For the most part, few could be picked out in a crowd. Their ages ran from a young and eager eighteen to a garrulous, but warm, fifty-two. However, the bulk were seniors or first or second year graduate students, in their early twenties.

These, then were the Americans who formed associations with the Thai students, which will be discussed. In the light of this background, the findings concerning these relationships are reported.

With regard to hypothesis 1A (there will be a qualitative difference in what are visualized by the American subjects as their positive obligations to their American friends and what are felt to be their positive obligations to their Thai friends,) there does appear to be a qualitative difference. What is visualized by the American subjects as their positive obligations to their American friends and what are felt to be their positive obligations to their Thai friends, as may be seen in the following table, vary.

Table 1.--Positive Responses of American Subjects Pertaining to Work, Social, and Personal Obligation Dimensions by Percent of Total Response Types (R) and Frequency Mentioned (f)*, for American Friends and for Thai Friends.

Positive Obligations of the American Subject to:	Obligation Dimensions: % (of Total Response Types)		
	Work	Social	Personal
American Friends (R=22)	0	23	77
Thai Friends (R=23)	13	56	30
	f		
American Friends	0	23	116
Thai Friends	24	118	65

*See Appendix III.

Each cell indicates % of response types; the figure indicates the percentage of responses pertaining to this area, of all the responses given to the question. A peculiar facet of this table is that the figures for the Thai were derived from a precoded list of responses. However, any responses not indicated were deleted, and the subjects were encouraged to, and did, suggest other responses, which were included. Nevertheless, the rate of response was increased by the forced nature of the question, although no focussed responses were suggested that did not correspond to subject responses on earlier open-ended questions. Further, the percentage of response types on this corresponded with those of open-ended questions. As a part of a pattern, this comparison may have some utility, but this and related problems preclude meaningful tests for the statistical significance above the nominal level.

The difference appears to lie in the fact that there is a great deal of emphasis on the personal sphere in the American relationships and none on the work sphere,

while for the Thai relationship, the emphasis is upon the social sphere, with less upon the personal; the work dimension acquires some importance, though not a great deal.²²

That is, when speaking of their relationships with their American friends, the subjects stressed openness, honesty, sincerity, and a host of other such values; often, the need for mutual support in a group came through strongly on the "social" dimension. There was also a concern, probably indigenous to American culture and the university setting, with "finding time" to keep up both personal and social aspects of a relationship. This was not as apparent in the interaction with the Thais; there was, instead, a concern by the subjects for guiding the Thai socially--taking him to concerts, including him in group discussions, and the like. This guidance function tended to occur in the personal sphere with the Americans, where it took an "advice to the lovelorn" form. Part of this "guidance" complex seemed to extend to the work area with the Thais; Americans felt they should "do everything" to help the Thai, from helping him learn English, to filling out job applications. This guidance apparently had two implications: the first was a desire to present America favorably, both through the subject's own actions, and through exposing the Thai to favorable situations for observing

²²The work sphere may suffer in quantitative comparisons of response types, since its responses are easily recognized, and so these may often be more highly codified in interviewing and reduced in coding than other response types.

American culture. The second implication was that a Thai would begin to behave predictably, "just like an American," if he were simply exposed to the proper influences.

The first group of Americans seemed to have no concern with integrating the Thai into close personalized relationships with Americans. On the other hand, they often had a lively interest in Thai culture. The second American group seemed to have a desire to form personal relationships with the Thai, partially for their own ego-support. It tended to include a number of American graduate women from working class or lower middle class backgrounds, often of a pious bent, who wanted to stress communication with the Thai, sometimes for religious purposes. As a whole, their dress ran to very proper, but unflattering styles, as did their hairdos. They held themselves stiffly, were wary in their responses, and often speculated on the possible psychoanalytic implications of the questions (none were intended).

Hypothesis 1B (there will be a qualitative difference in what are felt to be the negative obligations of the self to American friends and what are felt to be the negative obligations to the Thai friends,) also appears to be supported. However, here the emphasis upon the social increased for Americans, while emphasis on the personal decreased. The same was true for Thais, though not in the same measure. Also for Thais, the emphasis upon the work sphere decreased although this may simply reflect a

change from a forced-response eliciting question to an open-ended one.

Table 2.--Negative Responses of American Subjects Pertaining to Work, Social, and Personal Obligation Dimensions by Percent of Total Responses Types (R) and Frequency Mentioned (f)*, for American Friends and for Thai Friends.

Negative Obligations of the American Subject to:	Obligation Dimensions: % (of Total Response Types)		
	Work	Social	Personal
American Friends (R=22)	0	41	59
Thai Friends (R=34)	6	68	26
	f		
American Friends	0	28	34
Thai Friends	3	43	21

*See Appendix III.

The percentages indicate the proportion of each response type to the total number of response types for each question concerning negative obligations of the self. This may also suggest a tendency to think of negative obligations in terms of social mores, and to think of personal relationships largely in positive terms.

There seemed to be a concern with betrayal and invasion of privacy inherent in many of the negative obligations mentioned, for both the self and the other Americans and Thais. Often, the betrayal was actively by Americans or Thais of the self to others concerning private areas, or failures in mutual support functions in a group. The less-mentioned personal sphere contained a more passive set of failures to meet positive obligations. For instance, two of the most frequently-evoked responses were, "He (or she) shouldn't talk (gossip)

behind my back," and, "He shouldn't tell others what I've told him in confidence." This would seem to be the other side of the coin of the overwhelming concern with trust, frankness, and sincerity. While this may only be suggested here, it poses an interesting research question for social-psychological investigation, especially if we inquire whether such a conceptual division coincides with an apparent behavior complex.

Hypothesis 1C (the areas of difference between American and Thai relationships will be the same for the positive and negative obligations,) is also upheld. The differences in both positive and negative obligatory frameworks for the Thai and American relationships appear to consist of (a) the inclusion of the work sphere in the Thai, and the exclusion in the American, and (b) a much greater emphasis on the personal sphere than the social for the Americans, and the reverse for the Thai.

Hypothesis 2A (there will be a qualitative difference in what the American subjects feel are the positive obligations of the Thai friend to the self and the American friend to the self,) seems to be supported in the same manner as the preceding three hypotheses. That is, the subject's positive expectations of other Americans, as evidenced in the high number of response types used to document the dimension, are concentrated highly in the personal sphere, and to exclude the work sphere.

The expectations of Thais, through the same evidential process, are concentrated in the social sphere, though including the work and personal spheres.

Table 3.--Positive Responses of American Friends and of Thai Friends Pertaining to Work, Social, and Personal Obligation Dimensions by Percent of Total Response Types (R) and Frequency Mentioned (f)*, for Their Relationship with the American Subject.

Positive Obligations to the American Subject from:	Obligation Dimensions: %		
	Work	Social	Personal
American Friends (R=30)	0	43	57
Thai Friends (R=25)	8	56	36
	f		
American Friends	0	27	63
Thai Friends	2	22	30

*See Appendix III.

The percentage in each cell indicates the proportion of responses in each area, in comparison to the total numbers of responses given.

Several other points may also be mentioned here: the gap between the percent of personal response-types with Americans, and that of Thais, is as high as 47%, and is never less than 18%; and the number of personal response-types with regard to American-American relationships drops 27% between the most positive personalized relationship and the most negative abstract relationship, but the percentage of response-types concerning personal dimensions of the relationship never drops below 50% of the total number of response-types; and finally, although there is always some concern with the work dimension of the relationship between Americans and

Thais, which differentiates it qualitatively from the American-American relationship, the percentage of response-types pertaining to this dimension never rises over 13%, and drops as low as 6%. By "positive, personalized relationship" a self-to-American positive obligation is meant; by "negative, abstract" the negative obligations of the Americans and Thais to the self is meant.

Hypothesis 2B (a qualitative difference also exists in what the subjects feel are the negative obligations of the two friends to the self,) is also supported in the same way as the preceding four hypotheses, except that the American obligations are mentioned in equal numbers in the personal and social spheres, though not at all in the work area. The Thai emphasis is again on the personal, with about one-third concentrated in the social sphere.

Table 4.--Negative Responses of American Friends and of Thai Friends Pertaining to Work, Social, and Personal Obligation Dimensions by Percent of Total Response Types (R) and Frequency Mentioned (f)*, for Their Relationships with the American Subject.

Negative Obligation to the American Subject from:	Obligation Dimensions: %		
	Work	Social	Personal
American Friends (R=26)	0	50	50
Thai Friends (R=21)	9	57	33
	f		
American Friends	0	23	33
Thai Friends	12	20	12

*See Appendix III.

The percent in each cell indicates the proportion of responses falling in each area, in comparison to the total number (N) of responses given.

The reduction in the personal response-types for Americans is congruent with the general theory; for if the obligational framework of a relationship is a formal or informal cultural facet, we would expect it to exist out of awareness to a great extent, or for the alternatives to not be generally conceived as possibilities. However, an individual, to be accorded the status of a fully functioning member of a society, must exhibit the behavior patterns appropriate to the underlying cultural assumptions of that society. Given this, there would appear to be a certain logic in his awareness of his own specific personal behavioral decisions (which exist internal to himself), rather than those of others. The social decisions are manifested somewhat more openly. Further, since the alternatives to the patterns dictated by formal cultural facets are not generally conceptualized as worthy or even possible ones, it follows that the personal-internal behaviors are not generally conceived of in the negative, while experience may have suggested the negative social behaviors, at least for the informal cultural facets. This is where the afore-mentioned concern with betrayal was evinced most strongly.

As has been demonstrated in the reports of the testing of the latter two hypotheses, hypothesis 2C (the areas of difference in the obligations of the friends to the self, for both positive and negative obligations, will

be substantially the same,) is supported--again, the Thai-American relationship is seen to include a work dimension, and to place its heaviest emphasis on the social, while the American-American relationship places a heavier, or at least equal, emphasis on the personal, and does not include the work dimension at all. The specific content of these dimensions was essentially the same as that discussed in conjunction with the first set of hypotheses.

The last three hypotheses pertain to questions which had a forced-answer format; that is, a list of activities was provided, garnered from previous similar studies (such as "have coffee, talk, drink, go to parties, double-date with, study with, take home to meet my family"), and the subjects were asked to mark whether they would prefer, be indifferent to, or avoid, doing them, first with Americans, and later on, with Thais. On this basis we were able to compare specific individual's responses to specific questions, and then draw a composite, as well as drawing the initial composite scores for the group. Thus, the following hypotheses will have several reference points in the data analysis, and the reported results will have a somewhat broader analytic base, although having the accompanying disadvantage of structuring the empirical interview situation somewhat more restrictively. This will, however,

serve as a check on the more diffuse results obtained from the investigation of the data generated by the open-ended questions.

Hypothesis 3A (there will be a substantial qualitative difference in the activities which the subjects would prefer to pursue with Americans and those they prefer to pursue with Thais,) is only partially supported. On a composite basis, almost an equal percentage of the subjects would prefer to pursue activities included in the work, social, or personal areas (54-59 percent, a spread of less than 5%). However, not as large a percentage would prefer to do these things with Thais (12% and 10%, less, respectively, for work and personal dimensions, and 19% for the social dimensions). This is practically a reverse in the intra-relationship dimensional structure for the Thais, and represents a substantial change in the balance of the importance given work for both Thai-American and American-American relationships.

When individually analyzed, only 6% of those who preferred pursuing social activities with Thais did not pursue them with Americans. This is also true for 12% of those preferring to pursue work-oriented activities with the Thais, and for 8% of those preferring personal activities with them.

Table 5.--Responses of American Students Indicating Preference for Work, Social, and Personal Dimensions of Optional Activities with American Friends, with Thai Friends, and with Both, in Percent of Total Responses.

Dimensions of Preferred Optional Activity	Activity is preferred with:		
	American	Thai	Both
Work (NQ*=120)	56	44	32
Social (NQ=300)	54	35	29
Personal (NQ=240)	59	49	41

*NQ = Total Responses [= number of Questions $\times$ number of Respondents (30)].

The figures in each cell represent the percent of the total number of possible preference responses actually given, for all questions on each dimension.

In sum, this indicates that the major difference in the dimensional content of the relationships in question is quantitative, rather than qualitative; that is, fewer of the subjects would prefer to do anything with Thais, than would prefer to do anything with other American friends. There appeared to be an especial dearth of subjects who preferred to pursue specific social activities with Thais; this is quite consistent with our previous findings which showed the highest incidence of response types for the Thai-American relationships dimensions occurring under the heading of "negative obligation" (of the self to Thais) and the second highest under "negative obligation" (of the Thai) and both with regard to social activities.

The findings concerning the optional work dimension are also congruent with those concerning the obligational work dimension. Academics represent a problem with which all the subjects in the test group must deal; since it is not largely dealt with in the informal-obligational framework, and since it is a problem involving conscious choice (i.e., not a formal facet of culture), it seems to follow that the primary orientation to the work dimension will appear in the technical-optional content of the obligatory relationship framework.

Finally, the continued high percentage of subjects preferring to pursue personal activities with Americans corroborates the earlier postulated importance of this dimension in American friendships while the increase in emphasis on the personal area in American-Thai relationships in their optional content is consistent with the fact that, though we are investigating an established friendship relationship, it is not necessarily felt to have the obligatory framework of the American intra-cultural relationship, nor a particularly well-defined obligatory framework of its own.²³

²³This poses an interesting research question in itself, especially in view of the relative newcomer status of a large group of Thais to the educational exchange program on this campus. Is the character of the American-Thai relationship in a process of evolution from a purely optional scatter of activities to an obligatory framework, and if so, is this obligatory framework qualitatively different from that of American-American relationships?

Hypothesis 3B (there will be a substantial qualitative difference in the specific activities which the subjects are indifferent to pursuing with Thais and those they are indifferent to pursuing with Americans,) when tested against the group composite, is not supported--apparently, the "indifferent" orientation of the composite subject's group is very similar, quantitatively and qualitatively, with regard to both Thai-American and American-American relationships.

Table 6.--Responses of American Students Indicating Indifference for Work, Social, and Personal Dimensions of Optional Activities with American Friends, with Thai Friends, and with Both, in Percent of Total Responses.

Dimensions of Indifferent Optional Activity	Activity is Indifferent with:		
	American	Thai	Both
Work (NQ*=120)	37.5	45	21
Social (NQ=300)	26.0	32	14
Personal (NQ=240)	29.0	30	15

*NQ = Total Responses [= number of Questions × number of Respondents (30)].

The figure in each cell represents the percent of the possible "indifference" responses actually given.

Further, as can be seen in the table above, only about half of the subjects who are indifferent to various dimensions are indifferent to both the inter- and intra-

These questions suggest a longitudinal research design, and cannot be answered here, although this might hopefully constitute part of the basis for such research.

cultural relationships. By referring to Table 4 we may note that of the subjects who were indifferent to activities with the Thais, the half who were not equally indifferent to these activities with the Americans actually preferred these activities with them. The reverse was not true for the Thais; of the subjects who were indifferent with the Americans only about 30% preferred these activities with the Thais.

In sum, we may say that although hypothesis 3B is not supported, further credence is given to the statement (made in connection with hypothesis 3A) that the subjects are more favorably disposed to activities with Americans than with Thais. A real qualitative difference in the dimensional predominance of the content of the relationships does not apparently exist on the optional level, but only a slight quantitative one in the indicated direction.

Hypothesis 3C (there will be a substantial qualitative difference in the specific activities which the subjects would rather avoid pursuing with Thais and those they would prefer to avoid pursuing with Americans,) is not supported. However, the results derived from testing it further reinforce the statement based on the quantitative difference, that has been suggested by the investigation of hypotheses 3A and 3B. This is that a substantially larger number of the subjects prefer to pursue every type of activity with Americans, and avoid all types of

activities with Thais. Concerning avoidance, almost twice as many subjects prefer to avoid activities with Thais, as opposed to avoiding them with Americans, and no more than 3% of the groups are non-coincidental. (That is, the same subjects prefer to avoid the same activities with Americans as they do with Thais, being split equally between either indifference and preference for the identical activities with Americans.)

Table 7.--Responses of American Students Indicating Avoidance for Work, Social, and Personal Dimensions of Optional Activities with American Friends, with Thai Friends, and with Both, in Percent of Total Responses.

Dimensions of Avoided Optional Activity	Activity is Avoided with:		
	American	Thai	Both
Work (NQ*=120)	5	11	2
Social (NQ=300)	17	31	14
Personal (NQ=240)	11	20	10

*NQ = Total Responses [= number of Questions × number of Respondents (30)].

The figure in each cell represents the number of possible "avoidance" responses actually given to those options in that area.

The following tables present a summary of the whole of this second group of data, and the smaller tables included in the analysis of the results of testing each hypothesis may be seen to be portions of these. The percents represent a comparison of the responses which actually occurred in a category to the (N) number of those which could possibly have occurred for each of the 22 options

Table 8.--Responses of American Students Indicating Preference, Indifference, and Avoidance for Work Dimension of Optional Activities with Both American and Thai Friends, in Percent of Total Responses (NQ).

Orientation of the American Subject to Optional Work Activities with the Thai Friend:	Orientation of the American Subject to Optional Work Activities with the American Friend		
	Preference	Indifference	Avoidance
Preference	32	10	0.8
Indifference	22	21	2.0
Avoidance	3	3	2.0

No Response = 3.2%; Rounding Error = 1%; NQ* = 120.

Table 9.--Responses of American Students Indicating Preference, Indifference, and Avoidance for Social Dimensions of Optional Activities with Both American and Thai Friends, in Percent of Total Responses (NQ).

Orientation of the American Subject to Optional Social Activities with the Thai Friend:	Orientation of the American Subject to Optional Social Activities with the American Friend		
	Preference	Indifference	Avoidance
Preference	29	4	0.7
Indifference	17	14	1.7
Avoidance	8	7	14.0

No Response = 4%; Rounding Error = 0.6%; NQ* = 300.

*NQ = Total Responses = [number of Respondents (30) × number of Questions].

proposed. Thus, there are ten variables which measure the social dimension, four for work, and eight for personal; 30 subjects might have indicated a positive response to "preference" for each. Hence, 300 responses could therefore occur within the cell representing a preference for social-dimension related activities. Only 78 responses of this sort--26% of the hypothetical 300--did occur, and it is the percent which is entered in the cell.

Table 10.--Responses of American Students Indicating Preference, Indifference, and Avoidance for Social Dimensions of Optional Activities with Both Americans and Thai Friends, in Percent of Total Responses (NQ).

Orientation of the American Subject to Optional Personal Activities with the Thai Friend:	Orientation of the American Subject to Optional Personal Activities with the American Friend		
	Preference	Indifference	Avoidance
Preference	41	7	0.8
Indifference	14	15	0.0
Avoidance	4	6	10.0

No Response = 2%; Rounding Error = 0.2%; NQ* = 240.

* NQ = Total Responses = [number of Respondents (30) × number of Questions].

It should be noted that the entire scale is skewed heavily towards preference for Americans, and equally balanced between preference and indifference for Thais (except in the personal sphere where preference predominates).

Avoidance remains the pattern for only 10% to 20% of the sample, with two exceptions; a drop (in work with Americans) to 5%, and a rise (in social activities with Thais) to 31%. These exceptions are also consistent with the theory.

In short, then, the difference existing in avoidance patterns for Americans, and those of Thais, are purely quantitative.

Table 11.--Responses of American Students Indicating Preference, Indifference, and Avoidance for Work, Social, and Personal Dimensions of Optional Activities with American Friends, in Percent of Total Responses.

Optional Activity Dimensions of the American Subject with American Friends	Orientations of the American Subject Toward Optional Activity Dimensions with American Friends		
	Prefer	Indifferent	Avoid
Work (NQ*=120)	56	37.5	5
Social (NQ=300)	54	26.0	17
Personal (NQ=240)	59	29.0	11

Rounding Error + No Response (%)

Social	3.0
Personal	1.0
Work	1.5

Table 12.--Responses of American Students Indicating Preference, Indifference, and Avoidance for Work, Social, and Personal Dimensions of Optional Activities with Thai Friends, in Percent of Total Responses.

Optional Activity Dimensions of the American Subject with Thai Friends	Orientations of the American Subject Toward Optional Activity Dimensions with Thai Friends		
	Prefer	Indifferent	Avoid
Work (NQ*=120)	44	45	11
Social (NQ=300)	35	32	31
Personal (NQ=240)	49	30	20

Rounding Error + No Response

Work	0
Social	2
Personal	1

*NQ = Total Responses [= number of Questions × number of Respondents (30)].

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In summary, it appears that the obligatory dimensional framework differs quantitatively for Thai-American and American-American relationships, as defined by American subjects. First, there seemed to be a work dimension²⁴ in Thai-American relationships, but not for American-American. Second, there was a greater emphasis in Thai-American relationships on the social, rather than the personal, dimension. For the American relationships, the opposite was true. Third, there was a greater emphasis on the social dimension in Thai-American relationships than in American-American relationships; there was a greater emphasis on the personal in American-American relationships than in Thai-American relationships. Further, both the intra- and inter-relationship differences decreased as the frame of reference became increasingly abstract and negative, e.g., became other-to-self and negative obligations.

²⁴A dimension, in this sense, is a complex of obligations--prescribed and proscribed norms and values--surrounding a particular segment of the life-experience; in this case, work.

The optional dimensional content does not differ qualitatively--the dimensional interrelationships are essentially the same internal to both American-American and American-Thai relationships. However, a quantitative difference exists between the two types of relationships, and between the dimensions within each relationship. Between the two relationships, there is a tendency for the balance of feelings in American-American relationships to be on the preferential end of the spectrum, and for there to be a very low rate of avoidance. For the Thai-American relationships, preference and indifference are essentially in balance (except on the personal dimension, where preference well outweighs indifference), and the avoidance rate, although the lowest of all three orientations, is twice that for the American-American relationships.

Between dimensions, the personal dimension activities are the most preferred, and the work dimension activities are the least avoided, though they show the highest rate of indifference. The social dimension-connected activities are the least preferred and the most avoided, although for the Thai-American relationships, the rates of preference, indifference and avoidance are nearly the same.

In short, the American-American and Thai-American friendship relationships (or reciprocal role definitions, in this case) differ by the dimension by which they are

structured and defined, and in the evaluative orientation to their content.

What, then, do these findings mean in terms of the major research questions? It is obvious that if we accept the assumption that the Thais and Americans occupy the same position ("friend") then the answer to whether the role definitions for these Thais and Americans differ, is a largely unqualified "yes." The ways in which these differ has been outlined above. The patterns into which these differences fall has also been outlined as a tendency of the American subjects to emphasize the personal dimension with Americans and the work dimension with Thais, and to emphasize the social dimension, especially in its negative aspects, more strongly with Thais. Indeed, the leaning is towards the definition of relationships with other Americans in a positive way, and the definitions of relationships with Thais negatively, although the tendency towards the positive is the over-riding one.

The final question (on this level) is whether these differences represent opposing definitions or modes of behavior in the host and guest cultures. The answer to this must be speculative, or at least based on previous findings concerning the two cultures. The explanation seems relatively prominent in the literature²⁵ concerning

²⁵Guskin and Sookthawee, "Changing Values of Thai College Students," Faculty of Education, Chulalongkorn U., Bangkok, 1964, pp. 1-113. Also Herbert Phillips, "Personality and Social Structure in a Siamese Community," Human Organization, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp. 105-108; and Fred Riggs, Thailand: The Modernization of a Bureaucratic Polity, (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1966).

the differing emphases given the personal dimension in the two relationships. Thai culture does not allow for intimacy outside the family circle or with a few selected life-long associates, and thus it would be unusual for a close personal relationship to be formed by a Thai. The presence of as much concern with the personal aspects of the American-Thai relationship as now exists may be an indication that the Thais are indeed forming relationships which contain new elements with the Americans. The same may be said of the new obligatory work dimension for Americans--while an emphasis upon the work role is not a phenomenon antithetical to American cultural values, it is obviously not considered an obligatory dimension of a relationship which also contains an emphasis upon social-personal dimensions. The combination of these two factors (the relative de-emphasis of the personal dimension and the emphasis upon the work dimension) and the emphasis upon the social dimension with the Thais is characteristic of third-cultural relationships.²⁶

The emphasis present upon personal dimensions even within American-Thai relationships may be a function of (a) the use of only American subjects in determining the dimensions, and (b) the ecological locus of this third culture within an American college culture, to which the Thais must, at least in some degree, adapt.

²⁶Useem, Useem, and Donoghue, op. cit., p. 14.

Finally, we may suggest that the positivism with which American-American relationships are treated is a pervasive characteristic of American culture,²⁷ but that the relative negativism with which American-Thai relations are treated is typical of (a) the tendency of members of a society to exclude from their daily life spaces experiences for which their culture provides no adequate pattern, and (b) the generally less positivistic attitude characteristic of Eastern societies. The mixture of positive and negative feelings concerning American-Thai relationships, with a balance in the areas often regarded as central to third culture (i.e., the social dimension) may be taken as further evidence of a burgeoning third culture.

In short, it appears that a set of third-cultural relationships are in the process of evolving, and that the framework of this set is largely social, but containing a new work and a lessened personal dimension not typical of the host or guest culture in their affective content, nor their balance of emphasis. That is, there is a balance between positive feeling and indifference concerning work, an equal spread of positivism, indifference, and negativism concerning the social dimension (probably indicating a more well-formed concept and dimensions) and a balance towards

²⁷Margaret Mead, And Keep Your Powder Dry (New York: W. Morrow and Co., 1942).

positivism concerning the personal. This context is familiar to neither culture's members, but is emergent between them. Neither is this typical of relationships of other types within the society (on different levels of intimacy or involving a different relationship basis) in terms of what we know of these in American or Thai culture.

In terms of the larger theory, this means that new formal-informal cultural facets are evolving within this role set (the role set is becoming defined in terms of formal and informal cultural assumptions), and that, in all probability, several of the specific behaviors which form the technical content of the informal framework are also involved in becoming informal dimensions. (It should here be noted that in speaking of the technical content of an informal framework, I am imposing a structure upon Hall's distinctions between formal, informal, and technical cultural facets which he does not suggest himself; theoretically, this structure--that is, the particular dynamic relationship between the cultural facets--is a descendent of Benedict's "arc of culture" and its implications for the understanding of various aspects of culture.) Hopefully, this shift, from a technical to an informal and formal cultural assumptive foundation for a role set, is a phenomena which is common to all continuous cross-cultural interactions within an evolving community

of men, and thus the processual content of building "third-cultural bridges."²⁸

This is to say that role-definitions will be made in largely technical terms, but that they will become role definitions in the true culturally-based sense as used herein, through the process of generalization of specific phenomena to an informal basis; and that this informal framework may be part of the normative structure of a new third culture. Further, roles will at first be defined in the informal terms of the two original cultures, but the new informal third-cultural facets may even be antithetical to informal facets of one or both of the original cultures. Finally, an emphasis may be placed upon dimensions which are relatively impoverished in the original cultures in their informal attributes--that is, dimensions which are scarcely treated in the original cultures may become important as an informal facet of a new third-cultural role-set.

In the American-Thai context, the above means that Thais and Americans find that their relationships must center around work, with members of the other culture, because in social, and particularly in personal areas, the cultural formal assumptions have already been internalized strongly by the adult culture members. Such personal-social relationships are well-known and highly valued in both

²⁸Useem, Useem, and Donoghue, op. cit., p. 15.

cultures, and, thus, they tend to be framed in a set of formal assumptions. However, the work role, at least of the academic type, may be less familiar and less-defined by the cultures. It may well represent a segment of the life ordinarily isolated in a certain age-grade at a certain locus, for Americans. The character of the Americans who were involved with the Thais also contributes to this view--they were often people who had had no connection with the collegiate-level academic role, and to whom it had little reality, before they had come to college. Several had lived at home throughout undergraduate school. Many were from Michigan and had not traveled widely.

This academic work role may also be so new and little-represented in general Thai culture that it is essentially not defined by any but technical assumptions, and may also be a highly segmentalized role, circumscribed by few dimensions. From these segmentalized, technical roles, Americans and Thais may well be building a reciprocal role relationship, and utilizing the technical norms of their own cultures as the formal and informal norms of this. For instance, it may be efficient to ask another to proofread a paper in each culture; however, this may evolve into an obligation between American and Thai classmates. As one of the respondents put this, "We're real close--she always types my papers for me, and I correct all hers for grammar and stuff--of course, I don't understand the math."

Or, either between Americans or Thais, dinner invitations may be a matter of convenience--but in the third-cultural role-set, the exchanging of food and hospitality may become one of the defining dimensions of a friendship. Again the discussion of certain political situations, such as Vietnam, may be a matter of conversational coincidence among intra-cultural groups--but may entail de rigeur avoidance in the cross-cultural relationship; that is, become an assumed condition of the maintenance of the relationship.

In short, things which are minimally normatively circumscribed or weighted in both host and guest cultures may become the bases for a cross-cultural exchange, and may in time come to be the informal (or formal) assumptions or moral norms of the latter set of relationships. When these roles become informally or formally and richly framed, they may constitute a complex into which new recruits may move, assuming these defined roles, and this may be the beginning of a third culture.

The dynamic interaction implied here between cultural facets may be taken as an indication that the exclusion of a specific consideration of cultural facets in systems analysis is an omission which should lead us to re-evaluate judgments made in its terms. This is especially true, since the meeting of systems theory and culture based theory in role (a most basic concept in American sociology)

is too obvious to be ignored. This study, again hopefully, may point in some small part to the fallacy of considering culture as a static variable, and reaffirm its dynamic, processual nature.

CHAPTER VIII

IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Probably the two most dire needs in terms of this particular research are (a) the need to compare these role definitions with role behavior, and the role behaviors with each other, and (b) the need to investigate the reciprocal aspects of these relationships among the Thais. Additional research questions of interest, though not of as direct import, have been suggested throughout the text, as the circumstances which prompted them have arisen. The need for further research in this area cannot be underestimated, nor can its personal and public importance for understanding of both the lives of others, and the life of the self, in a shrinking world where even the meanings of society and culture must undergo a constant process of revision.

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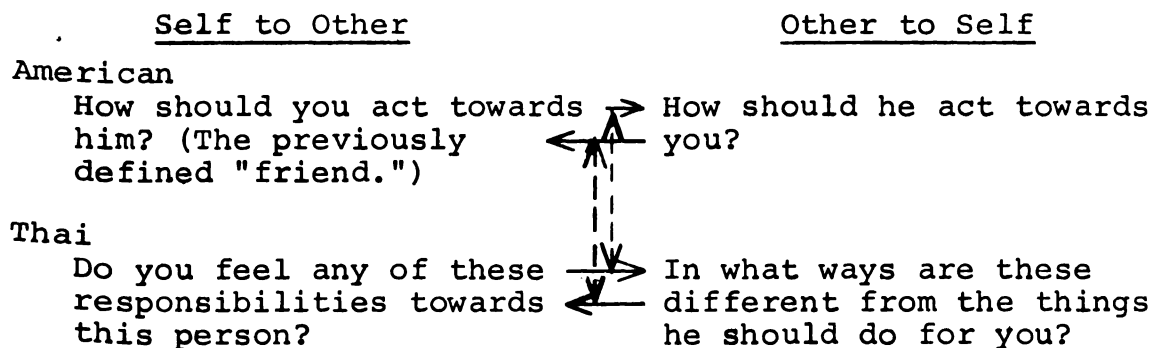
APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

OPERATIONAL MODEL

The operational model is laid out here so the connection between the empirical and the theoretical may be more easily seen. The theoretical model will be given in capitals, and will be a duplicate of the one presented on the preceding pages; the actual questions used to tap each theoretical sub-component are listed directly below this. The "deck of cards" paradigm will still serve as an illustration of the manner in which the components combine to form the basic model, if each set of questions bound together by arrows is visualized as constituting one "card," and the basic model, the "deck."

Positive Obligation



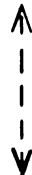
OPTION²⁹

Preference

Self to OtherOther to Self

American

Here is a list of activities that some people might do with others. Would you please put a plus (+) by every activity that you would really like to do with your American friends?



Thai

For this particular person, please mark these activities plus (+) that you would really like to do with him.

Indifference

American

Here is a list of activities that some people might do with others. (a) Would you please put...a zero (0) by every one which you may have done or might do on occasion?



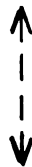
Thai

For this particular person, please mark these activities: ...; "zero"--might or occasionally do;...

Avoidance

American

Here is a list of activities that some people might do with others. (a) Would you please put...a "minus" (-) by every one that you prefer to avoid?



Thai

For this particular person, please mark these activities: ...; "minus"--would prefer not to do.

²⁹For the substantive content of the "options," see p. 70.

Negative Obligation

Self to OtherOther to Self

American

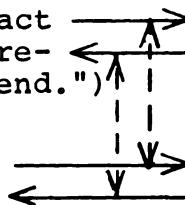
How...shouldn't you act
towards him? (The pre-
viously defined "friend.")

How...shouldn't he (the
friend) act towards you?

Thai

What do you feel you
shouldn't do for him
or with him?

In what ways are these
different from the things
he...shouldn't do for or
with you?



OPTIONAL ACTIVITIES

- a. participate in sports (volleyball, soccer, tennis, golf, ping-pong, paddleball)
- b. campus events (lecture-concert series, etc.)
- c. academic activities (lab work, classes, department meetings and social functions, group projects, academic discussions, exchange class notes)
- d. social activities: (1) fraternity activities, (2) play cards, (3) watch TV, (4) sing songs, (5) play chess, (6) eat together, (7) walk back from class, (8) listen to records, (9) attend parties, (10) movies, (11) dances (12 International Club.
- e. date, double date
- f. drink
- g. visit students in other cities, travel
- h. religious activities
- i. family activities: (1) friends home over vacation, (2) guest at their home, (3) invite them to dinner
- j. general discussions (bull sessions, coffee discussions, phone conversations)
- k. aid in academic work
- l. work
- m. study together, help each other in classes
- n. be a companion, discuss personal matters, counseling
- o. personal give and take activities (ride in and borrow car, share close friends, look for a job, help with job applications, borrow and lend books)
- p. correspond
- q. take him or her to a party of Americans
- r. become seriously involved
- s. participating in any activities together which would make him/her dependent on me.
- t. going to places where he/she might be embarrassed because of nationality (restaurants where there is racial discrimination, for example)
- u. take him/her to a political organization meeting
- v. take part in activities in which just persons of his nationality participate
- w. nothing

APPENDIX II

INSTRUMENT

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

(Revised)

Susan Asch

**Michigan State University
Spring, 1968**

In this interview, everything you say will be confidential - and your name will never be connected with the data.

A. Let us first look at some general background information about yourself:

1. Sex: Male _____ Female _____

2. In what year were you born?

3. Are you married? Yes _____ No _____

If no:

Dating steadily? Yes _____ No _____

Pinned? Yes _____ No _____

Engaged? Yes _____ No _____

4. What is your academic level? Ph.D. _____ Master's _____

Sr. _____ Jr. _____ Soph. _____ Other _____ 5th Yr. Vet. Med. _____

5. What is your major? _____

7. What is your father's occupation? _____

8. What is your mother's occupation?

9. a. Would you describe the ethnic background of your family? _____

10. In what ways has this experience had an effect on your interest in
different peoples? Important _____ No appreciable influence _____

Rejection of background _____

12. Could you give me a brief history of where you have lived, and for how
long (put time in provided space).

Rural _____ small town (up to 50,000) _____

suburb _____ small city (50,000 to 249,000) _____

large city (over 250,000) _____ military bases in U.S. & overseas _____

rural and small city _____ small town and large city _____

small city and large city _____

12. b. Number of homes until 18 or entered college _____

Number of homes after 18 or entered college _____

1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions of the Board of Directors of the Corporation.

2. The second part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions of the Board of Directors of the Corporation.

3. The third part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions of the Board of Directors of the Corporation.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions of the Board of Directors of the Corporation.

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13. Have you been outside of the continental U.S.? Yes _____ No _____
If yes: where, for how long, and for what purpose?

- 14.) I am going to give you a listing of some other possible direct or indirect
15.) contacts which you may have had with foreign countries or people from
16.) them before coming to college. Would you please rate these by the degree
of influence they may have had in making you interested in or aware of
foreign countries?

GIVE CARD #14/15/16.

B. General Interaction with American and Foreign Students Since Coming to MSU.

I would now like to turn to the period since you have been at MSU and explore interaction you have had with American and foreign students here.

17. How many foreign students do you know?

1 - 2 _____ ('a couple')
3 - 5 _____ ('a few')
6 - 10 _____
11-20 _____
21-30 _____
31-50 _____
51-60 _____

18. How did you get to know foreign students?

- a. Academic interests _____
(1) classroom, class project, in same department, academic clubs _____
(2) share office or study room _____
- b. Social activities _____
(1) dorm activities _____
(2) church activities _____
(3) fraternity _____
(4) campus clubs and meetings _____
(5) sports _____
(6) campus clubs and sports _____
- c. Proximity _____
(1) roommate or suitemate _____
(2) dorm, apartment, married housing _____
- d. Miscellaneous _____
(1) self initiative _____
(2) work _____
(3) foreign spouse _____
(4) met in country of foreign student _____
(5) through American friends _____
(6) through foreign student friends _____

19. Have you ever lived with a foreign student? Yes _____ No _____

23. What countries do the foreign students that you associate with most often at MSU come from?

GIVE CARD #23

24. Are there reasons for associating with people from these countries more than people from other countries? If so, what are they?

- a. ☐ not applicable. Specify _____
- b. ☐ unspecified
- c. ☐ academic interests
- d. ☐ general curiosity of foreign students' culture
- e. ☐ lived or visited that country
- f. ☐ ethnic background
- g. ☐ living proximity
- h. ☐ friends of friends
- i. ☐ friendlier than others, more gregarious
- j. ☐ church
- k. ☐ work together
- l. ☐ sports
- m. ☐ respondent speaks the language
- n. ☐ foreign student spouse, foreign student girl friend
- o. ☐ student association
- p. ☐ prefer this country if personality of individual foreign student is compatible to respondent

25. a. If you had your choice, which national group would you prefer to associate with most often? ✓

GIVE CARD #23

- b. Why would you prefer to associate with the people from these countries? (Use letters from responses to 24).

26. a. Which nationality groups would you least like to associate with? ✓

GIVE CARD #23

- b. Why would you prefer to associate less with the people from these countries? ✓

- ☐ not applicable
- ☐ culture; don't like and don't understand
- ☐ undesirable personality attributes
- ☐ race
- ☐ anti-American attitude of foreign student, cliquishness of foreign students, unwillingness to learn about America
- ☐ political reasons, dislike for that country's internal or external politics, ideological distaste
- ☐ parental attitude toward area
- ☐ those students from area that become perpetual students
- ☐ communication problem
- ☐ unfavorable image from movies or heresay

- ☐ aggressiveness in boy-girl relationships
 - ☐ different academic norms - not doing lab work, borrowing notes and not returning them, cheating, expect special treatment because they are foreign
 - ☐ physically uncomfortable
 - ☐ personal cleanliness
 - ☐ other. Specify _____
-

27. What proportion of your time do you usually spend with foreign students?

- ☐ unspecified
- ☐ none
- ☐ very little (1% - 9%)
- ☐ 10% - 20%
- ☐ 25% - 49%
- ☐ 50% - 65%
- ☐ 70% - 80%
- ☐ 85% - 100%

28. How do your parents feel about your association with foreign students?

- ☐ favorable
- ☐ indifferent
- ☐ unfavorable

29. a. How do you think Americans in general react to American students having foreign student friends here at MSU?

- ☐ favorable
- ☐ indifferent
- ☐ unfavorable

b. Would there be any countries which would be exceptions to this?

GIVE CARD #29b

c. Why?

- (1) ☐ Communist area
- (2) ☐ racial
- (3) ☐ other political
- (4) ☐ cultural
- (5) ☐ countries respondent is uninformed about
- (6) ☐ religious

30. a. How do you personally feel about American students having foreign friends here at MSU? Favorable ____ Unfavorable ____ Indifferent ____

b. Are there exceptions to this?

GIVE CARD #29b

c. Why? (Use numbers from 29c.)

31. a. How do you think Americans in general react to American students dating foreign students?

Just dating		Romantically
___ Favorable		___
___ Indifferent		___
___ Unfavorable		___

- b. Would there be any countries which would be an exception to this?

GIVE CARD 29b.

- c. Why? (Use numbers from 29c.)

32. a. How do you personally feel about American students dating foreign students?

Just dating		Romantically
___ Favorable		___
___ Indifferent		___
___ Unfavorable		___

- b. Would you personally consider marriage to someone of another culture?
Yes ___ No ____

- c. Would there be any countries which would be an exception to this?

GIVE CARD #29b.

- d. Why?

77. How would you define a "friend"? (Probe question.) That is,

- a. How should or shouldn't you act towards him?

- b. How should or shouldn't he act towards you?

78. Have there been times when you feel you have not done all you should to be a good friend to your present American friends?

In what ways? Probe.

79. Have there been times when you feel that your American friends have not done all they should to be good friends to you? ✓

In what ways? (Probe.)

55. Here is a list of responsibilities which some American students feel towards students from other countries.

44. a. Could you tell me which of these you would feel with foreign students?

21. c.

GIVE CARD A.

Incidentally, these cards are intended only as suggestions, not as hard-and-fast categories, so if you think of any additions or exceptions to make to them, please feel free to do so.

- b. Is there anything you shouldn't do with or for them?

GIVE CARD A.

81. In what ways do you feel that you do not always meet your responsibilities to foreign students?

82. What are the responsibilities that foreign students have to you? (probe question). That is, how should and shouldn't they behave towards you?

83. People often feel that others are not holding up their end of a relationship or not living up to their responsibilities in some other way. In what ways do you feel that foreign students do not always live up to their responsibilities to you?

84. Here is a list of activities that some people might do with others.

- a. Would you please put a "plus" (+) by every activity that you would really like to do with your American friends, a "zero" (0) by every one which you may have done or might do on occasion, and a "minus" (-) by every one that you prefer to avoid?

GIVE CARD B.

85. What do you do with your American friends most often?

86. Are you ever in types of situations with your American friends which make you feel angry, embarrassed, or uncomfortable? What are they? ✓

87. Would you do the same with this list for your foreign student friends? (Mark as in 84.)

GIVE CARD B.

88. What do you do most often with your foreign student friends?

89. Have there been occasions when you have been in situations with your foreign student friends in which either or both of you felt angry, uncomfortable, or embarrassed? What were they?

90. Here is a list of things which some people might talk about with others. ✓
Would you please put a "plus" by everything that you would like to talk about with your American friends, a "zero" by things which you may have or might talk about on occasion, and a "minus" by every one you would prefer to avoid talking about?

GIVE CARD C.

91. What do you talk about to Americans most often? ✓

92. Have you ever felt embarrassed, angry, or uncomfortable when talking to an American about something? What was it? ✓

93. Would you do the same for this list for your foreign student friends?

GIVE CARD C.

94. Which of these do you talk about frequently?

95. What have you talked about with foreign students that made either or both of you feel angry or embarrassed or uncomfortable?

C. Personal Interaction with One Foreign Student

Let us now shift our interest from foreign students and Americans in general to foreign students from Thailand. Think of a particular MSU student from this area whom you know best, so we can talk about the relationship between the two of you. Don't mention his or her name, but keep this particular person in mind as we go along.

33. How would you describe this person?

Unknown

- ☐ a. Country _____
- ☐ b. Sex: male ☐ female ☐
- ☐ c. Age _____
- ☐ d. Marital status: single ☐ married ☐
- ☐ e. Type of residence: on campus ☐
off campus ☐
married housing on campus ☐
- ☐ f. Grad ☐ Undergrad ☐
- ☐ g. Academic major _____
- ☐ h. Region or city: specific region given ☐
"rural" or "city" given ☐
- ☐ i. Socio-economic class: upper ☐
upper middle ☐
middle ☐
lower middle ☐
lower ☐
- ☐ j. Is his academic major the same as yours? Yes ☐ No ☐
- ☐ k. How would you describe him as a person?

34. How long have you known this person?

- ☐ 2 - 5 months
- ☐ 6 - 9 months
- ☐ 1 - 1½ years
- ☐ 2 years
- ☐ 3 - 3½ years
- ☐ 4 years
- ☐ 5 years

35. How is it that you happen to know this person?

- ☐ academic activities
- ☐ residence and proximity
- ☐ roommate
- ☐ introduced through other foreign students
- ☐ introduced through other American
- ☐ church activities
- ☐ met in his native country
- ☐ self-introduction
- ☐ sports
- ☐ other (what?) _____
- ☐ unspecified

36. How close do you feel toward this person?

GIVE CARD #36.

37. If this person is of the opposite sex, is there any romantic interest?

No _____ Yes _____ On his/her part only _____
Not applicable _____

38. What do you know about this person's family?

- _____ a. have met personally
- _____ b. intimate details
- _____ c. some
- _____ d. very little or nothing
- _____ e. other

44. a. Do you feel any of these responsibilities towards this person?

GIVE CARD A.

b. What do you feel you shouldn't do for him or with him?

97. In what ways are these different from the things he should and shouldn't do for or with you?

98. Have there been times when you have not met your responsibilities to him?
What were they?

99. Of these responsibilities that he has to you, which has he sometimes not met?

99. For this particular person, please mark these activities: "plus" - would like to do; "zero" - might do or occasionally do; "minus" - would prefer not to do.

GIVE CARD B.

39. What are the things you do most often with him apart from others?

40. What are the things you do most often along with others?

- 50.) Please mark this list of things you might talk about with your foreign
51.) student friend as you have marked the others: (+ = like to talk about,
52.) 0 = might talk about, - = prefer not to talk about.)

GIVE CARD C.

49. What do you talk about most often with him?

- 45.) Have you ever been in a situation or talked about anything with this person
53.) when you quarrelled or either or both of you felt uncomfortable, embarrassed,
54.) or angry? What did this concern?
48.)

57. How well do you think this person knows you?
(Probe: How do you think this person would describe who you are and what you are like?)

58. Do you think this person is fairly typical of Thailand?

Yes ____ No ____ Sometimes ____

59. Do you expect to maintain contact with this person after he goes home?

Yes ____ No ____ Possibly ____

60. Would you like to keep this person's friendship even if relations became strained between your two countries?

Yes ____ No ____ Possibly ____

Why? Personal reasons _____

Impersonal reasons _____

D. Changes

There has been a great deal of speculation about what it means for Americans to have contact with foreign students. I would like to look at the meaning these experiences have had for you.

63. Have you changed your outlook in any way about the countries represented by the foreign students that you know here at MSU? In what ways?
(Probe for specific areas of the world.)

64. Can you see any difference in your world view?
- For example, do you look on the world as more of a community of men from interacting with foreign students? Yes ____ No ____
(Probe.)
 - Or do you see a bigger gap between peoples of different countries?
Yes ____ No ____
(Probe.)
65. How do you feel about American society?
Probe for:
- Integrated -- differentiate between values and activities
 - fringe or marginal
 - deviant
 - isolated
- Has your attitude towards American society been affected in any way by your contact with foreign students?
If so, how?
66. Do you feel you have gained anything from your interaction with foreign students?
If yes, what?
67. Do you feel there have been any disadvantages from your association with foreign students?
If there have been some, why do you continue to associate?
69. Here is a list of some aspects of American life. Could you tell me if you have changed your attitudes on any of these because of meeting students from other countries? (Probe for each.)

GIVE CARD #69.

70. Has this interaction affected your plans for the future in any of the following ways? Probe for how, why.
- travel
 - study abroad
 - living abroad
 - Peace Corps
 - courses
 - foreign language study
 - vocation
 - other

71. Do you feel there have been any other changes in your outlook due to interaction with students from other countries?

72. Looking back over your years at MSU, do you feel you would like to have had more contact with students from other countries?

Yes ____ No ____

Probe reasons not wanting more contact, reasons for not having had more contact.

73. Are there any countries which would be exceptions to this?

76. Is there anything else you would like to tell me that we haven't covered?

Asch Interview Schedule

CARD #14, 15, 16

Rating scale: 3 = very, 2 = some, 1 = little, 0 = none.

- a. books, movies, television _____
- b. school projects and/or extracurricular activities _____
- c. personal contact with people from other countries who _____
were in the U.S.
- d. persons in your family who have talked about foreign
experiences _____
- e. Americans outside your family who have talked about
foreign experiences _____
- f. church-related activities _____
- g. work-related activities _____
- h. independent interests _____
- i. living abroad _____
- j. other _____

CARD #23

- _____ Latin America
- _____ Europe
- _____ Middle East
- _____ India and Pakistan
- _____ Asia (excluding India), countries east of Iran including
the Pacific islands
- _____ Australia, New Zealand
- _____ Canada
- _____ Africa, Nigeria, Tanzania
- _____ no preference

CARD #29b.

- _____ Northern Europe
- _____ Southern Europe
- _____ Eastern Europe
- _____ India and Pakistan
- _____ Asia (excluding India and Pakistan) including countries
east of Iran including the Pacific Islands
- _____ Middle East
- _____ Africa
- _____ Latin America
- _____ Canada
- _____ Australia
- _____ no specific country or area but persons, in general,
having the coded characteristics, are exceptions.

CARD A

55

22

44

21. c.

79.

95.

- ___ explain different aspects of American life
- ___ be generous with time and money
- ___ be a courteous host; more polite
- ___ assist and help in personal matters
- ___ explain language usage
- ___ introduce them to other Americans
- ___ help them with their studies
- ___ tell him if his behavior does not fit in with American customs
- ___ overlook certain behavior
- ___ speak slowly, using less slang
- ___ give rides, lend car
- ___ be sincere, trustworthy
- ___ try to act as a favorable representative of all Americans
- ___ given extra credit on exams because they are foreign
- ___ do house chores not related to their sex in their culture
- ___ be indignant for him if other Americans are discriminating against him
- ___ be submissive if you are female and he is male
- ___ other

CARD B

- ___ a. participate in sports (volleyball, soccer, tennis, golf, ping-pong, paddleball)
- ___ b. campus events (lecture-concert series, etc.)
- ___ c. academic activities (lab work, classes, department meetings and social functions, group projects, academic discussions, exchange class notes)
- ___ d. social activities: (1) fraternity activities, (2) play cards, (3) watch TV, (4) sing songs, (5) play chess, (6) eat together, (7) walk back from class, (8) listen to records, (9) attend parties, (10) movies, (11) dances, (12) International Club.
- ___ e. date, double date
- ___ f. drink
- ___ g. visit students in other cities, travel
- ___ h. religious activities
- ___ i. family activities: (1) friends home over vacation, (2) guest at their home, (3) invite them to dinner

- ___ j. general discussions (bull sessions, coffee discussions, phone conversations)
- ___ k. aid in academic work
- ___ l. work
- ___ m. study together, help each other in classes
- ___ n. be a companion, discuss personal matters, counseling
- ___ o. personal give and take activities (ride in and borrow car, share close friends, look for a job, help with job applications, borrow and lend books)
- ___ p. correspond
- ___ q. take him or her to a party of Americans
- ___ r. become seriously involved
- ___ s. participating in any activities together which would make him/her dependent on me
- ___ t. going to places where he/she might be embarrassed because of nationality (restaurants where there is racial discrimination, for example)
- ___ u. take him/her to a political organization meeting
- ___ v. take part in activities in which just persons of his nationality participate
- ___ w. nothing

CARD C

83.
85.
86.
97.
98.

- a. ___ academics and related topics, strictly business
- b. ___ (his country) places he's been, customs internal affairs of other countries (his, if foreign)
- c. ___ America, his likes and dislikes, thoughts about America
- d. ___ comparisons of (his) other country and America, intercultural views, differences in educational systems
- e. ___ international affairs and policy, politics
- f. ___ his life, his family, his home life, our 2 families, my home life
- g. ___ dating, dating practices, American girls/boys, women/men, marriage, sex
- h. ___ small talk, the theater, art, movies, books, music and songs, campus events, sports, trips we have taken, other peoples (his)
- i. ___ racial issues, civil rights, the American Negro

- j. ____ personal things, future plans, our mutual past
(substitute type of relationship), schooling and
money situations, job interviews, bad breath
- k. ____ deeper things (than with most Americans), our beliefs,
religion, philosophy
- l. ____ not much
- m. ____ everything, anything
- n. ____ private feelings, the more intimate aspects of your
own life, your feelings about other close relation-
ships

CARD #36

- ____ a. one of my best friends
- ____ b. a good friend
- ____ c. a friend with whom I share primarily academic
interest
- ____ d. a person with whom I share only academic interests
- ____ e. an acquaintance
- ____ f. someone I dislike

CARD #69

- a. race
- b. religion
- c. U.S. values and policies
- d. economic systems
- e. kinship and family
- f. dating and marriage
- g. your own personal views
- h. your self-concept

APPENDIX III

DERIVATION OF FREQUENCY COUNT

That is, the results were presented as percentages of the total number of response types (concerning positive friendship obligation dimensions) mentioned, and the frequencies with which they are mentioned. For instance, suppose there were five American subjects (N)* who gave a total of ten different response types (R) to questions (Q) concerning their positive obligations to their American friends. (Response Type A might have been, "I should correct his spelling on papers.") Also suppose that Response Types A, B, and C concerned work obligations, and Response Types D and E concerned social obligations, and Response Types F, G, H, I and J concerned personal obligations. One subject might have given all or none of the response types--a particular response type might have been given by one or more persons.

*The example given uses small numbers of response types and respondents to clarify the procedures. In the actual sample, there were, of course, always 30 respondents, and a larger number of responses.

In tabular form this would be:

Response Types by Friendship
Obligation Dimensions

	Work			Social		Personal					
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
<u>Subjects:</u>											
1	✓		✓			✓				✓	
2		✓		✓					✓		
3	✓		✓		✓						
4				✓		✓	✓	✓			
5	✓	✓			✓	✓				✓	
Total Re- sponses Given	3	2	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	2	Total f = 19
Total Re- sponses Given for each Obli- gation Facet:	7			4		8					

Thus, every subject who gave response type A has a mark in column A after his subject number. All response types given by all subjects were summed for each of the friendship obligation dimensions giving f, frequency of mention, for each dimension. [Example: The f for work obligations of American subjects to American friends)=7]. This figure was entered in the relevant table, such as the following sample table, in the cell corresponding to the work friendship obligation dimension with American friends, along with the percentage of the response types, mentioned

for American friends, pertaining to work. (That is, 3 response types, or 30% of the total number of different response types given, concerned work.)

The same procedure was followed for a similar question asked of the American subjects concerning their positive obligations to their Thai friends.

The tables constructed followed this form (where f is, as shown above, the actual number of work, social, or personal-centered responses given by all the subjects):

Sample

Table--Positive Responses of American Subjects Indicating Work, Social, and Personal Obligation Dimensions by Percent of Total Response Types and Frequency Mentioned, for American and Thai Friends.

Positive Obligations of the American Subject to:	Obligation Dimensions % (of Total Response Types)		
	Work	Social	Personal
American Friends (R=10)	30	20	50
Thai Friends (R=12)	50	20	30
	f		
American Friends	7	4	8
Thai Friends	3	5	6

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