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AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE INTERRELATIONSHIPS
AMONG AMERICAN, HOST COUNTRY AND THIRD COUNTRY
NATIONAL STUDENTS IN SELECTED AMERICAN-SPONSORED
OVERSEAS COMMUNITY HIGH SCHOOLS IN THE FAR EAST

presented by

Gary Kostbade Wright

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

__Ph.D.__ degree in __Administration and Higher Education__

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NATIONAL STUDENTS IN SELECTED AMERICAN-SPONSORED

OVERSEAS COMMUNITY HIGH SCHOOLS IN THE FAR EAST

By

Gary Kostbade Wright

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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ABSTRACT

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE INTERRELATIONSHIPS
AMONG AMERICAN, HOST COUNTRY AND THIRD COUNTRY
NATIONAL STUDENTS IN SELECTED AMERICAN-SPONSORED
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The purposes of this exploratory research project were: (1) to describe and explain the formal and informal relationships among students in American-sponsored overseas high schools; (2) to describe how these relationships affect student behavior, administrator and teacher behavior, and selected facets of the school organization; and (3) to identify and describe salient characteristics of school-guided activities that may facilitate effective adjustment to the school's multinational setting.

The research methodology for data collection employed combinations and modifications of the following ethnographic techniques: participant observation, interviews, and surveying of archival records. For descriptive and comparative purposes the subject population was categorized by the following nationality classifications: American, host country national (HCN), and third country national (TCN) students. Four American-sponsored overseas high schools (ASOS) in the Far East were selected for study. To allay school and parental concerns regarding the protection of the human rights of the students being studied,

well-adjusted youths and, to the extent possible, the selection would include at least one American, HCN and TCN boy and girl, who was actively participating in school-guided activities. And, similarly, at least one student each, who was not actively participating in school-guided activities, would also be included in the respondent sample. An equal distribution of respondents by nationality and participant categories was not achieved.

On the basis of data obtained from the research methodologies used for this study, certain aspects of the interrelationships among ASOS students have been described and analyzed. Because the study was exploratory, the conclusions drawn must be regarded as tentative; generalizations should not be made without support of additional research. Some of the salient characteristics of the findings for this study are as follows:

1. Students attending the ASOS sort themselves into interest groups that are generally bounded by nationality and gender.

2. Asian/non-Asian ethnicity was a major sorting characteristic among the ASOS students. Black students were few in number and were American. Black and white racial sorting was not an evident characteristic among ASOS students.

3. Student interrelationships across nationality, ethnic, and gender categories frequently occurred. School-guided activities appeared to be the primary facilitator for initiating these interrelationships.

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3. Student interrelationships across nationality, ethnic, and gender categories frequently occurred. School-guided activities appeared to be the primary facilitator for initiating these interrelationships.

4. Language is a major inhibitor of interrelationships between Americans and non-Americans. Language does not appear to be a major factor inhibiting interrelationships among HCN and TCN students.

5. Students who actively participated in school-guided activities appear to interact more often with an admixture of student nationalities than do their non-active counterparts.

6. Students who actively participated in school-guided activities tend to see themselves or their friends as holding the high-status positions among their ASOS peers.

7. Students who do not actively participate in school-guided activities are diffused in their perceptions of which students hold high-status positions among their ASOS peers.

DEDICATION

To My Family:

To the memory of my mother, Helyn (Kay) Kostbade Wright, whose wonderful sense of humor, optimistic outlook on life, devotion to family, love of people and travel, and her commitment to my brother's and my education have been an enduring inspiration and model for my life.

To my father, Earl Harris Wright, whose devotion to family, tenacity, compassion, and grand sense of humor have, similarly, been a continuing inspiration and model for my life.

To my brother, Brian, whose integrity, love, and steadfast friendship are a continual source of sustenance.

To my aunts, uncles and cousins whose caring and love have also been an important source of sustenance.

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BACKGROUND AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

Purpose

The writer's purpose in this study was threefold: (1) to describe and explain the formal and informal relationships among students in an American-sponsored overseas high school; (2) to describe how these relationships affect student behavior, administrator and teacher behavior, and other facets of the school organization; and (3) to identify and describe salient characteristics of the school-guided activities that may facilitate effective adjustment to the school's multinational setting.

Problem Statement

The Commission for the Assessment of the Intercultural Contributions of the Overseas Schools, appointed by the American Association of School Administrators (AASA), observed that "little attention is given to assisting children to cope with change; neither in stateside nor overseas schools" (AASA, 1971:27). This, the Commission suggested, "may be in part due to our overriding concern with cognitive learning or the fact that we have not sought the assistance of anthropologists, sociologists and psychiatrists in an examination of the problem and alternatives for its alleviation." Significant

is the Commission's view that the child's "adaptation may be a key to happiness and a good learning climate in the overseas situation" (27).

The significance of the Commission's observation was dramatically underscored by Richard Westmaas, who posited that "in too many communities overseas the needs of people, and especially young people, have been ignored and frustrated until a point is reached where the needs are announced in ways that cannot be ignored, often through crises involving drugs or violence that the community cannot ignore" (Westmaas, 1975:2). These needs were identified as including problems of and methods for entry and integration, establishing cross-cultural friendships and genuine friendships, and coping with and adapting to loneliness, alienation, and boredom (Werkman, 1972:128; also McCubbin et al., 1976; Werkman, 1976).

During the period of adolescence, youths are experiencing sexual, social, ideological, and vocational adjustments, and are in a transitional period of striving for independence from their parents (Muuss, 1962:9). The complexity of these adjustments may be compounded for youths attending an American-sponsored overseas school because they must make them in a "fluid" multinational setting, where their sojourn, and that of most of their peer group, is usually for two years, and where the internationality of the student body is likely to present these youths with contrasting (and potentially conflicting) sociocultural values that are seldom experienced by their home-country contemporaries.

The problems of and methods for adjusting to the setting of an American-sponsored overseas school are often brought about by the transiency of themselves and their friends and the loss of familiar social-environmental cues (i.e., favorite leisure reading materials, specialty foods, radio/TV programs, a common language and familiar language nuances, etc.). These problems experienced especially by American and third country national youths should be, and generally are, of immediate concern to parents and challenge the creative resourcefulness of the international school educator. For overseas parents, incidences of adolescent deviancy (such as fighting, theft, vandalism, drug usage, and disrespect for authority—particularly the institutional values of the host country) are potentially catalytic for disrupting or even destroying their foreign career or assignment. They can also precipitate international tensions.

On the other hand, the overseas sojourn and the multinational setting of the school provide a unique and possibly ideal experiential learning laboratory for developing global perspectives, skills in interpersonal interaction, and understanding the "self." In an increasingly interdependent world, realistic global perspectives and effective interpersonal skills and positive attitudes regarding cultural differences are becoming ever more important in terms of one's effective personal adjustment to a highly mobile, ever-changing world. Hence, the multinational setting of the American-sponsored overseas school adds a unique and potentially significant dimension to the period of adolescence—both in terms of potential maladjustment

or beneficial growth. Unfortunately, the literature regarding these youths is limited and the paucity of research even more so (see Orr, 1974).

A Background and Specific Questions

The existence of American-sponsored overseas schools dates back nearly one hundred years to when United States citizens living in Mexico City established their own school in 1888 in an effort to provide their children educational opportunities similar to what would have been available to them in the United States (Luebke, 1976: 13). Such schools were relatively few in number until the period of World War II, when the United States government provided financial support for establishing American community schools in various American Republics in an effort to counteract the growing fascist influence of Germany in these areas. In the aftermath of World War II, the number of American-sponsored overseas "community" schools more than doubled (note Table 1.1).

Presently there exist over 600 overseas schools that American dependent children attend, which include Department of Defense schools, missionary-supported schools, company schools, other types of proprietary schools and local schools, and the American-sponsored overseas "community" schools. The American-sponsored community school or so-called American-Sponsored Overseas School (ASOS) was selected for this study principally because it frequently includes non-Americans as well as Americans in its student body and is committed to cross-cultural understanding between "Americans" and the peoples of the host

Table 1.1.--Number of American-sponsored overseas schools, by region, established during various periods.

Region	Number of Schools	Date of Establishment						
		Before 1900	1900-19	1920-39	1940-49	1950-59	1960-69	1970-75
American Republics	48	1	1	8	13	18	6	1
Europe	37	1	1	...	5	9	19	2
Africa	20	...	...	...	1	3	14	2
Near East/ South Asia	18	...	2	...	...	9	5	2
East Asia	17	...	1	2	1	7	4	2
All regions	140 (100.0%)	2 (1.4%)	5 (3.6%)	10 (7.1%)	20 (14.3%)	46 (32.9%)	48 (34.3%)	9 (6.4%)

Source: Office of Overseas Schools, U.S. Department of State. See Luebke, 1976:15.

country or other impacting countries. The United States government provides assistance through the Office of Overseas Schools of the United States Department of State to approximately 140 American elementary and secondary schools. The criteria for selecting schools eligible for assistance is that they are nonsectarian, nonprofit, elementary and secondary institutions established and maintained by American groups or individuals, which enroll American, host country, and third country children, and which follow basically an American or binational curriculum under the direction of American or American-trained teachers, supervisors, and administrators (Luebke, 1976:14).

Tables 1.2 and 1.3 illustrate that the internationality of the American-sponsored school is not only its overseas location but also its student body and professional staff.

Although the setting of the American overseas school is characteristically international, its cohesiveness as an organizational unit suggests, theoretically, that there exists some underlying sense of cooperation and trust among its members--the students, parents, and staff. This organizational theory has been a focal point in Philip Cusick's studies of the relationships and perceptions among high school students in the United States (Cusick, 1973; Cusick & Ayling, 1973). Cusick postulated that members of a school organization "must have some common belief not only that the basic enterprise and the prescribed means of carrying on the routine of organizational life are worthwhile, but that those who take on other roles in the organization share that general set of beliefs and values." Otherwise, "without these basic, common understandings,"

Table 1.2.--Distribution by citizen group of pupils enrolled in American-sponsored overseas schools, by region, 1974-75.

Region	Number of Schools	U.S. Citizens					Distribution of Enrollment						Total Enrollment
		U.S. Government Dependents	Business & Foundation Dependents	Other U.S.	Total U.S.		Non-U.S. Citizens				Total Non-U.S.		
					Number	%	Host Country Citizens		Third Country Citizens		Number	%	
							Number	%	Number	%			
American Republics	48	1,918	3,677	3,799	9,394	28.2	20,048	60.3	3,822	11.5	23,810	71.8	33,294
Europe	37	2,656	4,357	1,708	8,721	61.8	2,082	14.8	3,301	23.4	5,383	38.2	14,104
Africa	20	904	522	532	1,958	37.1	598	11.3	2,716	51.5	3,314	62.9	5,272
Near East/ South Asia	18	1,819	2,458	975	5,252	68.9	477	6.3	1,896	24.9	2,373	31.1	7,625
East Asia	17	3,938	3,729	1,706	9,373	70.1	1,000	7.5	2,996	22.4	3,996	29.9	13,369
All regions	140	11,235	14,743	8,720	34,698	47.1	24,205	32.9	14,731	20.0	38,936	52.9	73,664

Source: Office of Overseas Schools, U.S. Department of State. See Luebke, 1976:16.

Table 1.3.--Distribution by citizen group of professional staff of American-sponsored overseas schools, by region, 1974-75.

Region	U.S. Citizens		Distribution of Professional Staff Members						Total
			Non-U.S. Citizens						
			Host Country		Third Country		Total Non-U.S.		
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
American Republics	1,107	43.3	1,294	50.7	153	6.0	1,447	56.7	2,554
Europe	781	62.7	232	18.6	232	18.6	464	37.3	1,245
Africa	253	60.0	23	5.5	146	34.6	169	40.0	422
Near East/South Asia	539	74.0	88	12.1	101	13.9	189	26.0	728
East Asia	625	60.3	310	29.9	102	9.8	412	39.7	1,037
All regions	3,305	55.2	1,947	32.5	734	12.3	2,681	44.8	5,986

Source: Office of Overseas Schools, U.S. Department of State. See Luebke, 1976:17.

Cusick pointed out, "there would likely occur an almost total lack of cooperation among the participants, and the organizational energy would, of necessity, be expended in pursuit of cooperation instead of its stated long term goals." Conversely, he said, ". . . in those cases where the sets of understandings are shared, cooperation is thus assured and the organization is free to get on with the business of production" (Cusick & Ayling:2). In these studies Cusick found that patterns of student behavior had little or nothing to do with the academic or productive sector of school and were only minimally related to the school's maintenance sector, and that small group associations can and do strongly affect other aspects of the school organization (Cusick:204), and that, in a large, racially mixed high school, informal interracial interactions were virtually non-existent and formal interactions occurred only in highly structured situations (Cusick & Ayling:1).

Based on available literature and the shared reflections of the researcher and others who have personally experienced the overseas sojourn and the ASOS setting, these findings seem highly inappropriate for describing and understanding the formal and informal relationships that occur among the racially and nationally mixed student body of the ASOS or the subsequent effects on student and staff behavior and other facets of the school organization. However, the reported problems of students' entry and integration into the overseas school setting, the problems of establishing cross-cultural friendships and genuine friendships, the problems of loneliness, alienation, and boredom attributed to the overseas experience are

cited frequently enough to elicit the same generic questions, that is, do, and if so, to what degree, trust and cooperation exist between and among American, host country national, and third country national students; to what extent do they share any basic agreement on the purpose and worthwhileness of school; do they share any common definition of the term "school"; and do they share a common perception of the way school life should be carried out? For these reasons it seems important to study the interaction of American, host country national, and third country national students in at least one of these schools.

Examined are both "formal" and "informal" interactions in the classrooms and instructional areas and taking place between classes, during lunch periods, and wherever students gather informally. The importance attached to these forms of interaction is based on the assumption that formal interaction is more likely to exhibit a prescribed role behavior which reflects a degree of compliance or acceptance of a formal organization's social expectations of the participant. Sociologist Useem, in her studies of overseas American dependent children, found that the employing sponsor of the dependents' parents is a powerful predictor of the experience of the American overseas child and concomitantly determines, to a very large extent, the behavioral norms of these youths (Useem, 1972:7). However, Useem did not distinguish between formal and informal interactions, and while behavioral norms would be observable in both formal and informal relationships, formal interaction is more likely

to exhibit "established" norms, i.e., norms prescribed by the parents' sponsoring agency, since this behavior is more subject to the formal organization's rewards and sanctions.

On the other hand, informal interactions are more likely to reveal intrinsic values, preferences, needs, and difficulties of these youths. The importance of informal student interactions as an important determinant of student behavior has been substantiated by numerous researchers (Ayling, 1972; Cusick, 1973; Coleman, 1961; Gans, 1969; Hollingshead, 1949). Although their findings were predicated on American youths in the United States, as contrasted to Useem's findings regarding American teenagers overseas, the importance of informal student interaction in the American overseas school is not to be summarily discounted.

Exploratory Questions

The unit of analysis for this study will be the "multi-cultural" interaction of students. This unit of analysis is believed most appropriate, given the multinational-multicultural environment of the school setting and accepting the premise that "behavior and modes of adjustment are elicited from the environmental situation". (Allport, 1961:29). Further, the attempt to explore and report the perspectives of all students, i.e., American, host country national, and third country national, reflects the researcher's strong convic-tion concerning the position taken by the Commission for the Assessment of the Intercultural Contributions of the Overseas Schools, which

states that we should be equally concerned about researching the effects of the ASOS on other nationals that are being accommodated by the ASOS (AASA, 1971:27).

The researcher acknowledges that this study is heuristic, characterized by generating and examining working hypotheses that will ultimately lead to generalizable hypotheses formulation, and hopefully aid in the development of action plans that may better facilitate effective student adjustment to "fluid" multinational settings. The following are exploratory questions set forth as a guide for this study.

1. Where and to what extent do Americans, host country nationals, and third country nationals interact in an American-sponsored overseas high school?

2. Are there three different perspectives, one shared by Americans, another by host country nationals, and a third by third country nationals, in the same school?

3. What are the salient characteristics of the American student perspective as opposed to the host country national and to the third country national perspective?

4. How does the fact of "multiculturalness" and the interaction or noninteraction of American, host country national, and third country national students affect various facets of the school?

5. What are the salient characteristics of the school, i.e., athletic and other extracurricular activities, classes,

policies, that facilitate or impede transnational student interaction?

School Site Selection

While American-sponsored overseas schools are identified by the criteria established by the Department of State's Office of Overseas Schools for determining financial assistance, the dissimilarities in terms of school plant facilities, enrollment size, varying admixtures of nationalities in the student body and faculty, and the realities of rapidly changing, socio-political environments that impinge upon the ASOS render the selection of a "representative" school as subjective at best.

The researcher's selection of a school reflected a priority, based first on size and admixture of the student body; i.e., preference was given to selecting a school with a large student body that had a substantial number of American, host country national, and third country national students; and, second, on accessibility, i.e., the school's granting permission for the study to be conducted and the estimated cost for conducting the on-site study. Therefore, selection of a school was not determined by randomness but, rather, by considerations where the "subject phenomena" occurred and where the general conditions that surrounded the phenomena were also present.

Methodology

There are many intervening variables that may in varying ways determine or influence the patterns of behavior and interaction

of youths and consequently their adjustment to any given situation. This researcher readily recognizes that the problems of entry and integration, of establishing friendships, of alienation, boredom, and loneliness are not exclusively a function of the unique environment of a fluid, multinational, international setting. Family, previous experiences, the parents' employing sponsor, and each individual's self-concept are some of the important determinants of attitudes and behavioral patterns.

The researcher does not discount the significance of these and other variables, nor does the researcher believe that such variables are incongruent with the premise that behavior and modes of adjustment are elicited from the environmental situation. However, this study did not propose to quantitatively describe and assess the relative importance of formal and informal relations; rather, the researcher proposed to qualitatively describe and offer some explanation as to the perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors of youths as their interactions phenomenologically occur in the multinational, international setting of the American-sponsored overseas high school.

The research methodology which enabled the researcher to get closest to this social situation from the students' perspective was participant observation.

> A participant observer in the field is at once reporter, interviewer, and scientist. On the scene he gets the story of an event by questioning participants about what is happening and why. He fills out the story by asking people about their relation to the event, their reactions, opinions, and evaluation of its significance. As an interviewer, he encourages an informant to tell his story, or supply an expert account of an organization or group. As scientist he seeks answers to questions, setting up hypotheses and collecting data with which to test them (Geer, 1964:383).

Thus the methodology works at two levels--description and explanation. The researcher commences by describing what he sees, hears, and reads on the scene as events are in the process of occurring. The researcher then attempts to make sense of his observations and those of his subjects by informal and formal questioning of informants, thereby explaining an event from the subjects' perspectives.

> Participant observation, then, (1) describes a social situation through the senses of the researcher and his subjects, and (2) explains the situation from the point of view of both the researcher and his subjects. Since the researcher is in part a principal, in him these two levels are combined (Cusick & Ayling, 1973:15).

To produce a worthwhile study, the researcher endeavored to observe the six indices of subjective adequacy stated by Homans. (1) Time: the more time an individual spends with a group the more likely it is that he will obtain an accurate perception of the social meaning its members live by; (2) Place: the closer the researcher works geographically to the people he studies, the more accurate should be his interpretations; (3) Social circumstances: the number and variety of social circumstances which the observer encounters within the social structure of the community increase his accuracy; (4) Language: the researcher and his subjects should share a common language; (5) Intimacy: the greater the degree of intimacy the researcher achieves, the greater his accuracy; (6) Consensus: confirmation that the meanings interpreted by the observer are correct (Bruyn, 1966:181).

As the researcher has chosen to do an exploratory, one-of-a-kind, hypotheses-generating study, whereby data collection is based on methodology that enables the researcher to qualitatively describe and offer some explanation of the multicultural interaction of students, it is important to recognize that this methodological approach does not summarily preclude quantitative analysis.

Significance of the Study

The American-sponsored overseas school performs important political, economic, and social roles and its successes and failures often have potentially far-reaching consequences. Essentially, the American-sponsored overseas school provides overseas American dependent children an opportunity for an education equal to that provided in the United States, which is an important factor in convincing Americans to accept overseas assignments. Similarly, the ASOS contributes to American foreign policy, without being officially part of it, as these schools provide a microcosmic showcase of American pedagogy and values. Further, the multinational character and international setting of the school provide a unique opportunity for American, host country national, and third country national students to develop global perspectives and skills in transnational interpersonal interaction.

The perspectives and skills acquired by these youths may be carried on into their adult lives and significantly determine how they adjust to an increasingly interdependent world. For many, they will become tomorrow's corporate and political leaders.

Of a more immediate concern are the perspectives and inter-
action patterns of these students and the oft-reported problems of
entry and integration into the overseas school setting, the problems
of establishing cross-cultural and genuine friendships, and the
problems of alienation, boredom, and loneliness attributed to the
overseas experience.

There is a paucity of research and literature regarding
these youths. What does exist focuses primarily on the post-sojourn
attitudes and experiences of American students. With the notable
exception of sociologist Useem, most information regarding the
overseas "here-and-now" attitudes, experiences, and perceptions of
these youths are summaries of loosely connected second- and third-
hand accounts, and even these accounts are reflective in terms of
reporting events. If educators are to generate substantive theories
and possible solutions to student problems that are inherent in the
overseas sojourn and/or the fluid multinational, international school
setting, there must occur some systematic, tangible descriptive
accounts of students' perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors as they
phenomenologically occur.

At present there appears to be a complete absence of any
reported research of what actually occurs in the daily interactions
between Americans, host country nationals, and third country nationals
in American-sponsored overseas schools. In fact, the absence of this
type of research is evident across the spectrum of overseas schools.
By selecting and being accepted by an American-sponsored overseas

high school and subsequently carrying out an in-depth study from the students' perspectives, the researcher hoped to provide a basic conceptual framework with which to view the problem. While findings of this study are not generalizable, it is the researcher's belief that a detailed description and explanation of the transnational, interpersonal interactions at an American-sponsored overseas high school will add a significant contribution to understanding the phenomenon of "multiculturalness" in similar schools.

Glossary of Terms

The following terms as used in this study are conceptually important to the meaning and interpretation of the study.

Active participant refers to students who involved themselves in school-guided activities.

American-Sponsored Overseas Schools (ASOS) refers to non-profit, nonsectarian schools outside the United States that are eligible for United States Government support. Existing under the permission of the host country, the schools are open, where local law permits, to host country students as well as third country students. Primarily American textbooks, curricula, and teaching methods are used. Sometimes used interchangeably with "Administration/Overseas Schools" (A/OS) of the United States Department of State.

American is an individual who is a citizen of the United States of America.

Administrator is any educational official responsible for the management or direction of the school organization.

Bureaucratic refers to a form of organization based on the rationalization of behavior through fixed roles, hierarchical division of authority, impersonality, and efficiency. Historically, the writings on this form of organization have been associated with Weber (Ianni, 1977:34).

Category is a collection of individuals not necessarily participating in the same activity but sharing some common trait, variable, or criterion by which they can be differentiated (Ianni, 1977:34).

ESL is an acronym for English as a Second Language. As used in this study it may appropriately be interchanged with EFL, English as a Foreign Language.

Ethnicity refers to a person's identification characterized by nationality and/or racial typing.

Formal relationships are those student interactions necessitated by participation in school-guided activities. For example, if students wish to avail themselves of the school's instruction in French or recreational activity of soccer, those participating must interact with each other.

Group indicates a collection of individuals participating in the same activity; a form of category with purposive entity (Ianni, 1977:34).

Homophily is the degree to which individuals who interact are similar in certain attributes, such as beliefs, values, education, language, and the like (Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971:212).

Host country national (HCN) is an individual who is a citizen of the host nation in which the American school is located.

Informal relationships are those interpersonal interactions which occur at the discretion of the student. For example, students who choose to converse with each other between classes are engaging in informal relationships.

Multicultural interaction is the interaction between members of different nationality groups, i.e., Americans, host country nationals, and third country nationals, and between members of discernible subcultural groups, e.g., diplomatic, business, military, missionary, and racial groups.

Network is a system of links joining a set of particular individuals who associate with each other.

Non-active participant refers to students who did not involve themselves in school-guided activities.

Norm is a standard of behavior mutually agreed upon by members of a social group which specifies acceptable or unacceptable behavior for the members of that group (Ianni, 1977:35).

Organic is a form of organization characterized by personalization of relationships (Ianni, 1977:35).

Peer group status refers to three aspects of social status--acceptance, power, and competence. Acceptance shall be viewed as "the degree to which an individual is liked by or is attractive to others." Power shall be viewed as "the potential ability to influence another or to get another to behave in a certain way."

Competence shall be viewed as "how well an individual does something in relation to other group members and in relation to an external standard" (Clarizio:18).

Perspective indicates "an ordered view of one's world, what is taken for granted about the attributes of various objects, events and human nature. It is an order of things remembered and expected, as well as actually perceived, an organized conception of what is plausible and what is possible" (Tamotsu, 1967:161).

Primary group is a collection of individuals characterized by close and frequent interaction.

Reasonably well adjusted is not defined but was left to the personal interpretation of individual administrators and teachers.

Role is the individualized behavior of a person holding a specific status (Ianni, 1977:35).

School-guided activities refers to all formally organized student-oriented activities that are approved and supervised according to the rules and regulations of the school organization.

School staff is composed of all other nonteachers and non-administrators in the school setting. Included are security guards, secretaries, custodians, teacher aides, and others who perform a regular function in the school.

School organization is the structure, rules, and regulations within which students, teachers, administrators, and others operate to carry on the activities of the school.

Social distance is the psychological (and/or physical) separation between any two or more individuals within an organization (Ianni, 1977:35).

Sorting is a form of behavior by which people organize themselves into groups, or place others into categories (Ianni, 1977:35).

Status is (a) a specified position within a social organization; (b) a social level or hierarchical position within a social system (Ianni, 1977:35).

Stereotype refers to an expected form of behavior projected upon the individual of generic statuses which may or may not have a factual basis in reality (Ianni, 1977:36).

Teachers are all professional staff members whose primary responsibilities were instruction.

Territoriality is the geographic expression of sorting-out patterns whereby sorted groups are found to occupy differentiated realms of physical and/or psychological space (Ianni, 1977:36).

Third country national (TCN) is that individual who is a citizen neither of the country in which the school is located nor of the United States.

Third Culture Kids (TCKs) denotes the minor dependents of nationals who represent or have represented some larger organization in the international world. This has been modified to include HCNs. Useem originated this designation to identify those who participate out of their native culture for protracted periods (note Kelly, 1975:21).

Summary

For many contemporary youths, adolescence represents a transitional period of striving for independence from their parents and characterized by sexual, social, ideological, and vocational adjustments. This transitional period may be compounded for many adolescents who are the dependent minors (TCKs) of parents whose occupational roles require participation in cultural or societal settings out of their native culture for protracted periods. Identified as common needs of these adolescents are problems of and methods for entry and integration, establishing cross-cultural friendships and genuine friendships, and coping with and adapting to loneliness, alienation, and boredom.

At the beginning of this chapter, the writer cited the observation of the AASA's Commission for the Assessment of the Intercultural Contributions of the Overseas Schools, that little attention has been given to assisting children to cope with change, either in stateside or overseas schools. It was also stated that the Commission expressed the view that a child's adaptation may be a key to happiness and a good learning climate in the overseas situation. This study represents an attempt to generate and examine some working hypotheses that may ultimately be further tested and lead to generalizations and subsequently aid in the development of action plans that may better facilitate effective student coping with multicultural and multinational settings.

The unit of analysis for this study has been the multicultural interaction of high school students in selected American-sponsored overseas schools. Methodologies used for data collection included participant observation, questionnaires, and interviewing.

Overview

Chapter I has provided a frame of reference for this study. The writer's purpose has been set forth and a statement of the problem presented. Background data and specific questions have been described and the writer's exploratory questions identified. Initial considerations used for selecting an A/OS school have been presented. The methodological approach for collecting data and the indices for subjective adequacy have also been presented. The significance of this study to education has been discussed, terms that are important to the study have been defined, and a summary statement included.

Chapter II contains a review of selected related literature. This review brings together pertinent data from principal sources in the areas of adolescent patterns of relationships and the concept of third culture children.

Set forth in Chapter III are the design of the study and the procedures and rationale employed in data collection.

In Chapter IV the writer describes and offers some explanation of the multicultural interaction of students.

Chapter V is a summary of the study, with the significant findings, conclusions, implications, and recommendations for further study presented.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF SELECTED RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

The researcher's objective in this study was to undertake a
heuristic examination of the "multicultural" interaction of high
school students in an American-sponsored overseas community school
setting. Two topical areas were considered pertinent: (1) adolescent
patterns of relationships and (2) the concept of third-culture chil-
dren. This literature review brings together pertinent data from
principal sources in these two areas.

Adolescence

Adolescence is frequently perceived as a transitional period
between childhood and adulthood (Erickson, 1963; Brim & Wheeler,
1966; Elder, 1968; Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 1968;
Panel on Youth, 1972; in Downie, 1976:48). The Western lexicon
generally establishes the adolescent period as that period of life
from puberty to maturity terminating legally at the age of majority.
Inasmuch as the focus of this study is on the multicultural interac-
tion that occurs among American, host country, and third country
nationals attending an American-sponsored overseas community school,
the sociologists' concept of adolescence ascribed to by A. B. Hollings-
head in his book entitled Elmtown's Youth most appropriately describes
the adolescent period as viewed by the writer of this research study.

> Sociologically, adolescence is the period in the life of a person when the society in which he functions ceases to regard him (male or female) as a child and does not accord to him full adult status, roles, and functions. In terms of behavior, it is defined by the roles the person is expected to play, is allowed to play, is forced to play, or prohibited from playing by virtue of his status in society. It is not marked by a specific point in time such as puberty, since its form, content, duration and period in the life cycle are differently determined by various cultures and societies (1949:6-7).

The adolescent is faced with new learning tasks not only as a consequence of biological development but also because society confronts the adolescent with new demands and expectations. Sociologists Brim and Wheeler (1966:3) described this process as socialization, defining it as ". . . the process by which persons acquire the knowledge, skills and dispositions that make them more or less able members of their society." It is important to note that socialization during childhood does not prepare the individual for all the roles a person is expected to fill in later years. As explained by Brim and Wheeler,

> People move through different positions in society, in accord with different stages of the life cycle. Changes in the demands upon them arise from their mobility, both geographic and social, and from the customs of the society which may vary during their life times (1966:3).

The learning tasks faced by adolescents may be conceptualized as "developmental tasks," and were described by Robert J. Havighurst in Developmental Tasks and Education.

Developmental Tasks of Adolescence

"Developmental tasks" is a concept that germinated during studies of adolescence and child development in the 1930s and 1940s

(Havighurst, 1972:v). According to Havighurst, this concept occupies middle ground between opposing theories of education: the theory of freedom--that is, the child will develop best if left as free as possible--and the theory of constraint--the child learns to be a worthy, responsible adult through constraints imposed by society. Thus a developmental task is "midway between an individual need and a societal demand" (vi) and assumes an active learner interacting with an active social environment. Havighurst applied the concept in an explanatory analysis of American human development and behavior from infancy to later maturity.

According to Havighurst, his use of the concept "'developmental tasks' has been substantially influenced by Erik Erikson and first explored fully in <u>Childhood and Society</u>, as well as by Erikson's subsequent publications on adolescence and identity achievement" (1972: Preface).

According to Havighurst, developmental tasks emanate from three sources. Some tasks arise mainly from physical maturation, such as learning to walk and (for women) adjusting to the menopause in middle life. Other tasks arise primarily from the cultural pressure of a given society, such as learning to read and write and learning to participate as a socially responsible member of society. Finally, Havighurst suggested that developmental tasks are also derived from the personal values and aspirations of the individual, which are part of the individual's personality, or self. The personality, or self, he said, emerges from the interaction of organic

and environmental forces and, as the self evolves, it becomes
increasingly a force in its own right in the subsequent development
of the individual (Havighurst, 1972:5).

In many societies the primary responsibility of schools is
to facilitate the development of cognitive skills. However, in some
societies, notably the middle-class part of American society, said
Havighurst, the school's responsibility encompasses a much wider
variety of purposes. The developmental tasks of adolescence which
Havighurst ascribed to American democratic values and the agents prin-
cipally involved are listed in Table 2.1 (1972:38).

Cultural Relativity of Developmental Tasks

As this researcher has focused on the phenomena of multicul-
tural interaction of students in a school setting wherein the subjects
represent not only "intranational" cultural differences but inter-
national geo-cultural differences as well, it is important to note
the cultural relativity of developmental tasks. In terms of cultural
relativity, Havighurst said,

> Some developmental tasks are practically universal and invari-
> able from one culture to another. But other tasks are found
> only in certain societies, or they are peculiarly defined by
> the culture of the society. The tasks that are most com-
> pletely based upon biological maturation, such as learning to
> walk, show the smallest cultural variation. Others, and
> especially those that grow principally out of social demands
> on the individual, show great variation among various cul-
> tures. . . . Therefore, lists and descriptions of developmen-
> tal tasks will vary from one culture to another, and will
> depend upon the cultural values of the person who states them
> (1972:38-39).

Table 2.1.--Agents principally involved in tasks of middle childhood and adolescence.

Task	Self	Family	Peer Group	Television and Other Media	School	Religious Group	Economy
1. To get along with age-mates	x		x		x	?	
2. Learning an appropriate masculine or feminine role		x	x	x	x		
3. Developing basic intellectual skills	x			?	x		
4. Choosing and preparing for an occupation	x	x			x		x
5. Developing attitudes toward social groups and social institutions	x	x	x	x	x	x	
6. Becoming independent of parents and other adults	x	x	x		x		
7. Developing conscience and moral judgment	x	x	x		x	x	
8. Forming a system of ethics and a scale of values	x	x	x	x	x	x	

Source: Robert J. Havighurst, Developmental Tasks and Education, 3rd ed. (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1972), p. 38.

Recurrent and Nonrecurrent Tasks

Certain developmental tasks tend to be nonrecurrent, such as learning to walk and to talk. Other tasks, however, often never end, but recur over periods of time, in varying but closely related aspects. Learning to get along with one's age-mates is an example of a recurrent task (1972:40-41).

Review of Four "Lighthouse" Studies

A review of the literature on adolescents revealed what may be regarded as lighthouse studies. From these studies the writer selected four field studies that, collectively, span the last four decades. The researcher's objective in this selection was to examine the findings of several comprehensive field studies in the context of adolescent patterns of behavior and subsequently to identify relevant sociometric indicants.

The Hollingshead Study

        Hollingshead, A. B.
        1949   Elmtown's Youth--The Impact of Social Classes
                on Adolescents. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

The study was designed to test the hypothesis that the social behavior of adolescents is related functionally to the position their families occupy in the social structure of the community (9). Seven major areas of social behavior were examined--the school, the job, the church, recreation, cliques, dates, and sex (vii).

Field procedures--a synopsis.--The field work was done between May, 1941 and December, 1942. During 11 months of this

19-month interval, the researcher and his wife resided in the commu-
nity and actively participated in community civic and social activi-
ties. All data used were collected in Elmtown by the researcher or
his wife and were derived from participant observation, schedules,
interviews, official records, tests, autobiographies, the community's
newspaper, historical pamphlets, visits with the adolescents, their
parents, and other local people. Most of the researchers' time was
spent around the high school--before classes, at noon, in the late
afternoon, and early evening. The author and his wife were observ-
ing, talking, questioning, and visiting as they tried to establish
rapport and acquire personal and group data about the adolescent.
In addition, the researchers attended most school activities, many
church affairs, parties, dances, and Boy Scout and Girl Scout meet-
ings. Families of the adolescents were also visited, observed, and
interviewed. To complete their data, institutional functionaries of
all kinds (teachers, employers, clergymen, police, youth leaders)
as well as just plain citizens of Elmtown were interviewed (19-20).
In this town of 6,000 people, schedules were completed on 549 fami-
lies and 752 adolescents (44, 13).

Findings regarding adolescent patterns of behavior.--
Hollingshead established that in Elmtown there existed five social-
class positions which were functionally influential in the behavior
patterns of adolescents and their families. His findings revealed
that adolescents interacted in and out of school mostly with adoles-
cents who shared a similar position in the social-class structure

of their families. With the exception of athletics which attracted
adolescents from all social classes, the choice of curriculum,
extracurricular school activities, informal socializing, dating, and
non-school-related activities reflected the adolescents' social-class
position. For example, Class I and II (upper class) adolescents were
predominantly enrolled in the college preparatory curriculum.
Class III adolescents were dominant in the commercial curriculum;
and Class IV and V adolescents enrolled in either general or commer-
cial courses. The French Club was essentially a Class II group,
whereas the Homemaker's Club was composed mostly of Class IV girls.
Even though male adolescents from all social classes were found to
actively participate in athletics, the adolescents of the lower
classes were not accepted socially by their middle- and upper-class
athletic peers (202). Clique ties were stratified mostly along class
lines, and dating was related to class structure and clique ties.
Interclass clique and dating ties did occur, but were restricted,
essentially, to the adjacent class. Jobs were sought by Class IV
and V adolescents out of economic necessity, and to some extent this
was also true for Class III adolescents. Working adolescents reflected
lower status, and the type of work available to an adolescent was
determined by the class position of the adolescent's family. For most
of the adolescents, religion was an accepted but not significant fea-
ture of their lives; here, too, church attendance reflected the class
structure.

Significant sociometric indicants.--Based on Hollingshead's
findings, the following indicants appear significant: (1) the

adolescent's family position in the class structure of the community, (2) academic ability, (3) athletics, (4) dating, and (5) school activities.

The Coleman Study

> Coleman, James B.
> 1961   The Adolescent Society: The Social Life of the
>   Teenager and Its Impact on Education. Glencoe:
>   The Free Press.

The author's goals in this study were twofold: to inquire into the nature and consequences of adolescent social climates for the persons within them, and to learn what factors in the school and community tend to generate one or another adolescent climate. Through the researcher's hypotheses the consequences of two kinds of variation in adolescent climates were examined: (1) the variation between those climates which give status and approval for a single activity alone (for example, football, grades) and (2) those which offer equal prestige for a wide range of activities (332). Essentially, two fundamental school activities were examined, athletics and academics, in conjunction with three adolescent indicants: ability, physical appearance, and family background.

Field procedures--a synopsis.--Ten schools were selected for the study. Schools varied in size and in urban-suburban-rural location and were systematically selected to encompass the desired variations in adolescent status systems. Between Spring, 1957 and Spring, 1958, field teams of two to four persons (depending upon the size of the school) spent two or more weeks at each school,

administering questionnaires in classrooms, interviewing teachers,

and reviewing school records. Observations were also made, and inter-

views conducted with a sample of parents from each school. The survey

interviews and questionnaire methods incorporated sociometric and

semi-projective methods (335-337). The general design of the research

was summarized as follows:

a. Selection of ten schools in varying types of communities,
    of varying sizes, and with apparent differences in their
    status systems [was made during Spring 1957].

b. Administration of a questionnaire by [the research] field
    staff to all students [was made] in the Fall of 1957,
    after pretests in the Spring.

c. Administration of a second questionnaire by [the] field
    staff to all students [was made] in the Spring of 1958.

d. Informal interviews with a number of students in each
    school [were conducted] in the Spring of 1957 and the
    Spring of 1958.

e. Collection of information (grades, I.Q., attendance, etc.)
    for every student, from school records [was made] in Spring,
    1958.

f. In addition, questionnaires were distributed to all teach-
    ers in the schools and questionnaires were mailed to all
    parents. However, the results of these questionnaires [were]
    used very little in [this] report (1961:viii).

Findings regarding adolescent patterns of behavior.--In terms

of general interests and activities, organized sports (football,

basketball, etc.), hobbies (working on cars, bicycles, musical instru-

ments, etc.), "being with the group," and watching television were

dominant among boys. For girls, "being with the group," reading,

listening to records and the radio, and watching television were

dominant interest areas (12-13). In the study it was also revealed

that there was an increasing importance of cars in the socializing

of adolescents, particularly when dating (33).

In examining the attributes of adolescents who are viewed by their peers as being popular, the effect of family background was found to be a consistently important dimension, although the effect was greater for girls than boys and greater for the "leading crowd" than other adolescent groups (105). A positive correlation existed between family background and academic achievement in those communities where family background was particularly important for status and peer group association (86). However, it was also revealed that the adolescent "elite" group was likely to reflect the dominant population group. That is, a working-class boy or girl will be most left out in an upper-middle-class school and least so in a school with few middle-class students (109).

As status is partly gained from activities, athletics was found to be the dominant criterion for boys, although scholarship and being a "ladies' man" were also important.

> In total choices as a friend, as someone to be friends with or be like, and as a member of the leading crowd, the average athlete-scholar received over three times as many choices as the average scholar who is not an athlete, and over one and one-half times as many as the average athlete who is not a scholar. The boy who is neither athlete nor scholar receives little recognition and respect, an average of only one-seventh the number of choices received by the athlete-scholar (148).

An exception to the importance of the athletic and scholarship achievement among boys are those boys viewed by their male peers as "ladies' men." A boy who is popular with girls seems to gain recognition and respect among his fellows--not as much as an outstanding athlete, but considerably more than an outstanding scholar (150-151). Coleman suggested that it is probable "that the same elements that

bring a boy popularity with the opposite sex bring him popularity among other boys" and that "the boy-girl relationship is important in shaping the status system among the boys" (151).

Among girls in high school there was not an activity comparable to athletics among boys in which a girl could achieve highly and gain recognition and respect from her peers (164), with the notable exception of being a cheerleader (91). Findings did reveal that "good looks" and a good reputation (118) were important, and being friends with a popular girl or dating a popular boy were important (165). Scholastic achievement was found to be important during the freshman and senior years, though it was devalued during the sophomore and junior years, possibly, suggested Coleman, because this period begins ". . . regular dating and the consequent importance of attractiveness" (169).

Significant sociometric indicants.--Based on Coleman's findings, the following indicants appear significant in examining adolescent patterns of behavior: (1) athletics, (2) academics, (3) family background, (4) dominant group vis-à-vis family background, (5) physical appearance, (6) reputation, and (7) personality.

The Cusick Study

> Cusick, Philip A.
> 1973   Inside High School: The Student's World. New
>   York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

The author's objective in the study was "to describe the way a number of students behave in high school and to explain the way

their behavior affects themselves, the teachers, administrators, and
the entire school organization" (v).

Field procedures--a synopsis.--Cusick visited one high school
for a period of six months. Attending the school on a daily basis,
he went to classes, ate in the cafeteria, hung around the halls, and
took part in gym and other activities including athletic events, club
and council meetings, and, he reported, "by the end of the second
month, was regularly attending weekend activities and social events"
(7). Cusick sought to be a member of an adolescent group in school
but not, he says, an adolescent. He found that his acceptability to
adolescent group members was not difficult and, aside from the pos-
sible effect of his youthful appearance, credited his successful
efforts to minimizing role differentiation. This was accomplished,
he said,

> . . . by taking off a former role of teacher-administrator
> and the suit, tie, official manner, and didactic communica-
> tion pattern that went with it, and putting on and accept-
> ing the adolescent group norms, behavior, and dress in
> combination with an unthreatening manner (7).

Findings regarding adolescent patterns of behavior.--Based
on his participation, observations, and interviews with students at
one high school, Cusick found that

> The students . . . formed themselves into strong, small
> group associations with their peers . . . [and] these
> associations were usually formed around neighborhood
> acquaintances, many having been in existence since early
> grade school, and were carried on not only in school, but
> out of school as well (204).

"The groups," he said, "were discrete social units, narrowly bounded
not only by age, sex, and neighborhood, but chiefly by interest" (161).

Whether the students were in class, changing classes, in the cafeteria or student lounge, or "hanging around," they moved about in dyads, triads, or larger groups (44). "The students' active and interested involvement," he noted,

> . . . centered not around teacher initiated, academic issues, or even around the issues that were nationally centered. Instead, they concerned themselves with the procedures of fulfilling institutional demands, the cafeteria food, and their private in-group interactions . . . what they did in school they did with their friends (64).

Cusick observed that these group interactions also occurred simultaneously with their class work (58). The most common topic of conversation among the boys, he reported, was cars--their own, their parents', one they saw, had, or planned to buy some day (44). Cusick also found the students' class attention focused not on academics but on the mechanics of class--that is, the procedural or maintenance expectations (62). Whether in class or not, the majority of school time, he said, was spent on small-group interaction concerned with "talk about themselves, about what they would do after school that evening, this or that weekend," with little subject matter interaction (58).

As in the Hollingshead (1949) and Coleman (1961) findings, Cusick also found the "more athletic and personable boys, and the more good-looking, personable girls tended to rule all the extracurricular activities." He pointed out that "it was not, however, just a matter of individual qualification but a matter of group affiliation" (68).

For Cusick,

> The data suggest that rather than a society or even a subcul-
> ture, there is a fragmented series of interest groups revolv-
> ing around specific items and past patterns of interaction
> [and that] these groups may be the important social referent,
> not some mythical subculture or "adolescent society" (161).

Significant sociometric indicants.--Based on Cusick's findings,

high school students spend the majority of their time and efforts in

(1) discrete social groups narrowly bounded by (2) age, (3) sex,

(4) neighborhood, and (5) interest. Athletics, personality, and

appearance were also important.

The Study Directed by Ianni et al.

Ianni, Francis A. J., et al.
    1977   Studying Schools as Social Systems: A Manual for
            Field Research in Education. New York: Horace
            Mann-Lincoln Institute, Teachers College, Columbia
            University.

The researchers' "umbrella" objective was "to develop a con-

ceptual framework and set of methods for on-going field research in

actual educational settings" (8). Three basic human behavioral pro-

cesses were examined: the sorting process, establishing and maintain-

ing territoriality, and autonomy (25).

Field procedures--a synopsis: Early in 1972, with financial

support from the Ford Foundation and later from the National Insti-

tute of Education, anthropologists and educators of the Social

Organization Study Group at the Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute under-

took a three-year field study of three American high schools. Tech-

niques used for data collection included participant observation,

interviewing, life histories of teachers and students, and having students interview other students about their high school experiences (21). Selection of three schools was reported as being "intuitive," but guided by an effort to avoid extreme differences while obtaining "some" variety among the three school sites in terms of socioeconomic and ethnic characteristics. One school site, a rural school, reflected a more ethnically and socioeconomically homogeneous student and adult population; one site, a suburban school, was ethnically heterogeneous; and one, an urban, inner-city school, was socioeconomically mixed (22). Sites were also selected where at least one member of each field team could find residency during the study.

In analyzing the human behavioral processes of sorting, territoriality, and autonomy, three levels of analysis were employed. The first level examined the whole school organization in the context of bureaucratic and organic structures. The second level focused on the roles, both formal and emergent, that people perform as part of life in schools. And the final level of analysis focused on individual and group agendas in relation to sorting, territoriality, and autonomy.

Findings regarding adolescent patterns of behavior.--For the rural school with the more ethnically and socioeconomically homogeneous population, the major sorting pattern among students was along residential lines and then by grade level. Student esteem was mainly acquired in school via the roles of athletic team members or

cheerleaders (66). Similar to the findings of Hollingshead and Coleman, student interaction patterns reflected the adolescents' familial socioeconomic class (67). It was concluded that while a significant number of sorting patterns may be attributed to bureau-cratic influences such as merit, specialization, and hierarchy, the dominant influences were derived from the organic patterns of resi-dence, kinship, and association outside the school (70).

Although the dynamics of bureaucratic and organic influence similarly affected sorting patterns in the suburban school, which was ethnically heterogeneous, the major sorting influence was organically derived and ideologically based. At this school students identified each other as either "jocks" or "freaks" and generally sorted themselves accordingly. The researchers pointed out that the significance of this sorting pattern was that a student could more easily change from one group to the other by altering the visible indicators of "jockiness" or "freakishness," such as clothing and grooming and by altering some opinions and vocabulary (112). In the urban, inner-city school, the influence of bureaucratic factors was found to be much greater. The organic influences on sorting appeared to be derived primarily from ethnicity, rather than from residence or ideological separations (172-173). In this latter setting, the bureaucratic factor of being scheduled together was found to be far more important than casual, previously established relationships out-side of school. It was also found that students who had grown up in interethnic neighborhoods continued to associate interethnically,

while students who had grown up in intraethnic neighborhoods were more likely to establish intraethnic associations (175). Findings further revealed that while activities provided for interethnic integration, students continued to sort themselves ethnically; for example, the math team was predominantly Chinese, the boys' and girls' basketball teams predominantly black, the soccer team predominantly Hispanic, and the girls' tennis team, white(176). It was also concluded that impersonality of a school's climate creates "a strong pressure for people to divide themselves into more manageable groups, in which individuals can operate from day to day on a more personal, less rule-oriented basis (177).

Significant sociometric indicants.--Based on the field researchers' findings, the following indicants appear significant in examining patterns of adolescent behavior: (1) athletics; (2) neighborhood; (3) ethnicity; (4) family's socioeconomic status; (5) bureaucratic factors, such as scheduling, curriculum tracking, achievement awards, and recognition; and (6) extracurricular activities.

Summary of the Lighthouse Studies

The review of these four studies suggests the neighborhood and the socioeconomic status of the adolescent's family are principal boundary determinants for adolescent interaction patterns. Within these boundaries, adolescents sort themselves into groups according to interest. Such factors as age, sex, physical appearance, personality, and reputation are important determinants for group formation and clique affiliation or membership. Although high adolescent

esteem is afforded those who excel athletically and/or academically, these achievements do not necessarily overcome the boundary determinants of familiar status and neighborhood.

Status in the Peer Group

The aforementioned lighthouse studies revealed that acceptance and competence are two discernible dimensions of adolescent social status. In a forthcoming publication, Harvey Clarizio discusses three aspects of adolescent social status as being recognizable-- acceptance, power, and competence. "Acceptance," he says, "may be viewed as the degree to which an individual is liked or is attractive to others" (18). In examining the sociometrics of this dimension, preferences such as a workmate, someone to sit next to, a companion for a movie, or someone to invite to a party are activities that may be examined. Power, which Clarizio suggests incorporates leadership and prestige, is "the potential ability to influence another or to get another to behave in a certain way" (19).

> Moreno (1934) assumed that acceptance was the underlying base of power. He inferred the degree of power possessed by an individual from sociometric data by determining the extent to which this individual was chosen by high status individuals. According to this definition, the most popular child in the class would be the most influential. Such an assumption seems unwarranted (Gardner, 1956; Evans, 1962). For while leadership or social power may in many groups and in many different situations be related with peer acceptance (Lippit, Polansky, & Rosen, 1952), it is also true that the relation is never perfect (Sherif & Sherif, 1964). The correlations between acceptance and leadership are generally estimated to be about .60 (Glidewell et al., 1966). Thus, the most influential person is not necessarily the best liked person (19).

Clarizio describes the third aspect of social status, that of competence, as "the ability component of group structure," that is, "how

well an individual does something in relation to other group members

and in relation to an external standard."

> Although a number of definitions of competence have been
> used, most studies have not differentiated between interper-
> sonal, work, and play competencies (Glidewell et al., 1966).
> . . . Competence has been operationally defined in a number
> of ways when studied in the classroom. Some studies have
> defined it in terms of academic achievement as measured by
> standardized achievement tests (Bonney, 1944; Grossman &
> Wrighter, 1948). Other studies have used sociometric cri-
> teria ranging from the very general (i.e., Who is good at
> doing what you do in the classroom?) to more specific ones
> (i.e., Who is good at athletics?); from the interpersonal
> domain (i.e., Who is good at getting along with others?)
> (Gronlund, 1959). The "guess who" format has been used to
> measure competence as well as popularity, and leadership
> (Hartshorne & May, 1928; Tuddenham, 1951; Bower, 1969). The
> correlation between popularity and competence is generally
> estimated to be in the .4 range. This relationship would
> indicate that acceptance and competence are interrelated but
> that they are also distinct aspects of peer status. Thus,
> the most competent child is not necessarily the best liked
> despite the fact that these two aspects of social status tend
> to go together (20).

The Concept of Third Culture Children: TCKs

The Third Culture Concept

In the area of cross-cultural research, sociologists Useem,

Useem, and Donoghue used the term "third culture" to conceptually

describe the generic patterns of behavior found among interacting

members of two or more cultures. They described the third culture

as follows:

> The third culture is not merely the accommodation or fusion
> of two or more separate, juxtaposed cultures. As persons
> continue to associate across societies while engaged in com-
> mon enterprises, they incorporate into the ethos of their
> ingroup, standards for interpersonal behavior, work-related
> norms, codes of reciprocity, styles of life, networks of
> communications, institutional arrangements, world views, and

on the individual level, new types of selves. These compos-
ite patterns differentiate a third culture from the cultures
it transcends (Useem, Useem, & Donoghue, 1963:174).

TCKs

Adolescents are not the primary participants in the third
culture milieux. Rather they are minor dependents who experience
third cultures and are socialized to them. These third culture
children were affectionately called TCKs (third culture kids) by
Ruth Hill Useem et al. Useem defined the TCK in the context of the
third culture concept:

> We use third culture as a generic term to apply to the way
> of life that is developed in the interstices between socie-
> ties. It includes the occupational roles, languages, values,
> and customs that are created and shared by persons who are
> crossing cultural, societal, or national boundary lines to
> relate their societies, cultures, or nations (or sections
> thereof) to each other. The main occupational roles are
> representatives of governments (diplomats, foreign service
> officers, military personnel), employees of international
> businesses, missionaries, technical and educational mission
> representatives, and employees of international organiza-
> tions, foundations and welfare agencies. There are foreign
> correspondents, artists, musicians, and teachers. TCKs,
> then, are the minor dependents of these, for the most part
> highly educated, mobile elite who are linking in complex
> ways the global community (Useem, 1973).

It is important to note the significance Useem placed on the
intermediary role between cultures in her definition. Also, in the
research on the American TCKs, Useem found that the employing sponsor
of the TCK's parent is a "powerful predictor" of the experience the
child will have and, to a very large extent, will influence the
behavioral norms of these youths (Useem, 1973:127). The employing
sponsor is the employer of the dependent's parent while overseas.

Five sponsorship categories have been identified (see Gleason, 1969;
Krajewski, 1969; Rainey, 1971; Useem, 1973; Downie, 1971): (1) Depart-
ment of Defense, (2) federal-civilian, (3) missionary, (4) business.
The fifth category, termed "other," is a residual category that
includes such occupations as university professors under contract,
representatives of foundations, employees of international agencies
such as the World Health Organization (WHO), self-employed expatriates,
and administrators and teachers of the American-sponsored overseas
schools.

Types of Third Culture Teenagers

Much of the research of these third culture children has
followed a typology identified by Useem. Again, the emphasis has
been on the American-type TCK. Useem identified five discernible
types: (1) long-time-outers or dependents of career-overseas par-
ents, (2) first-time-outers, (3) safe-haven children, (4) hyphenated
American children, and (5) host country and third country national
children. In the context of the teenager, Useem described each type
as follows:

> 1. Long-time-outers: dependents of career-overseas parents.
> The most immediately noticeable characteristic of the children
> who have grown up in overseas areas is the presentation of self.
> They appear to be "little adults," more mature than stateside
> teenagers. Some sit quietly and move deliberately, act "man-
> nerly" in the presence of their elders, get along well with
> adults, know how to greet strangers and do not attract atten-
> tion to themselves. Others are more friendly and outgoing,
> but such surface congeniality gives no more clues as to what
> they are experiencing and feeling than the behavior of those
> who are more wary.
> Children who spend most of their preteen years overseas
> become self-directed, self-controlled, self-disciplined

teenagers. The discipline imposed by others becomes self-discipline; the control imposed by others becomes self-control. In short, such a manner of presenting the self is unthinkingly internalized as the "normal" way to behave. They act elite, feel they belong to an elite community, and may associate in addition with local, national or international elites.

A variant of this type is the overseas teenager who is sent to boarding school for most of his schooling. . . . In general outlines, the boarding school young people are much like the teenagers who reside with their families, with two interesting differences. Boarding school teenagers are closer in values to their parents; [and] seem more immature in their relationships with members of the opposite sex, especially in terms of traditional American "dating patterns."

2. First-time-outers. [This type] . . . have been socialized all their lives, prior to their coming to the foreign situation, in the United States where they attended public school. They have not learned the language of respect which characterizes a highly stratified social system, but are more apt to express their emotions in superlatives, they have resented being pulled out of their peer group to be taken overseas, they are more dependent on the environment to excite their interest, they have fewer internal resources of reading, listening, writing, or musical and artistic talents. They are more adept at organizing others than organizing themselves, and they question the authority of anyone to tell them what to do without giving good and sufficient reasons.

3. Safe haven teenagers. In this instance, the husband is working in one country (e.g. Viet Nam, Indonesia), but his wife and children are living in another country (e.g. Philippines, Thailand, or Singapore). Although the husband has an overseas sponsor, the influence and control exerted by the sponsoring agency over the behavior of the dependents is not great, for the father's work reputation is neither enhanced nor damaged in the same way by the behavior of his wife and children. Sanctions can be invoked for removal, but informal socialization to the norms is not easily attained. Lack of socialization is especially apparent in those instances where the dependents have gone "on their own" rather than having their overseas stay arranged by the sponsoring agency.

Useem found that the teenager of a "safe haven" family is the one who is most likely to be unhappy and also most likely to be embarrassing to the overseas American community.

4. <u>The hyphenated-American teenager</u>. This type is the young adult in a country of his parents' ethnic derivation-- for example, the Japanese-American in Japan; the Chinese-American in Hong Kong, Singapore, or Malaysia; the East Indian-American in India or Malaysia; the Afro-American in sub-Saharan Africa. This teenager is often in a dilemma.

Most American white teenagers, and these are the overwhelming majority of Americans overseas, learn to dislike or at best feel patronizing towards non-elite host nationals. Americans overseas invariably go up in status, are members of an elite, and have special privileges vis-à-vis host nationals. The host nationals with whom teenagers are most likely to interact are lower status persons in a service relationship (servants in the home; maintenance personnel, drivers, guards at the school; tradesmen in the bazaar). In addition, in all of these countries there are increasing "nationalistic" movements and a growing expression of hostility against the powerful national elites and "rich foreigners." Teenagers are more vulnerable to attacks than are their parents.

The hyphenated-American is the "marginal man" under these circumstances. He hears derogatory or patronizing remarks made by his fellow white Americans about the racial identity which is his, and at the same time he cannot identify with the host national ethnic group of his racial identity--often he does not even know the language.

A special variant of this type is the child of a cross-cultural marriage, one of whose parents is of host national origin (this is a rare occurrence in the Embassy-related and missionary groups but more common in business and military groups). If the parent of host national origin is of elite status locally and English-speaking, the children of such a marriage encounter relatively few difficulties and are included in the third culture's international set. However, if the host national parent is of low origin and not English-speaking, the children encounter considerable difficulties in knowing who they are, and accepting and being accepted by the other youth.

5. <u>Host nationals and third country nationals</u>. There are two other types of teenagers in some of the American-sponsored schools overseas--"host nationals" and "third country" (that is, neither host nor American) nationals. A high proportion of the "host nationals" in Asia are of elite background and many of them have had their early education in Western countries where their parents had diplomatic assignments or were furthering their higher education. These teenagers share many of the outlooks, self-identities, and linguistic abilities of the long-term-out American teenager. The "third country" nationals have similar ways of behaving and thinking.

Useem summarized "the patterns of third culture education" as

. . . educating American teenagers in American-sponsored
schools in overseas areas rather than in the country of
their nationality; providing an American-oriented college-
preparatory curriculum in the schools, and segregating the
American teenagers along with national and third country
elites from non-elites of host countries (Useem, 1973:
127-133).

Some Generalizations

Synthesizing the observations and findings reported by Useem

and others, Ray Downs in his article, "A Look at the Third Culture

Child," published in the Spring,1976 issue of The Japan Christian

Quarterly, presented the following list of generalizations about TCKs.

He prefaced the list by acknowledging that "Dr. Useem and her fellow

researchers recognize that there are significant categorical as well

as individual differences among TCKs." However, Downs suggested

that, unless otherwise noted, the generalizations may be applied to

the TCK group as a whole (Downs, 1976:66-67).

The findings suggested that third culture children:

1. Are more intimately related to and dependent upon the
    family than would be true in the United States. Parents
    play a more potent role in the socialization of their
    children. In a research project carried out among TCK's
    in Manila, ninety percent of the respondents listed
    "parents" when asked to identify their best friends.

2. Appear more sophisticated than the average in relations
    with adults, but may be relatively inexperienced and
    insecure in peer group relations, particularly with
    members of the opposite sex.

3. Do not make friends easily; but do depend on one or two
    very close friends.

4. Are self-directed, self-disciplined, subdued on the sur-
    face, but likely to think deeply and seriously about
    both personal and community concerns.

5. Are good observers (they "are comparative from the word 'go.'")

6. Are gaining in measured intellectual performance at the same time that general test scores in the U.S. are going down.

7. Have fewer psychiatric problems than young people from similar backgrounds in the U.S.

8. Do a great deal of reading--frequently in adult materials-- and are more likely to enjoy writing than peers in the U.S. Their often long letters constitute an example of a nearly extinct skill among their contemporaries at home.

9. Are more likely to be accomplished to some degree in the field of music.

10. Are more conservative in values than their peers in the U.S.

11. Take academic work seriously and are frequently over-achievers. (Dr. Useem notes, however, that life is not at all easy for the small percentage with serious academic or personal problems. She notes that the third culture typically does not provide the services for those with problems, adult or child, which have come to be accepted as standard in the home culture.)

12. Lack models in the 20-25 year-old age group.

13. Are frequently (30%) the products of cross-cultural marriages.

Downs is himself a TCK, having graduated from an American overseas high school in 1950. Since 1959, he has been a faculty member and administrator of the American School in Japan. He offered a significant observation regarding these generalizations: "Personally speaking," he said, "it does seem that many of these generalizations can more safely be made about children with long-term experience in a single overseas location (notably missionary children) than about the short-termers (Downs, 1976:66). Furthermore, the focus of available research, as these generalizations suggest, has been on the American TCKs. Available literature, or the lack of, indicates that sociologists and certainly the educators of TCKs ought to be focusing some

of their research endeavors on the characterization and needs of
the host country TCKs who often constitute half or more of the
American overseas community schools' enrollment. (Note Table 1.2.)

TCKs in Situ

The paucity of available literature and research on TCKs is
particularly evident in situ. For example, Orr's (1974) research
matrix revealed that of 192 studies relating to the American-sponsored
overseas school (ASOS), only 27 dealt specifically with students. Of
these 27 studies, only 5 (Patterson, 1960; Malone, 1966; Krajewski,
1969; Gleason, 1969; Beimler, 1972) were identified as investigating
aspects of ASOS student behavior. Several other studies (Parmee,
1966; Plott, 1967; Beecher, 1968) were cited as having explored stu-
dent behavior in multicultural school environments in the United
States.

Krajewski (1969) and Gleason (1969) derived their data from
American youths in the United States who had overseas school experi-
ence. Krajewski investigated the relationship between overseas
school experience and subsequent academic adjustment to college in
the United States. Gleason examined social adjustment patterns and
indications of worldmindedness of overseas-experienced American
youths. The student population in Krajewski's study had one year or
more overseas secondary schooling and were grouped according to the
sponsorship of their parents: (1) business, (2) Department of
Defense, (3) missionary, and (4) federal government-civilian. The
findings according to these categories included:

1. For students in the DOD group, there was little if any correlation between the facts of the academic record and the perceptions of academic abilities. The aspirations and self-concept significantly exceeded the record of achievement.

2. Students in the Missionary group were the highest achievers of the four groups but had the lowest aspirations and self-concepts.

3. Students in the Business-sponsored group were essentially similar to the DOD group but had the lowest records of achievement and had high aspirational and perceptual levels.

4. The Federal-Civilian group appeared to be the most adjusted of the four groups. There was relative balance between the facts of academic record and perceptual and aspirational levels (Krajewski, 1969; Orr, 1974:97).

Gleason found both missionary and business students to have lived overseas on an average of five to ten years, and that these students had established a continuous, functional set of relationships with various segments of foreign societies. The overseas experiences of Department of Defense and federal-civilian students were roughly comparable in several areas and differed somewhat from those of the missionary and business students. The intervening variables which had substantial impact on social adjustment patterns and worldmindedness were:

1. Number of years overseas, Grades 1-7 and Grades 8-13.

2. A change of religious attitude reported.

3. The total number of different countries lived in overseas.

4. The reported political party preference of the student.

5. The reported annual income of the family (Gleason, 1969:138).

Of the studies conducted in situ, Patterson (1960) compared the performance of Mexican and American students in an ASOS setting on measures of ability, achievement, and adjustment. Malone (1966)

conducted a comparative study of students' beliefs and knowledge concerning Latin America and the United States. The subjects surveyed in his study included students in several American-sponsored overseas schools in Latin America and in a selected public school in the United States. Beimler (1972) examined the relationships between cross-cultural interactions and reported attitudes of worldmindedness of the ninth and eleventh grade populations at the American High School in Mexico City. Some of the findings of these studies included:

1. There was no significant difference on personal adjustment measures between Mexican and American students.

2. Differences in ability between Mexican and American students were essentially related to English language proficiency.

3. Mexican students in the ASOS found it more difficult to adjust to the binational school setting and tended to develop more nationality consciousness.

4. Both Mexican and American students generally accepted the American High School and both student groups were generally accepted by the student body as a whole.

5. A significant relationship between the amount of cross-cultural interaction and a sense of worldmindedness in students was found.

Although the Parmee (1966), Plott (1967), and Beecher (1968) studies explored student behavior in multicultural school environments in the United States and should probably be viewed in the context of minority groups such as migrants or settlers, some of the findings may provide valuable considerations when examining the behavior patterns of host country and third country students attending American-sponsored overseas schools. Parmee analyzed the personal-social problems reported by Mexican-American, Anglo-American, and Negro adolescents as related to ethnic or adolescent influences.

Problem areas reflected more general adolescent concerns than ethnic differences. The most apparent ethnic differences were reported in the area of personality and self-concept. The two minority groups reported a low self-concept extending to the evaluation of physical appearance, personality assessment, and estimation of ability.

Plott analyzed the characteristics of Mexican-American and Anglo-American participants in cocurricular activities and examined the differences between participants and nonparticipants in cocurricular activities. In examining these differences, Plott compared the ethnic and educational variables of 524 eleventh grade boys in two four-year high schools with respect to school adjustment, school attendance, educational development, academic grades, pupil attitudes, and physical characteristics. Some of the findings included:

1. Participants in cocurricular activities achieved better educational development on all subtests of the Iowa Test of Educational Development (ITED).

2. Participants achieved better academic grade averages than nonparticipants.

3. Anglo-Americans achieved better educational development on seven of the ten subtests of the ITED.

4. All comparison groups were remarkably homogeneous in their attitudes on the thirty concepts of the Meaning of Words Inventory (MOWI).

Beecher examined the nature of social distance among selected adolescents of ethnic minorities. Specifically, the study was aimed at determining patterns of acceptance and rejection between Puerto Ricans and American Negroes in New York City. Beecher found that length of residence was a significant factor, whereas residential proximity was not significant in determining social acceptance. Data

further revealed that adolescent color (dark to light skin pigmenta-
tion) was not significant in determining acceptance; nor did majority-
minority relationships significantly determine acceptance scores as
measured by the Ohio Social Acceptance Scale. A finding of particular
procedural relevance was derived from comparative observations. Based
on observations, Beecher suggested that the social climate of the
school environment, rather than the variables measured in the study,
may have been largely responsible for the positive relationship
between the ethnic minorities of the sample.

Non-American TCKs

As previously mentioned, the literature and research that is
available on TCKs focuses almost wholly on the American TCKs. And
yet, particularly as the Patterson, Parmee, Plott, and Beecher studies
suggested, more understanding of the character and needs of non-
Americans, particularly host country and third country TCKs, is needed.

In a recent study by Kelly (1975), which was an appraisal of
the needs of American high-school-aged students attending selected
overseas schools, evidence was presented indicating that among the
approximately 140 American-sponsored overseas schools, non-Americans
have made up from 21 percent to over 70 percent of the student body
enrollments during the past 10 years (note Table 2.2), and the enroll-
ment trend points to increasing numbers and proportions of non-
Americans. However, neither in this study nor in his article, "Who's
the Kids' Advocate?" (1973), did Kelly address the needs of the non-
American TCKs. Similarly, Downs (1970, 1976) only examined the needs

Table 2.2.--Distribution by citizenship group of students enrolled in American-sponsored overseas schools by region (Kelly, 1975:103-104).

| Region | Year | Number of Schools | U.S. Citizens | | Non-U.S. Citizens | | | | | | Total Enrollment |
| | | | | | Host Country Citizens | | Third Country Citizens | | Total Non-U.S. | | |
			Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
South & Central America	1965-6	44	7,888	35.0	*	*	*	*	14,625	65.0	22,513
	1971-2	49	9,553	31.1	18,199	59.1	3,008	9.8	21,207	68.9	30,760
	1974-5	47	9,382	28.4	19,823	60.0	3,819	11.6	23,642	71.6	33,024
Europe	1965-6	26	5,659	74.3	*	*	*	*	1,962	25.7	7,621
	1971-2	31	6,559	62.8	1,346	12.9	2,542	24.3	3,888	37.2	10,447
	1974-5	36	8,721	61.8	2,082	14.8	3,301	23.4	5,383	38.2	14,104
Africa	1965-6	18	1,674	54.9	*	*	*	*	1,374	45.1	3,048
	1971-2	18	1,894	41.9	700	15.2	2,017	43.7	2,717	58.9	4,611
	1974-5	13	1,421	34.3	477	11.5	2,243	54.2	2,720	65.7	4,141
Near East & South Asia	1965-6	22	3,672	72.2	*	*	*	*	1,413	27.8	5,085
	1971-2	22	6,334	66.4	1,006	10.6	2,196	23.0	3,202	33.6	9,536
	1974-5	24	5,752	66.0	598	7.9	2,361	27.1	2,959	34.0	8,711
East Africa	1965-6	11	6,189	78.7	*	*	*	*	1,671	21.3	7,860
	1971-2	15	10,732	77.6	740	5.3	2,365	17.1	3,105	22.4	13,837
	1974-5	19	9,855	70.6	1,045	7.5	3,060	21.9	4,105	29.4	13,960
Totals	1965-6	121	25,082	54.4	*	*	*	*	21,045	45.6	46,127
	1971-2	135	35,072	50.7	21,991	31.8	12,128	17.5	34,119	49.3	69,191
	1974-5	139	35,131	47.5	24,025	32.5	14,784	20.0	38,809	52.5	73,940

Sources: 1965-6 from: American Association of School Administrators, The Mission Called O/OS (Washington, D.C.: AASA, 1966), p. 14.

1971-2 from: Luebke, "American-Sponsored Overseas Schools," p. 12.

1974-5 from: Department of State, Fact Sheet.

*Data not given for 1965-6.

and characteristics of the American TCK, and so it is with most of
the studies. Yet these non-American students constitute approxi-
mately half the ASOS student enrollments and are being socialized
to the third culture and to American values via an American-grounded
educational system.

Are TCK types the same or similar regardless of nationalty?
If not, how do they differ? What impact does the American-sponsored
overseas school have on the attending non-American student? √Patterson
(1960) found that Mexican host national students, although bilingual,
were less able to manipulate English-language data than the American
student group and reflected greater difficulty adjusting to the
binational setting even though no differences in personal adjustment
were noted. Spaulding and Cantrell (1975) comparatively examined the
educational growth of Amerasians with other Americans attending
Department of Defense Schools in Japan. (The Amerasian student in
this report was one whose heritage was an American military father
and oriental mother [339]). They found the Amerasian students to
exhibit an Asian-culture-oriented upbringing. Findings also revealed
the nonverbal IQ of the Amerasians was greater, in all cases, than
their reading achievement and that these students were capable of
conceiving ideas that they were unable to express in English words.
These data, they suggested, revealed some of the reasons why some
Amerasians may be reticent to ask for help, academic or personal,
lack self-confidence, and disregard praise when they have done a job
well. While non-American TCKs have been little noted in the

literature, their numbers and the insights provided by some research-
ers indicate that future research of TCKs should include the non-
American children (both host nationals and third country nationals)
as well as children of mixed heritage.

Summary

The adolescent period is an important period in the develop-
ment of affective and cognitive skills. Havighurst, in his discussion
of developmental tasks, identified the school as a principal agent
involved in the developmental tasks of adolescents and in fostering
societal values. Havighurst also cited the cultural relativity of
many tasks.

Research findings, based on studies of American adolescents,
suggest that important sociometric indicants in analyzing adolescent
patterns of behavior include such biological factors as physical
(notably athletic) and intellectual abilities as well as physical
appearance and such cultural factors as family background and neigh-
borhood. These factors combined with the age, gender, personality,
and involvement or noninvolvement in school cocurricular activities
reveal and often determine the pattern of adolescent behavior.
Research data also suggest that bicultural adolescents, such as the
hyphenated-American, Amerasian, and host country nationals, may
experience the most difficulty in adjusting to the multicultural set-
ting of the American-sponsored overseas school. In this setting,
these same students may also have greater difficulty in positive
personality and self-concept development. Findings also suggest

that general adolescent concerns rather than ethnic differences are reported by adolescent minorities and that ethnicity and color are not necessarily important factors in social acceptance. Data also suggest that length of residency and the social climate of the school environment may be important variables.

Unfortunately, few of these findings have been studied in the context of the American-sponsored overseas school setting and compared with the attitudes and perceptions of the students who are learning to cope and interact in a unique and very transient multicultural setting--a setting where being in the ethnic, racial, or linguistic majority is in constant flux, and where neither national nor cultural assimilation is likely to be an objective of the student or the student's parents.

CHAPTER III

DESIGN OF STUDY

The body travels more easily than the mind, and until
we have limbered up our imagination we continue to
think as though we had stayed at home. We have not
really budged a step until we take up residence in
someone else's point of view.

John Erskine

Introduction

In this study the researcher was concerned with the formal

and informal relationships between students; how these relationships

affect student, administrator, and teacher behavior; and what school-

guided activities may facilitate effective student adjustment to the

multicultural setting of an American-sponsored overseas high school

(ASOS). The researcher visited four American-sponsored high schools

in the Far East during a 14-week period in late 1977 and early 1978.

Heuristic procedures, commonly referred to as qualitative methodolo-

gies, were used to examine these areas of interest.

A Rationale and the
Research Objective

A researcher seeking to understand behavior must find ways to

learn the manifest and latent meanings assigned to events by the

participants, and must also study the behavior from the objective,

outside perspective. The writer of this study employed the methodologies of participant observation, examination of available archives and records, questionnaires, and interviewing. The rationale for this approach was derived from three hypotheses about human behavior: (a) the naturalistic-ecological hypothesis, i.e., it is essential to study psychological events in natural settings as setting generates regularities in behavior that often transcend differences among individuals; (b) the qualitative-phenomenological hypothesis, i.e., to understand human behavior it is necessary to understand the framework within which the subjects interpret their thoughts, feelings, and actions; and (c) the symbolic interaction hypothesis, i.e., human interactions are mediated by the use of symbols, by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions. Thus, the researcher's central objective in this study was to examine the multicultural interaction of three principal categories of students: American, host country, and third country students within the setting of an American-sponsored overseas high school.

Chapter Overview

A review of the procedures used in implementing the study is set forth in this chapter. Three principal areas are dealt with: (1) the selection of ASOS research sites, (2) compliance with the United States' National Research Act, and (3) the qualitative methodologies employed for the collection of data. The appendices contain information concerning correspondence with selected American-sponsored overseas schools and relevant methodological documents.

Selection of a School

As indicated in Table 1.1 of this study, there exist over one hundred American-sponsored overseas high schools located throughout the geopolitical regions of the world. While these schools are identified by normative criteria (see page 63), the dissimilarities in terms of school plant facilities, enrollment size, admixture of student body and faculty by nationalities, and the realities of rapidly changing sociopolitical environments that also impinge upon these schools, make the selection of a "representative" school at best subjective. Despite this diversity, there appear to be certain problems in common, such as the interaction among culturally different groups.

Theoretical Sampling

As in the Cusick and Ayling (1973) study, this study was not conducted to prove or disprove a theory about this particular type of school; rather, it was intended to generate theory. Therefore, the selection of a school was based on the principle of theoretical sampling, and, as explained by Glaser and Strauss,

> Theoretical sampling is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyzes his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges. This process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory, whether substantive or formal. The initial decisions for theoretical collection of data are based only on a general sociological perspective and on a general subject or problem area (such as how confidence men handle prospective marks or how policemen act toward Negroes or what happens to students in medical school that turns them into doctors). The initial decisions are not based on a preconceived theoretical framework (Glaser & Strauss, 1970:105).

They further stated,

> The researcher who generates theory need not combine random
> sampling with theoretical sampling when setting forth rela-
> tionships among categories and properties. These relationships
> are suggested as hypotheses pertinent to direction of rela-
> tionship and magnitude. Conventional theorizing claims gen-
> erality of scope; that is, one assumes that if the relationship
> holds for one group under certain conditions, it will probably
> hold for other groups under the same conditions (Glaser &
> Strauss, 1970:106).

The nature of this study did not require randomness of selec-
tion, but only that the study be conducted in a setting where the
subject phenomena occurred and where the general conditions that
surround the phenomena were present.

Criteria for School Selection

The normative criteria used for identifying A/OS schools were
those prescribed by the Department of State's Office of Overseas
Schools for determining financial assistance; i.e., the overseas
school must be a nonsectarian, nonprofit elementary and secondary
institution established and maintained by American groups or indi-
viduals, which enrolls American, host country, and third country
children (where the host nation permits), and which follows basically
an American or binational curriculum under the direction of American
or American-trained teachers, supervisors, and administrators (Luebke,
1976:14). Further, the Office of Overseas Schools lists these schools
according to geopolitical regions (note Table 3.1) and will, upon
request, provide a one-page fact sheet on each of the schools cur-
rently receiving assistance (Luebke, 1976:40-41, 50-51).

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Table 3.1.--Geopolitical locations of overseas schools assisted by the Office of Overseas Schools.

AMERICAN REPUBLICS	EUROPE	EAST ASIA
Argentina	Austria	Burma
Bolivia	Bulgaria	Hong Kong
Brazil	Czechoslovakia	Indonesia
Chile	Denmark	Japan
Colombia	France	Malaysia
Costa Rica	Germany	Peoples Republic
Dominican Republic	Greece	of China
Ecuador	Hungary	Philippines
El Salvador	Iceland	Singapore
Guatemala	Ireland	Taiwan (Republic
Haiti	Italy	of China)
Honduras	Netherlands	Thailand
Jamaica	Poland	
Mexico	Romania	
Nicaragua	Spain	
Paraguay	Sweden	
Peru	Turkey	
Uruguay	United Kingdom	
	USSR	
	Yugoslavia	

AFRICA	NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA
Algeria	Afghanistan
Cameroon	Bangla Desh
Egypt	India
Ethiopia	Iran
Ghana	Israel
Guinea	Jordan
Ivory Coast	Kuwait
Kenya	Lebanon
Liberia	Nepal
Malagasy Republic	Pakistan
Morocco	Saudi Arabia
Nigeria	Sri Lanka
Somalia	United Arab Emirates
Sudan	Yemen
Tanzania	
Togo	
Tunisia	
Zaire	
Zambia	

Source: Paul T. Luebke, "American Elementary and Secondary Community Schools Abroad" (Arlington, Va.: American Association of School Administrators, 1976), pp. 50-51.

Selecting the Schools

East Asia, as a region, was the area chosen by the writer. This preference of choice was the result of the writer's four-year experience as an assistant high school principal and student activities director at one of the ASO schools in the region. This experience provided the writer with some familiarity with the countries in the region, and the writer believed that such a prestudy experience would minimize cultural adjustment and concomitant expenditures involved in meeting daily living requirements while in a foreign and culturally different country.

As noted in Table 3.1, there are presently eight countries (Burma, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Peoples Republic of China, Philippines, Singapore, Republic of China, Thailand) within the East Asia region in which American-sponsored schools are located. Available information from the Office of Oversees Schools revealed that 11 of 18 American-sponsored schools in this region reported enrollments to include all three categories (i.e., American, host country, and third country students). (See Table 3.2.) Eleven schools were not considered as possible research sites, due to the high living costs the writer would have had to incur and/or the nonenrollment of host country students. The remaining seven schools each had some students of each category enrolled, although the percentage of host country students ranged from less than 1 percent to 15 percent; percentage enrollment of American children ranged from 46 to 84 percent, and 15 to 50 percent third country children. Of these schools,

Table 3.2.--American-sponsored schools in the East Asia region which
meet the criteria for financial assistance from the United
States Department of State as reported by the Office of
Overseas Schools: 1976-1977.

School	Total Enrollment	Percentage Student Enrollment by American	Percentage Student Enrollment by Host Country	Percentage Student Enrollment by Third Country	(No.)*
1	89	49.4	00.0	50.6	(16)
2	1,282	67.0	11.5	21.5	(30)
3	139	25.8	00.0	74.2	(18)
4	105	49.5	00.0	50.4	(10)
5	1,618	49.9	00.0	50.1	(n/a)**
6	25	56.0	04.0	40.0	(n/a)**
7	n/a**	n/a**	n/a**	n/a**	(n/a)**
8	263	19.4	71.1	09.5	(7)
9	33	66.6	18.2	15.2	(n/a)**
10	931	72.3	11.1	16.6	(30)
11	213	37.1	48.8	14.1	(10)
12	441	54.2	00.9	44.9	(25)
13	12	50.0	00.0	50.0	(2)
14	2,205	46.5	15.1	38.4	(47)
15	1,451	84.1	00.5	15.4	(n/a)**
16	1,531	71.0	11.8	17.2	(29)
17	1,127	58.7	02.4	38.9	(46)
18	95	44.2	00.0	55.8	(n/a)**

Source: Statistical information computed from the 1976-77 "Fact
Sheets," Office of Overseas Schools, Room 234, SA-6, U.S.
Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

*(No.) = number of countries that are represented by students
in the Third Country Classification.

**n/a = enrollment figures not available.

one was church sponsored, and, as such an affiliation was atypical of the American-sponsored overseas schools, this school also was not considered. All of the remaining six schools were contacted to determine their receptivity to participating in this research study.

Initial contacts were made either in person with each school's chief administrator during February-March recruiting visitations to the United States or via mail. Of these six schools, one school chose to eliminate itself on the basis of its policy "to limit research studies of students, faculty, and/or parents to studies conducted by the school administration." The chief school officers of the remaining five schools all consented to participate in the study. Of these five, the school with the more balanced ratio of American, host country, and third country students was selected for the principal study site. This principal site was visited for a continuous period of ten weeks. A partial validation of hypotheses generated during this field experience was then made when the writer visited three of the remaining school sites for periods of one week each; the principal school site was also revisited for one week.

The National Research Act

Public Law 93-348, the National Research Act, was passed by the Congress of the United States on 12 July 1974 as part of the government's effort to protect the rights and dignity of human subjects of biomedical and behavioral research. Section 474(a) of the Act reads as follows:

> The Secretary shall by regulation require that each entity
> which applies for a grant or contract under this Act for
> any project or program which involves the conduct of biomedi-
> cal or behavioral research involving human subjects submit in
> or with its application for such grant or contract assurances
> satisfactory to the Secretary that it has established (in
> accordance with regulations which the Secretary shall pre-
> scribe) a board (to be known as an "Institutional Review
> Board") to review biomedical and behavioral research involv-
> ing human subjects conducted at or sponsored by such entity
> in order to protect the rights of the human subjects of such
> research.

University Committee on Research
Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS)

The present study constituted a form of behavioral research

that could, and did, raise questions of concern regarding "informed

consent" and potential risks to participants (see Appendix A). How-

ever, as this research did not involve a contract or grant, it was

not mandatory that the study be submitted for review by the Univer-

sity Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS)--which

is the "Institutional Review Board" at Michigan State University.

Further, the Act is not concerned with the ordinary risks of public

or private living. To the extent the writer would be questioning

students about their perspectives of school happenings, this, too,

presented no extraordinary risks.

However, the writer recognized that access to the ASOS

grounds, classrooms, and certain student activities was a privilege

not commonly afforded the general public. In addition, the planned

research methodology specified the intended use of questionnaires and

formal interviews between the writer and selected students. It was

these latter procedures that were particularly subject to legitimate

concern and questioning on the part of school officials and parents, and it was to these concerns that the writer believed it appropriate and prudent to submit this study for review by the UCRIHS.

In so doing, the writer had the responsibility of preparing a summary statement describing:

1. how the rights and welfare of human subjects involved in the proposed investigation would be protected,

2. methods to be used to secure informed consent, and

3. how professional attention or facilities would be provided for the safety and well-being of the human subjects.

As is customary, the writer also appeared before the UCRIHS to orally defend the summary statements submitted. As the proposed study involved heuristic procedures whereby questionnaires and inter-view questions would be generated during the field experience, members of the UCRIHS were particularly concerned about whether research questions would seek information about a respondent's personal or family's attitudes regarding religion, politics, sexual behavior, or use of drugs. (Clarification of the writer's research intent on these topical areas also had been sought by several of the ASOS offi-cials.) The writer's position remained that such information was not the focus of the study and would not be actively sought; however, such observable or freely proffered data would be considered by the writer as legitimate data. This position was found to be acceptable.

Informed Consent

"Informed consent" essentially means that the subjects of a research investigation freely consent to participate in the study and that the subjects understand the nature or purpose of the investigation. To this ethical consideration the writer sought first each school's consent, as described in the "Consent Form for an Ethnographic Study" (Appendix A), whereby the writer recognized and accepted the school's prerogatives in protecting the rights and dignity of the students and the integrity of the school in general. Second, the content of questionnaires and formal interview questions was provided school officials for their review prior to student involvement. Third, a student-parent interview consent form (see Appendix A) was given to each student to be formally interviewed; this consent form was to be signed by both student and parent or legal guardian before the student was interviewed. Further, whenever the writer informally queried students, parents, or faculty, the writer would, on first encounters, state that the respondent need not feel obligated to respond nor feel that an explanation for not responding was necessary. At first, this approach led to questions by the respondent of the writer's purpose in asking the question and subsequently the nature of the study. This usually resulted in a friendly dialogue as well as the respondent's cooperation. As time elapsed, particularly at the primary research site, the writer found that first-encounter respondents often were already familiar with the writer's presence, had some understanding of the writer's purpose,

were cooperative, and would ask, "How is your study going?" or "Are

you getting what you want?"

Materials presented to the UCRIHS are provided in the appen-

dices, including the UCRIHS review response.

Methodology

> People who write about methodology often forget
> that it is a matter of strategy, not of morals.
> There are neither good nor bad methods but only
> methods that are more or less effective under
> particular circumstances in reaching objectives
> on the way to a distant goal.
>
> George C. Homans

Qualitative methodologies have been developed by anthropolo-

gists and community-study sociologists and have been found to be useful

in developing an understanding of group perspectives and individual

relationships in social settings. In an article in Review of Educa-

tional Research (Wilson, 1977), attention was given the growing use of

ethnographic techniques for studying American schools. Cited were

the National Institute of Education (NIE, 1974), which is encouraging

this kind of approach, and recent evaluations of educational programs

and process of innovation where researchers are finding ethnographic

approaches useful (CNS, 1972, 1974; Smith, 1974; Nelson, Lundin, &

Gianotta, 1974). Among other studies which are particularly relevant

to the interpersonal dynamics of the school setting and which used

ethnographic techniques are: Smith and Geoffrey (1969), on life in

an inner-city classroom; Ayling (1972) and Cusick and Ayling (1972),

on black-white student interaction in an integrated, urban high school;

Cusick (1973), on student life in a high school; Palonsky (1974) and

Butler (1975), on student interaction in an innovative, urban high school; and Ianni et al. (1977), on comparisons of social systems among various kinds of high schools.

Three Hypotheses: A Rationale

The rationale underlying this methodology was based on three sets of hypotheses about human behavior. Wilson, in his article on ethnographic techniques, provided a concise review of two of these hypotheses--the naturalistic-ecological hypothesis (i.e., it is essential to study psychological events in natural settings as setting generates regularities in behavior that often transcend differences among individuals) and the qualitative-phenomenological hypothesis (i.e., to understand human behavior it is necessary to understand the framework within which the subjects interpret their thoughts, feelings, and actions). The third hypothesis, that of symbolic interaction (i.e., human interactions are mediated by the use of symbols, by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's action) was succinctly discussed in the Cusick and Ayling (1973) study.

Methodological Objective

The underlying objective of qualitative research is to allow substantive concepts and hypotheses to emerge as part of the inductive processes of the researcher's field experience. Thus the structure of this research is, to a large extent, determined by the field researcher during the field experience because the researcher is continually trying to articulate the perspectives of the subjects while

trying to maintain personal objectivity with respect to his own subjective role as a participant observer (Wilson, 1977:250). This approach, Wilson explained, differs substantially from the more traditional prestructured study, in which the research endeavor is to substantiate or refute a priori hypotheses derived from formal theory or formulated via deductive processes. Both approaches are valuable in developing a holistic understanding of human behavior; however, the latter approach, he said, restricts the researcher's perspective with the risk of "being concerned with irrelevant variables." Qualitative research, on the other hand, is more concerned with "actual" behavior or what people are observed to do and not simply "normative" behavior or what people say they are doing or what they claim ought to be done (Ianni, 1977:13).

Advantages of a Qualitative Approach

Glaser and Strauss (1967) described the advantages of heuristic procedures over a prestructured study as follows:

> The consequence [of the prestructured] study is often a forcing of data as well as a neglect of relevant concepts and hypotheses that may emerge. Our approach, allowing substantive concepts and hypotheses to emerge first, on their own, enables the analyst to ascertain which, if any, existing formal theory may help him generate his substantive theories. He can then be more objective and less theoretically based (34).

As explained by Ianni et al.,

> [Qualitative] research has as its preferred style immersion in the field under study but always with a healthy and central respect for theory and methods. The emphasis . . . is on allowing the design of the research to remain somewhat flexible and subject to change throughout the work. This is principally due to an approach which sees the substance of the field as emerging rather than fixed and finite (16).

Wilson (1977:255) made the following summary of the relevant kinds of data that constitute qualitative data and which were sought by the writer of this study.

1. Form and content of verbal interaction between participants.
2. Form and content of verbal interaction with the researcher.
3. Nonverbal behavior.
4. Patterns of action and nonaction.
5. Archival records and documents.

Field Notes--A strategy

In seeking these data, the writer sought to keep in the fore "Who does what, with whom, when and where?" The strategy for recording these observations was the model proposed by Schatzman and Strauss (Ianni, 1977:40-44), whereby the field notes are recorded and organized "in relatively distinct 'packages' of material according to whether they constitute 'Observational Notes' (ON), 'Theoretical Notes' (TN), or 'Methodological Notes' (MN)."

As explained by Schatzman and Strauss,

ON: Observational notes are statements bearing upon events experienced principally through watching and listening. They contain as little interpretation as possible, and are as reliable as the observer can construct them. . . . An ON is the Who, What, When, Where, and How of human activity. It tells who said or did what, under stated circumstances. Each ON is constructed as a unit event that can stand by itself as a datum, or can be fully understood in the context of other ON's on any given date or circumstance. If it records actual conversation, the researcher quotes exact words, phrases, or sentences; otherwise, he uses the apostrophe . . . to indicate somewhat lesser certainty, or paraphrases as best he can.

TN: When the observer goes beyond the "facts" a theoretical or inferential note is written. Theoretical notes represent self-conscious, controlled attempts to derive meaning from

any one or several observation notes. The observer as recorder thinks about what he has experienced, and makes whatever private declaration of meaning he feels will bear conceptual fruit. He interprets, infers, hypothesizes, conjectures; he develops new concepts, links these to older ones, or relates any observation to any other in this presently private effort to create social science.

MN: A methodological note is a statement that reflects an operational act completed or planned: an instruction to oneself, a reminder, a critique of one's own tactics. It notes timing, sequencing, stationing, stage setting, or maneuvering. Methodological notes might be thought of as observational notes on the researcher himself and upon the methodological process itself. . . . Were the observer to plan on writing for later publication about his research tactics, he would take detailed notes; otherwise his MN consists mainly of reminders and instructions to himself.

Establishing a Field Role

The role the field observer assumes in relation to his or her subjects will also have a controlling effect on the product of the field study (Gold, 1970). The writer's role was most like the "limited participant" role described by Lutz and Iannaccone (1969: 108); that is, "the observer would join a group for the expressed purpose of studying it. The members would probably know of the researcher's interest in joining the group." This conceptual role is more suggestive of the writer's true role while visiting the principal school setting as the field research activities tended to incorporate the "participant as observer" and "observer as participant" roles described by Gold. However, the ten-week visitation involved observations of campus life as an observer only; observation of some school activities as a limited participant where the writer actively interacted with students; and participation on a rather "normal, acceptable" basis with many students whom the writer interviewed.

Involvement of this nature coincides more with Gold's "participant as observer" model. Conversely, there was no direct participation, aside from the formal interview, and little, if any, informal observation of some persons who were interviewed. Similarly, the writer's one-week visits to three additional A/OS schools involved mostly interviewing with limited observations, all of which is more illustrative of Gold's "observer as participant" model.

In this study, establishing a role began with the writer's initial contacts with administrative officials of each participating school. As has been indicated, the writer's proposed on-site activities during the one-week visitations to three A/OS schools had been described to the respective school officials as, and subsequently were, observing and interviewing.

Ambiguities

However, the writer apparently had created ambiguity, as uncertainty was evidenced by two of the schools. The official of one school with whom the writer had personally discussed the study granted approval for including his school in this study, but sent a confirmation letter stipulating the following conditions:

> Upon my return I approached our Faculty Administrative Council and they are agreeable to the proposal on the following approaches:
> 1. No class or school time of teachers/students—in other words, if you could gather your information, survey, interview, etc. on other than school class time.
> 2. The results of the study be officially known to the school.
> 3. That you will do all administrative and clerical work and will not involve any school personnel.

> Undoubtedly you understand the reasons for the above, due to the inordinate number of requests the school gets for such programs. I'm sure you will be able to work out and around the above with no problem.

Upon the writer's arrival at the school, a copy of the questionnaire and interview format were given the principal and assistant principal. No objections were made, and both were cooperative, as were the guidance counselor and several teachers. There was no reticence about withdrawing students from class to establish an interview schedule, a conference room was made available for conducting interviews, and a secretary was instructed to assist in locating students. (An interesting aside to this is after the writer's return to Michigan State University, a professor who visited this school just prior to the writer's visit related that he was queried by some of the school's administrators as to what the writer was really looking for; the professor sensed a degree of anxiety on their part.)

A second school, having agreed to cooperate with the research, still posed these questions:

1. What are your hypotheses? Section Six of the Ethical Principles in the Conduct of Research with Human Participants (American Psychological Ass'n., 1973) calls for obtaining "informed consent" of participants.

2. What sorts of questions will you ask? May we have an advance copy of your questionnaire? We are bound by our responsibility under the Ethical Research Code to ensure that "human participants emerge from their research experience unharmed--or at least that the risks are minimal, understood by the participants, and accepted as reasonable." It is not my intention to restrict the scope of your study, but there has been such a history of cooperating participants and agencies being exploited by irresponsible investigators seeking sensational tidbits--well, I'm sure you are aware of the historical reasons for caution.

3. How many students and how much of their time will be needed? Would not a random sampling of classes be as statistically relevant as the whole school? What is a "focused interview?" What does it comprise and how long does it take?

4. As regards formal and informal classroom observation, you are welcomed fully. I do have some reservations about "sponsoring" you in interviews with parents. This places me in the predicament of approving a process over which I have no control. I once approved a study in the U.S. only to discover that the investigator had "changed her mind" and decided to correlate student behavior problems with parental drug intake. I paid the price for my collegial trust!

These questions were not those of the Superintendent with whom the researcher had conferred, but were raised by the Director of Instruction, who had been asked by the Superintendent to "act as . . . liaison for [the] dissertation research." (Copies of this correspondence are included in Appendix B.)

The Need for a Principal Site

Initially, the writer was planning for one-week visits to each school; however, two points became increasingly significant while reviewing the literature. First, available research regarding the day-to-day happenings in the multicultural milieu of the American overseas school is minimal and inconclusive--particularly if one is considering the students' perspective. This paucity of information underscored the value of a participant observation study utilizing heuristic procedures. Second, the proposed one-week visitations brought into question the subjective adequacy of the writer's findings. The literature revealed that many researchers who had conducted heuristic field studies acknowledged the importance of, and their

endeavors to observe, the six indices postulated by Homans for sub-
jective adequacy (note page 15; also Bruyn, 1966). Thus, the writer
sought to arrange for a ten-week visitation at one of the six ASOS
sites followed by one-week vistations to three of the other schools
as a partial validation of findings and hypotheses generated from the
ten-week study.

Securing the Principal Site

Here again the writer's field role began with the initial
contacts with the chief school officers. The writer's first contact
was made via a telephone call to the newly appointed high school
principal. The telephone conversation was brief but cordial. Fol-
lowing a cursory personal introduction, a brief statement was made
to the effect that the writer was planning to conduct an exploratory,
descriptive study of the formal and informal relationships of students
attending American-sponsored overseas high schools and that a princi-
pal site where the student body consisted of a substantial distribution
of American, host country, and third country students was desired for
an initial ten-week participant observation study. The principal's
response was cautiously enthusiastic. He explained he was new to
that specific school organization (he had worked in two American-
sponsored overseas schools prior to this assignment) and was not
familiar with community sentiment and thus he could not give unilateral
approval for the study but that he would review the research proposal
and subsequently express his opinion to the Superintendent. To do
this, he requested a cover letter summarizing the nature and purpose

of the study. His particular concerns were: (1) the nature of the researcher's involvement with students and the kind of data being sought, (2) that the study had to be conducted at no cost to the school, (3) that the school's identity remain anonymous, and (4) that a copy of the completed study be given to the school. A copy of the research proposal, along with the requested cover letter, was subsequently provided.

The following week the principal asked the writer to meet with him to review the research plans. At the meeting, the discussion focused on the writer's proposed on-site activities; that is, what would the writer be doing and looking for while visiting the school's campus? The writer briefly described the role of a participant observer.

The principal stressed his concern about questions being asked of students that related to drugs or probed for personal views that revealed the students' family convictions, e.g., political views. The writer's response was the same as had been expressed to the UCRIHS --that such information was not the focus of the study and would not be actively sought, but, as a participant observer, such observable or freely proffered data would be considered as legitimate data. The writer did emphasize that this information, should it become field data, would be prudently reported. This was not to suggest a "whitewashing" of facts, but that to the best of the writer's ability, field data would be objectively reported; that is, the frequency of observable or hearsay data in the context of who does what, with whom,

when, and where. The principal accepted this explanation, but commented, "I would like to see more studies like this one but quite honestly I would not agree to one unless I knew the researcher." He also mentioned that he had heard others speak of this writer and, coupled with this opportunity to personally meet and discuss the project, he felt comfortable about supporting the writer's proposed research. (Reference to the "others"--educators who have been affiliated in some way with ASOS or DOD (Department of Defense) Dependents schools--who had, in varying ways, familiarized him with this writer is illustrative of what Useem referred to as the "third culture network." (See Chapter II, pages 44-45.)

Although the principal remained enthusiastic about the study, he stressed his concern about the possibility of a resistant parent community and said, ". . . the students may also be suspicious of your real purpose. You look a lot like a narc [narcotics agent]!" The principal's comment revealed a sensitivity to the overseas American community. Revelation of serious misconduct on the part of a child has sometimes resulted in the child or the entire family having to return to the United States. Such action can have devastating effects on the careers of military and diplomatic personnel. The principal underscored his concern by asking if the writer would be willing to discuss the research project with parents. The response was "Yes." He then asked what alternatives had been considered should school officials feel compelled to terminate the study.

The question of a premature termination of the research had also been raised by the writer's research committee chairperson, as

the initial financial investment alone was to be substantial. The writer was confident that this possibility would not occur. It was the writer's opinion that, having worked four years in an American-sponsored overseas school as an administrator (and desiring to do so again) at a time when much public attention was being focused on this school over alleged student drug involvement, this researcher would be able to relate effectively to both parent and student concerns and suspicions. Further, it was the writer's belief that openness and honesty combined with the overseas experience would avert any cause to terminate the study. Nonetheless, should termination have become a reality and the consequence rendered the endeavor as fruitless, the writer felt emotionally capable of coping. The writer's philosophical position is best expressed in the following words of John Milton: "A mind not to be changed by place or time, the mind is its own place, and in itself can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven."

Questionnaires

Three questionnaires were designed and used during the writer's field experience. (Copies of these questionnaires are included in Appendix C.) Two of the questionnaires were used during the final two weeks of the researcher's visitation at the principal school site. One questionnaire was designed to be administered to selected groups of students participating in school-sponsored extracurricular

activities. The writer's purpose in using this questionnaire was to reveal (a) if the student's decision to participate in the activity was specifically influenced by someone, and (b) whether the students had any other association with each other after school and during weekends. The researcher informally interviewed some of the respondents to further examine these two points. The other questionnaire solicited demographic data about the student and was administered in conjunction with the focused interview. This second questionnaire was incorporated into the more comprehensive "Self-Administered Questionnaire."

The Self-Administered Questionnaire

Following the writer's departure from the principal school setting, a third questionnaire was designed for the purpose of further examining some of the interaction modes and perceptions of ASOS students. This questionnaire was to provide a partial validation or refutation of some of the writer's field hypotheses.

The questionnaire was constructed around Clarizio's (1978) discussion of "status in the peer group." He cited three dimensions of social status as being discernible--acceptance, power, and competence. Acceptance, Clarizio said, "may be viewed as the degree to which an individual is liked by or is attractive to others." In examining this dimension, the writer asked selected ASOS students to identify whom they would choose to be with for in-school and out-of-school activities; for example, their choice of a school workmate, someone to eat lunch with, and someone to spend a Saturday afternoon

with. Items 9a-9f in this questionnaire relate to social acceptance. The second aspect of social status has to do with "social power, leadership, and prestige." Clarizio described social power "as the potential ability to influence another or to get another to behave in a certain way." Items 10a and 10d are exploratory questions of the power dimension of status in the ASOS student peer group. Citing French and Raven (1955), Clarizio described the third dimension, competence, as referring to the ability component of group structure, that is, "how well an individual does something in relation to other group members and in relation to an external standard." In examining this dimension, he pointed out that a number of definitions of competence have been used but that most studies have not differentiated between interpersonal, work, and play competencies (Gildewell et al., 1966, in Clarizio). Thus, he suggested, "the specific area of competence must be spelled out for a study dealing with this component of social structure to have meaning" (20). Items 10b and 10c are exploratory questions of the competence aspect of status. Items 8a, 8b, and 8c are exploratory questions of the informal social habits of ASOS students. Items 1 through 7 provide demographic information.

This questionnaire took students approximately 20 minutes to complete and was administered prior to the "focused" interview. Students appeared to respond conscientiously to the questionnaire, completing all or nearly all items when left alone or when scheduled to be interviewed. However, when the questionnaire was administered to small groups, such as a class, students appeared less inclined to

complete many of the items. This may have been attributable to the repetitiveness of data asked for in items 8 through 10.

This questionnaire was administered to selected students at four American-sponsored overseas schools.

Selection of Student Respondents

As previously discussed, this was an exploratory study. Hence the researcher's selection of student respondents was concerned with theoretical sampling procedures. The selection of respondents was quite arbitrary in that the researcher asked a school counselor, teacher-advisor, activities director, coach, or high school adminis- trator to prepare a list of students who, in their opinion, were reasonably well adjusted adolescents. The meaning of "reasonably well adjusted" was not defined by the researcher but left to the interpretation of each educator. A partial validation of each educator's choice was made, as the researcher would ask one other professional staff member whether they would add or delete any names on the writer's list of "reasonably well adjusted" students. Further, the requested list was not extensive, as the writer asked only that one or more students be identified for each category and subcategory, as described below.

There were three categories with four duplicate cells (note Figure 3.1). The writer sought to have at least one male and female, active and nonactive student respondent for each category complete the "self-administered questionnaire" and participate in an interview session. "Active" and "nonactive" refer to students whom the educators
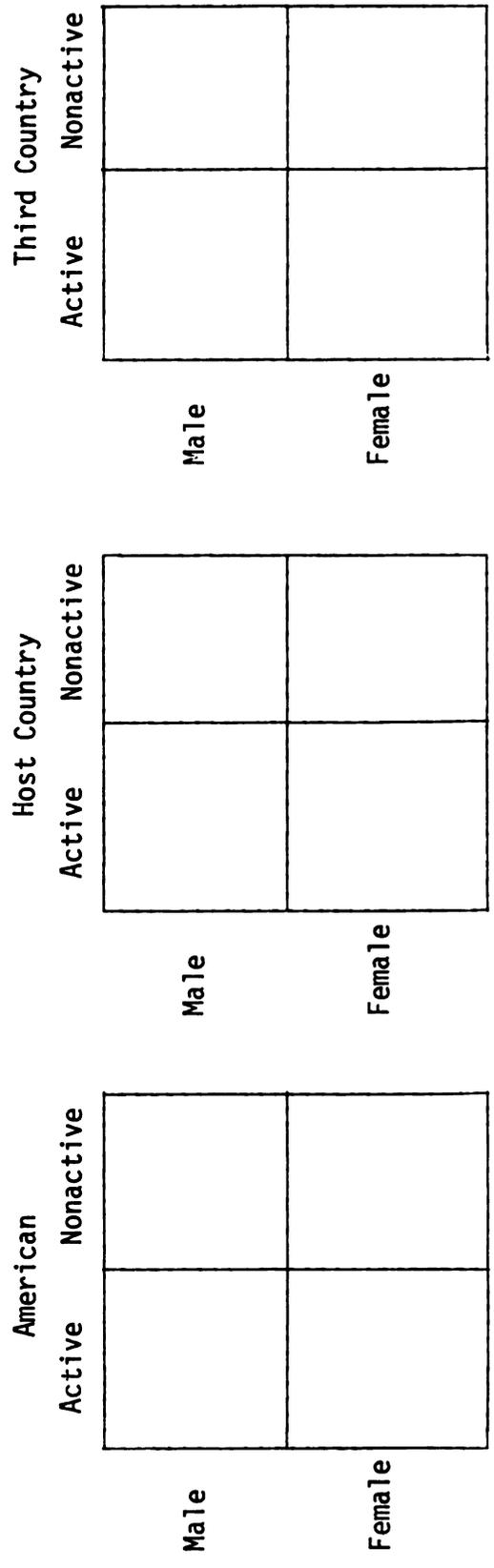
Figure 3.1.--Categories of selected student respondents.

believed to be or not be participating in school-sponsored extracurricular activities.

The Focused Interview

The "focused" interview was described by Merton and Krandall (1946:541-577) as having the following characteristics:

1. Persons being interviewed are known to have taken part in a particular situation or event.
2. The interview focuses on situations, elements, patterns, or total structures which have undergone some previous analysis.
3. The interview proceeds on the basis of a guide developed out of previous analysis.
4. The interview itself is focused on, but not limited to, the situation noted.

The interview schedule (see Appendix D) was divided into three parts. Part A sought to review the reasons why host country students chose to attend an American-sponsored high school. Information was also sought regarding the subject's perception of the reactions of his/her host country peers who were not attending the American school.

Part B sought to review the reaction of American and third country students to their moving overseas and to obtain data about their anticipation of the move as well as their reactions to living in another country.

Part C sought to review the initial "entry" reactions of American, host country, and third country students to the overseas American school. In addition to discussing recent experiences, subjects were asked to describe their recollections of particularly satisfying and frustrating school experiences encountered when they

first entered the school. They were also asked to describe their activities on a typical school day and weekend. Items 3a, 3b, 4a, and 4b of the interview schedule were designed to cross-check items 8a, 8b, 8c, and 9b of the Self-Administered Questionnaire. Other items sought their reactions to fellow students, the faculty, and administration; the ease with which they interacted with fellow ASOS students of other nationalities and the opposite gender; who or what motivated them to participate in extracurricular activities or why they did not participate.

Interview Procedures

1. After obtaining the student names, a school staff person would notify each student to report to a designated room where the writer met with the students collectively.

2. The writer identified himself and his relationship to the University as a graduate student.

3. The writer's purpose in the research, procedures for the research, and the parental-student consent forms were explained.

4. A time and place to meet alone for the interviews were arranged. Interviews were scheduled at the convenience of the student. Most interviews were held during the school day in an available room of the school. Two interview sessions were conducted in the evening at a student hostel, and two interviews were conducted on the weekend in a United States military compound cafeteria.

5. Permission to tape record each interview was sought; recordings were not made when permission was not granted--one student requested that the interview not be recorded.

6. Interviews were conducted in two parts: First, the student was asked to complete the self-administered questionnaire; second, the focused interview was conducted.

Schedule of School Site Visitations

October 12-December 21	ASOS Site No. 1
January 9-January 13	ASOS Site No. 2
January 15-January 20	ASOS Site No. 3
January 20-January 25	ASOS Site No. 4
January 29-February 3	ASOS Site No. 1

The researcher sought a partial validation of findings generated during the ten-week longitudinal visitation of the ASOS site no. 1; and, since the self-administered questionnaire and focused interview schedule were constructed after this visitation, the researcher believed it appropriate and necessary to revisit the first school site for the purpose of obtaining a similar categorical sampling, as depicted in Figure 3.1. Selection of students and interview procedures was consistent in each of the four schools.

Scope and Limitation of Study

There are various factors which render this study less than complete. These have to do with the scope of the study as well as the skills and experience of the researcher, the population and

subjects of the study, the methodology, time, and the conceptual framework itself.

This research was an examination of the multicultural inter-action of three major categories of students who make up the student bodies of American-sponsored overseas high schools. The researcher sought to describe and explain the relationships of these students within the school setting; to describe how these relationships affect student behavior, administrator and teacher behavior, and other facets of the school organization; and to identify and describe salient char-acteristics of school-guided activities that may be facilitating effective student adjustment to the school's multicultural setting. To accomplish these tasks, the writer embraced the assumption (derived from three hypotheses--see pages 61 & 72) that social reality is objective and can best be understood by one who is present, observ-ing, and scrutinizing social reality as it occurs. Through the medium of participant observation, heuristic procedures provided the basis for this study's data collection.

Aside from following the procedures of theoretical sampling, both the exploratory nature of this study and the writer's selection of student groups and individual respondents restrict generalizations concerning the findings of this study. At the same time, there are characteristics of the school setting, subject behavior, and school-guided activities that are likely to be quite similar or applicable to other multicultural school settings. It is possible, then, to make tentative statements about these findings.

Therefore, conclusions concerning the findings presented in this study have only limited applicability. They may be used as a basis for similar studies or for prestructured studies seeking quantitative data in order to provide more conclusive and inclusive generalizations about multicultural interaction among multinational peer groups in the same secondary school setting, the effects such interaction has on the behavior of participants in the school setting, and characteristics of school-guided activities that facilitate effective student adjustment.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF SELECTED FINDINGS

Introduction

Presented in this chapter are composite descriptions and discussions of the community settings, school characteristics, and patterns of student interaction that were observed at the four American-sponsored overseas community schools (ASOS) visited by the writer. At the end of this chapter summary descriptions and comments are also presented about several innovative school-guided activities that appeared to particularly facilitate effective student coping.

The description and discussion of the four community school settings visited in this study are presented in the context of Erik Cohen's (1977) report on expatriate communities. Description and discussion of salient characteristics of the four American-sponsored schools include organizational, faculty, and student demographic data and summary discussions of policies relating to student behavior and the nature of student disciplinary problems. The analysis and discussion of student interaction are presented in the context of the three levels of analysis Francis Ianni (1977) and his colleagues have used for studying schools as social systems. Three dimensions of student peer group social status perceptions are also examined.

Community Settings

Anonymity of each school the researcher visited was a pre-condition agreed to between the researcher and officials of the four A/OS schools where data collection took place. Hence, names of schools and the host communities are not mentioned. Similarities to Asian communities familiar to the reader are anticipated but should not be construed as evidence of a given ASOS setting, for there exists a commonality in the characteristics of these ASOS community settings. Even though each school in this study and its host community are distinctly different according to nature and size of the parents' employment sponsors, school site and facilities, host country laws, customs, language and mores, there exists a commonality in the general characteristics of these four community-school settings.

Erik Cohen (1977) in his report "Expatriate Communities" provides a comprehensive discussion of the "ecology of expatriate communities" that the researcher found accurately portrayed characteristics common to the four ASOS settings visited in this study. These communities were composed of what Cohen refers to as "voluntary temporary migrants," mostly from affluent countries, persons who are residing in an alien country for purposes similar to the third culture participants described by Useem and discussed in Chapter II of this study. For Cohen, the important variations in these otherwise similar expatriate, overseas, transitional, or third culture communities are "contingent upon four key variables: the size of the community, the extent of its heterogeneity, the socio-cultural distance between the expatriates and the host country

nationals, and the origins of the expatriate community--whether 'natural' or 'planted'" (Cohen, 1977:24).

Size of community, Cohen suggested, determines the ability of the community's participants to achieve "institutional autarchy and social self-sufficiency." The homo-heterogeneity of these communities, he explained, will likely influence the institutional autarchy as well as the social cohesion and solidarity of the community. Socio-cultural distance between the expatriates and host country nationals, he suggested, is likely to be influenced by the similarities or dissimilarities of an environment in terms of language, culture, and material amenities. Cohen postulated that "the greater the socio-cultural distance, the stronger the tendency towards institutional autarchy and social segregation from the host society" (1977:25). In the context of the "natural" and "planted" communities, Cohen defined the "natural" expatriate community as being "mere ecological aggregates of individuals who come to live in a locality of the host society on their own or under a variety of organizational auspices, for different purposes and at different times, like the American community in Ciudad Condal in Spain, studied by Nash (1970)." In contrast, the "planted" expatriate communities, Cohen explained, "are established under the auspices of one major organization, a company or the military; it is completely controlled by its sponsoring organization, which provides its institutions and transfers its members in and out of the community; it is sometimes a geographically separate company town or military camp" (1977:25).

These expatriate or overseas communities "tend to be dis-proportionately concentrated in the large metropolitan cities and particularly the national capitals" (26). Modern expatriates tend to insist upon accustomed housing and amenities (27), and to live in compact enclaves or ghettos manifesting a strong clus-tering tendency (28). In these cities where there is a general trend to suburban expansion, expatriates are found to be reclus-tering in the same direction to the newer, luxurious housing developments catering to expatriates' tastes. The expatriates, Cohen notes, share these suburban neighborhoods with Westernized local elites which are attracted both to the expatriates and to the type of housing they prefer (29). The dynamics of expatriate residential ecology, he explains, tend to lead towards the emer-gence of dispersed clusters of expatriate dwellings in one general sector of the city, and away from the single, homogeneous, and seg-regated expatriate neighborhood (29). A schematic depicting the characteristic clustering and in-city migration of the expatriate communities is presented on the next page.

The four American schools visited by the researcher were located in large metropolitan cities, each of which was also the national capital. Using Cohen's term, all four ASOS settings were "natural" expatriate communities, although there were certain aspects of the "planted" community in the military.

Community Size

While the researcher is without statistics on the size and composition of the expatriate communities in each of the four cities
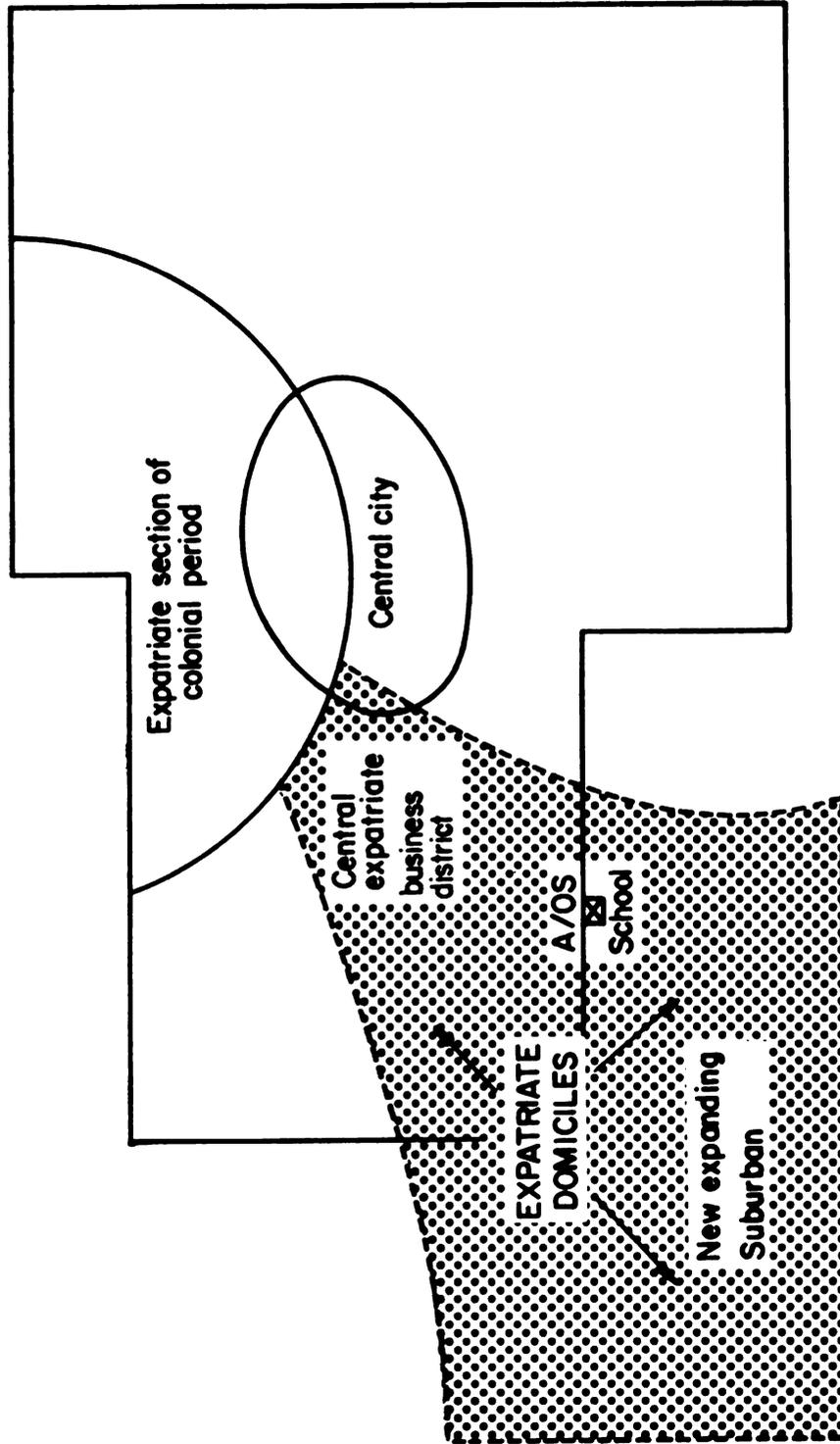
Figure 4.1.--Figurative illustration of large, metropolitan Far Eastern city hosting an A/OS school.

hosting the four A/OS schools, observation revealed that three of the cities host sizable expatriate communities. This is substantively supported by the enrollment statistics of these four A/OS schools and the fact that in each city there were other expatriate-oriented schools. For example, in one of these communities a church-sponsored school provided an American-based educational program for minor dependents from grades K-9. In another of the host cities a British, a Japanese, and a church-sponsored school also served the city's expatriate community. The existence of these schools and the grade levels served, if compared with the nationality composition of the student bodies, would reflect in part the size and composition of the host city's expatriate community. The existence of these schools reflects the desire and efforts of expatriates to achieve social self-sufficiency. As Cohen observed, "The larger these communities, the greater their ability to achieve institutional autarchy and social self-sufficiency" (24).

Homo-Heterogeneity of
the Communities

The ASOS students' families generally lived in expatriate enclaves or ghettos in the same section or adjoining sections of these four cities and in the general vicinity of the expatriate busi-ness districts. With few exceptions, the neighborhoods of these enclaves were shared with host country nationals. However, the host nationals in these neighborhoods often included an admixture of the country's socioeconomic composition. Host national Westernized elites and the host country's emerging middle class would often

compete with and share the range of available housing sought by the expatriates. Within these same neighborhoods would also be the older Asian equipped and occupied dwellings that have not yet given way to the Westernized bungalow or apartment flat. And it was not uncommon to find the makeshift dwellings of squatters on the otherwise vacant plots of land interspersed in these expatriate neighborhood enclaves.

Several residential characteristics were of particular interest and are possibly substantive in the dynamics of the interaction patterns of ASOS students. The students' families often reside in clusters according to socioeconomic status. For example, the large private homes with their private swimming pools, spacious and/or decorative lawns and the new, spacious apartments generously appointed with Western accoutrements are usually occupied by families in which a parent, usually the father, is a ranking commissioned military officer, or a business or institutional executive. These dwellings are also usually located some distance from the school itself, either in the older neighborhoods once occupied by the aristocracy of the former colonial expatriates or in the new suburban luxury developments. In contrast, there are the Western-styled apartments with only the basic accoutrements often without aesthetic appeal and subject to considerable variation in maintenance and upkeep. These dwellings are often, but not necessarily, closer to the school site and are occupied by ASOS families who are without the substantial perquisites of their superiors. There also appears to exist a middle range in this housing continuum—apartments and houses that vary in size, aesthetics, accoutrements, and certainly availability and rent. A

common characteristic of most of these dwellings is the dense shrub-bery, fence, or walled barrier than encircles them. Aside from pro-viding privacy, many of these walled barriers are designed to discourage thieves, as the walls may be capped with jagged pieces of glass. The schools are also enclosed by walls or fences in addition to having guards. For the A/OS schools visited these barriers appeared to serve several functions. Most notably, aside from providing mini-mal protection from thievery, the barriers enabled the school offi-cials to monitor who enters and leaves the school's premises.

The ASOS host national families may share their neighborhoods with the expatriates but often live in the older or more central sec-tions of the city.

Social-Cultural Distance Between
Expatriates and the Hosts

Based on this writer's three-month research sojourn as well as on four years' working experience in the Far East, there is essentially little, and often no, socializing between the expatriate community and the hosts other than the necessary perfunctory relationships. A notable exception appears to occur for some expatriate Asians if they have relatives in the host country. The social segregation appears to be immediately established by language differences and is but-tressed by a disparate culture and, for most expatriates, a different racial environment.

It might be assumed that missionaries and American-Asians (Amerasians) and European-Asians (Eurasians) would be exceptions to the expatriate exclusivity. However, this researcher's observations

suggest that these groups also stay within the expatriate social-cultural environment. Missionaries, who are often articulate in the host language, are more likely to work among host nationals and be more isolated from their fellow missionaries or other members of the expatriate community. For the Western Asian expatriates, notably Amerasians and Eurasians, the host country language and culture may be a sufficient barrier to discourage social-cultural intermingling with host nationals.

While many expatriates may be long-time-outers, and even though other research has indicated that expatriate children demonstrate a proclivity towards worldmindedness (Gleason, 1970; Beimler, 1972), there appears to be little interest and even less commitment to social integration with host nationals. At one A/OS school this writer was told by a non-Asian American teacher that host national co-workers were never invited to the private social gatherings of the expatriate teaching staff members. This was confirmed by other staff members upon questioning. One Asian-American teacher who confirmed this added: "For a long time I was uncomfortable with all host nationals, forgetting that I am one of them by blood. But Americans have this 'Lord of the earth syndrome' that leads you to think you're superior. And don't kid yourself. This superiority feeling is also sensed by the [host nationals]." However, this writer participated in various private social gatherings with various groups of the school's professional staff, and while evidence of this apparent segregation was observed by the researcher there was also evidence of social integration. Although some of the social liaisons appeared to

be of long standing and common practice, these liaisons, neverthe-
less, appeared to be the exception.

Cohen postulated that "the greater the social-cultural dis-
tance, the stronger the tendency towards institutional autarchy and
social segregation from the host society." While this writer is not
prepared to support or refute Cohen's assumption, situations were
observed where institutional autarchy noticeably facilitated and
encouraged social segregation--not only from the host society but
within the expatriate society itself. Three particularly relevant
examples were the American Clubs, the American community-sponsored
Teen Clubs, and the United States military commissary/PX. These
institutional agencies provided stateside amenities and environ-
ments, but access to these American territorial environments was
restricted to qualified affiliation and membership. Regardless of
purpose, these organizations appear to effectively segregate and
isolate Americans from host nationals and other expatriates, as well
as Americans from other Americans.

An example may help to illustrate the apparent effective-
ness of this institutional autarchy. On one occasion the writer
was a dinner guest at the home of an ASOS student. The family was
an American family, the father a successful buyer for an interna-
tional garment distributor. They lived in one of the new suburban
luxury developments. The house and neighborhood gave the impression
that one was still in upper-middle-class, suburban United States.
During the course of the evening's conversation the mother commented
on the difficulty of establishing friendships. When queried about

this she explained that while there was a substantial American commu-
nity in this city her husband's work did not bring them into contact
with other Americans. She further explained that the social circles
of most Americans revolved around closed associations, such as the
military clubs or the American Club, and that aside from these organi-
zations there was little opportunity to meet people. With the prin-
cipal exception of the parents of their daughter's boy friend, they
had met their friends through the American Club, she said.

Membership in the American Clubs is apparently expensive,
and frequent use of the Clubs could be costly. Non-Americans are
excluded from membership though welcomed as guests of American mem-
bers. The military clubs offer membership only to those with the
appropriate military privileges. Those with military privileges
are able to live their lives almost wholly isolated from the host
society, as military facilities provide such support services as
post exchange and commissary shopping; medical, entertainment, and
recreational facilities; and APO (United States postal service).
In contrast, the American Club membership entitled its members only
to organized shopping and sightseeing excursions and an American
environment for dining and socializing. The Teen Clubs, which were
organized by Americans, are restricted to American teenagers, with
guest privileges available to non-American teenagers if they are
accompanied by an American. In some cases, membership is available
to all students of the A/OS school. However, the Teen Clubs appeared
to be situated in American-dominated enclaves and were almost wholly
used by American teenagers. ASOS HCNs and TCNs when questioned

about their going to the Teen Club would say they would only go
with an American friend. The non-American ASOS girls did not like
going to the Club. Apparently the girls who went to the Club were
going as the date of an American boy and held the belief that their
presence was resented by the American girls.

The "Natural" and "Planted" Expatriate Communities

> The major analytical difference between "natural" and "planted"
> expatriate communities lies in the manner in which the facili-
> ties to cope with the strangeness of the host society are sup-
> plied: "planted" expatriate communities received their
> facilities from the sponsoring organization, which plays toward
> the expatriates a similar role to that played by the tourist
> establishment toward the mass tourists (Cohen, 1972:169-174);
> while the "natural" expatriate communities are forced to create
> their facilities by their own efforts, in which respect they
> resemble the middleman minorities. Owing to their comprehen-
> siveness, "planted" communities generally could be expected to
> be more institutionally autarchic, more socially cohesive and
> more segregated from the host society than their "natural"
> counterparts (1977:25).

The ASOS communities visited in this study were more indica-
tive of the "natural" expatriate communities which Cohen describes as
being "ecological aggregates of individuals who come to live in a
locality of the host society on their own or under a variety of
organizational auspices, for different purposes and at different
times" (25). The expatriate participants of the ASOS communities
visited by this writer appeared to come and leave in varying numbers
at varying times and represented a varying field of occupational
roles. As previously cited (Useem, 1973), the main occupational
roles included representatives of governments (diplomats, foreign
service officers, military personnel), employees of international

businesses, missionaries, technical and educational mission repre-
sentatives, employees of international organizations and foundations,
foreign correspondents, artists, musicians, and teachers.

In two of the cities visited there did exist some of the
characteristics of the "planted" expatriate community, namely the
support services of the United States military. In one of the
cities, the military community was large enough that a wide range
of support services enabled the members to effectively segregate
themselves from the host society. And, as suggested by Cohen,
institutional autarchy was very evident in the rules and regula-
tions that governed those who qualified to use the support ser-
vices. For example, only those with full military privileges were
allowed to use the APO. Others, who qualified as support personnel
to the military, were allowed to shop in the military compound's
American-styled grocery and department stores for both Western and
Asian goods. The prices of these goods were usually considerably
lower than in the local host country market. And, if persons
entitled to these privileges were found giving or reselling any of
these items to others not entitled to the same privileges, they
would lose their own privileges.

The military support services, such as the commissary, post
exchange, APO, and health care facilities, are illustrative of what
Cohen described as the "planted" expatriate community. It is these
services, he explained, that "play toward the entitled expatriates
a similar role to that played by the tourist establishment toward
the mass tourists." In contrast, the American Clubs, Teen Clubs, and

American-sponsored community schools reflect some of the facilities created by the "natural" expatriate communities to achieve some self-sufficiency and institutional autonomy.

Interstitial Support Services

There appeared to exist an interesting assortment of "support" services that were not created by the "natural" or "planted" expatriate communities but had emerged to serve or accommodate the expatriate and/or Westernized host national elite societies. These services included health care, entertainment, recreation, and such basic services as retail outlets for food, clothing, and Western household items. Those who provided these services were host nationals or persons Cohen described as "middleman minorities"--migrants who often come to a host country as sojourners but stay (Cohen, 1977:17-19). While a detailed discussion of these services would be tangential to the purposes of this report, their existence and function were observed by this writer as being important and therefore deserving of some comment.

These support services were usually conveniently located in or near the expatriate central business districts or residential enclaves. A host city would appear somewhat sectionalized by the nature of its businesses and the composition of its people. Thus, it would appear that one section of the city hosted and catered to the Western or international expatriate businesses and residential communities, another section to the indigenous population, and,

depending on the city, other sections hosted and catered to Asian migrant communities.

Serving the ASOS communities were the neighborhood air-conditioned grocery stores which stocked an assortment of American or Western brand-named goods as well as local items packaged to appeal to the Western cultural mode; for example, cellophane-wrapped pre-cut meat. As should be expected, the prices were often considerably higher than the United States military commissary or the open-air shops and markets which served the indigenous population. There were also the basic service industries such as the barber shops and beauty salons which used or displayed familiar American-named products and often provided reading materials such as Time and Newsweek magazines or similar native-language magazines of other western countries when such an expatriate clientele apparently existed in sufficient number.

Popular among the ASOS students were the local pizzerias and bowling alleys, and in several of the cities roller skating rinks and the plush air-conditioned movie theaters that usually featured American-produced films. The films' soundtracks were English, although host-language subtitles were often superimposed on the celluloid. Also popular for some of the American students were some of the small, local-area food and beverage shops. Such a shop may be nothing more than an obscure, cluttered hut, which the ASOS students may have unceremoniously, though appropriately, named "The Shack." Or the shops may be neat and clean local-area restaurants, snack shops, or beverage stores, such as the Foremost ice cream scores, that are patronized by

both the expatriate and affluent host national communities. These
places often become informal hangouts where ASOS students can
socialize.

The Westernized host national elites may also frequent these
businesses. However, this writer found that the socially active ASOS
host national students and the Asian third country national students
tended to choose disco clubs and coffee houses which featured popular
music of Western society usually performed "live" by local enter-
tainers. These clubs and coffee houses were usually located more
in the central business districts of each city and often were
expensive.

School Characteristics

All four of the American-sponsored overseas schools (ASOS)
visited were situated within the expatriate, suburban, primarily non-
commercial sections of each host city. Two of the schools were
located on residential/neighborhood type streets and were approach-
able by sidewalks. For one of these schools, however, the sidewalk
was unusually narrow, making it necessary for pedestrians to walk in
a single file or in the street. The street, too, was narrow. Thus
the walk was hazardous and, when the school's buses were passing by,
could be quite unnerving for the unconditioned. One of the schools
was accessible only by road, while another, although accessible by
sidewalks, was fronted by a heavily traveled, divided four-lane road.
A common residential characteristic for all four schools was that
most students lived a sufficient distance from school, and in

residential enclaves or ghettos that were also some distance apart, so that walking was not a practical option for most of these students. As one school reported, 89 percent of its secondary-level students were being transported by the school.

Some students, though apparently very few, drove to school, and some were driven to school and picked up by their parents or chauffeurs. There were others, too, who took taxis or relied on the city's public bus system, the latter being very inexpensive and usually very crowded. As one student commented, "Dad's job doesn't pay for the school bus so we take the [host] bus. My heart sank when I saw the crowded [host] bus pulling up but we crammed into it and miraculously made it!" The average annual cost for school-provided transportation was a little less than US$200. This could be a costly out-of-pocket expense for ASOS families with several school-aged children.

Each school provided an American-based general academic college preparatory curriculum. All four schools were accredited by the Accreditation Commission of Secondary Schools of the Western Association of Schools and Colleges in the United States. Each school, therefore, stipulated for graduation the required curriculum units in English, Mathematics, Science, Social Studies, and Physical Education.

What may be of particular significance was that each school, while providing an American-oriented educational program, was also providing something more. Adapting in varying ways to their host environments and the personal interests and skills of their

respective teaching staffs and student bodies, these schools were adjusting themselves to their unique settings. And possibly, in the framework of Useem's third culture concept, they were fostering the growth of a third culture. Consider, for example, such high school English courses as Asian/African Literature, British Literature from 1700 to the Present, as well as Contemporary American Literature; courses in Social Studies that included the host country Language/Culture, Asian Studies, Journeys into Asian Culture, Current World Problems, or a choice of the following Area Studies--Africa, China, South East Asia. (An example of the course offerings of one of these schools is presented in Appendix E.) There were also mini-courses, sometimes taught by students, on such topics as Chinese or the host country's calligraphy, or evening courses on Buddhism, or interim semester courses that included such unique offerings as jungle survival techniques, taught during a week's outing in jungle terrain. (Examples of the mini-courses offered are presented in Appendix F.) Unfortunately, these unique programs and the breadth of a school's curricula depend not only on the interests and skills of faculty and students as well as on conditions and opportunities that prevail within each host city and country, but also on each school's enrollment, which is the primary source of funding (note Table 4.1). Further, each school observed not only the national holidays of the United States, but also those of the host country. Arrangements were often made by each school to enable interested students and faculty to observe or even participate in some of the host country's national holiday festivals.

Table 4.1.--Common characteristics of the four A/OS schools visited.

Characteristic	School A	B	C	D
Organization	Non-profit Tax-exempted	Non-profit Tax-exempted	Non-profit Tax-exempted	Non-profit Tax-exempted
Board of directors	9	12	14	12
Length of term	(18 mos.)	(2 years)	(2 years)	(3 years)
Grades served	K - 12	K - 12	K - 12	K - 12
Faculty				
American	83.6% 77 92	73.3% 66 90	73.9% 34 46	62.2% 56 90
HCN	8.6% 8	10.0% 9	15.2% 7	21.2% 19
TCN	7.8% 7	16.7% 15	10.9% 5	16.6% 15
Full-time	?	77	39	87
Part-time	?	13	7	3
Tuition (upper grades)	US$2,150*	US$1,900*	US$1,900*	US$1,650*
Tuition as % of revenue	96%	86%	95%	98%
Facilities				
Air-conditioned classrooms	YES	YES	YES	YES
K-12 grades at same site	YES	YES	YES	NO
Auditorium	YES	Multi-purpose	YES	Multi-purpose
Gymnasium	YES	Multi-purpose	YES	YES
Athletic fields	YES	YES	YES	YES
Swimming pool	YES	NO	YES	NO
Tennis courts	YES	NO	NO	NO
Restricted access	YES	YES	YES	YES

*Tuition figures are annual approximations and do not fully account for varying fees for grades 7, 8, or 9.

Table 4.1 provides a composite description of some of the more common characteristics of the four American-sponsored schools visited. The legal status of each school's organization was basically the same and the elected board of directors reflected the American philosophy of community autonomy. While the faculties of all four schools were staffed by host and third country nationals as well as Americans, approximately three of every four professional staff members were American. The high tuitions reflect the lack of a property tax base. As the table reveals, school plant facilities were generally similar. However, such facilities as swimming pools and tennis courts were not available at each school, mostly as a result of limited space. Each school had policies restricting access to the school's campus. Also, each campus was enclosed by fencing and walls, which facilitated the monitoring and control of who entered and left the school grounds.

Each school was organized as a non-profit association and was afforded tax-exempt status by the host country governments. The schools were governed by boards of directors elected by the associations' memberships. The directors themselves had to be association members. Parents or guardians of children enrolled in the schools were automatically members of the associations. The nationality of the schools' boards of directors was wholly or predominantly American. However, the association charters of two of the schools provided that membership representation on the board include a minimum of three nationalities.

The chief school administrator at each school was an American, as were the building principals. Some administrative assistants were host or third country nationals. The daily business operations of each school were handled by host nationals, although the administrator for the school's business planning was always American. Clerical staffs were mostly host nationals.

The faculty of each school was predominantly American (62 to 84 percent) with host and third country nationals making up the balance. An example of the nationality composition of third national staff members is as follows: one Argentinian, one Australian, one French, two German, one Italian, one New Zealander, one stateless. Some of the Americans and, with rare exception, all host and third country national staff were "local hire" while some American teachers and nearly all administrators were "recruited" personnel. The distinction between "local" and "recruited" personnel was discernible in terms of staff attitudes and morale. Although little, if any, basic salary differences existed, the recruited personnel received, in addition to the basic salary, such perquisites as housing allowances, head of household allowances, relocation travel and moving allowances, and, in some locations, the benefits of the military support services previously discussed. These perquisites could effectively double the income of recruited personnel. While the writer found no substantial evidence that this income differential affected staff performance and their commitment to educating their students, their frequently voiced discontent over this inequity raises the question of what the

subtle consequences may be on the learning environment as a result of the attitude and morale of these staff members.

Policies Related to Student Conduct

Even though the expatriate communities are usually found in one general section of each city, it was not uncommon to find the domiciles of the ASOS families dispersed and interspersed within what were still predominantly host national neighborhoods. The schools, too, were located in their neighborhoods. Many United States' Department of Defense overseas schools for minor dependents are located on a military base in created American residential neighborhoods which in effect become a "little America" epitomizing Cohen's "planted" expatriate community. The American-sponsored overseas community schools and their students, however, were found to be directly interfaced with the host community. While the nature of the expatriate community may imply isolation, the expatriate is often very visible to the host society and is certainly not isolated from the attitudes, values, and laws of the host country. As the existence of these American schools reflected both the dominance of the American expatriate community and its preference for an American-based education as similar as possible to that provided at home in the United States, the administrators of these schools have been similarly sensitive to the "guest" status of the American-sponsored overseas community school. As stated in the Student Handbook of one of the schools visited--"The school is governed by rules and regulations determined by the [host] government . . . , the Board of Directors

and the school administration." This sensitivity appeared to be best illustrated in the school policies promulgated to regulate aspects of student behavior.

To the apparent chagrin of many ASOS students, most notably the Americans, three of the four schools visited had stringent dress codes; and two of these schools required the wearing of prescribed uniforms. These codes reflected the "guest" status of these schools and demonstrated an implicit necessity to monitor student behavior. For example, in the student handbooks of these schools considerable explanation of acceptable wearing apparel was made. The rationale for such policy was succinctly stated in one of the handbooks, which read as follows:

> [ASOS] is chartered as a private school under the . . . Ministry of Education, and the host country's regulations require all students in both public and private schools to wear uniforms. . . . The [ASOS] Board of Directors has established this dress code in order to achieve a high standard of student dress and appearance along with a degree of uniformity that will meet the approval of the [host] community.

While the wording of rules and regulations varied from school to school in terms of social behavior, possession of potentially dangerous weapons (e.g., firecrackers, knives), possession and use of tobacco, alcohol and other drugs, the themes remained much the same, including the reminders to ASOS students that they were "guests" in an alien country and that their behavior reflected upon the "American" community. The following extracts are cited to underscore the schools' sensitivity and, in part, the vulnerability of these students.

> Remember that [ASOS] is in [the host country], and that con-
> sequently you are subject to all [host country] laws; there-
> fore, girls wearing brief apparel could be stopped by the
> police and boys with extremely long hair could have it cut
> by the [host country] authorities. Students who break the
> laws of [the host country] could possibly be deported.
>
> Regulation school dress must be worn during school hours
> and at any other time designated by the school authorities.
> The purpose is to conform to the local law of uniformity in
> school dress and appearance.
>
> [ASOS] is located in a residential area and therefore oper-
> ates a closed campus. Students using school transportation
> are not to leave the campus after their arrival. Students
> not using school transportation are prohibited from loiter-
> ing in the immediate vicinity of the school. Loitering on
> the street before or during school is prohibited. (This
> includes "the Shack" at the end [of the street].)
>
> Students are to stay clear of any area declared "off
> limits."
>
> [ASOS] is considered by the host country government and in
> actuality is, a significant part of the total American Com-
> munity. As such, administration of [ASOS] policy is not
> restricted to the "school day."

An area of particular school concern regarding ASOS students

was the availability and possible use of drugs. While the host coun-

try laws varied as did their apparent enforcement, the schools were

quite explicit. Students caught in possession of or using unauthor-

ized drugs or alcohol would be automatically suspended from school

and usually recommended for expulsion. As alien teenagers were not

permitted to work in local businesses nor would they be qualified

to attend local schools, such action would likely result in these

students being returned to their home countries. One school reported

that its host government was vigilant in its enforcement of the law,

and trafficking in, possession of, or consumption of illegal nar-

cotics would and had resulted in fines and imprisonment and/or

compulsory departure from the country and denial of any future entry. However, the schools' concern over drug usage went beyond the legal consequences, as these Southeast Asian host cities, due to their proximity to the "Golden Triangle," were alleged to be trafficking conduits for heroin and opium. Hence, availability of these drugs at very low prices and in very pure quality increased the likelihood of addiction and overdose. In an information bulletin to parents and students, one school warned that "grass" (marijuana) sold in-country was likely to have been soaked in opium, a drug, the school pointed out, which produces dependence.

As this was a politically and individually sensitive area, the writer did not overtly or covertly seek data on student attitudes or use of alcohol or other drugs. However, based on the writer's limited observations during a three and one-half month sojourn and unsolicited comments made by students, it appeared that students as a whole were abstaining from drugs with the notable exception of beer drinking and cigarette smoking and, for a few, marijuana usage.

Student Body Characteristics

The student bodies of the four American-sponsored overseas schools visited by the writer were internationally mixed and varied (see Tables 4.2 and 4.3). To examine the interrelationships of these students by nationality, the writer categorized the students as being either American, host country national (HCN), or third country national (TCN). The enrollment distribution by these

categories for each high school, inclusive of grades 7-12, is indi-
cated in Table 4.2. The inclusion of grades 7 and 8 reflects the
reorganization of several of the schools to include these grades in
the high school. The reorganization reflects the impact of the
sharp enrollment declines experienced by these schools, primarily
as a result of the United States' military withdrawal from Viet Nam.

Table 4.2.--Enrollment by categories: Grades 7-12.

Category	School							
	A		B		C		D	
American	414	66.1%	262	50.3%	126	53.0%	470	78.6%
HCN	128	20.4%	12	2.3%	2	.8%	3	.5%
TCN	84	13.5%	247	47.4%	110	46.2%	125	20.9%
Totals	626	100.0%	521	100.0%	238	100.0%	598	100.0%

Table 4.3 illustrates the many nationalities that were rep-
resented in each school's student body. As indicated in Table 4.2,
American children constituted the largest portion of each school's
enrollment. Among the third country nationalities the most numerous
were Britains, Canadians, Dutch, Filipinos, Germans, Indonesians,
Japanese, and Swedes. Their numbers varied from school to school
according to the purposes, usually business or industrial, which
brought their parents to each host country. Of the many other
nationalities listed in Table 4.3 there often was only one to
occasionally five or six children of a given nationality enrolled.

Table 4.3.--Range of nationalities represented in Schools A, B, C, D.

School A:

Australia	Germany	Malaysia	Spain
Belgium	Hong Kong	Nauru	Sweden
Brazil	India	Netherlands	Switzerland
Britain	Indonesia	New Zealand	Taiwan
Canada	Israel	Nicaragua	Thailand
Columbia	Japan	Panama	Tibet
Ecuador	Korea	Philippines	United States
France	Laos	Singapore	

School B:

Afghanistan	Finland	Japan	Portugal
Australia	France	Korea	Saudi Arabia
Belgium	Germany	Malaysia	Spain
Brazil	Greece	Nepal	Sri Lanka
Britain	Iceland	Netherlands	Sweden
Bulgaria	India	Laos	Switzerland
Burma	Indonesia	New Zealand	Thailand
Cambodia	Iran	Norway	Turkey
Canada	Ireland	Pakistan	United States
Denmark	Israel	Peru	Viet Nam
Fiji	Italy	Philippines	Yugoslavia

School C:

Algeria	Denmark	Libya	Singapore
Australia	France	Malaysia	Sweden
Austria	Germany	Netherlands	Switzerland
Britain	India	New Zealand	Taiwan
Belgium	Indonesia	Norway	Thailand
Brunei	Iran	Pakistan	United States
Canada	Japan	Philippines	Venezuela
Columbia	Korea	Poland	Yugoslavia

School D:

Argentina	India	Malaysia	Sweden
Australia	Israel	Netherlands	Taiwan
Britain	Indonesia	New Zealand	Thailand
Canada	Italy	Norway	Trinidad
Denmark	Japan	Peru	United States
Finland	Korea	Philippines	Viet Nam
France	Lebanon	Portugal	Yugoslavia
Germany	Madagascar	(Stateless)	

The parents of these children were most likely to be serving in the diplomatic mission of their country. With the exception of one school, students of host country nationals were a very small segment of each school's enrollment (note Table 4.2).

The writer had the opportunity to talk with 5 of the 12 HCN high school students enrolled at two of the three schools that reported very small HCN enrollments. Based on this sample the conclusion may be drawn that this group of students could be described as being the children of parents who have lived and worked outside their home country either as government, business, or trade representatives. Often the parents were affluent ethnic minorities, notably of Chinese or Indian derivation. Another frequently observed characteristic was that one of the HCN's parents was a citizen of another country. These HCN students explained that they were enrolled in the ASOS because their parents believed they would have less difficulty than in a local (host country) school. Deficiency in native language skills was cited as the major problem. The parents also believed that enrolling their children in the ASOS would provide them with the best opportunity to develop their English language abilities, thus preparing them to continue their education in the United States or England.

These students and their families may be viewed in the context of Robert E. Park's (1928) paradigm of "marginal men," the thesis for which was based on the assimilation problems of immigrants. Park described the immigrants as being on the margin of two cultures

(1928:892). While not all HCNs were immigrants, they did appear to be "in-between" two cultures.

The students most visible and familiar to the writer were those at School A, which reported 20 percent of its student enrollment as being host country nationals. The Admissions Director of this school pointed out that local law stipulated that local citizens may enroll at the ASOS only for the 9th grade or above (occasional exceptions were made for the lower grades). The school itself required that parents or guardians of students must be residing in the school's host city as a precondition for student enrollment. (None of the four schools visited provided boarding facilities.) The Director also suggested the following factors as reasons for HCNs enrolling in the ASOS:

1. Approximately 20 percent of the HCNs enrolled in the ASOS had attended a Catholic-sponsored school which was also an alternative to the ASOS for grades K-9. This school offered English language instruction through the 9th grade.

2. It was the belief of some HCNs that the ASOS would better prepare them for immigration to the United States and/or facilitate their entry into a United States university.

3. Some HCNs had failed the entrance examination to the local high schools.

4. Some HCNs had done poorly in local schools or had been discipline problems.

For many of these students, the Director explained, the ASOS was their last opportunity for formal schooling. Of course, academic

success at the ASOS was not a guarantee for continued education at the university level or entry into the United States.

Who were these HCNs? How did they differ from their counterparts at the other ASOS schools? Again the writer's data were drawn from casual conversations and some formal interviews with the HCNs and several members of the teaching and administrative staffs. The families of the HCN students appeared to vary considerably in background, social prominence, and very likely in financial resources. One student who the writer thought was Amerasian, was identified by two teachers as being a grandchild of one of the country's principal political leaders. The student was noticeably fluent in both English and the host language and was identified by the staff as being very bright. This student maintained a very low profile, dressed conservatively, and participated in a few extra-curricular school activities such as the National Honor Society and the Orphanage Club. Another student's father was said to own his own construction company. This student dressed attractively and stylishly, participated in the more popular and visible student activities and, while at school, socialized mostly with American students. Several teachers and American students had commented on how freely this student spent money.

Still another HCN student discussed living with a sister who had married an American. The sister's husband had volunteered to pay the ASOS tuition for the youth and promised to help with college expenses if the student succeeded at ASOS. According to the student this had been a dream-come-true as the student's own parents

were of modest means. One HCN student explained that attending the ASOS had been the result of health problems and that attending the ASOS had also been a heavy financial burden on the student's family. It was some weeks later, after the writer and student had become better acquainted, that the student related the chain of events which led to the student's enrollment at the ASOS. The scenario began with the student's involvement with an American Pentecostal group. While this affiliation had not met with approval by the student's own family, it had resulted in ridicule, hostility, and constant pressure by teachers and fellow students at the local school. The student had subsequently become very nervous and began suffering from stomach disorders. The student's family had subsequently decided the only schooling alternative was the ASOS.

These examples are cited not as being necessarily representative of the majority of HCNs attending this A/OS school but are given to illustrate that many of the HCNs the writer spoke with were quite different within their grouping and are likely to have different and varying needs as well as purposes for attending the ASOS. Further, while the writer found the Admission Director's four reasons for why HCNs had chosen to attend the school to be reasonably accurate, the writer had, in contrast, found members of the professional staff and many of the American students to have the stereotypic perception that "all" HCNs were from wealthy local elite families.

With very few exceptions, the HCNs attending School A appeared to be ethnically and culturally similar. Of the HCN students the writer conversed with, many claimed they had never traveled outside

their country, and for some, had not traveled beyond the city. One teacher suggested that among the HCN students there existed an "intra-ethnic" elitism. The teacher, who spoke the host language and had lived in the country for a number of years, held the view that regional differences had become apparent in the subtle nuances of student conversations and behavior.

As suggested in Tables 4.2 and 4.3, the third country nationals (TCNs) varied widely by nationality and with only a few in any given nationality.

Discipline as a Characteristic

If there is a nemesis to American pedagogy it is likely to be expressed, correctly or not, in the context of student discipline. In the Ayling (1972) study, which examined the interrelationships of black and white students in an American urban high school, the major areas of concern for administrators were student attendance and discipline. Within a four-month period Ayling reported that 410 students were suspended, approximately six per day, which represented roughly 17 percent of the high school's student enrollment. This problem was in sharp contrast to the American overseas high schools visited by this writer.

Observations made by this writer found ASOS students to be characteristically well mannered, well behaved, and generally supportive of the school. This is not to say that student behavior problems did not occur but the observed as well as school-reported incidences were not extensive.

An examination of the disciplinary records of two of the A/OS schools visited is illustrative of this point. Table 4.4 and 4.5 are composites of student misbehavior that school officials were confronted with during two 12-week periods. Of the 64 occurrences listed in Table 4.4, 53 students or 8.4 percent of the student body were involved. Of these students approximately 90 percent were American, the majority of whom were the minor dependents of military families. This is not surprising since of the American children enrolled in the school the majority were dependents of military families. Fifty percent of the disciplinary problems involved "skipping." This occurrence referred to missing classes, not leaving the school. Truancy was not a problem. Both administrators and students alike reported that there were no incentives for missing school. The typical student response was, "There's no place to go except home." An administrator explained that the Teen Center was not open while school was in session, that students did not have access to cars for cruising, and the most convenient and accessible location for students to meet and socialize with their friends was the school itself. The occurrences identified as "misbehavior" and "disturbance" commonly referred to students who had not responded to a teacher's request that they stop talking during class. Fighting was rare, as indicated in both Tables 4.4 and 4.5, and usually involved one student roughly shoving or pushing another student.

Table 4.5 illustrates the consistency in the low frequency of disciplinary problems, but also reflects the change in the student

Table 4.4.--Composite disciplinary record for 12-week period: September-December.
Grades: 7-12   Enrollment: 626   Disciplinary occurrences: 64*

Type of Occurrence	Sex	Grade						Total	Percent of Enrollment
		7	8	9	10	11	12		
Skipping (cuts)	Male	2	2	4	3	4	4	19 :34	5.4%
	Female	3	2	1	5	2	2	15	
Misbehavior	Male	1	2	2		1	1	7 : 8	1.3%
	Female	1						1	
Fighting	Male	2	2					4 : 5	.8%
	Female	1						1	
Disturbance	Male	1	1		1			3 : 4	.6%
	Female		1					1	
Off-limit area	Male					1	1	2 : 4	.6%
	Female				2			2	
Smoking	Male				2			2 : 3	.5%
	Female				1			1	
Off campus	Male					2		2 : 2	.3%
	Female								
Profanity	Male	2						2 : 2	.3%
	Female								
Tardy**	Male	1						1 : 2	.3%
	Female		1					1	

*Of these 64 occurrences some of the students involved were repeaters.

**Being late to class or school was being tardy; three tardies equalled one cut (skipping).

Table 4.5.--Composite disciplinary record for 12-week period: January-March.
Grades: 7-12   Enrollment: 238   Disciplinary occurrences: 20

Occurrence*	Nature of Occurrence	Grade	Sex	Sponsor	Nationality
1	suspected petty theft	8	female	U.N.**	United States
	suspected petty theft	8	female	Business	Canadian
	suspected petty theft	8	female	Business	United States
2	insolence to teacher	10	male	Oil	United States
3	disobedient in class	12	male	Oil	United States
4	playing a serious joke on a teacher	7	male	Oil	United States
5	poor attitude in class	11	male	Oil	United States
6	setting off firecrackers in school	7	male	Business	Thai
7	setting off firecrackers in school	7	male	Oil	United States
8	misbehaving in Art Room	9	male	Business	Filipino
	misbehaving in Art Room	9	male	Peace Corps	United States
	misbehaving in Art Room	9	male	Oil	United States
9	truancy	9	male	Business	U.K. Colonies
10	truancy	10	female	U.N.	Canadian
	truancy	10	female	U.N.	United States
11	disobedient in class	9	male	Embassy	Australian
12	abused uniform regulations for 5th time	10	male	Business	Filipino
13	insolence to teacher	10	male	Oil	United States
14	behavior problem in class	9	male	Embassy	Australian
15	fighting	7	male	Business	Thai

*Occurrences listed together with a brace { indicate a small-group activity. Numbering of occurrences indicates separate occurrences. Spacing between occurrences indicates different days.

**U.N. = United Nations.

body composition. The disciplinary record in Table 4.4 was that of School A in Table 4.2, in which the student body was predominantly American and the majority were the minor dependents of United States military families. The disciplinary record in Table 4.5 was reported by School C in Table 4.2. In School C there was an almost equal balance between American and third country national students, and the majority of Americans were the minor dependents of families sponsored by private business corporations. The two schools contrasted in nationality as well as employer sponsorship.

Although there were only 20 occurrences involving less than 20 students (two or three were repeaters) in School C, the American students represented slightly more than half which was proportionately consistent with the total enrollment of Americans. Of the 30 nationalities that constituted the TCN category, Canada, Australia, Philippines, and Britain were largest in number of students enrolled. These representations were also reflected in the disciplinary record of School C.

The contrast between School A and School C in the context of student nationality and sponsorship suggests a possible correlation with the percentages of representation, with the possible exception of HCN students.

Two vignettes, while atypical as they represent infrequent incidences, reflect the discipline atmosphere that prevailed at these schools.

Vignette. At one of the schools two American boys took the wallet of an HCN boy. When later confronted by the HCN boy and subsequently the Assistant Principal, both boys denied taking the wallet. However, both admitted to the Assistant Principal they had been confronted by the HCN boy and that threats had been exchanged. The seriousness of the theft was compounded by the fact that the wallet contained the host country student's government identity papers. Reissuance of these papers allegedly would involve considerable inconvenience to the student as well as possible legal difficulties for him. The fact that the papers were stolen at the American school also could result in embarrassing and difficult consequences for the school. Subsequently, the HCN student was told by one of the American students that his papers could be found in a given school room. However, the wallet and money in it were not returned. Rumors began to circulate among some of the American as well as HCN students that a fight would occur between these boys and their friends. As teachers began to learn of the potential physical confrontation, they reported it to the Assistant Principal. He immediately notified the United States military police and then called the two American boys into his office and informed them of the action he had just taken. No fight occurred. Later, the father of the American boy who took the wallet learned of the incident and allegedly confronted his son. The boy admitted his actions and agreed to return the wallet and money. The boy's father reported this information to the Assistant Principal and, according to the Assistant

Principal, stated the school should take appropriate action. The
boy was given a three-day suspension.

   Vignette. Smoking at two of the American-sponsored schools
was strictly prohibited and permitted on a restricted basis at the
other two schools. At one of the schools which strictly prohibited
smoking, a number of students were suspended from school for several
days on the basis of a picture. The scenario began when a student
took a series of pictures of his companions smoking and submitted
them as part of his photography class project. The pictures were
taken on school grounds during the day and became a source of amuse-
ment for many of the students. The episode came to the attention
of the school's Assistant Principal and the students were subse-
quently suspended pending parent-student conferences regarding the
violation of the school's no smoking policy. As might be expected,
it was reported that the students felt the action was unfair but
the parents were reported to have supported the school's action. One
parent summarized the scenario by the statement, "If they were fool-
ish enough to take pictures of their misbehavior and then put them
on display what else could they expect?"

Student Interaction

   In this section of the research the writer describes the
interaction among American, host country and third country national
students within the formal and informal structure of several
American-sponsored overseas school settings. As the writer's purpose
in the research was to generate working hypotheses about the phenomena

of transnational interaction among ASOS students, the writer will
first set forth some observations and tentative generalizations made
during the ten-week sojourn at the principal school setting. Sum-
mary statements, which will take into account the writer's one-week
visitations to three other American-sponsored schools, will then be
made about the patterns of student relationships and peer status.

While it is possible to define formal and informal inter-
actions within the school setting, it is difficult to distinguish
informal interaction from formal interaction. In this study formal
interactions are defined as interpersonal interactions necessitated
by participation in school-guided activities. In other words,
students wishing or required to avail themselves of a class, sport,
or other school activity must, to the extent the activity required,
interact with other participants. Informal interactions are defined
as interpersonal interactions occurring at the discretion of each
participant. However, even in school-guided activities there is
some latitude of choice open to the student. For example, students
often are permitted to choose where they will sit in a class as well
as whether or not to talk with persons sitting in front, behind, or
beside them during those free moments before class begins or at the
end of class.

To begin, the writer will review the principal school setting
in the context of Ianni's (1977) three levels of analysis for study-
ing schools as social systems. The first or macro-level examines
the bureaucratic and organic forms (structural organizing principles)
of the school's organization. The second level of analysis examines

status and role behavior. The third, or micro-level, examines indi-

vidual and group agendas in the context of sorting, territoriality,

and domains of autonomy. The individual and group agendas to be

described at the micro-level of analysis are viewed by Ianni and

his colleagues as responses to the patterns of social constraints

described at the macro and middle levels of analysis.

Bureaucratic and Organic Influences

A recurrent task of adolescents and adults is the learning

to get along with agemates as well as other age groups. This is

particularly true for adolescents attending an American-sponsored

overseas school. While students must ultimately choose with whom

they will or will not interact, their decisions are not without the

influence of their environment.

In the context of this study the word "bureaucratic" refers

to a form of organization based on the rationalization of behavior

through fixed roles, hierarchical division of authority, imperson-

ality, and efficiency. The word "organic" refers to a form of

organization characterized by personalization of relationships. The

difference between the two words is conceptual and not empirical.

Ianni (1977) explained this difference in the following manner:

> With regard to any particular interaction among people that
> one observes, one cannot say that it is a bureaucratic or
> organic, formal or informal interaction. Everyone's behav-
> ior is constantly influenced by the written rules and other
> bureaucratic constraints under which we all live. Simi-
> larly, everyone's behavior is constantly influenced by the
> demands of their relationship with the people with whom they
> are interacting. One might say, with regard, for example,
> to a particular interaction between two people in a school
> setting that the content of that interaction is more

influenced by the relationship of the statuses of those two
people on the formal organization chart (for example, that
they are acting like TEACHER and STUDENT); or, one might say
that the interaction is more influenced by the personal rela-
tionship of the two people (for example, they may be talking
about a basketball team of which they are both fans; that
common interest then seems more important than the fact that
one is a teacher and one a student). The difference, how-
ever, is one of degree. Both the bureaucratic and the
organic, the formal and informal dimension must be taken into
account for any empirical interaction between or among real
people (43).

The key point in this explanation is that when examining

any empirical observation one should keep in mind that there often

exist both bureaucratic and organic dimensions of the interaction

and that the difference is one of degree.

There were several bureaucratic and organic aspects of the

principal school setting that were observed by the researcher as

influencing student interaction.

1. Specialization. The school's stated objective was to

provide a curriculum oriented toward children who will continue

into higher education. In addition to basic programs in English

and mathematics, various opportunities were provided in social

studies, science, art, music, foreign languages, practical arts, and

the host country culture. Programs were also provided for students

with remedial learning problems. This specialization of subject

matter, while apparently efficient, appeared also to be an important

factor affecting the behavior by which people organize themselves

into groups.

The most noticeable circumstance which the writer came

across was the ESL (English as a Second Language) program. For

students whose native language was not English and who had not demonstrated by examination a pre-established level of English proficiency, special classes in English were conducted. While these classes were intended to assist students in developing English language proficiency, the classes also placed non-English speaking students in a track that isolated them from the other students. For some of these students their entire school day was spent in ESL classes. Thus, within the framework of time (hours spent at school) these students had extensive contact with other non-English speaking students and minimal contact with native English speaking students. Within the ESL classes the most observable sorting factors were mostly organically influenced; these factors appeared to be (1) native language, (2) nationality, and (3) ethnicity. A notable exception (and an example of a bureaucratic influence) occurred when a teacher assigned several students to work together. It was, therefore, the impression of this writer that students in ESL, when left to their own initiatives, chose to interact with students who shared the same native language. Their verbal interaction would be in their own native language.

Third country nationals appeared to form small groups by nationality and/or ethnicity. In these groups a common second language, usually English, would be spoken. There was some evidence that when students of different native language, nationality, and ethnicity were assigned to work together over a period of time, intragroup liaisons would develop into an informal social clique or grouping. English then became the medium for verbal interaction.

2. Scheduling. Scheduling facilitates specialization and contributes to efficiency. It also influences, bureaucratically, patterns of interaction. The availability and sequencing of classes, the existence of honor and remedial classes, ESL classes, and the division of the lunch period into three time periods arbitrarily sorted students as well as teachers into categories and groups. As scheduling impersonally sorted students into groups vis-à-vis classes and lunch periods, the researcher found that students often initiated their first social contacts in the class room. Shared lunch periods and free periods provided students the personal opportunities to explore and develop these social contacts.

3. Hierarchy. The researcher also found evidence that an organic hierarchy as well as the school's organizational hierarchy influenced student interaction. As one might expect, there was a "distancing phenomenon" between students and their teachers and administrators. This phenomenon appeared to largely reflect status differentiation, but was reinforced by school rules that provided teachers and administrators special privileges, such as a special room in the cafeteria, a faculty lounge, departmental offices, and the right to leave the school's campus for lunch. All of these privileges were generally prohibited students. The classification of students by grade level (7th, 8th, Freshman, Sophomore, Junior, Senior) also appeared to influence the interaction of students. While these dimensions were bureaucratically induced, there also existed observable organic factors. The writer found that status was afforded students who excelled in extra-curricular activities.

The most broadly recognized student status positions, among students and the faculty and administrators, appeared to be the skilled athletes and the cheerleaders. Although students appeared generally apathetic about their student government, class and student body officers and particularly membership on the Student Court, these were also status positions and highly desired by some who thought they had a realistic opportunity of acquiring particular positions. Students who held these positions tended to extend their intragroup interaction beyond the formal purposes of these activities. Students seemed to be aware of other students who excelled in academic ability/achievement. It was not clear, however, what influence, if any, academic skills played in sorting.

4. Fixed rules. A common characteristic of formal organizations is the embodiment of rules which, ideally, should be applied consistently. The A/OS school, like most other schools, was characterized by the specialization of subject matter by class and teacher, the establishment of time zones, and the organizational stratification of its members. The existence of administrator and faculty contracts and policies to regulate student conduct were all provided for in the school's policy manuals.

Of these rules, one, which related to student conduct, appeared to have a particular impact on student sorting and interaction. The rule also illustrates the confluence of the bureaucratic and organic influences on student interaction. The school did not encourage but did provide students the option to smoke. The formal rules stipulated that students who chose to smoke must

do so only in one designated area on campus. To smoke elsewhere on campus could result in the student's suspension from school. Further, the smoking area was off limits to any student without written parental permission for the student to smoke. Thus any decision to be in the smoking area was predicated on organic influences, that is, the student's desire to smoke and/or the willingness of the student's parents to provide written consent. The apparent effect of these influences was to (1) formally sort some students into a specific group, and (2) identify and provide an interest area that both bureaucratically facilitated and restricted student interaction on the basis of organic influences, that is, the desire to smoke or be with friends who do smoke. Students who chose to avail themselves of the smoking area indicated that they socialized the most with those they had first met or got to know in the smoking lounge.

Status and Role Behavior

The difference between "status" and "role" corresponds closely to the difference between bureaucratic and organic influences. The word status refers to a specified position within a social organization. The more common statuses found in schools are those designated as student, teacher, principal, and so on. Ianni and his colleagues explain that people who claim various statuses do so because they are members of one of a group of mutually exclusive categories--a collection of individuals not necessarily participating in the same activity but sharing some common trait, variable, or criterion by

which they can be differentiated; for example, students and teachers. It is what they actually do in relation to their status which constitutes their roles. Thus, a status is a position and a role is behavior associated with that position. (See Ianni, 1977:181-184.)

The student status of the principal school site contained within it three sub-categories which were focal points of this study. The primary criterion distinguishing the categories was nationality-- American, host and third country nationals. Within and between each category were observable groups (that is, collections of individuals participating in a shared activity). The most immediately discernible groups corresponded with these three categories. That is, American students generally were involved in activities with other Americans, host country nationals with other host country nationals, and third country nationals with other third country nationals. This is not to say that patterns of student interaction, formally and informally, were mutually exclusive by nationality but, rather, the students tended to sort themselves out by nationality. Based on the researcher's participation, observations, and interviews with students of each category, the writer found the behavior patterns, or roles, of the students to be numerous and varied.

As Cusick observed in an American setting, the writer found that students in this overseas American-sponsored school setting also formed themselves into small-group association with their peers. These groups, too, were discrete social units, but were generally bounded by nationality and ethnicity as well as gender and to some extent age. And, as in the Cusick study, interest was the principal

cohesive force that held a group together. The location of a student's family residence appeared to influence student interaction patterns but more in terms of with whom they interacted after school and on weekends than during the school day. These ASOS students also moved about in dyads, triads, or larger groups. However, the active and interested involvement of these ASOS students did appear to differ from the American-based study by Cusick. Many of the ASOS students gave priority to their class assignments and would consult with friends regarding assignment problems. It was not uncommon to observe students isolating themselves in an area of the library or in an empty classroom of (usually) one of their teachers to work on their school assignments. HCN and TCN students, when interviewed, indicated they frequently discussed class assignments with their friends; they attributed this to their difficulty in understanding English word meanings and in understanding their teachers, who, they said, too often spoke too fast for them to follow. The writer also found assignment, test, and course grades as well as the teaching ability of teachers all to be important concerns of many of the students.

However, for some TCN students, their enrollment in the ASOS was for something to do and/or to improve upon their English. These students reported that they had either just completed their secondary schooling in their home country or that their one or two years at the ASOS would not meet school requirements in their home country. It was this writer's impression that for these students and a number of the American students, their school involvement, like the American

students described by Cusick, centered not around teacher initiated, academic issues, or even around the issues that were more student body centered, such as sports, but rather, as Cusick described, ". . . [was] concerning themselves with the procedures of fulfilling institutional demands and their private in-group interactions . . . for these students what they did in school they did with their friends" (1973:62-68).

Ianni (1977) and his colleagues described many of the various social groupings, as well as the unique behaviors of individuals in the school setting, as being "emergent roles." The distinction between formal and emergent roles, they declared, was situational. They described formal roles as being explicitly and publicly recognized by people in the organization and clearly related to the goals of the organization (Ianni, 1977:34). Emergent roles, however, are in the process of being created by particular individuals and are often closely tied to the unique personalities of those individuals. And, to some extent, the emergent role must be transferable to other individuals since roles refer to generalized patterns of behavior (390).

The existence of these emergent roles was also discernible at the principal school setting. However, in talking with various students of each nationality category, the writer found students to be generally aware of special groups or cliques within their own category but otherwise oblivious to groups outside their category and particularly their sphere of interest. It was common to find that students of each category knew who the school's cheerleaders

and many of the "star" athletes were. This may be attributable to student interest as well as the visibility of these activities which come under the school's organizational support. However, the writer found many small, informal "emergent" social groupings of students which were only vaguely recognized by students in general. Students expressed an awareness that most of their fellow students associated with a group of friends, and that these groups were usually bounded by nationality and/or ethnicity, but they were usually unaware of who made up intra-group associations outside their own nationality category. Ethnic Asian students, however, appeared to be the exception. Whether host country, American, or third country Asian, Asian students generally seemed aware of the social groupings of other Asian students.

A possibly unique characteristic of American students was the use of a group name to identify their association; the writer did not find this to be so among HCNs and TCNs. American students also identified TCNs by group affiliations, such as "the Latins" and "the Europeans." American and TCN students usually referred to the HCNs by using their national or ethnic name, although some American students chose to use derogatory slang names. Anonymity of a group's name was more the rule when the group was small, as in the case of "the Rats," which consisted of four American sophomore boys who usually rendezvoused at the Snack Bar, or "the Blue Angels," which consisted of seven American sophomore girls, two of whom were Amerasian, who usually congregated in the office of a favorite teacher. However, when the group was larger, as was the

"Bleacher Gang," students who were not members often knew of the group's name and activities. Membership in the Bleacher Gang allegedly consisted of American ASOS students and apparently was loosely determined; those who chose to do on a regular basis what the "members" did were in effect members themselves. The activities of the Bleacher Gang were after-school oriented. Both members and non-members reported that the gang usually congregated at the bleachers on the recreational grounds of the Teen Club. It was alleged that members usually drank beer, talked, and shouted insults or challenges to host country boys who happened by.

While TCNs and HCNs revealed a general awareness of who the cheerleaders and better athletes were, and where students by nationality usually congregated, these students, like their American counterparts, appeared to be involved in their own social activities that were also bounded by nationality and/or ethnicity. As suggested earlier, the writer did not find HCN and TCN students using group identity names, in contrast to the American student groups.

There was one social group that was rather widely known among all the nationality categories. The group membership included students of a number of nationality backgrounds. The group's social genesis began with a social studies class. The class was characterized by a deliberate effort to enroll students of different nationalities. Its curriculum emphasized many host country/cultural group excursions which often lasted several days or more at a time. The writer participated in several outings with this group and credits much of the

group's social cohesion to the cross-cultural and social awareness skills of the teacher in charge of the class.

For each of these social groupings there appeared to be, although unwritten and apparently unplanned, norms (with the notable exception of the social studies group where norms were often written and frequently discussed) that governed the behavior of each group and often identified each group. The "Jocks" (the school's student athletes and aspiring athletes), for example, would carry with them Adidas or Puma sports carryalls. The "Super Jocks" were mostly Senior or Junior boys who were also the dominant varsity players in soccer, basketball, and baseball. While they, too, possessed Adidas carryalls they did not carry the carryalls with them as did the "Jocks." (The titles "Jocks" and "Super Jocks" were names used mostly by the American ASOS students.)

Sorting, Territoriality and Autonomy

The micro-level of analysis examines the specific actions which individuals and groups take in a given setting. Ianni and his colleagues have viewed these actions as attempts by individuals and groups to establish and maintain domains of autonomy. These actions, which individuals and groups create for themselves in organizations and spend much of their time trying to maintain, are referred to as individual strategies and group agendas. This level of analysis relates the abstract levels of structural and role analysis to the life and actions of real, living people by considering bureaucratic, organic, and role influences as the elements of the strategies of

individuals. Group agendas simply assume that individuals do not
always act in isolation but sort themselves into groups for coopera-
tive action. (See Ianni, 1977:390-392.) Sorting refers to a form
of behavior whereby people organize themselves into categories or
groups and territoriality as the physical space that people occupy
within an organizational setting.

The phenomena of sorting and territoriality were particu-
larly evident in several areas of the principal school setting where
the writer had spent some ten weeks as a participant-observer. For
instance, the Activity Center, which contained two ping pong tables,
two pool tables, one table soccer, a music booth with a battered
amplifier and turntable and an assortment of records, and a student
government room in addition to the Athletic-Activity Director's
office, (note schematic 4.2) was frequented almost entirely by
American boys. Their frequent presence and numbers were enough to
leave the impression that the area was theirs even in their absence.

Even within the Center there existed territorial domains.
The athletes frequented the Director's office and occupied the chairs
and the doorway in front of the Center. Ping pong, the more popular
game in the Center, was played on a challenge basis and the older
boys were usually the superior players and would at times ignore
the challenge of a younger player, particularly if the younger
player was a 7th or 8th grader. And should the challenge be honored,
the older boys were likely to direct their conversation and attention
to their buddies as they played out the challenge. A few Asian
boys, usually Amerasians, also came to play; although they were

A = a Senior clique
B = American boys and girls
C = male athletes
D = HCN and TCN boys
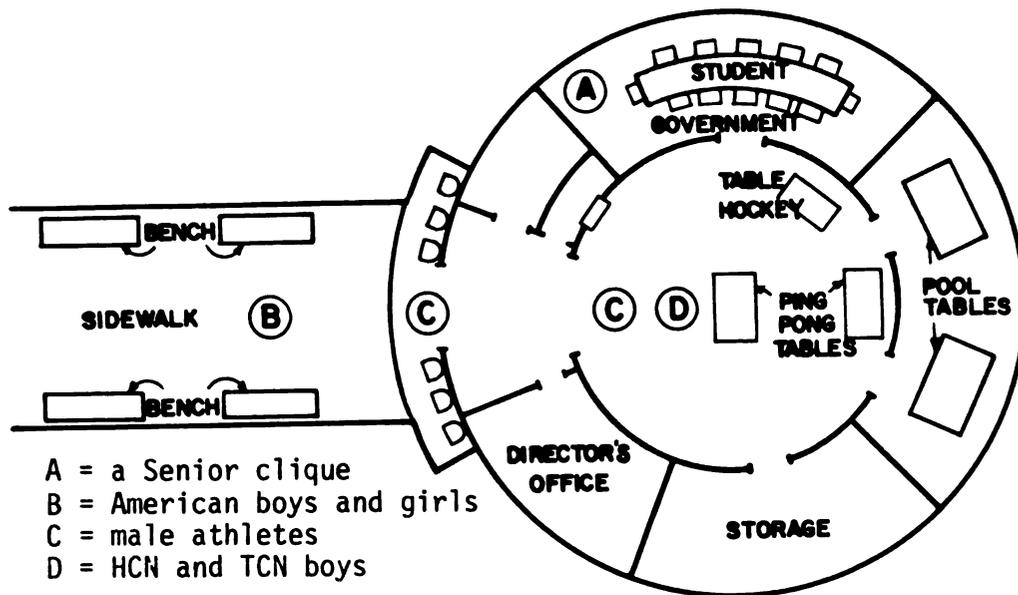
Figure 4.2.--Activity Center.

accepted, they often had to listen to derisive comments about host

nationals. The student government room was in effect the exclu-

sive area of a few select Seniors who were prominent in sports and

student government. This was the only area in the center where a

few of the more active and popular Senior girls would also come

to socialize and study. Students not members of this in-group

rarely went into this room and when they did their presence was

silently (and obviously) ignored. The sidewalk and benches in

front of the center were a popular congregation area for many of

the Americans, boys and girls, before school and during lunch

periods.

Other areas that revealed territoriality included the

snack bar which, while frequented by almost all students, was the

primary congregation point for the younger high school students. The library was particularly popular among host and third country national students, where there was often as much socializing as there was studying. In this setting students usually grouped by nationality and ethnicity, although there were also a few cross groupings, and conversations were usually a mixture of English and native languages. Of course the smoking lounge was the exclusive territory of those students having smoking privileges. Some of the classrooms were also turfs for group associations; the classroom and office of two of the social studies teachers were almost always occupied--one by members of the Journeys group and the other by the seven girls who called themselves the Blue Angels. Another class-room unofficially provided a semi-private, quiet and relaxing atmos-phere for Senior couples.

Classroom seats also are territorial claims of the individual as students invariably returned day after day to the same seat even though their teachers permitted them to sit wherever they wished. However, the students' free choice of where to sit revealed the informal sorting that took place among the school's nationality and ethnic groups and, to some extent, gender. Seating illustrations 4.3 and 4.4, on the following pages, typify this sorting behavior.

As Figure 4.3 suggests, students, when left to their own initiative, tend to sort themselves according to ethnicity and gen-der. Figure 4.4 further establishes the consistency of the sorting pattern revealed in Figure 4.3. However, Figure 4.4 also reveals that nationality is another sorting characteristic.

The arrows in Figure 4.4 indicate a daily pattern of informal social interaction that took place among the students in this particular class. In one group of four girls, three were American and one was Dutch; the Dutch girl had been attending the American school for approximately four years.

```
┌─────────┐        ┌─────────────┐        ┌─────────┐
│   CB    │        │   Teacher   │        │   AG    │
└─────────┘        └─────────────┘        └─────────┘

┌─────────┐                               ┌─────────┐
│   CB    │                               │   AG    │
└─────────┘                               └─────────┘

┌─────────┐                   ┌─────────┐ ┌─────────┐
│   CB    │                   │   AB    │ │   AG    │
└─────────┘                   └─────────┘ └─────────┘

┌─────────┐                               ┌─────────┐
│   CB    │                               │   AG    │
└─────────┘                               └─────────┘

┌─────────┐                               ┌─────────┐
│   CB    │                               │   AG    │
└─────────┘                               └─────────┘

┌─────────┐                               ┌─────────┐
│   CB    │                               │   AG    │
└─────────┘                               └─────────┘

  ┌──────┐ ┌──────┐ ┌──────┐ ┌──────┐ ┌──────┐
  │  CG  │ │  CB  │ │  CB  │ │  AB  │ │  AB  │
  └──────┘ └──────┘ └──────┘ └──────┘ └──────┘
```
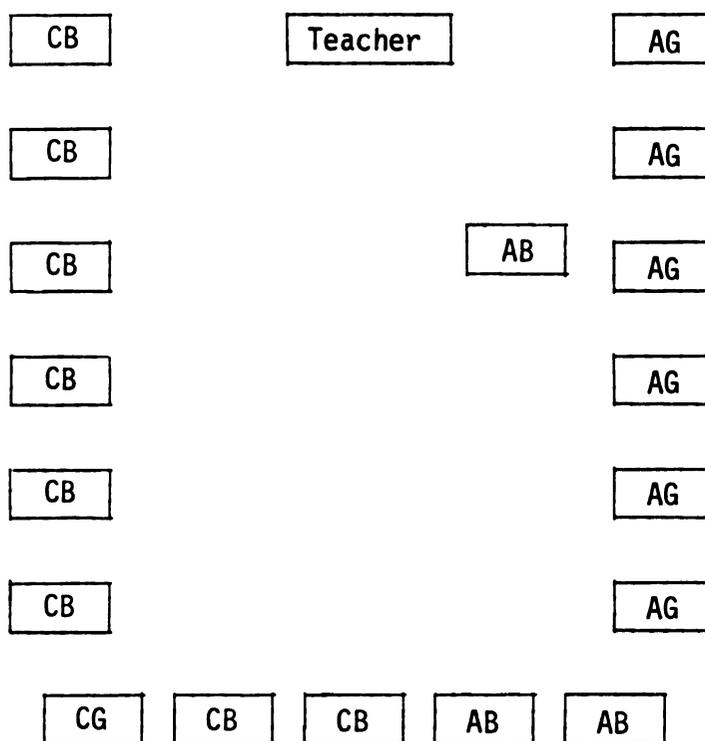
CB = Caucasian boy   AB = Asian boy
CG = Caucasian girl   AG = Asian girl

Figure 4.3.--Class Room Seating: Illustration A.
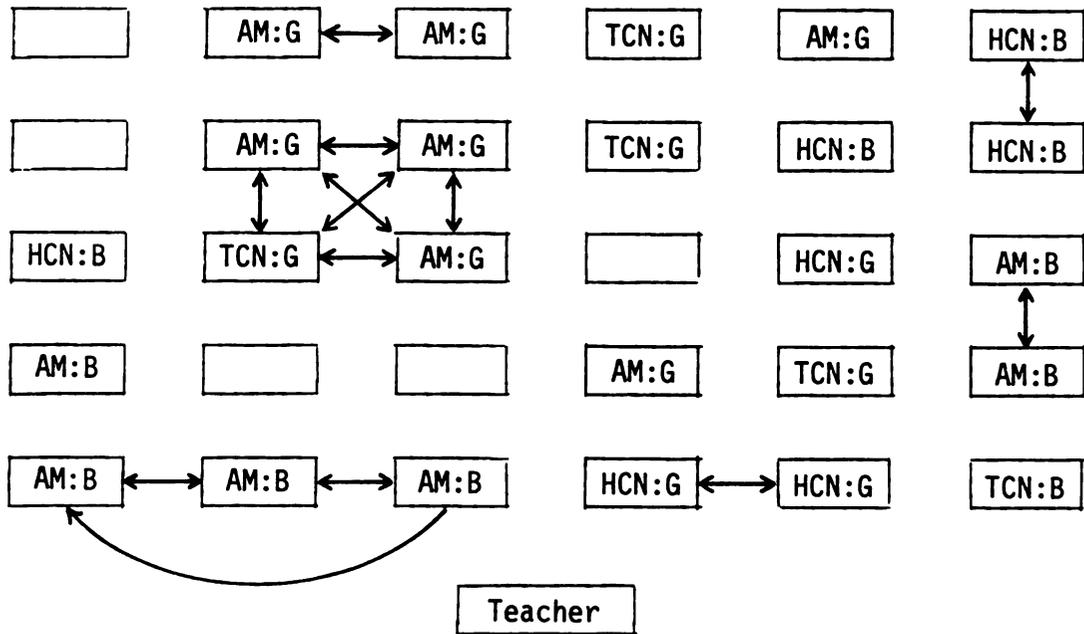
AM:B = American boy   AM:G = American girl

HCN:B = Host country   HCN:G = Host country
        national boy   national girl

TCN:B = Third country   TCN:G = Third country
        national boy   national girl

Arrows ——➤ indicate occurrences of informal interaction.

Figure 4.4.—Class room seating illustration B.

As depicted in these two illustrations, students tended to cluster by ethnicity, nationality, and gender. This phenomenon of sorting was revealed again when the teacher requested the class (Figure 4.4) to divide into groups of three for a group-oriented assignment. The American students chose fellow Americans and worked together in a team effort, although there was generally considerable socializing within the groups. The host country nationals similarly

worked together in a group but independently of one another. And when they did exchange comments, the comments were usually in their native language. With the exception of the Dutch girl previously mentioned, the third country nationals did not group in this class, choosing instead to work independently of others.

The writer has already identified some of the structural and role elements that were influencing student behavioral patterns at the principal school setting. Briefly reiterated, the school's hierarchical organization, policies, and regulations determined basic role parameters as students were categorized by grade level. This sorting process was encouraged via class government and social activities. Other structural and role influences included the ESL track for non-native English speaking students as well as the associations and privileges often derived by those who were successful in athletics and other competitive activities such as the cheerleaders. However, a reporting of some specific individuals and groups may better illuminate as well as isolate some of the common elements that were influencing the behavior patterns of these ASOS students. In the following vignettes, pseudonyms are used to protect the anonymity of persons and locales.

Vignette. The writer first observed Ralph eating lunch alone in the school's cafeteria. Joining him, the writer learned that Ralph, a Canadian, age 16 and a Junior, was a new student, arriving two weeks after school had started. Both of Ralph's parents were college educated and his father was presently a visiting professor at one of the host country's theological colleges.

This was Ralph's first experience at living outside his home country. Ralph indicated that he missed his friends and since his arrival he had been quite lonely. Aside from talking a lot more with his parents he expressed a fascination with his loneliness, explaining how this had been the first time in his life that he had little to do other than think. Though he admitted to being bored at times, he explained that he found he actually liked the opportunity to just think. When asked what he did during his free time at school he replied, "I walk around a lot. Trying to look as if I were going somewhere. Mostly I go to the library and read." As for meeting other students, Ralph stated most of the students he had met were classmates who had different lunch and free periods and none of them lived near him. However, of his two closest friends, one he met as a desk-mate in biology class and the other was a son of his parents' friends. He also mentioned that he was getting to know some of the guys since he had been working out with the weights and universal gym equipment after school. This was an option he had chosen as part of his physical education requirements.

The writer subsequently met Ralph's parents at a parent association dinner meeting held one evening in the school's cafeteria. Ralph's parents were aware of his loneliness but felt his attitude was positive and were impressed by his endeavors to cope with such a different environment. Ralph's father related an incident when Ralph had decided to walk home after school and had become disoriented and frustrated over not being able to read the road signs or instruct the taxi drivers. Though it had been an unpleasant

experience, Ralph was undaunted, his father said, explaining that Ralph had declared that next time he would have sense enough to have with him his home address written in the host language. Both of Ralph's parents expressed opinions that living in a host country that contrasted so much with their home country and had such a rich culture was both a unique and wonderful experience.

The case of Ralph is presented to draw attention to several elements that the writer believes contribute to effective adjustment. In an article by David Mechanic (1974:32-43) it is suggested that successful personal adaptation has at least the following three components at the individual level:

> First, the person must have the capabilities and skills to deal with the social and environmental demands to which he is exposed. Such capacities involve the ability not only to react to environmental demands, but also to influence and control the demands to which one will be exposed and at what pace. Second, individuals must be motivated to meet the demands that become evident in their environment. Third, individuals must have the capabilities to maintain a state of psychological equilibrium so that they can direct their energies and skills to meeting external, in contrast to internal, needs (1974:33).

During the time Ralph was observed by the writer, he demonstrated that he possessed these three components. He was able to accept his loneliness and even found a satisfying outcome--uninterrupted periods to just "think." He also confronted his new environment and revealed a resourcefulness to meet the demands of an unfamiliar environment, such as his attempt to walk home. Ralph's response to his illiteracy in the host country language (i.e., to carry his home address written in the host language) was likely to be an effective means for influencing and controlling one of the

more immediate environmental demands to which he was exposed. Also, the positive attitude of both his parents towards Ralph as well as the host country very likely contributed to his "psychological equilibrium."

In the context of sorting, territoriality, and autonomy, Ralph's purpose for walking about the school's campus in his need to convey an imagined purpose to anyone that might have been noticing him was, for him, an effective defense for his present feeling of alienation or isolation during the interim of his establishing new friendships. Aside from the cafeteria during lunch, the universal gym area after school, and the library where he studied during his free periods, he was, in effect, without a "school turf" where he could feel or experience some degree of influence and control.

Vignette. Martha was a Sophomore who had recently transferred to the American school. She was a host national and a member of the host country's largest ethnic minority. Her father was a physician. Prior to enrolling at the American school, Martha had attended local British-sponsored schools. She professed to being a perfectionist, attributing this characteristic to her British schooling, and con-sidered her schooling to be very important. About the American school, Martha said she particularly liked the freedom of choosing from a fairly wide selection of elective courses. She also liked her teachers, who she thought were "very well qualified" but not demanding enough. Martha also explained that she had had adjustment difficulties when she first began attending the school. She declared that her attention to her school work and the respect she felt

students should display for the teachers had resulted in her being teased at first and then ignored by her fellow students.

According to Martha, her successful contributions in gym class had gained her attention and some respect among some of her American classmates. The fact that she now talked with her class-mates after entering the classroom and until her teachers called the classes to order had also resulted in greater acceptance. The teasing had stopped. Reflecting on her adjustments to the ASOS, Martha stated she disliked sports because she did not like being sweaty, but added that her Christian upbringing had taught her to always put forth her best effort. She also expressed the view that Americans liked those who could succeed athletically, even if the success was only in gym class. Martha felt she had made a compro-mise in principle regarding talking with friends in class. But, she reasoned, this behavior was also accepted by the teachers. She pointed out that her studies still took priority.

Vignette. Thor was a European third country national. This was his first experience living outside his home country, and while he had traveled through much of Europe with his family during vacations, this was his first experience with the Far East culture and people. Thor was 19 and had completed the equivalent of the American high school education before coming to the host country. His father was a businessman and Thor planned to eventually join the same business. Thor's enrollment at the ASOS was the result of three reasons. First, it would enable him to improve his English;

second, it would enable him to meet people his own age; and third, it gave him something to do for the year he would be in the host country.

Thor was frequently late arriving at school in the morning and often skipped his classes, choosing to spend his time in the student smoking lounge or playing ping pong. He had established rapport with a number of the American boys in the Activity Center and the students in the smoking lounge, moving comfortably between these two loosely established groups as well as interacting with some of the Europeans attending the school. Although Thor was not a disruptive or discourteous student, his lack of interest and commitment to his classes and consequently his tardiness and class cutting had resulted in several meetings with the Assistant Principal. Thor commented that the Assistant Principal was considering suspending him from school. Thor said he did not want that to happen.

Thor's class schedule consisted of English, history, math, shop, and physical education classes and two free periods. He had passed his ESL examinations. Thor was unaware of, but expressed interest in the school's special classes such as the photography class and the social studies class that featured weekly and extended weekend excursions. Thor was able to add the photography class to his schedule.

Characteristics of the Questionnaire Respondents

There were 70 student respondents from the four A/OS schools who responded to the "Self-Administered Questionnaire" (note

Appendix C). In selecting these respondents the writer followed the principles of theoretical sampling. The following four criteria were observed in the selection of the 70 student respondents:

1. American, host and third country national students of both genders were included in the sample.

2. All respondents were currently attending one of the four American-sponsored overseas community schools the writer visited.

3. Only ASOS students who, in the opinions of their teachers, counselors and/or administrators and the writer, were perceived as being reasonably well-adjusted adolescents were selected as respondents.

4. Some of the 70 respondents were identified as actively or not-actively participating in school-guided extra-curricular activities.

Table 4.6 provides a composite description, using absolute numbers and percentage frequencies, of the respondents by school visited, participation or non-participation in school-guided activities, grade, nationality and sponsorship categories; each of these categories is cross-referenced with gender. The reader is reminded that the researcher's endeavors throughout the field study were exploratory in intent. The questionnaire and the interview format were not tested for reliability and validity, nor were student respondents selected according to procedures for ascertaining statistically significant quantitative data. Thus no generalizations

Table 4.6.--Absolute and percentage frequencies of respondents by
school, participation, gender, grade, nationality and
sponsorship categories cross-referenced with gender.

Category	Students		Male		Female	
	Count	Col %	Count	Row %	Count	Row %
School Site						
School A	18	25.7%	9	50.0%	9	50.0%
School B	22	31.4%	13	59.1%	9	40.9%
School C	25	35.7%	12	48.0%	13	52.0%
School D	5	7.1%	4	80.0%	2	20.0%
Total	70	100.0%	38		32	
Participation						
Active	29	41.4%	17	58.6%	12	41.4%
Non-active	26	37.1%	13	50.0%	13	50.0%
Not identified	15	21.4%	8	53.3%	7	46.6%
Total	70	100.0%	38		32	
Gender						
Male	38	54.3%				
Female	32	45.7%				
Total	70	100.0%				
Grade						
8th grade	1	1.4%	1	100.0%	0	0.0%
Freshman	6	8.6%	4	66.7%	2	33.3%
Sophomore	9	12.9%	4	44.4%	5	55.6%
Junior	38	54.3%	19	50.0%	19	50.0%
Senior	16	22.9%	10	62.5%	6	37.5%
Total	70	100.0%	38		32	
Nationality						
American	31	44.3%	18	58.1%	13	41.9%
Host country national	6	8.6%	4	66.7%	2	33.3%
Third country national	33	47.1%	16	48.5%	17	51.5%
Total	70	100.0%	38		32	
Sponsorship						
Business	37	52.9%	19	51.4%	18	48.6%
Diplomatic	16	22.9%	10	62.5%	6	37.5%
Military	6	8.6%	2	33.3%	4	66.7%
Missionary	2	2.9%	1	50.0%	1	50.0%
Other	8	11.4%	5	62.5%	3	37.5%
Not stated	1	1.4%	1	100.0%	0	0.0%
Total	70	100.0%	38	32		

are warranted concerning students attending the American-sponsored overseas schools on the basis of the data being presented.

The 33 third country national (TCN) student respondents indicated one of the following 19 countries as their country of citizenship:

Australia	India	Panama
Bulgaria	Israel	Pakistan
Canada	Japan	Saudi Arabia
Denmark	Korea	Singapore
France	Libya	Sweden
Hong Kong	Netherlands	New Zealand
	Norway	

Of these 33 TCNs, 9 or 27 percent were from English-speaking countries, although 12 (36 percent) indicated they spoke English in the home. Fifteen of the TCN respondents, or 45 percent, reported they spoke only their native (non-English) language at home; and 6, or 18 percent, reported they spoke two or more languages at home. Among the 31 American respondents, 25, or 80 percent, reported speaking only English at home. One American respondent claimed that no English was spoken at home, and five American respondents indicated speaking at least one other language in addition to English in the home. Of the six host country national (HCN) student respondents, four reported speaking more than one language at home; the other two indicated they spoke only their native language at home. Among the 70 student respondents, 27 different language forms were identified as being spoken in one or more of the homes (note Table 4.7).

Some students reported speaking one language with their parents, another language with siblings, or a different language with each parent, or speaking to a parent in one language while the parent

spoke to them in a second language. For example, one Amerasian

student reported that when he spoke with his mother he spoke English,

but she always spoke Japanese to him. He explained they both under-

stood and could speak either language, but he preferred to speak

English and his mother, afraid that he would forget his Japanese,

always spoke to him in Japanese.

Table 4.7.--Language and language combinations* spoken in one or
more of the homes of the seventy student respondents.

Arabic	Danish	French	Korean	Swedish
Bulgarian	Dutch	Indian	Norwegian	Thai
Chinese	English	Japanese	Spanish	

English/Chinese	Indonesian/Mandarin
English/Iranian	Japanese/English
English/Japanese	Mandarin/English
English/Spanish	Thai/Chinese
Hakanese/Chinese	Thai/English

** { English with parents
    Thai with brothers

English/Hindi/Thai   Hebrew/English/Spanish
                    English/Taiwanese/Japanese

*Language combinations are listed in the order a respondent
indicated the languages were most frequently spoken in the home.

**Several respondents indicated they spoke different languages
with different members of their families.

Other commonalities between the 31 American and 33 third

country national (TCN) respondents were that over 50 percent of

each group had lived in three or more countries; over 40 percent

of each group had lived in the host country four or more years,
and approximately 70 percent of each group had lived outside their
country of citizenship four or more years. Of the 31 American
respondents, 18 (58 percent) were boys and 13 (42 percent) were
girls. Approximately 83 percent of both genders were Juniors
16 or 17 years old. Of the 33 TCN respondents, 16 (48 percent)
were boys, mostly Juniors, 16 and 17 years old. Seventeen (52
percent) of the TCN respondents were girls, of which approximately
70 percent were Juniors 16 and 17 years old. Only six host country
nationals (HCNs) were respondents to the "Self-Administered Ques-
tionnaire." Of these six (four boys and two girls) HCN respondents,
one was 13 years old, one 16, one 17, two 18, and one 20 years of
age.

Patterns of Interrelationships

Based on the writer's ten weeks of field observations at
the principal school site (School A), a working hypothesis emerged
theorizing that the majority of students within each of the three
nationality categories--American, host country national (HCN), and
third country national (TCN)--associated informally mostly with
other students within their own nationality category. American
students as well as the HCN students at School A constituted two
rather large and distinctly different homophilous groups--the most
notable differences being language and racial-ethnicity. The TCNs
were more heterophilic but their cultural and linguistic differences
were also their common and shared attribute in the ASOS setting.

Language and racial-ethnicity were the two more notable sorting characteristics among the TCNs. The Asian students, whether American, HCN or TCN, generally associated with other Asian students. The non-Asian TCN students generally associated with other non-Asian TCNs who shared a common language or other regional/cultural similarities. For example, some of the Latin TCNs were very active in school-guided extra-curricular activities and had frequent informal social associations with other non-Latin ASOS students, particularly the American students. However, the Latin students still maintained their own informal Latin social group associations. As one Latin student explained, it was just easier to express certain feelings to someone who shares the same cultural background and native language.

Three time frames--lunch, after-school, and weekends--where students were likely to interact informally with other students are subsequently examined. The 70 questionnaire respondents were asked, first, to identify with whom they ate their lunch and with whom they associated after-school and on weekends. Second, the respondents were asked to record the age, gender, citizenship, ethnicity, and family sponsorship of each person they had identified (note Appendix C--Self-Administered Questionnaire, 8. A.1, B.1., and C.1). Although data varied somewhat among these three independent variables (lunch, after-school, weekends), an analysis of the responses given for lunch period and after-school associations indicates the similarities and dissimilarities expressed by the respondents. Six demographic

comparisons are made of the respondents' interrelationships during these two time frames.

In reporting the questionnaire data the absolute number of respondents for each independent variable is given to the left of the variable labels. Response data for the dependent variables are reported in summary form using absolute numbers, to remind the reader of the very small sample sizes, and relative percentages (rounded to the nearest whole percent), to illustrate the possible, though unproven, relevance of some of the data as a descriptive characteristic or sociometric indicant for American, host and third country national ASOS high school students.

Student respondents were first classified by nationality category--American, HCN (host country national), and TCN (third country national). Among the 70 respondents one third or less in each category indicated their informal associations during lunch periods and after-school were only with students who were of the same nationality category as the respondents, while 40 percent or more of the respondents in each category indicated those students they associated with were of more than one nationality category (note Table 4.8.1). These data appear partially to not retain the writer's working hypothesis that ASOS students interacted primarily with students of the same nationality or within the nationality categories established for this study. With the exception of the HCN data, the association patterns reported in Table 4.8.1 may be reflective of the general association patterns of American and TCN students at the four schools the writer visited.

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Table 4.8.1. A comparison of the interrelationships of seventy ASOS high school students by nationality classification with nationality associations during school lunch periods, and after school (A-S).[a]

Nationality / No. of Respondents	Interrelationships							
	Exclusive[b]						Multiple[c]	
	American		HCN		TCN		Admixture	
	Lunch	A-S	Lunch	A-S	Lunch	A-S	Lunch	A-S
31 Americans	(9) 29%[d]	(5) 16%	(0) 0%	(2) 7%	(3) 10%	(3) 10%	(15) 48%	(13) 42%
6 HCNs	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(3) 50%	(1) 17%	(3) 50%	(4) 67%
33 TCNs	(4) 12%	(5) 15%	(1) 3%	(0) 0%	(11) 33%	(8) 24%	(14) 42%	(13) 39%

[a] Data presented in this table do not account for respondents who did not respond or who indicated they spent their lunch period and after-school time alone.

[b] Data presented under these column headings indicate the number of respondents who reported their associations during the lunch period or after school were exclusively with students of the nationality classification indicated in the column heading.

[c] Data presented under this column heading indicate the number of respondents who did not associate with other students of any one nationality exclusively.

[d] Numbers presented in parentheses indicate the absolute number of respondents reporting a given interaction pattern; the corresponding percentages (which are rounded to the nearest whole percent) are the relative frequencies which are based on the total number of respondents by nationality category.

The sampling of HCN students was particularly small. Of the
six HCN student respondents four reported their informal peer asso-
ciations included an admixture of nationalities; three reported their
associations during lunch were exclusively with TCNs. None of the
six respondents indicated exclusive informal associations with
fellow HCNs. While three of the six HCN respondents were from
School A, the data are more representative of observed association
patterns at Schools B, C, and D, and only partially representative
of School A. In Schools B, C, and D the HCN enrollment was very
small (12, 2, and 3, respectively) in proportion to each school's
total enrollment. When so few students of a given category are further
differentiated by age and gender and bureaucratically separated by
course and grade level assignments, it may be assumed that they are
less likely to associate with one another if there are others with
whom they may share similar attributes, such as racial/cultural
ethnicity, as well as more common experiences, interests, and con-
cerns.

In contrast nearly 20 percent (over 100 students) of School
A's high school enrollment were HCN students. The writer observed
many of these students associating either exclusively with other
HCN students or with other Asian students. The writer found that the
social dyads, triads, and somewhat larger social groupings that were
comprised exclusively of HCN students usually formed during enroll-
ment in the ESL/EFL classes, from earlier associations prior to
entering the ASOS, or through introductions by older siblings attend-
ing the ASOS. These students expressed a desire to interact with

other ASOS students, particularly the Americans, but expressed a lack of confidence in their English speaking ability. They also admitted they were more comfortable talking in their own native language about school work, personal interests, and problems.

The fact that three of the HCN questionnaire respondents were from School A and none of them reported an exclusive informal association with fellow HCN students may, in part, reflect the probability of chance as well as the possible relevance that two of the three were active participants in school-guided extra-curricular activities. It is the writer's assumption that students who actively participate in school-guided activities will establish informal association patterns that include a greater admixture of the student body than students who are less active. An exploratory examination of this hypothesis is introduced in the context of Tables 4.8.4 and 4.8.5.

Another working hypothesis that had emerged from the field study at School A was that ASOS students generally sorted themselves into groups bounded by racial ethnicity. Here again population (enrollment) size also appeared to be a factor. The few black students in attendance were American and though they knew each other they did not necessarily include or exclude each other in their association patterns. The association patterns of the black American students appeared to parallel that of their white American counterparts, as these students interacted primarily with other American students or with an admixture of the nationalities represented in the school population. However, there were two

ethnic categories, Asian and non-Asian, that were visually dis-
cernible, numerically substantial, and were a boundary character-
istic of ASOS student association patterns. When the responses of
of the respondents are re-examined by this ethnic categorization in
conjunction with the three nationality categories, the probable
relevance of ethnicity becomes more evident.

Based on the data in Table 4.8.2 the nine Amerasian respon-
dents reported proportionately more exclusive associations with
HCN and TCN students, fewer exclusive associations with the HCN
and TCN students, and fewer exclusive associations with their fellow
American students than the 22 non-Asian American respondents.
Respondents of both categories reported proportionately similar
multiple associations that were an admixture of American, HCN,
and TCNs. When these associations are examined according to Asian,
non-Asian, admixture (Asian and non-Asian) associations (note
Table 4.8.3), more than 50 percent of the respondents for both
American ethnic categories reported their informal associations
during lunch periods to be exclusively intra-ethnically bounded.
This intra-ethnic proclivity was essentially the same for the HCN
and TCN respondents.

A tally of the respondents reporting associations with
fellow students reveals the associations to occur more during
the lunch time frame than after school. The data also suggest
that intra-ethnic (Asian/non-Asian) associations particularly,
and intra-national associations (as per the three categories
used in this study) were more common during lunch periods than

Table 4.8.2. A comparison of the interrelationships of seventy ASOS high school students by Asian/ non-Asian nationality classification with nationality associations during school lunch periods and after school (A-S).

Nationality No. of Respondents	Interrelationships							
	Exclusive						Multiple	
	American		HCN		TCN		Admixture	
	Lunch	A-S	Lunch	A-S	Lunch	A-S	Lunch	A-S
9 American Asians	(1) 11%	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(1) 11%	(2) 22%	(1) 11%	(5) 56%	(4) 44%
22 American non-Asians	(8) 36%	(5) 23%	(0) 0%	(1) 5%	(1) 5%	(2) 10%	(12) 55%	(9) 41%
6 HCN Asians	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(3) 50%	(1) 17%	(3) 50%	(4) 67%
16 TCN Asians	(1) 6%	(3) 18%	(1) 6%	(0) 0%	(5) 31%	(5) 31%	(8) 50%	(6) 38%
17 TCN non-Asians	(3) 18%	(2) 12%	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(6) 35%	(3) 18%	(7) 41%	(9) 53%

Table 4.8.3. A comparison of the interrelationships of seventy ASOS high school students by Asian/ non-Asian nationality classification with ethnic Asian, non-Asian, and combined associations during school lunch periods and after school (A-S).

Ethnic-Nationality No. of Respondents	Interrelationships					
	Exclusive				Multiple Admixture	
	Asian		non-Asian			
	Lunch	A-S	Lunch	A-S	Lunch	A-S
9 American Asians	(5) 56%	(3) 33%	(3) 33%	(3) 33%	(1) 11%	(2) 22%
22 American non-Asians	(8) 36%	(0) 0%	(12) 55%	(13) 59%	(2) 9%	(8) 36%
6 HCN Asians	(6) 100%	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(4) 67%
16 TCN Asians	(13) 81%	(7) 44%	(2) 13%	(1) 6%	(0) 0%	(6) 38%
17 TCN non-Asians	(2) 12%	(1) 6%	(15) 88%	(9) 53%	(0) 0%	(2) 12%

after school. While the data reveal little change in the number of multiple associations in terms of admixture of the nationality categories, the data suggest a notable increase in inter-ethnic (Asian and non-Asian) associations after school. This may, in part, reflect the change of environmental factors between the two time frames. During lunch periods the respondents were generally restricted to certain areas of each school's campus with few activity alternatives; mostly the respondents could only choose between studying or conversing with friends. Language and culture, in addition to interest, appeared to be an important factor among the respondents when choosing whom to socialize with during the lunch period.

Unlike the findings reported in the four "lighthouse" studies on high school students in the United States (note Chapter II), where student conversational topics focused primarily on cars, dates, and other self/group oriented matter with little subject matter interaction, the conversational topics of many ASOS students were subject matter oriented as well as diverse, reflecting the international character of the school. Subject matter interaction was particularly common among the HCN and TCN students observed by the writer as well as those who were respondents to the questionnaire and formal interviews. It was also common, though to a lesser extent, among the American students. Conversational topics reported by the respondents ranged from classroom subject matter to school extra-curricular activities; from the political tensions in the Middle-East or other current world news events to their own recent or

coming visits to other countries; new student arrivals to when they or their friends were leaving; Superbowl football to the world soccer championship playoffs; as well as boy/girl/parent/school problems, future plans, colleges, and weekend activities.

In contrast to the low emphasis on school-guided extra-curricular activities during lunch periods, a wide range of such activities for students to choose from were usually available during the after school time frame. It was this environmental change, which greatly enhanced the opportunity for students to pursue activities of personal interest, that was a major contributing factor to the increase in after-school inter-ethnic associations. It is important to note that a number of HCN and TCN students reported that their participation in extra-curricular activities, particularly such activities as a class play or talent show, had resulted from the persistent encouragement from a teacher or sometimes another student. It is also important to note that while these same students expressed confidence in themselves they often indicated a lack of confidence in their English speaking ability and/or felt they really were not needed by the Americans who generally dominated many of the extra-curricular activities. However, there were many HCN and TCN students who expressed the feeling that their studies were more important and they did not have the time for extra-curricular school activities. These opinions had been expressed to the writer by both respondents and other students with whom the writer spoke.

The active and non-active participation of students in school-guided activities was the basis of another working hypothesis. From field observations at School A it appeared that inter-ethnic (Asian, non-Asian, and nationality category) and inter-gender associations were more common among those students who were active participants in school activities than those who were not. Fifty-five of the respondents were identified as active or non-active participants. As reported in Tables 4.8.4 and 4.8.5 the data lend support to this hypothesis. Both active male and female respondents reported more combined associations with fellow Asian and non-Asian students and an admixture of the nationality categories than did their non-active counterparts. Similarly the active male and female respondents reported more exclusive associations with the opposite gender as well as the admixture of genders in their association patterns than did their non-active counterparts.

Another important characteristic of ASOS students is the time they may spend alone. Although data in Table 4.8.5 provide little substantive information, the data, nonetheless, illustrate this phenomenon. Whether active or non-active participants, the well-adjusted ASOS students developed friendship associations with fellow students that were part of their school day activities but often pursued isolated activities after school such as studying or reading, which, by their own choice, resulted in their being alone.

As Useem and other scholars of "third culture children" have reported, sponsorship of the students' families often directly

Table 4.8.4. A comparison of the interrelationships of fifty-five ASOS high school students by school participation classification with combined Asian/non-Asian associations and combined nationality associations during school lunch periods and after school (A-S).

Participant No. of Respondents	Combined Asian/non-Asian Associations		Combined Nationality Associations	
	Lunch	A-S	Lunch	A-S
17 Active males	(2) 12%	(8) 47%	(10) 59%	(10) 59%
13 Nonactive males	(1) 8%	(5) 39%	(6) 46%	(5) 39%
12 Active females	(0) 0%	(4) 33%	(7) 58%	(6) 50%
13 Nonactive females	(0) 0%	(2) 15%	(5) 39%	(4) 31%

Table 4.8.5. A comparison of the interrelationships of fifty-five ASOS high school students by school participant classification with gender during school lunch periods and after school (A-S).

Participants No. of Respondents	Interrelationships							
	Exclusive						Multiple	
	Males		Females		Alone		Admixture	
	Lunch	A-S	Lunch	A-S	Lunch	A-S	Lunch	A-S
17 Active males	(6) 35%	(8) 47%	(1) 6%	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(1) 6%	(10) 59%	(8) 47%
13 Nonactive males	(8) 62%	(8) 62%	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(1) 8%	(3) 23%	(4) 31%	(2) 15%
12 Active females	(0) 0%	(2) 17%	(5) 42%	(2) 17%	(0) 0%	(2) 11%	(7) 58%	(5) 42%
13 Nonactive females	(1) 8%	(0) 0%	(5) 62%	(7) 54%	(0) 0%	(1) 8%	(4) 31%	(4) 31%

influences and even determines the kinds of experiences students will have. The impact of sponsorship was also observed by this writer. However, as suggested in Table 4.8.6, the impact of sponsorship on student association patterns is not clearly discernible and is a questionable sorting indicant. This is not to imply that sponsorship did not influence student behavior towards other students. For example, a popular American missionary boy, active in sports, stated he enjoyed the camaraderie of his American teammates but was embarrassed by their "callous remarks about the local HCNs." Subsequently, he did not associate much with them after school or on weekends. Another active, sports-oriented American boy related the difficulties he first experienced in being accepted by boys for whom his father was their fathers' boss. While sponsorship may have greatly determined experiences these students had outside of school and even influenced their manner of behavior, their association patterns did not appear to be significantly influenced by sponsorship.

Language was an important characteristic of the association patterns of these students. Among the American students there was the vernacular of the American teenager characterized by colloquial expressions that were often unfamiliar, misinformative, and confusing for many of the non-American students and sometimes for the American long-time-outers. Similarly, the HCN students spoke their own language among themselves as did the TCN students or the Asian students when they shared a common language other than English, such as Chinese. Even when the common language was a second language

Table 4.8.6. A comparison of the interrelationships of seventy ASOS high school students by parent sponsor classification during school lunch periods and after school (A-S).

Sponsorship No. of Respondents	Interrelationships											
	Exclusive										Multiple	
	Business		Diplomatic		Military		Missionary		Other		Admixture	
	Lunch	A-S	Lunch	A-S	Lunch	A-S	Lunch	A-S	Lunch	A-S	Lunch	A-S
37 Business	(9) 24%	(10) 27%									(18) 47%	(10) 27%
16 Diplomatic			(4) 25%	(1) 6%							(7) 44%	(9) 56%
6 Military					(1) 17%	(1) 17%					(5) 83%	(5) 83%
2 Missionary							(0) 0%	(0) 0%			(2) 100%	(2) 100%
8 Other									(2) 25%	(0) 0%	(3) 38%	(5) 63%

such as English, understanding and often tolerance of one another's

English speaking ability was often a boundary characteristic for

the group. Among the 70 questionnaire respondents the following

languages and combinations were identified as being spoken with

school friends (combinations are cited by listing first the language

most frequently spoken by the respondent):

English	English/Japanese	French/English
English/Cantonese	English/Indonesian	Japanese/English
English/Mandarin	English/Spanish	Chinese/English
English/Taiwanese	English/Thai	Thai
	English/Korean/Chinese/French	

Status Perceptions in the
ASOS Peer Group

The second purpose of the Self-Administered Questionnaire

was to explore the students' peer group social status perceptions.

The underlying objective was to ascertain whether American, HCN

and TCN students, who were assumed to be reasonably well-adjusted

adolescents, held similar peer status perceptions within their

A/OS school setting. The three dimensions of social status surveyed

were acceptance, power, and competence. Response data have been

summarized in the context of the three nationality categories

dichotomized by Asian/non-Asian ethnicity and by active and non-

active participation in school-guided activities. The perceptions

are described according to four demographic characteristics: gender,

nationality, ethnicity, and age.

The writer has interpreted acceptance as being whom the

respondents liked, were attracted to, or had confidence in.

Questions 9a-9f of the Questionnaire relate to this dimension.

The demographic response data for three of these questions are presented in Tables 4.9.1, 4.9.2, and 4.9.3. All questions and response data are not included inasmuch as the validity and reliability of the Questionnaire have not been established.

Salient characteristics of the respondents' choice for a workmate (note Table 4.9.1) were that respondents generally chose a person of their own gender and ethnicity; that is, boys generally chose boys, girls other girls, Asians other Asians, and non-Asians other non-Asians. Similarly, respondents more often chose a workmate of their own nationality category excepting the Amerasian respondents, who chose more TCN students than fellow Americans. It may be important to note that four of the five TCNs chosen by the Amerasian respondents were Asian and the three American workmates chosen were non-Asian. Although there was little difference in the gender preference between active and non-active male respondents and, similarly, between the female respondents, cross-gender choice was proportionately greater among the designated active respondents in this particular sample. Age of the workmate was a diffused characteristic although proportionately more workmates were the same age as the respondents. What is not revealed in Table 4.9.1 is the fact that approximately three of every four respondents chose a friend, someone they associated with during their lunch periods, after-school, or on the weekend.

In contrast to choosing a workmate there occurred an interesting change in the characteristics of those whom the respondents chose to know better (see Table 4.9.2). The most notable change

Table 4.9.1. Peer status--acceptance dimension: Choice of workmate for a school project, by demographic characteristics.

| | Demographic Characteristics | | | | | | | | | | |
| Respondents | Gender | | Nationality | | | Ethnicity | | Age | | | No Choice Stated |
	Male	Female	American	HCN	TCN	Asian	non-Asian	Same	Older	Younger	
9 American Asians	(7) 78%	(2) 22%	(3) 33%	(1) 11%	(5) 56%	(5) 56%	(4) 44%	(3) 33%	(2) 22%	(4) 44%	(0) 0%
22 American non-Asians	(10) 46%	(10) 46%	(14) 64%	(0) 0%	(6) 27%	(4) 18%	(16) 73%	(15) 68%	(4) 18%	(1) 5%	(2) 9%
6 HCN Asians	(2) 33%	(2) 33%	(1) 17%	(2) 33%	(1) 17%	(4) 67%	(0) 0%	(1) 17%	(0) 0%	(3) 50%	(2) 33%
16 TCN Asians	(6) 38%	(9) 56%	(6) 38%	(1) 6%	(8) 50%	(9) 56%	(6) 38%	(9) 56%	(5) 31%	(1) 6%	(1) 6%
17 TCN non-Asians	(6) 35%	(7) 41%	(4) 24%	(0) 0%	(9) 53%	(3) 18%	(10) 59%	(7) 41%	(3) 18%	(3) 18%	(4) 24%
17 Active males	(14) 82%	(2) 12%	(10) 59%	(1) 6%	(5) 29%	(6) 35%	(10) 59%	(9) 53%	(3) 18%	(4) 24%	(1) 6%
13 Nonactive males	(12) 92%	(0) 0%	(7) 54%	(1) 8%	(4) 31%	(6) 46%	(6) 46%	(4) 31%	(4) 31%	(4) 31%	(1) 8%
12 Active females	(3) 25%	(9) 75%	(4) 33%	(0) 0%	(8) 67%	(4) 33%	(8) 67%	(7) 58%	(2) 17%	(3) 25%	(0) 0%
13 Nonactive females	(2) 15%	(9) 69%	(6) 46%	(2) 15%	(3) 23%	(7) 54%	(4) 31%	(6) 46%	(4) 31%	(1) 8%	(2) 15%

Table 4.9.2. Peer status--acceptance dimension: Choice of person to know better, by demographic characteristics.

Respondents	Demographic Characteristics											
	Gender		Nationality			Ethnicity		Age			No Choice Stated
	Male	Female	American	HCN	TCN	Asian	Non-Asian	Same	Older	Younger	
9 American Asians	(1) 11%	(5) 56%	(4) 44%	(0) 0%	(2) 22%	(1) 11%	(5) 56%	(2) 22%	(0) 0%	(4) 44%	(3) 33%
22 American non-Asians	(9) 41%	(9) 41%	(13) 59%	(2) 9%	(3) 14%	(4) 18%	(14) 64%	(6) 27%	(7) 32%	(5) 23%	(4) 18%
6 HCN Asians	(1) 17%	(3) 50%	(4) 67%	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(4) 67%	(0) 0%	(1) 17%	(3) 50%	(2) 33%
16 TCN Asians	(4) 25%	(5) 31%	(3) 19%	(1) 6%	(5) 31%	(5) 31%	(4) 25%	(6) 38%	(1) 6%	(2) 13%	(7) 43%
17 TCN non-Asians	(3) 18%	(10) 59%	(7) 41%	(0) 0%	(6) 35%	(1) 6%	(12) 71%	(6) 35%	(6) 35%	(1) 6%	(4) 23%
17 Active males	(4) 24%	(12) 71%	(12) 71%	(0) 0%	(4) 24%	(4) 24%	(12) 71%	(8) 47%	(1) 6%	(7) 41%	(1) 6%
13 Nonactive males	(3) 23%	(3) 23%	(3) 23%	(0) 0%	(3) 23%	(2) 15%	(4) 31%	(0) 0%	(3) 23%	(3) 23%	(7) 54%
12 Active females	(7) 58%	(2) 17%	(5) 42%	(2) 17%	(2) 17%	(2) 17%	(7) 58%	(1) 8%	(4) 33%	(4) 33%	(3) 25%
13 Nonactive females	(2) 15%	(9) 69%	(5) 39%	(1) 8%	(5) 39%	(3) 23%	(8) 62%	(6) 46%	(4) 31%	(1) 8%	(2) 15%

occurred in gender preference. Male respondents (both active

and non-active) indicated proportionately greater interest in

knowing girls better; and both active male and female respondents

revealed the greatest interest in better cross-gender acquain-

tances. The data also suggest increased interest in cross-nationality

and cross-ethnic acquaintances. This was most evident among the

Asian respondents. It may be important to note, though, the

increased numbers of respondents who did not indicate a choice.

Also, of the respondents who expressed a choice, approximately two

of every three chose someone outside their informal association

group.

When the respondents were asked whom they would choose to

discuss a personal problem with, the majority of respondents in

each category indicated someone of their own gender, nationality

and ethnicity, and of the same age or older (see Table 4.9.3).

Approximately four of every five respondents chose another student

who was a close friend or a sibling. When a peer was not chosen the

respondents cited a teacher or parent(s). The most common response

revealed that long-range concerns such as future schooling, career

choices, jobs, and travel were generally discussed with their parents.

However, many adolescent concerns, such as intra- and inter-gender

peer relations, problems with teachers and parents, were usually

discussed with a peer who, many respondents explained, was more

interested and willing to listen and less judgmental. The common

characteristics of the teachers and parents who were chosen to

Table 4.9.3. Peer status--acceptance dimension: Choice of person to discuss a personal problem with, by demographic characteristics.

| Respondents | Demographic Characteristics | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Gender | | Nationality | | | Ethnicity | | Age | | | No Choice Stated |
	Male	Female	American	HCN	TCN	Asian	Non-Asian	Same	Older	Younger	
9 American Asians	(4) 44%	(3) 33%	(6) 67%	(1) 11%	(0) 0%	(2) 22%	(4) 44%	(3) 33%	(3) 33%	(1) 11%	(2) 22%
22 American non-Asians	(8) 36%	(11) 50%	(18) 82%	(1) 5%	(0) 0%	(4) 18%	(15) 68%	(7) 32%	(10) 46%	(2) 9%	(3) 14%
6 HCN Asians	(2) 33%	(3) 50%	(1) 17%	(3) 50%	(1) 17%	(4) 67%	(1) 17%	(0) 0%	(3) 50%	(2) 33%	(1) 17%
17 TCN Asians	(7) 44%	(8) 50%	(5) 31%	(1) 6%	(9) 56%	(10) 63%	(5) 31%	(6) 38%	(8) 50%	(1) 6%	(1) 6%
17 TCN non-Asians	(8) 47%	(6) 35%	(8) 47%	(0) 0%	(6) 35%	(0) 0%	(14) 82%	(6) 35%	(7) 41%	(1) 6%	(3) 18%
17 Active males	(13) 59%	(4) 24%	(10) 59%	(2) 12%	(5) 29%	(6) 35%	(11) 65%	(6) 35%	(6) 35%	(5) 29%	(0) 0%
13 Nonactive males	(9) 69%	(3) 23%	(8) 62%	(2) 15%	(2) 15%	(3) 23%	(9) 69%	(3) 23%	(8) 62%	(1) 8%	(1) 8%
12 Active females	(3) 25%	(8) 67%	(9) 75%	(0) 0%	(2) 17%	(4) 33%	(7) 58%	(7) 58%	(3) 25%	(1) 8%	(1) 8%
13 Nonactive females	(0) 0%	(11) 85%	(4) 31%	(2) 15%	(5) 39%	(5) 38%	(6) 46%	(3) 23%	(8) 62%	(0) 0%	(2) 15%

discuss these "short-term" adolescent concerns were the willingness to listen and not to be too judgmental.

The writer interpreted the power dimension as being a student's potential ability to influence another or to get another to behave in a certain way. Questions 10a and 10d of the Self-Administered Questionnaire relate to this dimension. The majority of respondents for each category, excepting non-Asian TCNs, perceived an American classmate as best able to lead (see Table 4.10.1). Similarly, the majority of respondents in each category also perceived the classmate as being non-Asian. For a number of respondents, particularly the non-Asian TCNs, perceptions were bounded by their respective informal association patterns. Classmates chosen as best able to lead who were not part of the respondents' association patterns were always active students of high visibility. Often a "leader" was an outstanding athlete who was also a gregarious person. The respondents' perceptions of classmates most influential were more diffuse in terms of nationality and nearly the same in terms of ethnicity (see Table 4.10.2). The majority of the male respondents saw male classmates as being most influential as did the active female respondents. However, there was also an increase in the number of respondents who chose not to respond to this question.

Competence was the third dimension and has been interpreted as how well an individual does something in relation to other peer group members. Questions 10b and 10c of the Questionnaire pertain to this dimension. Again, mostly American students were cited by

Table 4.10.1. Peer status--power dimension: Perception of classmate best able to lead, by demographic characteristics.

Respondents	Demographic Characteristics										
	Gender		Nationality			Ethnicity		Age			No Choice Stated
	Male	Female	American	HCN	TCN	Asian	Non-Asian	Same	Older	Younger	
9 American Asians	(5) 56%	(3) 33%	(5) 56%	(1) 11%	(2) 22%	(3) 33%	(5) 56%	(3) 33%	(2) 22%	(3) 33%	(1) 11%
22 American non-Asians	(9) 41%	(9) 41%	(15) 68%	(0) 0%	(3) 14%	(1) 5%	(17) 77%	(14) 64%	(2) 9%	(2) 9%	(4) 18%
6 HCN Asians	(3) 50%	(3) 50%	(5) 83%	(1) 16%	(0) 0%	(2) 33%	(4) 67%	(2) 33%	(1) 17%	(3) 50%	(0) 0%
16 TCN Asians	(4) 25%	(10) 63%	(14) 88%	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(4) 25%	(10) 66%	(9) 56%	(2) 13%	(3) 19%	(2) 13%
17 TCN non-Asians	(6) 35%	(5) 29%	(3) 18%	(0) 0%	(8) 47%	(0) 0%	(11) 65%	(7) 41%	(2) 12%	(2) 12%	(6) 35%
17 Active males	(11) 65%	(6) 35%	(15) 88%	(0) 0%	(2) 12%	(3) 18%	(14) 82%	(10) 59%	(2) 12%	(5) 29%	(0) 0%
13 Nonactive males	(5) 39%	(4) 31%	(7) 54%	(1) 8%	(1) 8%	(2) 15%	(7) 54%	(3) 23%	(3) 23%	(3) 23%	(4) 31%
12 Active females	(4) 33%	(8) 67%	(7) 58%	(0) 0%	(5) 42%	(1) 8%	(11) 92%	(8) 67%	(1) 8%	(3) 25%	(0) 0%
13 Nonactive females	(2) 15%	(8) 62%	(8) 62%	(1) 8%	(1) 8%	(3) 23%	(7) 54%	(6) 46%	(2) 15%	(2) 15%	(3) 23%

Table 4.10.2. Peer status--power dimension: Perception of classmate most influential, by demographic characteristics.

Respondents	Gender		Nationality			Ethnicity		Age			No Choice Stated
	Male	Female	American	HCN	TCN	Asian	non-Asian	Same	Older	Younger	
9 American Asians	(5) 56%	(2) 22%	(5) 56%	(0) 0%	(2) 22%	(0) 0%	(7) 78%	(3) 33%	(1) 11%	(3) 33%	(2) 22%
22 American non-Asians	(11) 50%	(8) 36%	(14) 64%	(1) 5%	(4) 18%	(2) 9%	(17) 77%	(11) 50%	(6) 27%	(2) 9%	(3) 14%
6 HCN Asians	(2) 33%	(3) 50%	(2) 33%	(1) 17%	(2) 33%	(2) 33%	(3) 50%	(1) 17%	(1) 17%	(3) 50%	(1) 17%
16 TCN Asians	(6) 38%	(7) 44%	(9) 56%	(2) 13%	(2) 13%	(5) 31%	(8) 50%	(8) 50%	(2) 13%	(3) 19%	(3) 19%
17 TCN non-Asians	(10) 59%	(3) 18%	(8) 47%	(0) 0%	(5) 29%	(0) 0%	(13) 77%	(4) 24%	(4) 24%	(5) 29%	(4) 24%
17 Active males	(12) 71%	(4) 24%	(15) 88%	(0) 0%	(1) 6%	(2) 12%	(14) 82%	(10) 59%	(2) 12%	(4) 24%	(1) 6%
13 Nonactive males	(7) 54%	(2) 15%	(6) 46%	(1) 8%	(2) 15%	(2) 15%	(7) 54%	(2) 15%	(3) 23%	(4) 31%	(4) 31%
12 Active females	(7) 58%	(4) 33%	(7) 58%	(2) 17%	(2) 17%	(2) 17%	(9) 75%	(5) 42%	(3) 25%	(3) 25%	(1) 8%
13 Nonactive females	(2) 15%	(9) 69%	(7) 54%	(1) 8%	(3) 23%	(3) 23%	(8) 62%	(6) 46%	(3) 23%	(2) 15%	(2) 15%

Demographic Characteristics

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the majority of respondents in each respondent category as being
the most reliable and congenial (see Tables 4.11.1 and 4.11.2).
Although proportionately more non-Asian classmates were cited in
this dimension than Asian students, there were proportionately
more Asian classmates cited in this dimension than in the other
two dimensions. It is also important to note that among the active
respondents approximately three of every five cited a member of
their own social group. In contrast, approximately three of every
five non-active respondents cited a classmate who was not part of
the respondent's association of friends. Also, there was only
one student, an Amerasian at School B, who was consistently cited
by a cross-section of the respondent categories at that school.
This student was a gregarious person and one of the school's out-
standing female athletes. One Asian TCN respondent commented
that she was the first student to actually welcome him to the school
and, he said, "she did this during the busy lunch time." Gender
perceptions varied in this dimension as congeniality was perceived
by the respondents as being characteristic of the respondents' own
gender, while the majority of the female respondents and the majority
of the active male respondents cited female classmates as being most
reliable.

As previously discussed, the Self-Administered Questionnaire
was designed while the field study was in progress as an exploratory
instrument to examine certain aspects of ASOS student behavior pat-
terns. Data derived from this instrument are descriptive of the
respondents only. Salient characteristics of the data have been

Table 4.11.1. Peer status--competence dimension: Perception of classmate most reliable, by demographic characteristics.

Respondents	Demographic Characteristics											
	Gender		Nationality			Ethnicity		Age			No Choice Stated
	Male	Female	American	HCN	TCN	Asian	Non-Asian	Same	Older	Younger	
9 American Asians	(5) 56%	(3) 33%	(7) 78%	(1) 11%	(0) 0%	(2) 22%	(6) 67%	(5) 56%	(1) 11%	(2) 22%	(1) 11%
22 American non-Asians	(6) 27%	(14) 64%	(14) 64%	(0) 0%	(6) 27%	(2) 9%	(18) 82%	(16) 73%	(0) 0%	(4) 18%	(2) 9%
6 HCN Asians	(2) 33%	(3) 50%	(3) 50%	(1) 17%	(1) 17%	(3) 50%	(2) 33%	(1) 17%	(0) 0%	(4) 67%	(1) 17%
16 TCN Asians	(4) 25%	(10) 63%	(8) 50%	(0) 0%	(6) 38%	(7) 44%	(7) 44%	(11) 69%	(2) 13%	(1) 6%	(2) 13%
17 TCN non-Asians	(7) 41%	(8) 47%	(10) 59%	(0) 0%	(5) 29%	(2) 12%	(13) 77%	(5) 29%	(5) 29%	(5) 29%	(2) 12%
17 Active males	(7) 41%	(10) 59%	(13) 77%	(0) 0%	(4) 24%	(2) 12%	(15) 88%	(12) 71%	(0) 0%	(5) 29%	(0) 0%
13 Nonactive males	(7) 54%	(3) 23%	(6) 46%	(1) 8%	(3) 23%	(3) 23%	(7) 54%	(3) 23%	(1) 8%	(6) 46%	(3) 23%
12 Active females	(2) 17%	(9) 75%	(7) 58%	(0) 0%	(4) 33%	(3) 25%	(8) 67%	(8) 67%	(3) 25%	(0) 0%	(1) 8%
13 Nonactive females	(6) 46%	(7) 54%	(10) 77%	(1) 8%	(2) 15%	(7) 54%	(6) 46%	(8) 62%	(2) 15%	(3) 23%	(0) 0%

Table 4.11.2. Peer status--competence dimension: Perception of classmate most congenial, by demographic characteristics.

Respondents	Demographic Characteristics											
	Gender		Nationality			Ethnicity		Age			No Choice Stated
	Male	Female	American	HCN	TCN	Asian	Non-Asian	Same	Older	Younger	
9 American Asians	(6) 67%	(2) 22%	(5) 56%	(1) 11%	(2) 22%	(1) 11%	(7) 78%	(3) 32%	(1) 11%	(4) 44%	(1) 11%
22 American non-Asians	(6) 27%	(14) 64%	(14) 64%	(0) 0%	(6) 27%	(1) 5%	(19) 86%	(14) 64%	(2) 9%	(4) 18%	(2) 9%
6 HCN Asians	(3) 50%	(3) 50%	(5) 83%	(0) 0%	(1) 17%	(1) 17%	(5) 83%	(2) 33%	(0) 0%	(4) 67%	(0) 0%
16 TCN Asians	(3) 19%	(11) 69%	(8) 50%	(1) 6%	(5) 31%	(7) 44%	(7) 44%	(10) 63%	(1) 6%	(3) 19%	(2) 13%
17 TCN non-Asians	(11) 65%	(3) 18%	(9) 53%	(0) 0%	(5) 29%	(1) 6%	(13) 77%	(7) 41%	(4) 24%	(3) 18%	(3) 18%
17 Active males	(10) 59%	(7) 41%	(12) 71%	(0) 0%	(5) 29%	(3) 18%	(14) 82%	(10) 59%	(1) 6%	(6) 35%	(0) 0%
13 Nonactive males	(10) 77%	(2) 15%	(9) 69%	(0) 0%	(3) 23%	(2) 15%	(10) 77%	(4) 31%	(1) 8%	(7) 54%	(1) 8%
12 Active females	(3) 25%	(9) 75%	(7) 58%	(1) 8%	(4) 33%	(3) 25%	(9) 75%	(8) 67%	(3) 25%	(1) 8%	(0) 0%
13 Nonactive females	(2) 15%	(9) 69%	(7) 54%	(1) 8%	(3) 23%	(3) 23%	(8) 62%	(9) 69%	(1) 8%	(1) 8%	(2) 15%

identified and summarized by the writer. These characteristics may
be applicable to the larger ASOS student population, but this cannot
be assumed.

School-Guided Activities

There were several school-guided activities that the writer
perceived as being particularly effective in facilitating students
coping with a dynamic multi-national, multi-cultural school setting.
As a discussion of these activities has already largely been inte-
grated in the data presentation of this chapter, only summary com-
ments of the salient characteristics are presented here.

Journeys. This was a social studies course offering. Course
activities were group oriented and required students to actually
experience aspects of Asian culture. Class activities included
such experiences as using local public transportation, visiting
modern shopping centers as well as open-air bazaars, eating Asian
foods prepared in local restaurants, attending national festivals
and fine arts performances, visiting local industries and a children's
hospital, and giving a Christmas party for orphans, in addition to
field trips lasting several days to various regions of the host
country. These activities were usually carried on after school
and on weekends requiring only a few days of missing other classes.
Students taking this course had the option of taking another course
during the daily class period designated for this course or they
could use the time as a study period. Administrative matters were
handled via the daily bulletin and handouts. An effort was made

to balance the class enrollment with American, HCN and TCN students. The key to the success of this course was primarily the teacher, who was genuinely interested in students as well as the culture and displayed a sensitivity to and understanding of cultural differences.

The following quotes, taken from student reports, reveal the impact of this course:

> These dishes were new to me, and although I hesitated in trying them, after taking the first initial step, I found they were some of the best foods I had ever eaten.

> It is hard to explain what I learned; I think what I learn really in Journeys is friendship and togetherness.

> Many of us stayed up very late talking about differences in culture.

> The meeting that night was a hard time for many people. There were quarrels, misunderstandings, and disagreements. Everyone was in a bad mood. But as far as the purpose of this class is concerned, it was the one in which we learned the most from.

> Although we all had our differences, we learned how to get along, and we became one close unit of people, living, eating, talking together.

> I love the Journeys class not because of the different places we go to, the food we taste, and not because we have a good time, but because I feel that I'm not alone.

New Student Retreat. This was a special school-sponsored, though student-paid, activity expressly planned for new students. The retreat or "Getaway" as it was called was planned with the following five purposes in mind:

1. To introduce new students to "old" students in a relaxed, informal setting where friendships could begin more easily than under a tight classroom schedule.

2. To give the new students a chance to meet faculty members under similar conditions.

3. To introduce the various extra-curricular activities offered by the school.

4. To give the new students a positive exposure to the local countryside, host country customs and behavior.

5. To give "old" students an opportunity to organize and conduct a valuable service program for the good of the school community.

The retreat involved a three-day, two-night trip to a conference center some four hours away from the school. Participation was voluntary. Due to limited conference site facilities and the number of retreat participants, two retreats were being held on successive weekends at the beginning of each school year. In conjunction with the retreats a club called "People" had been organized to provide year-long humanistic activities involving both students and faculty. The overall program appeared to be popular with many students and faculty. Probably a key to its success was the school's commitment to the concept and the hiring of a qualified faculty member to serve as the principal facilitator.

Interim Semester. The "interim semester" was a mini-course program conducted between the first and second semester. The purpose of the interim semester program was to provide students and faculty an opportunity to jointly pursue areas of academic and cultural interest that often were not obtainable in the classroom. The program was based upon faculty and student planning and organizing mini-courses and subsequently participating in the courses. While not all students and faculty were expected to plan and organize

a mini-course, all were expected to participate. If interest
was sustained during the planning period, an interim semester cata-
log was prepared and a parent/student/faculty meeting would be
held to discuss the course offerings and to enable students to indi-
cate which courses they would like to participate in. The catalog
contained a list of offerings by course titles accompanied by
course descriptions, expected student outcomes, cost, and materials
and/or talents required (see Appendix F for sample course illus-
trations). Courses varied from an acting workshop or teaching in
the ASOS elementary school to living for a week in a local village,
traveling in a neighboring country, or learning jungle survival
techniques while actually living in the jungle for several days.

A "House System" for Intramural Sports. While each of the
four A/OS schools the writer visited offered some intramural sports
programing, one school's was particularly noteworthy. At this school
all students at the time of their initial enrollment at the high
school are assigned to one of four intramural "House" teams. Whether
they choose to participate or not, they remain a member of the "House"
team throughout their high school enrollment. To facilitate team
identity, all student body ID cards have printed on the reverse side
of the card the "House" team name, symbol (which depicts a mytho-
logical hero from the host country's folklore), color and a chrono-
logical record of the House's championship years. House competitions
on a team basis for both boys and girls are held for basketball,
soccer, volleyball, track and field, softball, and flag football.
These events take place over the school year, and the accrued points

for placing go toward the school year House championship. House
championship trophies are awarded at the school's year-end awards
assembly for both male and female team divisions as well as a trophy
for the overall House champions. Student referees and umpires are
used exclusively and are remunerated for their work.

During interviews and informal discussions with students
at all four schools, the writer found many students of both genders
and of each nationality category who expressed interest in partici-
pating in some team sport. As the varsity sports programs are
designed to serve only the best athletes, the intramural sports pro-
grams, particularly the one described above, enabled many more stu-
dents of both genders an opportunity to participate and compete.

Activity Period. Another innovative school-guided activity
was the "Activity Period." The activity period was an extension of
the school's lunch period and was designed to encourage student
participation in extra-curricular school-guided activities. The
activity period offered students and faculty an additional oppor-
tunity to pursue areas of special interest. Mini-courses on such
topics as how to use a slide rule, power mechanics, first aid, and
Chinese calligraphy were conducted in addition to tutoring sessions
for math or other subjects. The activity period also provided
opportunities for presenting to students who were interested
special seminars on such topics as career choices which may focus
on a particular field such as dentistry or the foreign service.
In addition to these activities the activity period also provided
a time for student club and organizational meetings and the scheduling

of intramural events. Unfortunately there were no available
data to determine the actual numbers of the student body that par-
ticipated and how many of these students would be non-active par-
ticipants if such an activity period was not available.

The activity period was dynamic and ever changing, reflect-
ing the interest and desires of the students. To facilitate student
awareness and choice, a weekly activity schedule was prepared and
posted in each classroom and on hallway bulletin boards. An example
of the activity schedule is included in Appendix G. Success for
this type of activity, aside from student interest and faculty
cooperation, was administrative support and leadership.

Summary

In this chapter five topical areas were examined in the
context of those students who were attending four American-sponsored
overseas community schools in the Far East. First, using Cohen's
report on "Expatriate Communities" as a narrative model, a descrip-
tion and discussion of the schools' community ecologies was pre-
sented. Second, a comparative description and discussion of
salient geographic and organizational characteristics of the four
schools was presented. The discussion also focused on school
policies which related to student conduct in an alien country.
Third, demographic characteristics of the four ASOS student
bodies were presented and the disciplinary behavior of students
at two of the four schools was examined. Fourth, employing Ianni's
three levels of analysis for studying schools as social systems,

an analysis and discussion of the interrelationships of ASOS students at the principal school setting was presented. Pursuant to this discussion, an analysis and summary discussion was made of the informal association patterns of 70 ASOS students who were the respondents to the Self-Administered Questionnaire and Focused Interview. Three dimensions of peer group status--acceptance, power, and competence--were also examined. Last, summary descriptions and comments of four innovative school-guided activities that appeared to particularly facilitate effective student coping were presented.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS,

AND REFLECTIONS

Review of the Study

Since World War II the presence of Americans and other

nationalities abroad has increased substantially as they partici-

pate in various economic, military, and technical assistance pro-

grams, and other multinational enterprises. The life styles and

patterns of relationships which develop in the interfaces between

cultures have been termed "third cultures," and defined as "the

behavior patterns created, shared and learned by persons of dif-

ferent societies who are in the process of relating their societies,

or sections thereof, to each other" (Useem, Useem, & Donoghue,

1963:169; Downie, 1976:221).

Since the aftermath of World War II the number of American-

sponsored overseas community schools has more than doubled. These

schools, often referred to as American-Sponsored Overseas Schools

(ASOS), receive assistance through the Office of Overseas Schools

of the United States Department of State. To be eligible for

assistance, these schools must be nonsectarian, nonprofit elemen-

tary and secondary institutions established and maintained by Ameri-

can groups or individuals; they must enroll eligible American, host

country and third country children; and they must follow basically

an American or binational curriculum under the direction of American
or American-trained teachers, supervisors, and administrators (Luebke,
1976:14). Some 70,000 adolescents, of which number approximately half
have been American and half host and third country national minor
dependents, are enrolled in these schools. With so many young
people of varying cultural backgrounds being educated in these
schools, questions are raised concerning the effect which this experi-
ence may have on their attitudes, perspectives, and other aspects of
their lives.

The writer was concerned with youths who are attending
overseas American-sponsored community type high schools. These
young people are American, host country national (HCN), and third
country national (TCN) minor dependents who are growing up and
being educated, in whole or in part, in the "third culture." The
primary unit of analysis for this study was the "multicultural"
interaction of these youths.

Nature and Purpose of the Study

This has been an exploratory study, as the questions raised
here have not been studied before and therefore preclude more con-
cise and conclusive investigations.

The writer's purpose in the study was to (1) describe and
explain the formal and informal relationships among students in
selected American-sponsored overseas community type high schools;
(2) describe how these relationships affect student behavior,
administrator and teacher behavior, and other facets of the school

organizations; and (3) identify and describe salient characteristics of school-guided activities that may facilitate effective adjustment to the school's multinational setting.

Methodology

The study was designed to be exploratory and employed qualitative research methodologies for data gathering. In pursuing this exploratory study, three approaches were modified and combined. The writer initially interacted with subjects in the population as a "limited participant observer" for a period of approximately ten weeks at one school setting. The school setting chosen for this initial phase of the study provided the most proportionately distributed enrollment for the three nationality categories being studied. During this time period the writer visited and participated in class activities and field trips, attended school extracurricular events, and occasionally participated in different informal student groupings after school and on weekends. The writer's activities also included informal social meetings with students and their families as well as with various members of the faculty and administration.

The writer subsequently visited three other ASOS sites and also returned to the principal school site for periods of approximately one week each to gather data via the Self-Administered Questionnaire and focused interview.

The Self-Administered Questionnaire is an instrument, designed by the writer, to examine association patterns and peer

group perceptions. This instrument was developed while the field study was in process and, due to field constraints, was not tested for validity and reliability. The focused interview was used to augment the questionnaire data. The focused interview may be used when the researcher examines persons who are known to have experienced a particular event, when the situation in question has undergone some previous analysis, when the interview proceeds on the basis of a guide previously developed, and when the interview is focused on subjective experiences of those taking part in a particular situation (Downie, 1976:224).

Schedules

Two schedules were used for data collection. The first schedule was a ten-week participant observation field study conducted at one ASOS site. The school site selected for this initial part of the study provided the best available enrollment distribution for the three nationality categories being studied and enabled the writer to enhance the subjective adequacy of the field data being sought. The second schedule was the one-week visitations to three additional ASOS sites, in addition to a one-week return visit to the original school site, for the purpose of obtaining a more representative examination of ASOS student social behavior patterns.

Population

The population of interest was limited to those American, host country, and third country national students attending one

of the four overseas American-sponsored high schools in the Far
East visited by the writer between October, 1977, and January, 1978.

Subject-Respondents

An attempt was made to select subject-respondents for the
Self-Administered Questionnaire and focused interview who, in the
opinion of the schools' educators, were reasonably well-adjusted
adolescents. The meaning of "reasonably well adjusted" was not
defined by the researcher but was left to the interpretation of each
educator.

There were three categories of students, each with four
duplicate cells, for which the writer sought at least one subject-
respondent. The three nationality categories were: American, host
country national (HCN), and third country national (TCN). For the
subcategories, the writer attempted to have at least one male and
one female respondent who actively participated in school-guided
extracurricular activities and one each who did not actively par-
ticipate.

Findings

It remains in this chapter to provide responses to the
exploratory questions put forth in Chapter I.

Question 1: Where and to what extent do Americans, host country
nationals, and third country nationals interact in an
American-sponsored overseas high school?

Response: Interaction patterns among ASOS students were largely
bounded by Asian/non-Asian ethnicity, by nationality, and by gender.

Asian students, regardless of their nationality, tended to associate and socialize most with fellow Asian students. American students, black and white (with the exception of Asian Americans), tended to associate and socialize most with fellow Americans, as did Europeans with Europeans, and Latin Americans with Latin Americans. Males and females tended to associate most with members of their same gender. The informal interaction patterns of the students reflected volitional homophilous sorting rather than the students being forced to segregate. Homophily is the degree to which individuals who interact are similar in certain attributes, such as beliefs, values, education, language, and the like (Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971:212). This sorting pattern was evident in the seating arrangements in classes, the cafeteria, auditorium, library, and gymnasium, and also in the informal associations that occurred between classes, during lunch, and after school. However, the attitudes of ASOS students and student groups toward one another generally ranged from benign indifference to congeniality.

Student interaction patterns were also affected by the numerical density and residential proximity of homophilous individuals. For example, when the family of a non-Asian American student lived apart from the other American families but in close proximity to HCN and/or TCN Asian or non-Asian students, friendship associations did develop, in part, as the result of this neighborhood association.

Association patterns were also affected by students' language usage. The use of native language idioms, for which the cultural meaning was often lost in translation, was one reason given by

non-native English-speaking students for speaking their native language. Similarly, the colloquial tempo and jargon of many American ASOS students were often confusing and overwhelming for non-American ASOS students.

In spite of the strength of such factors as ethnicity, nationality, and gender, the underlying cohesive element among ASOS student friendship associations was ultimately the commonality of interests such as sports, music, photography, and the like.

Question 2: Are there three different perspectives, one shared by Americans, another by host country nationals, and a third by third country nationals, in the same school?

Response: American, HCN, and TCN students appeared to share substantially similar views of the school's overall purpose--that is, the school was to provide them with an education and to prepare them for entrance into institutions of higher learning. This common perspective of the school was evidenced, in part, by the generally high cumulative grade point averages of ASOS students, by their mean scores on such examinations as the SAT (Scholastic Aptitude Test)--which have been above the United States national average, and by the number of graduating seniors who apply for college admission. Similarly, the low incident ratio of disciplinary problems also provides some evidence of overall student support of the school's rules and regulations regarding student deportment.

However, there were different student perspectives by nationality category with respect to the school's academic and extra-curricular programs. Most American students devoted much of their

time and energies to the school's extracurricular programs in addi-
tion to trying to achieve and maintain high academic grades. In
contrast, the HCN and TCN students tended to devote time and ener-
gies almost exclusively to academic achievement. However, there were
students who were exceptions to the norm in their nationality cate-
gory. Most notable were American boys, who tended to devote most
of their attention to sports and to their own group-oriented activi-
ties. There were also those "first time out" TCN students who had
either just completed their secondary schooling or would be returning
to their home country schools. For most of these students, the year's
work at the ASOS would not be transferable to their home schools, so
they did not choose to concentrate on academic achievement.

Question 3: What are the salient characteristics of the American
student perspective as opposed to the host country
national and to the third country national perspective?

Response: For many of the American ASOS students, the school
was expected to provide for much of their recreational and social
interests, as well as for their academic needs. This is evidenced,
in part, by the number of American students who participated in a
fairly wide range and number of school-guided activities, such as
sports, cheerleading, and special interest clubs, as well as school
dances, school-sponsored movies, and the like. If there were vary-
ing perspectives of what school should be, it appeared most between
"first-time-outers" and "long-time-outers." American youths who
were experiencing their first sojourn abroad expressed greater
interest in and criticism of the school's extracurricular programs.

The American "long-time-outers" displayed a more balanced interest in academic and extracurricular programs; their concerns focused primarily on the quality of the school's academic program.

The difference may be attributed, in part, to the cultural differences between the American and third culture milieux. For example, in the United States, teenage youths are less dependent on their parents as there are numerous opportunities to work. Further, athletic ability receives considerable attention and potential reward. In the third culture milieux, opportunities for work and financial reward for athletic abilities are almost non-existent. For the American "long-time-outer," independence is postponed, and academic achievement provides the more viable alternative to future independence.

In the context of their fellow students, American ASOS students tended to view their HCN counterparts as "kids" of wealthy local elites. Particularly at School A, Americans viewed HCN students and other ethnic Asian students as being serious and academically very bright. A generally derogatory view was usually expressed with respect to the local host national citizenry. The American perspective of TCNs was quite diffused, although "aloof" was a term frequently expressed by Americans when describing TCNs.

Host country nationals, most other ethnic Asian students, and TCN students whose elementary and secondary education was being obtained at the ASOS (and other expatriate type schools) were committed, first and foremost, to their academic endeavors. Their conversations with each other were frequently subject matter oriented.

Many of these students often stated they lacked the time to participate in the school's extracurricular programs. When these students did participate, their participation was usually limited to an activity or two for the school year. There were a few HCN and TCN students who were active participants in the school's recreational (notably sports) and social activities. These individuals were often viewed with askance by fellow HCNs and also TCNs. A common view held among HCN and TCN ASOS students was that Americans believed themselves to be superior to any non-American.

There were also those TCN students who were "first-time-outers" and had completed or intended to complete their secondary schooling in their home countries. For these students the academic program of the ASOS was usually viewed with little interest. These students explained that credits earned at the ASOS would not be accepted by their home country schools, at least not in lieu of academic course requirements. For many of these students, the ASOS provided a place to meet and socialize with other youths.

Question 4:   How does the fact of "multiculturalness" and the interaction or noninteraction of American, host country national, and third country national students affect various facets of the school?

Response: The effects of "multiculturalness" are evident in the school's organizational policies and procedures, in the behavior patterns of administrators and faculty, and in the relationships among American, HCN, and TCN students. Some of the more salient effects are as follows:

School rules and regulations, specifically those related
to student conduct, are attempts to avoid and/or minimize negative
cultural confrontations between ASOS students and the host community.
For example, dress codes are established to comply with local laws
and/or to avoid attire which would be an affront to local values.
However, the fact that exceptions were permitted, such as allowing
Sikh students to wear their turbans, illustrates another dimension
of the effects of multiculturalness.

The multiculturalness of the student body also affects the
school's planning of, and provision for, school-guided programs. In
the area of academics, there were the ESL/EFL programs at each school,
as well as literature and social studies courses, that focused on
other than American subject content matter. In the case of School A,
where student enrollment was 20 percent HCNs, a four-year host country
language curriculum was provided. In the area of athletics, basket-
ball was usually played by international rules, and soccer was a
popular varsity sport among the boys. Competition for such sports
as cricket and flag football was also provided. Even the school's
cafeteria menus included Western and Eastern food items ranging from
chili, hot dogs, and hamburgers to egg rolls and fried rice.

As is true of the student populations, the school faculties
are an admixture of nationalities. This fact can result in differ-
ences in teaching styles. American faculty are often viewed as being
too lax and non-American faculty as being too rigid. Non-American
faculty often view American students as being too aggressive and
opinionated and not displaying the proper respect to elders and peers.

American faculty often view the non-American student as being too reserved and lacking in skills of team work. Consequently, some faculty deliberately plan team-oriented subject matter projects, with the intention of mixing the students, while others avoid such activities because of these perceived characteristics.

Language is an inhibitor for some non-native English speaking students. For some of these students, certain faculty members speak too rapidly. In contrast, American students often feel faculty members speak too slowly as a result of their effort to accommodate HCN and TCN students.

Question 5: What are the salient characteristics of the school, i.e., athletics and other extracurricular activities, classes, policies, that facilitate or impede transnational interaction?

Response: It was found that students who interacted together in school activities, particularly in activities of personal interest such as sports, often developed a camaraderie that extended beyond the given activity irrespective of nationality, ethnicity, gender, and even language ability of the participants. Variations in the following school areas both facilitated and impeded transnational student interaction.

Athletics. The ASOS varsity sports program provides the better athletes an opportunity to develop their skills and to experience some competition. However, it also denies less athletically competent students a similar opportunity. The advantage of the intramural sports programs is that students who wish to participate

may do so, regardless of their proficiency. Furthermore, intramural sports provide opportunities for students of different nationalities to interact in an activity of mutual interest. Both athletic programs are important in facilitating student interaction and in helping students to cope with their environment.

Classes. Some classes, such as the social studies class-- "Journeys Into Asian Cultures"--are specifically designed to facilitate transnational student interaction. In this particular class, a variety of activities and experiences are planned to facilitate student interaction. The teacher's sensitivity to, and understanding of, cultural differences is a major contributing factor to the class's success and popularity. However, other classes, such as math, chemistry, and English also can facilitate student interaction if the teachers provide opportunities for student interaction in the classroom. Attention to such aspects as seating assignments and group project assignments is useful. Ultimately, students will choose with whom they will or will not interact; but the classroom is the one common area where students are in daily proximity with each other, and classroom procedures provide excellent opportunities for students to become better acquainted with each other.

Extracurricular activities. School-guided extracurricular activities provide students the opportunity to pursue some interests not otherwise available. Activities such as team sports may be important to facilitate student interaction and to help students cope with their environment as they interact with their peers on the basis of a common interest. However, some activities, such as nationality

clubs, may impede transnational interaction when club activities are carried on in the national language. Such clubs in the ASOS are organized in an effort to focus on the cultural characteristics of individual nations, even though club membership is open to all students. In order to facilitate transnational interactions, club activities in ASOS schools might well be conducted in the official school language--English. The one exception would be the school's language clubs, where the purpose is the study of and familiarization with a specific language.

Policies. The policies of a school, as reflected in such areas as its ESL/EFL program, its commitment to student and faculty orientation to the school and to the host community, and its support and encouragement of curricular and extracurricular activities, can also facilitate or impede transnational student interaction.

When an ESL/EFL program is designed so that students are mainstreamed as much as possible, ESL/EFL students are provided greater opportunities for listening to and conversing with native-English speaking students. In contrast, when an ESL/EFL program is designed so that students are tracked--that is, when students are confined for most or all of the school day to ESL/EFL classes-- ESL/EFL students are thereby encouraged to associate almost exclusively with each other, and opportunity for contact with native-English speaking students is severely limited.

In programs such as the "New Student Retreat," the interim semester program, the "Activity Period," a comprehensive intramural sports program for girls and boys, and special classes such as

"Journeys," opportunities for transnational interaction seem to be enhanced.

In summation, there were numerous interactions that occurred between American, host country, and third country national students. Initial student association patterns were often bounded by ethnicity, nationality, and gender. However, as various school-guided activities provided opportunities for students to interact and to pursue activities of personal interest, association patterns were modified and tended to be bounded more by shared interests than by ethnicity, nationality, and/or gender. Neighborhood residency was also a factor in some transnational student associations.

Peer Group Status Perceptions

An addendum to these exploratory questions was the on-site development of the Self-Administered Questionnaire, which was designed to explore student peer group status perceptions. The three dimensions of peer group status that were examined were (1) acceptance, (2) power, and (3) competence. Some of the more salient characteristics of the respondents' perceptions may be summarized as follows:

Acceptance--the degree to which someone is liked or is attractive to others.

1. By nationality category, the tendency of ASOS students appeared to be to choose someone of the same nationality category to work with and with whom to discuss personal problems. However, American students were generally the ones chosen as someone to know

better, although TCN students appeared to be as interested in knowing other TCNs as they were Americans.

2. By racial ethnicity, ethnic Asians showed a preference for working with other ethnic Asians; with the possible exception of Amerasians who chose non-Asians nearly as much as Asians, ethnic Asians also tended to prefer discussing personal problems with another ethnic Asian. The non-Asians appeared to have similar intra-ethnic preferences.

3. By gender, intra-gender preference tended to be the norm for choosing someone to work with and for discussing personal problems. However, students who were actively involved in school activities appeared to have a much greater interest in knowing members of the opposite gender than their non-active counterparts.

Power--the potential ability to influence another or to get another to behave in a certain way.

1. By nationality category, the general perception among ASOS students appears to be that American students were more likely to be viewed as school leaders. However, non-Asian TCNs generally viewed other TCNs as the best potential leaders, or else they expressed no opinion. The view of who was most influential was more diffused, although American students were still generally perceived as the most influential.

2. By racial ethnicity, the overall perception among Asian and non-Asian ASOS students was that non-Asian students were most likely to be viewed as the best leaders and the most influential.

3. By gender, ASOS students appeared to view members of their own gender as the best able to lead. However, girls who actively participated in school activities tended to agree with the ASOS boys that boys may be the more influential in the ASOS setting.

Competence--how well an individual does something in relation to other group members and in relation to an external standard.

1. By nationality category, it appears that Americans were most likely to be viewed as being most reliable and congenial in matters relating to the ASOS student peer setting.

2. By racial ethnicity, HCN and TCN Asians tended to view fellow Asian students as being most reliable, although they appeared to view their non-Asian counterparts as being most congenial. Non-Asians appeared to view fellow non-Asians as the most reliable and congenial in their peer setting.

3. By gender, girls and those boys who were active participants in school activities appeared to view girls as being, more often, the most reliable in the ASOS peer setting. However, congeniality appeared to be perceived mostly as an intra-gender characteristic.

These findings regarding peer group status in the ASOS setting are both exploratory and tentative, and generalizations should not be made without support of additional research.

Conclusions

On the basis of data obtained from the research methodologies used for this study, certain aspects of the interrelationships

among ASOS students can be described and explained. However, because the study was exploratory, the conclusions drawn must be regarded as tentative, and generalizations should not be made without support of additional research.

1. There appear to be three levels of socialization which occur in the American-sponsored overseas high schools visited by the writer. First, new students experience a period of isolation during which they are alone and apart from other students, even though they have made some acquaintances. Second, students establish friendship associations characterized by homophilous factors as they seek out those areas frequented by their homophilous peers. Third, as students interact in the classroom setting and in school-guided extracurricular activities over a period of time, friendship associations are modified, reflecting personal interests and personality traits as being of primary importance.

2. Language is a primary barrier to interaction between American students and their HCN and TCN peers. Conversely, language was a primary facilitator of interaction between HCN and TCN students. A common attribute of HCN and TCN students is their bilingualism or multilingualism. This attribute is also often a characteristic of American "long-time-outers." It appears that these bilingual or multilingual students are more comfortable, have greater tolerance, and are less frustrated in interacting with those quite different from themselves than are the monolingual students, who in the ASOS setting are mostly American students.

3. American students attending the ASOS appear to have a lower tolerance for cognitive cultural dissonance than do the HCN and TCN students. American students were often observed to be impatient with the efforts of HCN and TCN students struggling to communicate in the English language. The non-American students seemed to accept language handicaps with more equanimity, perhaps partly due to the fact that most Asian students find it necessary to learn two or more languages other than English as an ordinary part of their lives. Tolerance levels for cognitive dissonance also appear to be at least partially related to nationality density. That is, when a nationality group is represented by a sizable number, the feeling of group identity and mutual support fosters a lack of patience with the efforts of other nationality groups to communicate. When a nationality group is represented by only a token number, members of that group appear to be more tolerant of cognitive cultural dissonance.

4. The proclivity of Asian students to associate entirely or mostly with other Asian students may well be attributable to language, cultural characteristics, and visual racial cues.

5. Characteristic of students in each nationality category was their apparent positive ethnic (nationality and racial) self-concept. That is, Americans appeared to feel superior to non-Americans, but HCN and TCN students, as well as ethnic Asian students, also appeared to possess similar superior feelings.

Recommendations for Further Study

The Commission for the Assessment of the Intercultural Con-
tributions of the Overseas Schools observed that little attention is
given to assisting children to cope with change, in both stateside
and overseas schools. The Commission further stated that we should
be equally concerned about researching the effects of the ASOS on
other nationals that are being accommodated by the ASOS (AASA, 1971:
27). This study represents an attempt to explore and report the
perspectives of three nationality categories--American, host country,
and third country national--that are accommodated by the ASOS.

While the results of this study have provided descriptive
data regarding these nationality categories, through the process of
this study, questions arose. Some of these questions are included as
recommendations for further research.

1. American, host country, and third country national stu-
dents hold both similar and dissimilar perspectives of each other
as groups. Their expectations of their ASOS experience also appear
to vary. It is recommended, therefore, that further studies be
conducted to examine the attitudes, behavior patterns, and perspec-
tives of the various student groups. It is also recommended that
some researchers be conversant in the native language of some of the
non-native English-speaking groups being studied.

2. Studies need to be conducted that specifically examine
the expectations and needs of host country and third country national
students who are attending the ASOS.

3. Follow-up studies of American, host country, and third
country national students need to be conducted to assess how the
ASOS has contributed, and may contribute, to students' post-school
endeavors. (One possible approach is "The Follow-Up Study: An
Evaluation System for Improvement of Educational Programs and Ser-
vices in American Schools Overseas" by Costar et al.)

4. A comparative study should be made of ESL/EFL programs
to determine if there are superior approaches.

Reflections

In the early stages of envisioning this research, it had been
a desire of the writer to use a different approach for data gathering.
The alternate strategy would have been to join a group of ASOS stu-
dents, and, by submitting to the routine, rules, and regulations that
structure the "group's" world, and by recording events, conversa-
tions, and impressions of feelings, attempt to recreate a student's
perspective of life in an American-sponsored overseas community high
school.

However, because the writer was fluent only in English, it
would have meant restricting the sense of identification to the
American students. This would have provided valuable insights on
their perceptions of host country and third country national stu-
dents, but it would have limited the scope of the study in its attempt
to understand something of the interrelationships of all three groups.

Such an approach is still highly favored by this writer,
nevertheless. A researcher with language skills could gain valuable

insights into ASOS students' perspectives. It is the opinion of the writer that such research would reveal that the perspectives, concerns, and needs of ASOS students will vary according to the cultural and ethnic background of these students. Common assumptions, based on American perceptions of educational strategies, may not always be the most productive procedures for students from the host country and third country national groups.

If attention were given to the development of alternate educational approaches, it is the belief of this writer that sound projects and programs could be developed within existing budgets.

Mechanic (1974) wrote that the "fit between social structure and environmental demands is probably the major determinant of social adaptation." He has suggested that one's ability to cope with the environment depends on the efficacy of the solutions that the culture provides, and the skills an individual develops are dependent on the adequacy of the preparatory institutions to which the individual has been exposed (33).

A/OS schools represent an attempt to provide adequate preparation for all students who enroll, but it may well be that the major preoccupation is with the needs of the American students. Nevertheless, such innovative school-guided programs as the Journeys class, the intramural sports "House System," the Interim Semester programs, the Activity Period, and the New Student Retreats are illustrative of the conscientious attempts being made to provide effective alternatives for the development of skills of coping and adapting.

One of the problems is that not all ASOS youths are inter-
ested, or motivated to participate, in these and other school programs.
It is certainly not necessary that every student should participate
or want to participate in activities, but the question arises as to
why some students remain non-participants. The writer found that
many such students did not fully understand the purpose and possible
benefits of such participation. In some instances, they seemed to
be unaware of school facilities that were available for their personal
use, such as the photographic dark room and the universal gym equip-
ment.

The question of how to motivate participation in innovative
programs is deserving of attention. Again, the language barrier
is an effective deterrent. With the frequent exception of sports,
the HCN and TCN students who were participating or had participated
in school activities commonly indicated that their initial involvement
was the result of teacher encouragement. Faculty members might find
ways of steering non-participants into appropriate activities if
they were encouraged to do so by administrators.

The non-American student who attends the ASOS does not
appear to be lacking a positive self-concept, nor are these students
introverts. However, it has been the impression of this writer
that HCN and TCN students see the ASOS as an American school, in spite
of the fact that between 1965 and 1975 in nearly 140 American-sponsored
overseas schools throughout the world, approximately half of the stu-
dents were non-American, according to Kelly (1974). Non-Americans
in the four A/OS schools visited by this writer constituted

approximately one-fifth to one-half the student enrollment. The problem, of course, is that many different nationalities were represented, with no one group being sufficient to counter the effect of the American influence. The result, then, is that the non-American student may be a part of the school if he or she chooses to embrace the same school programs and goals as the Americans.

Ideally the ASOS experience will prepare its students for effective adjustment to a dynamic and culturally diffuse world. As an often-stated purpose, the ASOS seeks to prepare students for entry into institutions of higher education. But at the schools visited by the writer, there appeared to be no attempt to prepare students for the "Lycee" and the "O Level" as well as the SAT examination. It is the belief of this writer that A/OS schools might do well to conduct follow-up studies to ascertain which ASOS programs aided or impeded students in their post-ASOS endeavors. Moore (1975-6) has suggested that formation of nationality-cultural coalitions is able to influence how the educational programs should be delivered. However, these coalitions appear to be the exception and not the rule. As noted earlier, Costar et al. (1974) have designed and field tested a follow-up study model specifically for the ASOS, yet neither the model nor alternatives appear as part of ASOS policy.

Most follow-up data relate to American students. The impression conveyed is that non-Americans are too diffuse and difficult to keep track of, or that the non-American does not respond. This brings into question the efficacy of school counselors with respect

to non-American students. It is far from certain that an American-trained, usually white, counselor can understand the needs, concerns, feelings, and aspirations of, for example, a black Nigerian, a brown Indonesian, and a white Swede. An admixture of nationalities, cultures, and races often characterizes the ASOS faculty. Unfortunately, the counseling potentials of these faculty members in relating to students of like or similar backgrounds appear to have been little recognized by ASOS counselors or the students themselves.

Insights into more effective ways of dealing with some of these problems may be gained by further research into A/OS schools. It is the hope of the writer that some of the data presented in this study will prove to be of interest not only to persons concerned with the education of students in the third culture milieu but to anyone interested in the dynamics of student cultural and ethnic attributes.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE NATIONAL RESEARCH ACT--U.C.R.I.H.S.

APPENDIX A

THE NATIONAL RESEARCH ACT--U.C.R.I.H.S.

27 September 1977

TO: U.C.R.I.H.S.

FROM: Gary K. Wright--W514 Owen--355-4210

RE: Proposed dissertation research involving human subjects.

ATTACHED: STATEMENT FROM MAJOR PROFESSOR

RESEARCH ABSTRACT

REQUIREMENTS FOR SUBJECT POPULATION

POTENTIAL RISKS

CONSENT PROCEDURES

MINIMIZATION OF POTENTIAL RISKS

POTENTIAL BENEFITS

CONSENT FORM

DISSERTATION PROPOSAL

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF ADMINISTRATION AND HIGHER EDUCATION

ERICKSON HALL

EAST LANSING · MICHIGAN · 48824

September 27, 1977

MEMORANDUM

TO: U.C.R.I.H.S.

FROM: Samuel A. Moore, II

RE: Proposed Dissertation Research of Mr. Gary K. Wright

As chairman of Mr. Wright's doctoral committee I have read and approved his proposal for the dissertation. I and other members of Mr. Wright's doctoral committee are familiar with the proposed research methodology and are confident that that which is proposed is in keeping with the spirit and the letter of Michigan State University's present guidelines for ethical and legal considerations in research with human subjects.

SAM/ch

RESEARCH ABSTRACT

The proposed research is an exploratory study of the formal and informal relationships between American, host national, and third national students in American-sponsored overseas high schools. The researcher's intent is to (1) describe and explain these relationships; (2) describe how these relationships affect student behavior, administrative and teacher behavior, and other facets of the school organization; and (3) identify and describe salient characteristics of the school-guided activities that may facilitate effective adjustment to the school's multicultural setting.

As the study is heuristic, the researcher's purpose is to generate and examine working hypotheses that will ultimately lead to generalizable hypothesis formulation and subsequently aid in the development of action plans that may better facilitate effective student adjustment to "fluid" multicultural settings. The research methodology will employ the following ethnographic techniques—participant observation, interviews, archival records, and artifacts.

Data collected will be reported in generalizable terms and will not reveal the identity of the participant schools or the human participants. However, descriptions and events, if valid, should be interpreted by the human subjects of each school as being descriptive of their school perspectives. This is to be accomplished by describing anecdotal events as they occurred and as these events were perceived by the participants and the researcher. To insure

confidentiality and yet provide for a more meaningful readability of the data, pseudonyms will be used for the participants.

The researcher agrees to respond to any questions regarding the afore-described research to the extent that such queries do not require the researcher to reveal confidentialities of participants. It is to be mutually understood that a participant may withdraw at any time and that the participating school may terminate its participation in the research; such withdrawal or termination shall be honored by the researcher and all confidentialities shall be maintained without fear of recrimination.

REQUIREMENTS FOR SUBJECT POPULATION

As this research study is concerned with the formal and informal relationships between students; how these relationships affect student, administrator, and teacher behavior; and what school-guided activities facilitate effective student adjustment to the school's multicultural setting, the students, administrators, and teachers by necessity must be studied.

A researcher seeking to understand behavior must find ways to learn the manifest and latent meanings assigned to events by the participants, and must also understand the behavior from the objective outside perspective. The researcher's rationale for employing the ethnographic techniques of participant observation, interviews, and the study of available archival records and artifacts is based on

three sets of hypotheses about human behavior: (a) the naturalistic-
ecological hypothesis--i.e., it is essential to study psychological
events in natural settings as settings generate regularities in beha-
vior that often transcend differences among individuals; (b) the
qualitative-phenomenological hypothesis--i.e., to understand human
behavior it is necessary to understand the framework within which the
subjects interpret their thoughts, feelings, and actions; and (c) the
symbolic interaction hypothesis--i.e., human interactions are mediated
by the use of symbols, by interpretation, or by ascertaining the mean-
ing of one another's actions.

The following groups are organizationally identifiable by
role and demographically determinable by archival records:
administrators, teachers, students--American, host national, and
third national, and other school personnel who make up the school
community. The primary focus of this research is on the student
groups and their emergent groups.

POTENTIAL RISKS

It is the researcher's position that due to the nature and
intent of the proposed research there are no risks to human subjects
beyond the ordinary risks of public or private living.

CONSENT PROCEDURES

As American-sponsored overseas schools are legal entities subject to the laws and regulations of the host county, the researcher seeks the expressed consent of each participating school (consent form attached herewith.) Subject consent will be determined by each participating school, as each school interprets its responsibilities as an American-sponsored overseas school. The researcher in all instances pledges and guarantees that subjects freely consent to participate and will be free to discontinue their participation without recrimination and that all subjects will remain anonymous.

MINIMIZATION OF POTENTIAL RISKS

The only potential risk of consequence is the lack of confidentiality. To minimize this risk, the researcher will codify participants and subjects by using pseudonyms or symbols. The codification, to the extent possible, will be memorized by the researcher. Written primary data will not be revealed to anyone other than members of the researcher's dissertation committee. Even then the true identities of participants will not be revealed nor maintained in written form.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS

This research offers no direct benefits to participants. However, the possibility exists that the study will lead to

generalizable hypothesis formulations which hopefully will aid in the development of action plans that may better facilitate effective student adjustment to "fluid" multinational, multicultural settings.

CONSENT FORM FOR AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

As a duly authorized representative of _____
I, _____, have read the research abstract of
the proposed ethnographic study of the formal and informal relation-
ships of high school students attending an American-sponsored overseas
school.

I have discussed with the researcher, *Gary K. Wright*, the
conditions by which the study is to be explained to the subjects so
that the subjects understand it, including any inherent risks.

It is mutually understood that the subjects freely consent to
participate, and that the subjects are free to discontinue their par-
ticipation at any time without recrimination and, similarly, as a duly
authorized representative of the school, I may terminate the research
at this school without recrimination to myself, the subjects, or the
school.

I further understand that all subjects as well as the school's
identity will remain anonymous, that pseudonyms will be used to
enhance the readability of the researcher's final reports, that there
are no accrued benefits to participants, and that a complimentary
copy of the researcher's final report will be proffered to the school
via the office of the school's chief administrator.

DATE:_____   SIGNED:_____

                                     POSITION:_____

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

Mr. Gary K. Wright, a Ph.D. candidate in Administration and Higher Education at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A., is conducting an exploratory study of the formal and informal relationships between American, host national, and third national students attending American-sponsored overseas high schools.

The researcher's purpose in this study is to (1) describe and explain these relationships; (2) describe how these relationships affect student behavior, administrative and teacher behavior, and other facets of the school organization; and (3) identify and describe salient characteristics of the school-guided activities that may better facilitate effective adjustment to the school's multicultural setting. Of primary importance are student perspectives.

Interviews conducted by Mr. Wright will be in accordance with the following:

1. Students interviewed are to freely consent to the interview and are free to discontinue their participation at any time without recrimination.

2. Each student's responses will be treated with strict confidence and identities of all subjects will remain anonymous; on request and within these restrictions the researcher agrees to discuss with students, parents, and school authorities the nature of this study, the interview procedures, and the questionnaire and to make available the results of this study. To enhance readability of the final report and to insure anonymity of all subjects, pseudonyms may be used. *All subjects as well as the school's identity will remain anonymous.*

3. There are no accrued benefits to subjects participating in this study.

I, _____, have read and understand this consent form and hereby agree to be interviewed. I understand that my identity will remain anonymous, that my responses will be treated with confidentiality, that I may request clarification of any question, and that I may discontinue my participation at any time without recrimination.

DATE:_____   STUDENT SIGNATURE:_____

Parental/Guardian Informed Consent:

DATE:_____   SIGNATURE:_____

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

October 11, 1977

Mr. Gary K. Wright
Department of Administration and
    Higher Education
Erickson Hall
Campus

Dear Mr. Wright:

Subject: Dissertation Research Entitled "An Exploratory Study of
          the Formal and Informal Relationships Between American,
          Host National and Third National Students in an American-
          Sponsored Overseas High School"

The above referenced project was recently submitted for review to the
University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS).

We are pleased to advise that this review indicated that the rights and welfare
of the human subjects appear to be adequately protected and the Committee,
therefore, approved this project at its meeting on October 3, 1977.

Thank you for bringing this project to our attention. If we can be of any
future help, please do not hesitate to let us know.

                                    Sincerely,

                                    Henry E. Bredeck
                                    Chairman, UCRIHS

jms

APPENDIX B

CORRESPONDENCE

APPENDIX B

CORRESPONDENCE

15 September 1977

Mr. Gary K. Wright
W 514 Owen Graduate Center
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan 48824

Dear Mr. Wright:

As I am the Director of Instruction here, [the Superintendent] has asked that I act as [the school's] liaison for your dissertation research. I have been "through the mill" myself . . . and so am very familiar with the anxieties of the process--especially with a participant-observation design depending on statistical validity.

We . . . at . . . school are pleased to lend assistance to your study. There are, however, a number of points to be clarified.

1. What are your hypotheses? Section Six of the Ethical Principles in the Conduct of Research with Human Participants (American Psychological Ass'n., 1973) calls for obtaining "informed consent" of participants.

2. What sorts of questions will you ask? May I have an advance copy of your questionnaire? We are bound by our responsibility under the Ethical Research Code to ensure that "human participants emerge from their research experience unharmed--or at least that the risks are minimal, understood by the participants, and accepted as reasonable." It is not my intention to restrict the scope of your study, but there has been such a history of cooperating participants and agencies being exploited by irresponsible investigators seeking sensational tidbits-- well, I'm sure you are aware of the historical reasons for caution.

3. How many students and how much of their time will be needed? Would not a random sampling of classes be as statistically relevant as the whole school? What is "a focused interview"? What does it comprise and how long does it take?

4. As regards formal and informal classroom orbservation, you are welcomed fully. I do have some reservations about "sponsoring" you in interviews with parents. This places me in the predicament of approving a process over which I have no control. I once approved a study in the U.S. only to discover that the investigator had "changed her mind" and decided to correlate student behavioral problems with parental drug intake. I paid the price for my collegial trust!

Please do not be disheartened by the questions and requests for clarification in this letter. They are not meant to be negative or directed to you personally. The trend in all U.S. school districts has been to ask: "How will this study benefit both the field of knowledge and our students?" Ask your advisor how many Ph.D. candidates have reneged on their pledges of reporting to the participants their research findings, and you'll get a better perspective on the lack of willingness to adopt an "open arms" posture.

I look forward to hearing from you and in assisting in your study.

Your very truly,

Director of Instruction

5 October 1977

Dear   :

Thank you for your letter of 15 September 1977 and for your interest
and willingness to cooperate with my research endeavors. I will
attempt to respond to each of the points you have sought clarification
on and in so doing will probably generate other points for clarifi-
cation. I will be happy to respond to further queries while I am in
. . . or, if you are agreeable, will discuss such points upon my
arrival in . . . .

1. My study is heuristic in nature; thus I am attempting to generate
    generalizable hypotheses by developing and examining working
    hypotheses from on-site observations. My study has been reviewed
    by the University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects
    (UCRIHS), which is the Institutional Review Board at Michigan
    State University, in accordance with the National Research Act
    (Public Law 93-348). My study provides for two consent forms--an
    institutional (school) consent form and a student-parent consent
    form--that must be reviewed and approved by someone such as your-
    self before my study commences at [your school].

2. The questions to be asked and any questionnaire to be used will be
    designed from my on-site field observations. My methodology speci-
    fies that these exploratory items be reviewed first with school
    authorities, such as yourself, prior to use with students.

3. The number of students to be interviewed/sampled may be jointly
    determined.

4. The "focused" interview has been described by Merton and Kendall
    (1946:541-577) as having these characteristics:

    a. Persons being interviewed are known to have taken part in a
        particular situation or event.

    b. The interview focuses on situations, elements, patterns, or
        total structures which have undergone some previous analysis.

    c. The interview proceeds on the basis of a guide developed out
        of previous analysis.

    d. The interview itself is focused on, but not limited to, the
        subjective experiences of persons taking part in the situa-
        tion noted.

5. You are not expected and should not "sponsor" me in interviews with parents, faculty, or students.

I share your concern and desire for the delivery of a copy of the study's final report to the school and its availability to participants. I know it is a risk the researcher's subjects must take in accepting the researcher's pledge. . . . I can only make _my_ pledge; time must determine my integrity.

I am pleased by your concern and queries and I am looking forward to meeting with you.

Sincerely yours,

Gary K. Wright
W 514 Owen Graduate Center
Michigan State University
East Lansing, MI 48824 USA

P.S. I will send you my overseas address as soon as I know it.

cc Dr. Samuel A. Moore II

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRES

QUESTIONNAIRES

Research Information Card
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan USA
Gary Wright, Graduate Student

(Note: You are <u>not</u> required to complete this form; how-
ever, your cooperation in doing so will be appreciated
and will enable me to more accurately assess the infor-
mation I am seeking. If you have any questions regard-
ing the nature and purpose of my research, please feel
free to ask. Thank you.)

Please p r i n t your responses.

1. ACTIVITY:_____

2. Your AGE:____ SEX:___ GRADE:____ NATIONALITY:_____ R:_____

3. Your father's nationality:_____ ethnic origin:_____

   mother's nationality:_____ ethnic origin:_____

4. Did anyone influence your decision to participate in this activity?

   Circle correct response: YES NO

5. Do you get together with any of the students who are in this
   activity

   a. after school (circle response) FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES NEVER

   b. during weekends (circle response) FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES NEVER

Confidentiality of responses will be observed and your identity,
should you indicate your name, shall be kept anonymous in all
reporting of these data. Again, thank you for your cooperation.

Your name:_____
                  please print

Research Information Card
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan USA   No._____
Gary Wright, Graduate Student

(NOTE: You are <u>not</u> required to complete this form; however, your cooperation in doing so will be appreciated and will enable me to more accurately assess the information I am seeking. If you have any questions regarding the nature and purpose of my research, please feel free to ask.)

Please p r i n t your responses.

1. Your AGE:___ SEX:___ GRADE:___ NATIONALITY:_____ R:_____

2. Your father's nationality:_____ ethnic origin:_____

   mother's nationality:_____ ethnic origin:_____

3. Your conversant language--with friends:_____

   at home:_____

4. Number of years/months you have attended [ASOS]: ___years ___months

5. Number of years/months you have lived in [host country]:
   _____years _____months

6. Other countries you have lived in?

7. Father's occupation: ___Business ___Civilian ___Diplomatic

   ___Military ___Missionary ___Other (specify:_____)

   Mother's occupation: ___Business ___Civilian ___Diplomatic

   ___Military ___Missionary ___Other (specify:_____)

8. Number of older brothers: _____; younger brothers: _____

   older sisters : _____; younger sisters : _____

9. Please indicate present and past [ASOS] school activities you are in, have been in, or have tried out for.

Research by
Gary Wright, Graduate Student
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan USA

SELF-ADMINISTERED QUESTIONNAIRE

Subject No._____   DATE:_____

School No._____   TIME:_____

LOCATION:_____

(NOTE: You are <u>not</u> required to complete this form; however, your coop-
eration in doing so will be appreciated and will enable me to more
accurately assess the information I am seeking. If you have any ques-
tions regarding the nature or purpose of my research, please feel free
to inquire.)

Please p r i n t your responses.

1. Your AGE:____ SEX:____ GRADE:____ CITIZENSHIP:_____

2. What do you consider your home state/country?_____

3. Your conversant languages--a. with friends:_____

                                b. at home:_____

4. Your father's citizenship:_____ ethnicity:_____

    Your mother's citizenship:_____ ethnicity:_____

5. Your father's occupation: ___Business; ___Diplomatic;

    ___Military; ___Missionary; ___Other (specify:_____)

    Your mother's occupation: ___Business; ___Diplomatic;

    ___Military; ___Missionary; ___Other (specify:_____)

6. Please list chronologically your brothers and sisters, where they
    are, and what they are doing. Be sure to include yourself.

7. Please list chronologically other countries you have lived in.
        <u>Country</u>   <u>Years of Residence</u>   <u>Your Age</u>

8. Please answer the following questions by completing the chart.

	First Name(s) Only	Age	Sex	Citizenship	Ethnicity	Parent's Employer
A.1 Who do you eat lunch with?						
A.2 What did you talk about today?						
B.1 Who do you "hang around" with after school?						
B.2 What did you do yesterday after school?						
C.1 Who do you "hang around" with on weekends?						
C.2 What did you do last weekend?						

9. For each of the following activities or situations, please complete the chart by recording the person's first name, their age, sex, citizenship, grade or affiliation, and conversant language.

Who would you choose	First Name	Age	Sex	Citizen-ship	Ethnicity	Grade or Affiliation	Languages You Speak Together
a. to work with you on a school project?							
b. to eat lunch with?							
c. to get to know better?							
d. to go to a school dance with?							
e. to discuss with you a personal problem that is bothering you?							
f. to spend a Saturday afternoon with?							

10. For each of the following activities or situations please complete the chart by recording the person's first name, their age, sex, grade, citizenship, ethnicity, and parent's employer, i.e., Business, Diplomatic, Military, Missionary, or other.

For a school activity, who in your class is	First Name	Age	Sex	Grade	Citizen-ship	Ethnicity	Parent's Employer
a. best able to get others to do their part?							
b. most reliable in successfully doing his/her part?							
c. most likely to get along with everyone?							
d. most likely to make the activity fun for most everyone?							

APPENDIX D

SCHEDULED INTERVIEW

APPENDIX D

SCHEDULED INTERVIEW

PRE-INTERVIEW INSTRUCTIONS TO INFORMANT: *You should not feel obli-*
gated or compelled to answer the questions I will be asking you.
If you feel confused about the nature or meaning of any question,
please ask for clarification. Your responses will be treated with
confidentiality and your personal identity will remain anonymous.
You should feel free to discontinue your participation in this inter-
view at any time.

(NOTE: *For each interview record subject number, school number,*
         date, time, and location of the interview. Informant shall
         have completed the Self-Administered Questionnaire prior to
         the interview.)

PART A.1   *This section refers to host nationals only.*

   1.a.   Why did you choose to attend *(name of school)*?

     b.   How do you think your peers feel about your attending
          this school?

PART B.1   Relocation: *This section refers to students who have*
           moved from other countries to the host country.

   1.a.   What was your reaction to moving to this country?

     b.   What did you anticipate about your move?

     c.   Where or from whom did you receive your information
          about this country?

   2.a.   What was the reaction of your parents to moving to this
          country?

     b.   What was the reaction of your brothers and sisters to
          moving?

     c.   What do you think your other relatives thought about
          your moving?

     d.   How do you think your peers reacted to your moving?

3. Now that you have lived here awhile . . .

   a. how do you feel about living here?

   b. how do you think your parents feel about living here?

   c. how do your brothers and sisters feel about living here?

PART C   *This section refers to school entry and integration.*

1.a. What were your reactions when you first entered school here?

   b. What did your brothers and sisters think about entering this school?

   c. How have your parents felt about your enrollment in this school?

2.a. What was one of the more satisfying experiences that happened to you when you first entered school here?

   b. What was one of the more frustrating experiences? How did you deal with this experience?

3.a. Describe what you consider is a typical school day for you.

   (Note: The student is to be encouraged to relate when he/she gets up, if he/she has breakfast and w/whom, how he/she comes to school and w/whom, where he/she goes during lunch, free time, after school and w/whom, and what they do/talk about; when and how he/she goes home, what his/her evening activities are and w/whom.)

   b. How do you feel about this type of day?

4.a. Describe what you consider is a typical weekend for you.

   (Note: The student is to be encouraged to relate the activities and persons he/she interacts with.)

   b. How do you feel about these weekends?

5. Do you receive an allowance and/or work part-time?

6. With whom do you feel the closest? *(can be anyone)*

7.a. How do you feel about *(the students, teachers, administrators)* at this school?

  b. How easy is it to get along with *(opposite sex of informant)* here?

  c. How easy is it to get along with *(nationalities other than informant's)* here?

8. How well do you like your living accommodations here?

9.a. What extra-curricular activities have you participated in this year?

  b. Who or what influenced you to participate?

..or... Why don't you participate?

10.a. Who are several of your closest friends here?

  b. Under what circumstances did your friendship begin?

    (Note: Have informant indicate each friend's age, sex, citizenship, parent's citizenship, ethnicity, and employment sponsor.)

11.a. What has been a particularly satisfying experience that you have recently had in one of your classes?

  b. Have you experienced a particularly dissatisfying experience?

12. Are there any things we haven't covered that you would like to talk about?

APPENDIX E

EXAMPLE OF COURSE OFFERINGS

APPENDIX E

EXAMPLE OF COURSE OFFERINGS

Course Offerings Listed Under Departmental Titles
(Grades 7-12)

ENGLISH

English 7
English 8
English I
English II
Intensive Studies
CCF (English 11--English 12)
Communication Skills
English as a Second Language
Power Reading
Journalism
Writing Workshop
Creative Writing
Early American Lit.
Contemporary American Lit.
British Lit. to 1700
British Lit. to Present
European Lit.
Humanities
Asian/African Lit.
Public Speaking
School Newspaper
School Yearbook

SCIENCE

Life Science
Physical Science
I.P.S.
Earth Science
I.I.S.--Physical
I.I.S.--Biology
Biology
BSCS--Honors
Chemistry
Chem. Study--Honors
Physics Placement
Advanced Biology

SOCIAL STUDIES

Asian Studies
Man & Society
U.S. History
World Affairs/Geography
Area Studies: Africa
Area Studies: China
Area Studies: S.E. Asia
W. Civ.: Ren. & Rev.
W. Civ.: Modern World
U.S. History
Comparative Government
Anthropology
Sociology
Psych. A: Child Growth
Psych. B: Introduction
[Host] Language/Culture
Intro. to Social Studies

MATHEMATICS

Math 7
Math 8
General Math
Consumer Math
Pre-Algebra
Algebra I
Geometry
Algebra II
Analysis of Functions
Calculus (AB, BC)
Int. Statistics & Prob.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE

French 1A & 1B
French I
French II
French III
French IV
French V

German IA & 1B
German I
German II
German III
German IV

Latin I
Latin II
Latin III

Spanish IA & 1B
Spanish I
Spanish II
Spanish III
Spanish IV

[Host] Language I
[Host] Language II
[Host] Language III
[Host] Language IV

BUSINESS

Personal Typing
Typing I
Typing II
Accounting
Business Law
Shorthand

VOCATIONAL ARTS

Mech. Drawing I
Mech. Drawing II
Arch. Drawing
Gen. Shop
Adv. Shop

HOME ECONOMICS

Home Ec. I
Home Ec. II
Asian Cooking
Clothing I
Clothing II

FINE ARTS

Beginning Band
Inter. Band
Stage Band
Chorus
Concert Choir
Music Theory
Theatre Arts
Photography
Art I
Art II
Crafts
Graphic arts

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

P.E. 7,8
P.E. I
Elective PE
Adoptive PE

ASSISTANTSHIPS

Physical Ed.
Library
Counseling Center
Attendance Office
Principal's Office
IMC
Elementary School
Classroom Activities

APPENDIX F

INTERIM SEMESTER: SAMPLE OF COURSE OFFERINGS

INTERIM SEMESTER: SAMPLE OF COURSE OFFERINGS

Course Title: <u>WORKSHOP ON WORD PROBLEMS</u>   Sponsor: _____

  I. <u>Course Description</u>:

To many a math student, the topic "Word Problems" is a nightmare. This workshop of approximately forty hours will enable the participants to gain the confidence in solving word problems involving first degree equations in one variable, simultaneous first degree equations in two variables, quadratic equations in one variable and simultaneous equations in two variables--one linear and the other quadratic.

 II. <u>Student Outcomes</u>:

Proficiency in solving word problems.

III. <u>Cost</u>:

Nil

 IV. <u>Materials and/or Talents Required</u>:

Nil

Course Title: <u>WORK EXPERIENCE</u>   Sponsor: _____

  I. <u>Course Description</u>:

An organized program of work experience in different fields varying from business organizations to Veterinary Medicine, Zoo and Hotel Management. The work will be a minimum of fifty hours and the contents and requirements for each work program will be worked out with prospective employers plus what experience the student would like to gain.

Any student with a special interest may submit an independent work experience proposal to _____ for consideration.

Hotel (variety of work areas)
Sales (sports, furniture, and departmental stores)

Hospital (Physiotherapy)
F & N Drinks Company (work in the Personnel Department)
Orient Lloyd Shipping Company (Clerical)
Bowling Alley (Assistants & Instructors)

II. Student Outcomes:

To further information on career plans and vocational ideas for the individual student. An opportunity to assume responsibilities in the adult world.

1. Regular attendance
2. Written evaluation by employer
3. Written summary by student

III. Cost:

Transportation must be supplied by student.

IV. Materials and/or Talents Required:

An interest in a particular field of work.

Course Title: HOSPITAL EXPERIENCE/   Sponsor: _____
               SOCIAL SERVICE

I. Course Description:

The students will work in _____ Hospital for one week and the Association of Retarded Children for the other. They will familiarize themselves with the work in the laboratory, in patient wards, dental as well as outpatient clinic of the hospital. They get a chance to watch a surgery in an operation theatre.

In Association of Retarded Children, they will help the kids of age six or above in their simple arithmetic, writing, music and sports.

II. Student Outcomes:

1. To hand in a summary of their experience
2. To fill in an evaluation sheet

III. <u>Cost</u>:

Approximately US $13 for transportation

IV. <u>Materials and/or Talents Required</u>:

Humanistic attitude

Course Title: <u>TOUCH TYPING BASIC COURSE</u>   Sponsor: _____

I. <u>Course Description</u>:

The famous Sight and Sound course for the complete beginner. The world's most proven audio-visual system using the unique Video-matic Tutor, enables you to confidently master the type-writer keyboard and all your finger movements in only twelve hours.

One hour per day is recommended for this course, for twelve hours. You can go on to more extensive learning if desired.

Students can enroll who wish to improve speed of typing as well at same cost.

II. <u>Student Outcomes</u>:

To develop the basic skills in typing and possibly an interest for further learning. A final report will be given by _____ of Advanced Training Techniques.

III. <u>Cost</u>:

Approximately US $13

IV. <u>Materials and/or Talents Required</u>:

None

Course Title: <u>CHINESE COOKING</u>   Sponsor: _____

I. <u>Course Description</u>:

Sixteen to twenty well-known Chinese dishes will be taught
during the two-week period. Students will have to visit the
markets to buy the basic ingredients; knowledge of consumer
prices, how to budget, etc. Sampling of dishes and etiquette
at the table (Chinese style).

Some of the dishes will be:

Fried Rice
A Cold Dish
Shark-Fin Soup
Fried Fish in Tomato Sauce
Peking Duck (involves 2-3 dishes)
(i) Lettuce, egg noodle with roasted duck meat
(ii) Soup--optional
Vegetable DeLux
Fried Chicken
Hong Kong Mee
Chilli Crab
Sweet and Sour Pork
Fried Crispy Prawns
Pork Ribs
Crispy Bone Chicken
Roast-Crisp Chicken
Char-Siew Paul

Students will participate in preparing the ingredients and the
actual cooking, except for the first day (introduction).

II. <u>Student Outcomes</u>:

Students will be able to cook basic Chinese dishes, e.g.,
Fried Rice and Sweet and Sour Pork, etc. This will be useful
when they return to the U.S. Perhaps, the students will pre-
pare dishes for a meal and invite a few guests (?), and maybe
compile a "Chinese Cooking" booklet.

III. <u>Cost</u>:

Approximately US $36

IV. <u>Materials and/or Talents Required</u>:

Interest in Chinese food and cooking. Preferably, those who've
taken Home Economics course.

√ Course Title: <u>JUNGLE-SURVIVAL BOYS & GIRLS</u>   Sponsor(s): _____

I. <u>Course Description</u>:

We will spend eleven days in the jungle near Kota Tinggi with the New Zealand Army jungle experts. The course will start with several training sessions here at school. Jungle living and jungle crafts will be learned. The group will be split up into small groups that will be assigned two or three soldiers. These soldiers will direct the activities for their group. Each student will spend many nights sleeping in the jungle with his group. The students will spend time with many weapons.

Radio operation and navigation skills will be learned. We will climb and spend the night on a mountain. You will build shelters from jungle materials and swim in rivers. Hard work is the order of the day!!

We will be joined in the jungle by twenty-five students from the New Zealand School of [the host city].

II. <u>Student Outcomes</u>:

Students will each keep a daily diary.

III. <u>Cost</u>:

Approximately US $45

IV. <u>Materials and/or Talents Required</u>:

Be in shape.

√ Course Title: <u>FOCUS ON [HOST CITY]</u>   Sponsor: _____

I. <u>Course Description</u>:

Learning to see your environment through black, white and shades of gray will be the end result of FOCUS ON [HOST CITY]. This two-week in-[host city] session will deal with contrast within a student-chosen theme. A fifteen-picture collection and two major mounted photos for exhibit will be the goals to strive for through pre-course camera sessions and a series of one day or half-day trips around [the host city].

The course is planned to run ten days varying from a minimum of five hours to a maximum of ten hours daily.

II. <u>Student Outcomes</u>:

Students will gain skill in the use of the camera and its accessories. They will develop good darkroom habits and master the use of the darkroom equipment. They will learn to pre-think shooting assignments and layouts. They will shoot, process and mount a minimum of fifteen black and white prints (8" x 10") to put in an album as a low-cost portfolio. They will process and mount two 11" x 14" black and white prints for an Interim Semester Photo Exhibit at the end of the course. Students will submit the portfolio and large prints for evaluation and constructive criticism on technique and quality.

III. <u>Cost</u>:

Approximately US $120

IV. <u>Materials and/or Talents Required</u>:

Preferably students with a photo background and a large amount of patience.

Course Title: <u>THE LONGHOUSES OF SARAWAK</u>   Sponsor(s):_____

I. <u>Course Description</u>:

Students will depart on or about the 27th of January and travel by the steamer <u>Rajah Brooke</u> to Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei. Sailing time will be three days. Accommodations will be cabin class, but comfort will not be sacrificed. While on board, daily seminars will be conducted, focusing on cultural, historical, anthropological, and biological aspects of Brunei and Sarawak.

Students will spend one day and one night in Bandar Seri Betawan. There will be a tour of the city which will include visits to: the Brunei Museum, the Royal Ceremonial Hall, the Parliament House, the Churchill Memorial, an Aquarium, and the famous Omar Ali Saifuddin Mosque. If time permits, a guide will conduct the group on a sampan tour of the stilt houses on the Brunei Water Village. Lodging for the evening will be in a youth hostel. Students will then travel by commercial airline to Kuching, Sarawak. Immediately upon arriving, they will be escorted by bus to a Dyak Longhouse located in the jungle outside of Kuching (approximately a four to six hour journey). The Longhouses are communal villages under one roof, some housing more than a thousand people. The Dyaks live much as they did

centuries ago. Three days and nights will be spent living within such a community, experiencing--and attempting to understand and appreciate--something of the lifestyle of the Dyak people.

Students will then return to Kuching, spending one night in a hostel there before the return trip (by commercial airline).

II. Student Outcomes:

1. Extended personal contact with a unique cultural group-- viz. the Dyak tribesmen.
2. The experience of living briefly in a totally communal and cooperative community.
3. Exposure to some of the flora and fauna of the mangrove swamps and jungles of Sarawak.
4. An academic introduction to some of the biology, history, culture, and anthropology of Brunei and Sarawak.

III. Cost: US $340

IV. Materials and/or Talents Required:

None

APPENDIX G

ACTIVITY PERIOD SCHEDULE

APPENDIX G

ACTIVITY PERIOD SCHEDULE

(Sample of One Week's Schedule)

DAY/TIME	ACTIVITY
MONDAY	
10:20	Chess Club
10:20	Economics/Government/U.S. History Tutoring
10:20	EFL Tutoring
10:30	French Club
10:30	French Tutoring
10:30	German Tutoring
10:20	Home Economics
10:20	Keyettes
10:20	Math Contest (Practice)
10:15	Mechanical Drawing (Mini Course and Tutoring)
10:15	Shop and Crafts
10:15	Spanish Tutoring ⎫ different teachers
10:20	Spanish Tutoring ⎭
14:00	Varsity Basketball--Girls
TUESDAY	
10:20	Bridge
10:20	Chess
10:20	Economics/Government/U.S. History Tutoring
10:20	EFL Tutoring
10:20	Home Economics
10:20	Industrial Arts Tutoring
10:30	Latin Tutoring
10:20	Math Contest (Practice)
10:20	Power Mechanics
10:15	Shops and Crafts
14:00	Tumbling Club
WEDNESDAY	
10:20	Chess
10:20	Economics/Government/U.S. History Tutoring
10:20	EFL Tutoring
10:15	First Aid Class
10:30	French Tutoring
10:15	French 1 Tutoring
10:20	Home Economics

WEDNESDAY
(Cont'd)

10:30	Italian Mini-Course
10:20	Math Contest (Practice)
10:15	Shop and Crafts
10:15	String Instrument Ensemble
14:00	Varsity Basketball--Girls
14:00	Bridge
14:00	Youth for Christ

THURSDAY

10:20	Chess
10:20	Economics/Government/U.S. History Tutoring
10:20	EFL Tutoring
10:30	Foreign Language Club
10:20	Home Economics
10:20	Industrial Arts Tutoring
10:20	Math Contest (Practice)
10:20	Power Mechanics
10:20	Pre Flight
14:30	Psychology Club
10:15	Shop and Crafts
10:20	Spanish Club
14:00	Student Science Society
14:30	Psychology Club
14:00	Tumbling Club

FRIDAY

10:20	Chess
14:00	Chinese Culture Club
10:15	Eastern Eaters
10:20	Economics/Government/U.S. History Tutoring
10:15	First Aid
10:20	EFL Tutoring
10:30	Interact
10:20	Math Contest (Practice)
10:15	Mechanical Drawing (Mini Course and Tutoring)
10:15	Shop and Crafts
10:20	Pre Flight