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THE SEARCH FOR AN IDEAL MULTICULTURAL ENVIRONMENT:
AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF TWO OVERSEAS AMERICAN SCHOOLS

By

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ABSTRACT

THE SEARCH FOR AN IDEAL MULTICULTURAL ENVIRONMENT: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF TWO OVERSEAS AMERICAN SCHOOLS

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Susan Clay Stoddart

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Overseas American schools appear to be ideal environments for the development of international and intercultural understanding. A review of selected literature pointed to several reasons cited by authors for the schools' potential in this area: (1) the schools are usually attended by children from many countries, who study together on a daily basis. This prolonged face-to-face contact is expected to foster positive relationships among them. (2) Because the schools are located in other countries, students are able to observe first-hand the customs, traditions, and life styles of people from other cultures.

Although there is agreement about the potential of the schools to contribute to intercultural understanding, there are conflicting opinions regarding the achievement of this goal. Much has been written about the potential, but few researchers have undertaken an examination of the conditions within the schools and in the lives of their members that would explain why the schools have or have not been successful in promoting harmonious relations among their multinational members or within their communities.

To explain the reasons for the discrepancy between the goals and the actual achievements, I conducted an ethnographic study of two American-sponsored overseas schools in a Spanish-speaking country over a six-month period. Using participant-observer techniques, I interviewed and observed host-country, American, and third-country parents, administrators, board members, faculty, children, and community members.

My purposes in this study were to (1) discover, identify, and examine the influences upon the intercultural associations of individuals who participated in the overseas schools and (2) examine the school as a force in cross-cultural interactions, in order to (3) generate new questions or hypotheses with respect to overseas schools and intercultural relations.

Interviews with the school members provided information about their lives, their views, and their interest in the smooth functioning of the schools. However, it was evident that they were powerless to counteract the forces within the school and the environment that tended to segregate them. Despite good intentions or positive organizational goals, the schools were so overburdened with responsibilities in their efforts to replicate the "best of American education" that they were unable to devote attention to promoting intercultural understanding.

I observed subgroups within the school and in outside organizations that had successfully fostered positive relationships. I noted that these groups were successful because they required that the members work together at coordinate levels in the organization. Because the members were needed for the achievement of the organizations' goals, the members grew to appreciate, respect, and value each other. The

"cultural differences" of race, class, language, and religion became secondary when participants were working together for a common purpose.

I observed that schools need to intervene in order to counter-act the environmental and personal forces that foster segregation among groups. Action needs to be taken to encourage involvement among the members.

I observed characteristics in the structure and organization of the two schools that militated against effective communication: tracking of students, dual language systems, salary inequities, and inappropriate goals, among others.

I noted that the schools attempted to replicate quality American education. However, they transplanted classroom techniques, curricula, and classroom organization that promoted competition and individualism rather than cooperation. I also observed that American education was defined by the school members according to its symbols--certification, diplomas, degrees, and scores--rather than by its social or academic contributions or the promotion of intercultural experiences.

Although the members categorized themselves according to their nationality, there were more differences within national groups than between these groups. I found that their orientation toward the organization and the country was more influential in establishing their patterns of behavior and their attitudes than was their nationality.

Based on observation of the patterns existing in this one intercultural setting, a hypothesis was generated, which future researchers can test for applicability to other multicultural environments.

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SUSAN CLAY STODDART

1980

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Elsa Clay, who has been a mentor to me and to countless other women throughout her life. Acting on principles she believes in, she has sacrificed time, money, and attention to other concerns to spend a lifetime in political and humanitarian ventures. Besides the intellectual debt I owe to her for her substantial contribution to this dissertation and to the ideological basis for much of the thinking here, I also appreciate her leaving sessions of the International Women's Conference in Copenhagen and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Conference in New Haven to read chapters I sent to her there. When I could find no one else willing to read, my mother was there to advise me and to provide superlative criticism and editorial assistance.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Technological advances in communication and transportation have placed the newspaper, television, and radio within the reach of previously isolated people of various religious, economic, social, and racial origins in developed and less developed lands, enabling them to learn about each other's way of life. These same advances have provided the opportunity and means for diverse groups of people to come into contact with each other, sometimes working, living, or studying side by side. At the same time, competitive and clashing national, political, and religious systems, with the capacity for intentional or inadvertent destruction, threaten the existence of these very people.

Scientists (both physical and behavioral), statesmen, theologians, economists, environmentalists, and educators, among others, have long recognized the need for transcending existing barriers so that communication and cooperation may take place among the peoples of the world, not only out of fear of conflict and crisis, but out of the promise of and hope for mutual benefit. They have sought ways to profit from technological progress and to curb and manage existing and potential world crises.

Educational institutions have increasingly served as resources for those seeking solutions to global problems of hunger, disease, and illiteracy in the lesser-developed countries, and ideological conflict and ethnocentrism everywhere. Early education holds the promise of serving as a vehicle for producing the essential changes. Here I will deal with only one of the needed changes: improvement of relations in intercultural settings.

As international trade, exchange, and contact in business, science, technology, and the arts expanded during this century, increasing numbers of U.S. citizens and other nationalities have worked abroad for their own purposes or to serve their governments in foreign employment. During the 1970s, approximately 8 out of every 1,000 U.S. citizens lived outside of the United States (Luebke, 1976, p. 7). A highly transient group, they often served two-year periods overseas and returned home upon completion of their contracts. They included missionaries, academics, business people, military personnel, diplomats, and the employees of international organizations.

American-sponsored overseas schools and Department of Defense schools were established and supported in order to provide education for the children of those Americans whose employment required them to live abroad (see Appendix A for statement regarding the use of the word American). In addition to providing quality education for the dependents of these foreign employees, there was another purpose for supporting these schools. Luebke (1976) stated that

a secondary purpose, long encouraged and supported by the Office of Overseas Schools, has to do with the improvement of

international and intercultural understanding and the demonstration of American education as a means toward that understanding. . . (p. 42).

Many overseas schools have long recognized the need to develop curricula which will provide experiences leading to intercultural understanding and the reduction of ethnocentrism (p. 43).

Although overseas American schools have been supported and received financial assistance in order to provide quality education to their students and to promote intercultural understanding, conflicting claims exist as to their success in both areas. With respect to their success in the area of cross-cultural understanding, the critics of overseas schools assert that they are organizations devoted to the education of the elite, creating cultural isolation for the individuals affiliated with the schools. The supporters claim that they are sources of intercultural understanding because they provide opportunities for their students and employees to associate on a daily basis with people of other countries. They say that this day-to-day contact assures the development of global understanding on the part of the students and staff of the schools.

Although there is agreement concerning the potential of the overseas schools to contribute to intercultural understanding, there are conflicting opinions regarding the achievement of this goal. Much has been written about the potential, but few researchers have undertaken an examination of the conditions within the schools and in the lives of their members that would explain why the schools have or have not been successful in promoting harmonious relations among their multinational members or within their communities.

Statement of the Problem

The subject of the schools' contributions to intercultural understanding forms the central thesis of this study. To understand the role of the school in the cross-cultural associations of its members, we need to examine and explore the influences on the school and its members. We need to reexamine existing information and to question the assumptions held about intercultural relations. We need to search for new ways to approach the issue and to discover--perhaps rediscover--questions that will help us to understand intercultural relations and overseas schools. Stated more formally, my purpose in this study is to

1. discover, identify, and examine the influences upon the intercultural associations of individuals who participate in the overseas schools and
2. examine the school as a force in cross-cultural interactions, in order to
3. generate new questions or hypotheses with respect to overseas schools and intercultural relations.

The subject of overseas schools and intercultural relations became of interest to me when, while living in Mexico, I applied for a teaching position at an American school thirty miles distant. Like other American-sponsored overseas schools, it served the dependents of Americans living abroad, as well as dependents of Mexican citizens and other nationalities living in the area. While waiting for a response to my application, I inquired of friends about their acquaintance with

the school; I began to visualize what the facilities would be like and the activities that would be engaged in by the students. Several of the people with whom I talked had never been to the school but had definite opinions. One friend said it was really a Mexican school and not American, that a minority of American children attended, according to her information, and that the school did not have a high academic standing. Another friend said that it had a reputation for laxity in its discipline; there were problems with students taking drugs. Another said that she objected entirely to the idea of having an American school in the area and advised that I reconsider my application; she questioned why Americans would live in Mexico if they didn't want their children to integrate into Mexican life--they should enroll their children in good Mexican private schools. She understood that the school isolated children from Mexican life, had no instruction in Mexican history and geography, and no relationship to the local educational system--which she felt was extremely important. The fourth friend disagreed. He questioned how a conscientious parent could enroll his child in a Mexican school, considering the known superiority of American education. He pointed out that people the world over send their children to the United States to attend school. Whether or not children were isolated from Mexican life was irrelevant; the major consideration was the quality of the child's education, and he understood that it was of a high calibre at this American school.

Some of my Mexican neighbors had very different feelings. Most of them had never heard of the school. They could, however, recommend some excellent Mexican schools where the local professional

people sent their children. Another Mexican friend was embarrassed to tell me that she was opposed to the idea of an American school established on Mexican land. Her sister, however, was less timid: she felt that the school was not only intruding in the Mexican educational system but, by inviting Mexican children to enroll, was demonstrating what Martin Carnoy (1977) called "cultural imperialism."

With these contrasting views in mind, I wondered how I could justify my involvement in the school, should I be employed.

After receiving notice of an interview date, I began to give serious thought to what the school would be like, the international make-up of the student population, the social activities of the teachers, the involvement of parents in the curriculum, and the multicultural nature of the instructional program. I began to visualize the ideal form of education as I had imagined it during my educational experience and from educational methods and curriculum classes. Here, I thought, was an opportunity to use vast resources, such as educated families with international travel and living experiences and with a global consciousness. These families, together with the trained staff and administration, would prepare an international curriculum that would be gleaned from the best of the instructional programs throughout the world. Children would not only learn in this environment, with its wealth of material resources, but they would be influenced by these models of inspiring ideals. I contemplated the activities I would encourage in my classroom: we would have a mock United Nations, discussing actual or projected global issues. We would develop projects outside of the school, using the community as our resource for research

on ecological issues. We would grapple with social questions such as population and birth control, and confront the problem of nutrition among the rural Mexicans. There would be unlimited opportunities to contribute to the local area and to cooperate with the Ministry of Education in the development of curricula that would be mutually beneficial. I was eager for my own children to attend this school and to benefit from the associations they would have in the international student population.

As I rode the school bus on the way to my interview, I could not help but reflect on the opportunities and resources available in the school in which I was hoping to participate. I also could not help but overhear the conversations on the bus among the American teachers: the Americans were sitting together on one side of the bus, and the Mexican teachers on the other side. The American teachers were talking, quite loudly I thought, about their low salaries, which didn't allow them to socialize with the parents who enrolled their children in the school. They were living in the same town, had come from the same country, yet could not afford to entertain them; if they had wanted to invite the parents to their homes, the difference in their life styles would have been embarrassing to the teachers. The major problem, however, was the mixed ability levels of the students. One teacher complained about the difficulty of teaching so many ability levels; she said that she wished the school didn't accept Mexican children because they couldn't compete with the American children in the class--although they were capable students, their English was deficient. There were also behavior problems, she said, because these

wealthy Mexican children were spoiled by their maids. They treated the teachers as if they were maids, too, expecting the teachers to clean up after them. I wanted to listen to what the Mexican teachers were discussing, but could not overhear their conversations.

While waiting for my appointment, I noticed a group of Mexican teachers huddled together outside the director's office. One of the American teachers told me that they were protesting their low salaries--lower than those of the American teachers--because the education they received in Mexico to prepare them for teaching was not considered equal to that of the American teachers. I was later to learn, after I was hired, that there was a clear division between the Mexican and the American teachers--in salaries, curriculum, and discipline of the students. As I gradually became involved in the school community, I watched as the tensions increased between the nationalities over these and other issues, and as a barrier developed that I was unable to surmount or dispel.

Several years later, after accepting an administrative position in an overseas school with ample financial resources, I again began contemplating the opportunities available for developing a curriculum that would be truly international, and a means for alleviating the problems that seemed to result in divisions between the national groups within the school. Although there were children enrolled from the host country, as well as children from other Spanish-speaking countries, I was surprised to learn that Spanish was not taught at the school. Since I was certain there were no financial limitations to

prevent the school from hiring Spanish teachers, purchasing textbooks, and promoting community activities, I began discussing this issue with parents and staff members. One of the Spanish-speaking parents confided that he had felt there was a serious need for Spanish language instruction. He was concerned with his children's ability to read and write in Spanish, aside from the importance of learning about the country in which they were living. Other parents, however, felt that since they were temporary residents, learning Spanish was a waste of their children's time; they could learn the language from their friends and learn about the country by living in it. The limited time they spent in school should be devoted to learning English, American history, and other subjects.

Throughout my experience in overseas schools as teacher and administrator, and participating as parent and community member, I was fascinated by the contrast between my early expectations of how the school could foster intercultural and international interactions and those of friends, community members, and scholars whose works I began to read, and the reality of the day-to-day occurrences in the overseas schools. I could have dismissed my first experience in Mexico as an exception to the rule of what overseas schools could achieve in encouraging interaction and in meeting the expectations of the school participants. However, after visiting many schools and working in three of them, I became aware of the obstacles that seemed to prevent the schools from attaining the goals and expectations of the participants as well as the stated goals of the schools. Despite the variations in

their environments, curricula, clientele, and structures, they were consistently unable to promote the international understanding that was one of the primary purposes for their support and operation. I was later to learn, as I began to read and study about the schools, that their original purposes for establishment most often had little to do with the present goals assigned to them by supporting agencies and institutions.

Establishment of Overseas Schools

Eighty percent of the total number of schools that exist today were founded after the end of World War II (Luebke, 1976, p. 15). (See Table 1.) Only 17 of the 140 overseas schools that presently receive assistance from the Office of Overseas Schools were in existence before the beginning of World War II. Although many of the schools initially admitted only U.S. citizens, the present enrollment of host- and third-country nationals is shown in Table 2.

Following World War II, the U.S. committed foreign aid funds for the development of technical assistance programs supporting the newly independent nations previously under colonial rule. As part of these programs, academics and technicians were sent to train host nationals to assume positions in industry, commerce, and government. These individuals required schools for their children so that their U.S. educational pattern would not be interrupted. The rapid increase in the number of American citizens abroad was responsible for the increase in the number of schools established for their dependents.

Table 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: Paul T. Luebke, American Elementary and Secondary Schools Abroad (Arlington, Virginia: American Association of School Administrators, 1976), p. 15.

Table 2.--Distribution by citizen group of pupils enrolled in American-sponsored overseas schools, by region, 1974-75.

Region	Number of Schools	Distribution of Enrollment										TOTAL ENROLLMENT	
		U.S. Citizens					Non-U.S. Citizens						
		U.S. Government Dependents	Business & Foundation Dependents	Other U.S.	TOTAL U.S.		Host Country Citizens		Third Country Citizens		TOTAL NON-U.S.		
					Number	%	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: Paul T. Luebke, American Elementary and Secondary Community Schools Abroad (Arlington, Virginia: American Association of School Administrators, 1976), p. 16.

American-sponsored overseas schools (ASOS) are contrasted here with other schools that have operated for expatriates or local citizens throughout the world, including private religious schools, schools operated by private business, profit-making schools, or Department of Defense schools. American-sponsored overseas schools are distinguished by their nonprofit, nonsectarian characteristics and their community support. Although there is considerable difference among the schools with respect to their structure, size, and clientele, they represent cooperative efforts among a varied constituency. The most distinguishing feature of the schools is their lay control (Orr, 1964).

The overseas schools were established for many reasons. Where they did not exist, parents either enrolled their children in host-country schools or depended on correspondence courses. However, when these parents were transferred after completion of two-year contracts, they found that the periodic interruptions were disconcerting to their children and that educational programs varied from country to country. The parents therefore banded together to found a cooperative American-type school for their children.

Another factor that prompted parent groups to establish their own schools was their objection to religious instruction in local or missionary schools. Other parents objected to their children attending all-boys or all-girls schools and therefore founded coeducational American-type schools.

Some parents were concerned, due to their frequent foreign moves, that their children would lose their identity as Americans, or

they objected to the curriculum content of the host country's educational program. They wanted to have more control over the values being taught to their children.

Other parents founded their own cooperative schools because they were opposed to particular teaching methods or techniques. They objected to what they considered to be rigid procedures or antiquated techniques and opened their own schools in order to use the teaching methods they favored.

There were instances in which a parent group, made up of host-country and third-country parents, founded an international school offering a curriculum that was eclectic and using methods, languages, and curricula from several countries.

Some schools were established to encourage foreign business investors to remain in the country and to attract prospective commercial interests. As documented by Orr (1980), personnel considering foreign employment are reluctant to accept such work or to remain in foreign posts lacking adequate educational provision for their children.

The American-sponsored overseas school or binational school of today, with its multinational student enrollment, did not always originate with this diverse clientele but evolved as such: while beginning as schools serving only dependents of U.S. citizens, they gradually (or on occasion suddenly) came to enroll host-country and third-country students. During the 1974-75 school year, for example, in the American Republics, 28 percent of the total student enrollments were dependents of U.S. citizens; the remaining 72 percent were

host-country or third-country citizens. Sixty percent were citizens of the host country (Luebke, 1976, p. 16). (See Mannino, 1971; McGugan, 1970; and Orr, 1964, for a discussion of origins of ASOS.)

Host-country citizens enrolled their children in ASOS for various reasons: depending on the political situation at the time and the state of relations between certain countries, high status was ascribed to speaking English and attending a private school where English was taught. Attendance at overseas schools was a convenient and secure avenue for future admission to an American university, and learning English would prepare children for future employment by a foreign firm or employment within the foreign country.

According to Domidion (1974), some host-country parents favored the American-type education, teaching techniques, and curricula. Orr (1974) stated that "the reflection of democratic principles, especially the recognition of the worth of each individual child, has great appeal to many parents, and the fact that most ASOS permit parental influence on school goals appeals to many parents" (p. 21).

Orr (1964) reported that a 1943 grants-in-aid program, administered by the Inter-American Schools Services under the direction of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, U.S. Department of State, encouraged the emergence of binational schools with their multicultural clientele, in an impressive manner, for in order to become eligible for grants-in-aid, schools had to meet the following criteria:

1. the schools' boards should be binational,
2. the nonprofit schools must be conducted as a nonsectarian organization,
3. enrollment in the schools must include a significant number of national students, and
4. the curriculum must include both national and U.S. history and culture (pp. 7-8).

Bjork (1965) suggested that the United States government's interest in these schools was a "subtle means of influence and reinforcement of United States foreign policy in Latin America" (p. 94). The present status of these schools as "binational" schools was not necessarily a response on the part of the school to community needs; rather,

United States government personnel gradually became sensitive to the potential values of the schools as possible means of promoting better understandings and knowledge between peoples and certain "good-will" and "good neighbor" potentials were recognized and thought worthy of encouragement (p. 95).

Although the American-type schools did become binational in their enrollment, the change usually occurred as a response to the stated criteria for eligibility to receive the grants-in-aid, not necessarily to foster intercultural cooperation and interaction.

There was a noticeable change in the support and status of the overseas schools in the 1970s. Useem (1977) said that there was a growing realization that the age of development did not eradicate poverty, nor did it greatly improve the condition of third-world countries; rather, it had increased the distance between the "haves" and the "have-nots." Not only was there a decrease in AID technical

assistance, but there was less willingness on the part of certain governments to accept such programs. As U.S. tax laws changed, requiring U.S. citizens to pay taxes in the foreign country in which they were employed as well as in the U.S., individuals were often less willing to locate abroad. Many schools suffered losses of enrollment when AID programs were discontinued, when businesses would employ host nationals in place of U.S. technicians, or when they would relocate in another country. This sudden loss in enrollment prompted the schools to seek host- and third-country nationals so as to insure the school's continuing operation.

Thus, although the present-day overseas schools admit students of many nationalities, and in some cases a majority from the host country, the multicultural enrollment evolved in response to changing political and economic conditions and was not necessarily designed as such.

Evaluating Feasibility of the Study

As I continued reading selected literature on overseas schools in order to learn about the reasons for their success or failure in promoting positive intercultural experiences, I found an abundance of information about staffing needs, hiring practices, sponsorship of parents, teacher and administrator characteristics, and school programs--the many operational aspects I had also observed in overseas schools. The authors used questionnaires and attitudinal surveys conducted in experimental situations and primarily studied students who had returned to the United States. However,

each of these studies was focused on certain variables that were considered to influence the individual's adjustment to the overseas setting. Just as I had, over a period of several years, focused my attention on the curriculum, parents, teachers, and salary differential as major causes of segregation among nationalities within the school, the authors seemed to follow a pattern of isolating certain factors and demonstrating causality. What was lacking in my thinking as well as in the literature was an understanding of the total environment in which the overseas school operated. Clearly, many forces influenced the behavior of the school participants. Abstracting some of these factors and implying causality gave a distorted picture of the reality of conditions in the school environment. For example, suggesting that parental modeling was the source of ethnocentrism in children would give a biased account unless one also explored church experiences, teacher behavior, curriculum influences, community size, social class, previous overseas living, television exposure, and other influences.

One of the studies that I reviewed contained the following recommendations for future research and program development:

Overseas school personnel need to define their role in promoting positive cross-cultural experiences. They need to build into their stated goals and purposes a new and stronger commitment to international education and to positive cross-cultural experiences. When they have accepted this renewed commitment they can look at their programs in both the studied and the unstudied curricula to see what tasks they face. . . . As a first step, they may want to evaluate the quality and quantity of the cross-cultural interaction that is occurring in their schools. . . . Next they may want to develop programs of action and interaction (Beimler, 1972, p. 83).

In order to examine the "quality and quantity" of the cross-cultural interactions occurring in the school community and the influences on the behavior of the school participants, it would be necessary to observe their daily movements within as well as outside the school: their weekend social activities, attendance at church, vacations, holiday celebrations--in short, to live with them. Such participation would not only provide the expected information about their choice of activities, but also the more important information about their opinions, attitudes, values, and ideas concerning their lives, their choices, their opportunities, and their expectations.

Based on the conviction that participation in the overseas setting was necessary for understanding the influences on intercultural relations in the school and among its members, I conducted an ethnographic study of two overseas American schools and their community in a capital city of a Spanish-speaking country that I will call Fortaleza. The country of Fortaleza was selected because two of my professors had worked in the American schools there as consultants and offered to arrange for me to receive permission to conduct the study. In addition, since there were two American schools there that had operated for more than twenty years and that served an international clientele, it was felt that these schools offered an excellent medium for studying cross-cultural relations.

At the time of this study, there were approximately four hundred officials of the U.S. government residing in Fortaleza. There were approximately ten thousand nonofficial U.S. residents employed

in international organizations, in local business, as missionaries, Peace Corps volunteers, and also retirees.

The combination of a liberal trade policy, a strong currency, low corporate taxes, low wages, free exchange of currency, and freedom to remit profits from operations to the home office has made Fortaleza attractive to foreign investors, usually in light industry and with Fortalezan partners. U.S. investment predominated, followed by European and Japanese. The mild climate of the capital city, Miraflores, is attractive to foreigners and company executives escaping the cold winters in Europe and the United States.

Fortaleza has a population of approximately ten million, 45 percent of which includes the large indigenous population. The Indians live mainly in the rural areas and are isolated from the mainstream of modern national life--geographically, culturally, economically, and linguistically. The contrasts in health care, education, and wealth between the dominant Spanish descendents and the indigenous population are profound. During recent elections, the Socialist Party campaigned on a platform promising educational reform and development in the rural areas, which suffer the highest illiteracy rates.

With other lesser-developed countries, Fortaleza has felt the effects of the oil crisis, which began in late 1973, and the country was also struck by severe droughts in 1977. However, the high sugar, banana, and copper prices counteracted the effects of the increased oil prices, as well as the damages sustained by the droughts and subsequent hurricanes. Moreover, small government deficits compared to

gross domestic product, and a relatively liberal trade policy, have kept inflation low. Fortaleza has avoided major economic fluctuations, and the pila is considered to be a strong currency in the world market.

In recent years, tourism has slackened because of increasing political violence common to Latin American countries. This has discouraged expansion of the tourist industry and has also affected foreign investments.

Before leaving for Fortaleza to conduct the research for this study, I had developed certain theories to account for the discrepancy between individuals' expectations and the actual achievement of the desired goal of intercultural and international understanding. Because I had participated in overseas schools as teacher, administrator, and parent, I felt that my experience provided me with a balanced perspective of life in an overseas community. My access to school board meetings, teachers' meetings, homes of parents, and community members had afforded me opportunities to listen to a wide range of perspectives. However, I did not realize, until undertaking this study, that I had been selective. Because of time limitations and personal inclination, I had, in the past, avoided association with some groups and individuals and attendance at certain functions, and this smaller sample enabled me to confirm the theories I was formulating. However, at the research site, and in order to understand the perceptions of the entire school population, I needed to associate with representatives of all the component groups that participated there. New questions arose while listening to people's explanations of the

reasons for their actions, their reasons for choosing one school over the other, their discouragement with different school activities, their life stories, and their hopes and dreams for their children.

Limitations of the Study

It should be mentioned here that I guaranteed the school participants whom I interviewed anonymity as well as confidentiality. Although I would quote their statements and would include my observations about their behavior, I promised to disguise them, to change their names in my report, and change the names of the schools and the country in which the schools are located. My purpose was to protect the informants from any negative consequences or embarrassment resulting from their expression of opinions about the schools, or from statements of a personal nature about their lives or their friends and associations. For this reason, I have also changed certain information that would enable others in the same setting to identify any participants. (The changes do not substantially alter the accuracy of any statements made by a school member in relation to the context for his statements. However, they do prevent that person from being identified.) As I explained to the informants, my intention was not to identify a particular school or the individuals who participated in the study; rather, I was interested in studying the pattern of intercultural interactions within that school community.

Because of the necessity to disguise the participants, the schools, and the country, vital details about the history of the schools and the economic and religious influences within the country

have been omitted here. All of these details are available but are not included in this dissertation in order to preserve the anonymity of the participants.

It is also important to note that this study applied to a specific and short period of time in a country and in schools undergoing continual changes. It is not possible, therefore, to predict what the long-term effects of the school members' experiences would be nor that the behaviors cited in this study, which took place during the six-month research period, would necessarily be repeated in that same setting at a future date.

In addition, this study is based upon a definite theoretical perspective--that of the participant-observer approach to research. I do not discount the validity of the quantitative approach, but have chosen to use qualitative methods in order to address the questions raised in this study and for the purpose of problem development rather than for measurement and prediction.

Last, although my contact with children was evenly balanced with that of adult informants, it was difficult within the formal interview situation to elicit statements from children regarding aspects of intercultural relations. Therefore, in Chapters VII, VIII, and IX, the majority of the quotations are from adults, whereas any statements made about children are usually based upon informal conversations with them or observations of their conduct.

Description of Remainder of Dissertation

It is my purpose in this dissertation to examine the role played by the overseas schools in promoting intercultural interactions in the school community. The analysis is based not on questionnaires or experimental design, but on extended participant observation and interviewing. In Chapter II, I present the positions taken by selected writers on the subject of intercultural relations in the overseas schools and, specifically, the potential of the schools as a force in intercultural relations, the attainment of these goals, and the reasons for the lack of attainment of intercultural understanding on the part of the schools. In Chapter III, I describe the research methodology and the data-collection procedures, the type of data collected, and the way in which the data were analyzed and synthesized.

In Chapters IV, V, and VI, the context for the study is examined: the two schools and the school members. The school environment, structure, and processes are discussed in Chapters IV and V, and in Chapter VI, the school members speak about their life styles, their perceptions of the schools, and their relationship to each other. We learn from this examination some of the patterns for their associations and commitments to the school and to the country.

The environmental and personal forces influencing the intercultural experiences of the school participants are presented in Chapter VII, and in Chapters VIII and IX, intercultural relations in the schools are discussed.

In Chapter X, I draw some conclusions regarding the role of the overseas schools in the intercultural experiences of their

members and suggest implications for further research as well as for program development.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF SELECTED LITERATURE

As an essential step in the preparation for this study, I pursued a search of the literature relating to intercultural relations in overseas schools. I conducted two ERIC computer searches of research in education on the subject of overseas American schools and cross-cultural relations, one in 1979, and again in 1980 to update this information, and, in addition, of social science research and doctoral dissertation abstracts for relevant literature. I visited the Office of Overseas Schools at the State Department and interviewed one of the regional education officers in 1980 to discuss the subject of the study. (He informed me of the absence of ethnographies on overseas schools and the need for such research.) I obtained literature from the International Studies Center at Michigan State University, where current information on overseas schools is available to interested students and professionals in the field. In addition, I corresponded with Dr. Paul Orr at the University of Alabama, who sent me pertinent information.

In the selected studies reviewed here, I present the views of authors representative of divergent opinions about the direction that overseas schools have taken and should be taking in promoting intercultural relations.

General Overview

Interest in overseas schools increased during the 1960s, and consequently most of the studies have been conducted since that time. Generally, they were undertaken by doctoral students in three universities that have maintained close working relationships with the overseas schools: the University of Alabama, the University of Arkansas, and Michigan State University. Often these universities assisted the overseas schools by furnishing consultant services, assistance in curriculum development, or by providing student teachers.

The authors of these studies were former teachers or administrators with first-hand experience in the overseas schools. The studies were concerned with teacher hiring or retention, administrative practices, or board concerns. In most cases the researcher was earning a degree in an education-related field and, in a few cases, in sociology. Of course, other studies concerned with expatriates or overseas Americans have been conducted by anthropologists or sociologists, in which overseas schools have been discussed; however, such schools were not central to the studies (Cohen, 1977; Nash, 1970).

The most complete review of literature on overseas schools was written by Orr (1974). He categorized the research according to school setting, institutionalization, school organization and administration, school program, personnel, and pupils. In addition, he identified the research by region and according to the methodology used: descriptive/historical, statistical, or prescriptive/theoretical.

Useem's "Annotated Bibliography on Third Culture Children" is another complete reference relating to children in the overseas setting

(Revised March 1975; Addition to Annotated Bibliography, June 13, 1979).

The following works focus on cross-cultural interactions in the overseas school, the forces that promote or inhibit those interactions, and the perceptions of the school participants:

Young (1960) examined the potential of the schools for achieving better inter-American relationships. Through the use of questionnaires sent to each of 37 schools belonging to a study group, objectives for fostering inter-American relationships were agreed upon by the school administrators. Young attempted to assess the extent to which the schools were achieving these objectives.

Orr (1964) used questionnaires and in-depth case studies of six overseas American schools in Latin America in his description of their chief characteristics, origins, objectives, problems, contributions to national systems, and potential for future growth.

Beans (1968) studied the history and development of the American School in São Paulo, Brazil, and evaluated the effectiveness of the school in contributing to world understanding.

Gleason (1969) studied the social-adjustment patterns and manifestations of world-mindedness of overseas-experienced youths.

Beimler (1972) studied the relationship of cross-cultural interactions to attitudes of "concerned world-mindedness" held by multinational student groups at the American High School in Mexico City.

Sokol (1972) studied selected member schools in the Association of Colombian-Caribbean Bi-national Schools and selected

non-American schools in the same cities. He recommended specific action programs for binational schools aimed to improve relations with the Colombian educational community. Interviews were held with the chief administrator of each school.

Helms (1972) studied community approval and disapproval of American overseas school programs, specifically curriculum, work habits, discipline, guidance, school-community relations, school board, and school plant. Important to this study were community expectations in the development of school policies. Helms used a community-attitude survey questionnaire, which was sent to randomly selected parents in 25 American overseas schools.

Snipe (1975) studied the educational goals of two American-sponsored schools in northern Mexico, using Phi Delta Kappa Educational Goals questionnaires, with the purpose of informing policy makers about the expectations of the school community.

Harvey (1976) sent questionnaires to 71 board members in selected overseas schools to obtain their perceptions of the purposes and goals of their schools and their interpretation of the role of the board in the schools' operations.

Duffey (1976) studied the international understanding of American students in two American-sponsored overseas schools to determine whether those students possess a higher degree of international understanding than students without overseas experience. He used attitude surveys, which were administered to students in the two schools and in one United States school.

Only Sokol and Orr interviewed school participants and explored the effect of environmental constraints upon school operation. Although they examined the perceptions of school participants, they did not conduct their studies as participant-observers, as did Wright (1979) and Hager (1978). Wright participated in the daily school activities in selected schools in the Far East, studying the interactions of American, host-country, and third-country youths; Hager conducted a case study of the American School of the Hague, exploring the values, attitudes, and norms of the individuals there. The latter two studies did not, however, explore the home, parental attitudes, and other environmental factors in the school community. Orr (1974) noted that

an apparent void in the research is the level of knowledge American Sponsored Overseas School personnel and clientele have about the macro-societal setting in which they work and the many relationships that this knowledge--or lack of it--may have on the perceptions and behaviors of the school and those related to it. . . . Clearly this is an area in which research needs to be conducted (pp. 28-29).

Wenner (1970) studied the cross-cultural interaction patterns of Department of Defense school members in the host culture. Although his study has a certain applicability to the present study, Orr (1974) has said,

the recognized differences between the DOD school and the American-sponsored overseas school indicate that further exploration of the topic in the ASOS setting might obtain different results, and provide further insight into problems related to cross-cultural interactions among students (p. 29).

None of the above deals directly with the subject of the present study, although the writers have addressed some of the issues implicit in this topic. Some of the authors, as well as educational theorists, curriculum writers, politicians, scholars, and others, have discussed the stated aims and potential of the overseas schools in the area of intercultural relations, and some have also concerned themselves with the accomplishment of such goals and the inability of the schools to attain their objectives.

Opportunities to Promote Intercultural Understanding

The stated potential of the school in all areas will be reviewed here, as well as that of intercultural relations. The stated claims, assumptions, expectations, goals, and potentials of the overseas American schools are here grouped in the following categories: (1) the potential of the school organization as a demonstration center for American ideals and democratic processes for its multinational student population, and its ability to promote international understanding; (2) the potential of school programs such as school-to-school projects and teacher exchanges; and (3) the potential of the curriculum to contribute to the needs of the country, to offer a quality educational program, and to use the country as a resource.

Potential of the School Organization in Cross-Cultural Relations

Public awareness of the potential of the overseas school in international relations, and possibly the greatest impetus for public support of the overseas schools, resulted from the passage of the

International Education and Health Acts of 1966 and President Lyndon B. Johnson's 1966 message to Congress, in which he stated:

We have a potentially rich resource in the American elementary and secondary schools and colleges assisted by the Department of State and the Agency for International Development. They should be showcases for excellence in education. They should help make overseas service attractive to our own citizens. They should provide close contact with students and teachers of the host country (Luebke & Mannino, 1966, p. 3).

Orr (1974) discussed the major goals of the American-sponsored overseas schools and cited their ability to demonstrate American democratic principles. He stated that "as a result of its origin and management, ASOS functions as a living example of American community democracy" (p. 10). Kelly (1974) stated that "opportunities abound for teamwork and for entire staffs to actively participate in decision-making" (p. 83). The ASOS are considered to be ideal centers for demonstration to the local educational authorities and interested visitors the most positive forms of American education, innovation, and experimentation. The school plant is seen as a potential community center--a focal point for educational activities and for meeting of local groups on issues related to education (Domidion, 1964; Taylor, 1974).

A subject much discussed in the literature is the potential benefit of the multicultural environment for the children attending the schools and for their families. The prevalent opinion is that their association in such a setting will create a global consciousness in the children. Indicative of this opinion is Beans' (1968) statement: "the students . . . are able to interpret and share the culture and customs of a wonderful country through the intimate associations

which can only come through living through school years together" (p. 108). Kelly (1974) also said that the overseas schools are small, and interpersonal relationships tend to be close. Wright (1979) saw opportunities in the schools to "provide a unique and possibly ideal experiential learning laboratory for developing global perspectives, skills in interpersonal interaction, and understanding the 'self'" (p. 3).

Speaking to a regional overseas board members' seminar, Mannino (1978) stated,

The United States government places high importance on the schools that you manage. Not only because your schools are needed to provide proper educational opportunities for the dependent children of those who are serving the U.S. government overseas, but because it is well understood that inter-culturally, there can not be a better breeding ground than the American Sponsored Elementary and Secondary School, for the building of mutual understanding between the peoples of the world (p. 12).

The Commission for the Assessment of the Intercultural Contributions of the American-Sponsored Overseas School (hereafter referred to as The Commission) was appointed by the American Association of School Administrators in 1970. They agreed that the schools are "laboratories for international understanding" and that "the American sponsored schools are small enough to encourage the warm human relationships that are fundamental to the development of deep understanding of the universality of mankind's primary needs" (The Commission, 1971, p. 15).

A set of objectives was established by a selected group of administrators concerned with better inter-American relationships by means of action sponsored by the overseas schools. Young (1960) said,

These, if used as the basis of decisions by the administrators, boards, and teachers of North American schools in Latin America, could help significantly to win Latin Americans as sincere friends and allies of the democratic faith and of ourselves (p. 306).

Orr (1968) provided the most complete description of the opportunities in overseas schools for promoting intercultural understanding:

1. make classmates and close friends out of future international leaders,
2. serve as an important agency for local community activity and improvement,
3. promote programs designed to facilitate the achievement of international objectives and serve as a laboratory for multi-cultural curriculum development,
4. provide the United States with a large corps of American youth who have knowledge of the languages and cultures of the homes abroad, and who thus represent a youth group with the potential for international service and leadership,
5. provide the U.S. culture with teachers who have had peacetime overseas teaching experience and multi-cultural orientation,
6. serve as an ideal overseas assignment center for teachers in American school systems who would benefit from international experience and who would greatly enrich their schools upon their return, and
7. serve as training ground for student teachers of American colleges and universities to provide multi-cultural experiences for prospective teachers (pp. 5-6).

It will be noted that international understanding is defined in various ways in these selections. To Young (1960), international understanding denoted the ability to "win sincere friends and allies," to Wright (1979) it signified the potential to "develop global perspectives [and] skills in interpersonal interaction," and Mannino (1978) defined it as "mutual understanding." The Commission (1971) saw the potential in developing fundamental warm human relationships,

and Orr (1968) defined this potential in terms of its ability to create change agents--models of understanding.

Potential of School Programs

Several authors have spoken of the potential of the school-to-school programs to involve public schools in the United States and American-sponsored overseas schools in the preparation of instructional materials and in promoting activities that "provide direct international or cross-cultural experience" (Orr, 1977, p. 7).

Taylor (1974) spoke of collaborating with the American overseas schools "where internships, practice teaching, and curriculum making can be carried out" (p. 199). Such programs are intended to provide teachers with an international dimension

which is defined not only as possessing information but also as the wisdom to recognize internationalism as a frame of mind, an attitude, a concept of oneself as a member of an international community--it means behaving interdependently rather than independently (Orr, 1977, p. 7).

Taylor further suggested ways in which these teacher exchanges could be accomplished. Supervising faculty members can place interested students in an overseas school as well as supervising the language training and involvement in such activities as

study of education, community development, family life, child-rearing, value systems, or teaching problems. At the same time the student, as an assistant teacher, would make a contribution to a school and to the community. Under the best circumstances, the student teacher would consider himself to be based at the school while he explored the community, the social structure, the history, and educational problems of the country in which he was located (pp. 199-200).

The Commission (1971) expressed confidence that the teacher exchanges would have an important effect upon U.S. classrooms. They said that

the daily associations involved in planning learning experiences, consulting about individual learning problems, seeking interpretations of new learning materials, mastering new techniques and new teaching technology contribute to a unity of spirit and purpose in a multi-national faculty (p. 24).

Potential of the Curriculum

Countless references have been made in the literature concerning the potential of the school to offer a quality education to the students. Kelly (1973) stated, "The potential for superior education exists, but some method must be found to guarantee that the school will achieve its potential. . . . Be assured, however, that within the structure of the schools there is an answer" (p. 19).

Several authors have suggested that the school's potential in offering a quality education is related to the resources available: the material resources as well as the highly educated and internationally experienced staff and parent community. Others have considered the overseas school to have high potential to contribute to the educational development of the host country. Domidion (1964) said that the school plant might serve as a community center for many nationalities, educational authorities in the local area, and visits by local teachers who could learn about American education.

Rather than learning about the host country from outdated textbooks that are selective in their reporting of international events, political ideologies, and economic conditions, the children

attending overseas schools are usually living in the midst of rapid industrial growth, economic upheaval, and governmental changes. The potential of such an environment for research, curriculum development, and for the testing of stereotypes and theories has been discussed by several authors. Kelly (1974) stated that "the idealist may find it easy to envision, from his position in the States, the unlimited potential for capitalizing upon the local environment" (p. 83).

Orr (1968) stated that

the eventual objectives of all American-type schools overseas should be to serve equally the American and local communities, offering a truly integrated curriculum, one which takes full advantage of the opportunities offered by the representative cultures and educational systems (p. 9).

Young (1962) said that ignorance is a primary cause of mistrust and misunderstanding among countries and that the curriculum could dispel myths about customs and beliefs--to increase knowledge of each other's history, geography, and values.

This review of selected statements about opportunities in overseas schools contains the perspectives of various authors with different experiences and associations. Other researchers have tested these assumptions or have reported their actual experiences in overseas schools, providing contrasting opinions regarding the accomplishment of these goals or potentials.

Opportunities in Intercultural Relations: Fulfilled or Unfulfilled

Orr (1976) stated, "the single most interesting phenomenon about these schools is that so many people and groups are interested in them for so many different reasons" (p. v). Just as there is

variety in the goals and stated objectives, there is diversity in the claims and counterclaims as to their achievement. He said that some of the schools do succeed in accomplishing the most ideal of the goals. "This characterization continues, however, to be a goal rather than a reality for the vast majority of the schools" (p. v).

Assessing the Accomplishment of the School Organization

Although it is agreed that host nationals have been encouraged to participate in the governance of the schools and that significant progress has been made in the cooperative control of the schools, Orr (1980) acknowledged that certain powerful groups within the school community may have special interests that may or may not contribute to the overall aims and purposes of the school. He said,

It is true, of course, that groups outside the schools do hold and pursue their own legitimate and consistent purposes as they support, assist and seek to guide all ASOS and to influence each school's organization, operation and goals (p. 34).

The Commission (1971) found that the school boards were taking their role very seriously and, with participants from the host nation and multinational groups, were learning about American philosophy of education. They learned that philosophy through their joint establishment of educational goals, objectives, and policies for the schools. In addition to demonstrating American educational philosophy through the board structure, Luebke (1976) stated that overseas schools have successfully served as demonstration centers in their cooperation with local teacher-training institutions, by inviting local educators to

attend regional workshops, and in cooperating with the local ministry of education.

The most widely discussed opportunity in intercultural relations is the school environment. Not only do students associate with other students from different countries, but they are seen as immersing themselves in the local culture. In assessing this opportunity, The Commission (1971) stated that the "American-sponsored schools provide more opportunity for prolonged person-to-person international association than any other single institution or program. They are vital and effective laboratories of international understanding" (p. 9).

In contrast to the preceding evaluation, Hager (1978) said that even though the school had a multinational population, "throughout the school day the child had been almost completely insulated and isolated from the Dutch culture," and that with only a few exceptions, "students did not integrate into activities involving Dutch students" (p. 231). He concluded that "very little interaction takes place between students at the American school and students of the host culture" (p. 234). Wolf (1968) agreed and noted that "keeping the children American presented no problems in these schools or in the community, since their exposure to the country in which they lived was so minimal as to have little positive effect" (p. 220).

There are also references in the literature to actual contributions of the ASOS in intercultural relations. The Commission (1971) stated that "American-sponsored overseas schools are, indeed, making significant contributions to intercultural understanding" (p. 40). It

cited the many activities sponsored by the school, adding that assessing the contributions of the schools to international understanding is difficult to accomplish.

The ideal goals of the overseas schools are stated throughout the literature. However, studies that focused on their success in promoting international understanding had negative evaluations (Leach, 1974; Cohen, 1977; Wright, 1979; Orr, 1964; Taylor, 1974). Cohen (1977) stated that the school symbolizes to the outside "its separateness and exclusiveness from the surrounding society" (p. 41).

The Commission (1971) said that the accommodation of the U.S. pupil takes priority, and sometimes that of the host pupil is an afterthought. Wright (1979) stated that adolescent deviancy, such as disrespect for authority within the schools and for the institutional values of the host country, can precipitate international tensions. Orr (1974) agreed that the school has great potential but that very few attempts have been made toward achieving its potential in international understanding.

Taylor (1974) stated,

The internationalism of the school is seldom carried very far, and the character of the schools is essentially American, a suburban white-middle-class school transposed into a foreign setting with nationals from the host country entering what amounts to an American curricula with all its parochialism, strengths and weaknesses. The governing board with their American members, the American faculty, and the American parents, combine to create a cultural surrogate which is in many ways antithetical to a spirit of internationalism, with . . . a curriculum and instructional approach as much like an American school as possible; that is to say, with only a slight trace of international flavor (pp. 202-203).

Kelly (1973) said that rather than promoting international understanding, schools can create strained relationships with the host government. "Particularly is this evident when the school buildings become monuments to American affluence rather than centers of friendships." In addition, he said that "the history of American schools overseas is replete with problems that have created cross-cultural tensions that have had to be resolved at the Ambassadorial level" (p. 19).

Thus, while the potential of the school in the area of international understanding cannot be denied, there is little evidence that the schools have made a significant contribution in this field.

School Programs and Their Actual Contributions

What has been the success of school-to-school projects in achieving the goals assigned to them? Orr (1974) concluded that

ASOS frequently relate to U.S. schools in school-to-school projects and these have ranged from outstandingly successful to insignificant; exchange of personnel and materials fosters cross-cultural understanding and results in better personnel; linkage provides opportunities for joint projects--the committed and bold are successful, the reluctant and unimaginative are pedestrian (p. 36).

Kelly (1974) and The Commission (1971) agreed that when these projects operated according to established guidelines, they were effective in resolving problems of high mobility and in providing exchanges of cross-cultural experiences.

The Commission described some successful teacher-exchange programs involving American universities engaged in to a limited

degree, and noted that the participants agreed on their favorable effect in promoting cross-cultural experiences.

Assessing Curriculum Contributions

The primary purpose in the founding and support of overseas schools has been to offer a quality educational program for students living outside of the United States; the secondary purpose has been to contribute to international understanding. Orr has written extensively on the subject of educational quality and stated that there are few controls placed on the instructional program. Accreditation of overseas schools has been the most effective method of promoting quality education (1974, p. 35). However, the Office of Overseas Schools is limited in the controls it can apply: kinds of programs offered, nationality of teachers, and other standards unrelated to the quality of the educational program.

Overseas schools are hampered in their ability to provide a quality program, according to Orr, because of rapid turnover of staff and students; the distance of the schools from the United States and the resulting difficulty in obtaining quality educational materials; the problems of hiring teachers from the United States, including the high cost of transportation; the changing enrollments, affecting the ability to offer a comprehensive curriculum; and the isolation of the schools from one another, making it unfeasible to share services and materials (Orr, 1974, p. 9).

Several authors mentioned projects initiated by overseas schools that contribute to educational development within the host

country. Domidion (1964) reported on such special services as test preparation and curriculum development and the effect of these projects in fostering cooperation. The Commission (1971) noted that some overseas schools provide teaching programs for local teachers. It also cited examples of schools assisting local communities in times of natural disasters and of offering vocational education programs for their students and for local residents. (Orr (1964) acknowledged that such efforts occur only in a small minority of schools.) The Commission applauded the efforts by some schools to involve themselves with the local community and "the efforts of Americans overseas toward carrying the traditions of community involvement to their temporary homes" (p. 31). However, Taylor (1974) found the schools negligent more often than not. He quoted a newspaper article about a student in a Saigon school who expressed boredom, saying that "for most kids, it gets sort of dull in Saigon. We drive around on our Hondas in the afternoon, we go down to the USO sometimes, or we just walk around." Taylor asked,

Is this an example of an American philosophy of education in action? Are there no projects in community aid, English teaching, public health, hospital work, social service in Saigon, which could put such fifteen-year-old Americans to work and teach them to understand a Vietnamese society in the throes of dissolution? (p. 277).

Contributing to the educational development of the country in which the school is located may appear as a presumptuous notion to some readers. Kelly (1974) noted that educators "should be aware that operating an American school may be interfering with the sovereignty and integrity of the local educators" (p. 83).

Does the overseas school have an instructional program that is relevant to problems within the country, or is it, as has been suggested by some writers, a program that is merely transplanted from the United States? In his analysis of Young's objectives for the promotion of international understanding, Orr (1964) stated that they "tend to idealize if not romanticize intercultural relations. The programs of instruction, however, are not generally related to the objectives, and the result is generally a mediocre or even negative impact on the immediate and surrounding community." He concluded that the objectives are "historically irrelevant to the schools themselves, low motivators of actual school behavior, and possibly irrelevant to the culture in which the schools operate" (p. 200).

In his study of fifty-three schools, Orr (1964) reported that only two of those schools "seriously studied their students' programs and/or surrounding environment" and that "the majority of binational schools are essentially indifferent to the general educational systems in which they operate" (p. 204).

Nash's (1970) anthropological study of Ciudad Condal reported the same conclusions. Although there were three American schools serving host children as well as Americans, the schools "addressed themselves to the needs of the American community" (p. 16). Further, he stated that the schools tended to follow American curricula, and since host children were among those educated, the teachers, besides serving the needs of the American community, were agents for the diffusion of American culture as well.

Several authors have reported the attitude among American parents that the study of the host country is irrelevant to their children's needs. The Commission (1971) responded to this concern by stating that such study is focused upon learning skills rather than on the content of the courses. Because of this concern on the part of some parents, Luebke (1976) said that "some schools operate simply as transplanted American institutions, as islands within the cultures which surround them" (p. 44). However, increasing numbers of schools are using the rich resources available to them in curriculum development. More and more schools have local-language and "culture" courses involving students and teachers, field trips to acquaint students with the host community, in-service training programs, special curriculum guides relating to the host country, and workshops.

Wright (1979) said that the curriculum in the American schools he studied focused on other than American subjects in its English-as-a-second-language programs, and The Commission (1971) reported several schools that included the study of foreign cultures in their curricular offerings.

However, Orr (1964), Wolf (1968), and Nash (1970) noted the resistance to including subjects relating to the host society in the curricula of some of the schools. Nash found that the schools in Ciudad Condal were plagued with problems of ethnocentrism, especially, according to his informants, among the adolescents. "They tended to think that the United States was the center of the universe and that learning about a foreign culture was a waste of time." He noted that

they resisted studying Spanish and that the school had to make a special effort to counteract negative attitudes toward topics relating to the host society. The school offered lectures on Spanish and Catalan culture for the students and parents; an informant said, "The American girls forget that they are foreigners and that they have to make an effort to adapt to a country where the customs are very different. They have to be indoctrinated. . ." (p. 71).

Wolf reported similar occurrences in Ankara, Turkey, where the Turkish language was not taught in any of the American schools. The reasons given by the administrators were

that it took too much time; that the children weren't interested; that if they really wanted to learn Turkish, they would "pick it up" from their Turkish friends; that they wouldn't remember it after they'd left Turkey, or, as one principal said, "Where would they ever use it again? It's not like French or German" (pp. 218-19).

She said that although some of the Turkish teachers felt that the children demonstrated interest in and curiosity about Turkey, all of the American teachers, counsellors, and administrators interviewed believed that they were not interested and that some felt actively hostile toward the Turks.

In agreement with the assessment of Nash and Wolf, Orr (1974) stated that most countries have only a token inclusion of the host language, culture, and history in the instructional program, except for those countries with a majority of host students in the school or where the government requires the school to maintain a host program and language component. Cohen (1977) agreed that the curriculum of the home country is "usually faithfully followed, with only minimal,

and often merely token, inclusion of themes relating to the host country" (p. 45).

The disparity between the potential for the overseas schools and what has been reported in the literature about attaining their goals of intercultural communication, quality education, and the demonstration of democratic ideals can be explained, in part, by the pronounced differences in the schools' size, clientele, and the political environment in which they operate, and therefore corresponding variation in achieving such objectives. Even though there are schools that have been able to incorporate some of the ideal qualities that have been reviewed here, it is clear that very few have benefited from their environment insofar as developing an international curriculum and encouraging the contributions to the local community that many authors and institutions view as possible and desirable.

Discrepancies Between Aspirations and Achievements in Intercultural Relations

Several writers have spoken directly to the subject of the discrepancy between the assumed potential and the reality of conditions in the overseas school setting. Others have suggested methods for improving the schools or achieving some of their goals.

Deficiencies in the School Organization

Some authors have cited problems in administration: either inadequate administration, due to lack of experience or failure to understand conditions in overseas schools different from those in the

United States, or, as Domidion (1964) reported, administrators felt unprepared to work with the power structure of the host community.

Young (1962) reported that "there is very little effort, however, to guide or direct the group of schools toward achievement of some set of objectives involving inter-American relationships" (p. 306). He and other authors discussed the need for leadership cognizant of the needs and objectives of the schools for intergroup understanding (Orr, 1978; Bahner, 1974).

Writers who have discussed the difficulties of overseas schools in achieving their objectives have cited financial concerns as the major problem. Without tax support and with the frequent withdrawal of large groups of students, high costs of text materials and the obligation to pay higher salaries and transportation expenses, finances were seen as a major inhibiting factor in the fulfillment of the schools' goals (Orr, 1964).

Orr (1976), Kelly (1973), Fox, Bowyer, and Link (1977), and Taylor (1974) discussed the importance of establishing goals and for clearly defining the schools' missions. They also pointed out the problems that result from the erratic pattern of frequently changing objectives and purposes.

Many overseas schools originated primarily to attend to the educational needs of American children. With sudden losses in enrollments, many schools had to diversify their programs to continue operation. For example, some began teaching English as a second language to host citizens in the community; others began accepting all students who applied, regardless of qualifications. But as their enrollments

increased and the schools reached capacity, they became more selective. In both situations, the schools' objectives changed; however, when this occurred, in most cases there were no accompanying changes in policy. Orr (1976) said that this conflict between written and implied policies created dissatisfaction and tensions within the schools. He said further,

Most, however, were founded for purposes which do not currently reflect the reality of the school. Indeed, most of the schools are far more complex, and serve many more and many different purposes than their original founders had conceived. The result of this type of largely unplanned development has often created serious lags and inconsistencies in the stated objectives of the school and the reality of the operation and function of the school (p. 8).

For this reason, it is important that schools maintain policies that accurately reflect the opinions and expectations of their clientele and that they continually review and revise their goals. Although the need for policies is accepted among school administrators, Orr reported that the vast majority of overseas schools are underdeveloped in goal preparation and policy innovation.

School policy implies the establishment of the school's mission or long-range goals and purposes. Orr reported that "many of the schools lack a sense of direction and have no systematic plan to develop and improve" (p. 73), and Taylor (1974) noted that there is often "a lack of clarity as to what American educational philosophy amounts to" (p. 200). Beans (1968) indicated a lack of attention to school philosophy and mission in reporting that the American school he studied had not revised its philosophy in written form since 1948,

the year it submitted its philosophy and objectives to the Southern Association of Schools for evaluation.

Several authors spoke about the effect of differing and contrasting opinions about the goals of the school on intercultural understanding and interactions. Orr (1974) said that "the massive involvement of people and groups naturally results in a wide range and variety of differences of opinion about the organization, goals, conditions of operation and future of the ASOS" (p. 17). Schools that do not take into account the views of their constituency will find that efforts to meet certain objectives will be impeded; communication with the clientele is vital, and the constituency is thus able to examine its own expectations (Fox, Boywer & Link, 1977). Kelly (1973) noted that parents often expect the school to assume functions not normally within its domain, and that once the school accepts such an expanded role it dilutes its primary function of providing education.

Although Orr spoke more directly about the gap between overseas schools' stated objectives and their actual accomplishments, several authors have alluded to the cause of the discrepancy and have suggested ways to alleviate the resulting problems.

Some authors have cited the lack of structured activities, aimed directly at promoting cultural interactions, and called for more such projects (Hiliard, 1974, p. 156). Wright (1979) discussed the positive and negative effects of activities that either facilitated or inhibited transnational student interaction and cited the need for increasing those that promoted positive communication. Nash (1970) mentioned the "failure of the schools to develop extra-curricular

activities which would have brought . . . students together outside of the school" (p. 71). Beimler (1972) also recommended "carefully designed and controlled international and binational schools experiences [that] can reduce dissonance and build positive cross-cultural experiences" (p. 10). In addition, she stated that

the implication of this study is the need to build into the overseas environment more inter-personal opportunities for positive cross-cultural experiences. Information from the studied curriculum about other cultures is not enough. Students ask for more social and personal experiences with those who are of different nationality in their school and communities. They want more interaction in informal out-of school experiences. . . (p. 84).

Some authors felt that the school cannot achieve its goals when the teachers lack preparation for working in overseas schools: the teacher is the conveyor of a global perspective to the student population and requires special in-service training for transmitting these ideals into the classroom environment. King (1968) recommended orientation for new teachers because of their lack of knowledge about the community and the country.

Environmental Influences

The discrepancy between the stated and unstated objectives of the school often occurs because of environmental pressures that the school is unable to control, such as political conditions within the country, receptivity of the host population to the existence of the school, the mixture of cultural and ethnic groups within the school, and the lack of continuity of the school program due to high mobility of the staff and clientele. Although these conditions seem to be obvious impediments to the school's achieving its objectives, the

social, moral, legal, and political conditions of the country are generally not sufficiently considered (Orr, 1974). Not only is it important to understand the legal constraints under which the school operates in the host country because of their effect on its legitimacy, but also because claims are made about the school's ability to adapt to the needs of the host-country students.

Some authors have cited the mixture of national and cultural groups as an important factor in reaching consensus with respect to educational goals and curriculum content. Bjork (1965) suggested that attaining such goals would "require serious considerations of cultural factors involved in the reconciliation of basic differences present among the pupils, teachers, parents and communities" (pp. 113-14). He also stated that binational schools represent institutions that are confronted with making adjustments to the expectations of different cultural groups.

Orr (1976) and Gleason (1969) did not agree that the contrasting opinions necessarily result from the different national and cultural groups that make up the school community: they included in opinion groups certain professional or social classes. Orr noted that missionaries, diplomats, academics, and businesspeople often have divergent views on education and that it is erroneous to assume that national groups are homogeneous in their educational goals and objectives.

Some authors also cited other environmental factors significantly affecting attainment of the school's goal of international understanding. High mobility of staff, students, and parents promotes

inconsistency in the school's programs (Kelly, 1973). Low enrollments also prevent the school's providing a comprehensive program incorporating the host country's educational needs with all elements of the U.S. curriculum. In addition, because of the isolation of many schools, consultants, specialists, and quality materials needed for their curriculum objectives are not accessible (Orr, 1974).

These selected studies about the stated aims and potential of overseas schools and their actual accomplishments showed general agreement on the schools' potential as demonstration centers of democratic principles, as environments with opportunities to develop global consciousness, and which could encourage exchange projects of mutual benefit to their participants. There was also consensus about the potential for developing quality programs, to contribute to educational development within the host country, and to use the country as a resource.

There was also agreement concerning the achievement of the potential. Generally, the writers said that the schools did not serve as demonstration centers, had not profited from the multi-cultural environment, had not successfully promoted intercultural interactions, and had experienced success with a limited number of school-to-school projects. And there was agreement about the limited contribution of the schools to the host country as well as the exploitation of the countries as resources in curriculum development.

However, the authors reported here failed to agree about the reasons for lack of attainment of the goals. Some cited poor administration, absence of school policy or objectives, financial problems,

or lack of staff development. Others claimed that the causes lay in environmental conditions within the country, the cultural mixture in the schools, or the high mobility rate.

The lack of agreement in an area where all sources concur regarding the school's great potential, results, rather, from insufficient information about all of the forces acting upon the schools and their members and the way in which these forces interact. As stated in Chapter I, only by participating in the day-to-day activities of the school, as well as in those of the school members, can this problem be understood. Absence of adequate answers to the problem posed in Chapter I suggests a need for research methods that examine the range of influences acting upon the overseas school and its participants and the interplay of these influences. In the next chapter I will present those methods and the manner in which this study, which addressed that problem, was undertaken.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESCRIPTION OF DATA

In ethnographic research, the researcher does not enter the field with hypotheses formulated. Variables are not specified prior to the investigation; rather, the study often unfolds as the research proceeds (Cassell, 1978). It is the researcher's obligation to discover in the total environment all of the influences upon the subjects' behavior and to generate hypotheses concerning patterns of behavior as they become evident. The researcher enters the field with certain questions formulated, questions that guide the research, questions that are changed and modified as the research progresses. Lofland (1971) stated:

Qualitative analysts ask such questions as: What kinds of things are going on here? What are the forms of this phenomenon? What variations do we find in this phenomenon? That is, qualitative analysis is addressed to the task of delineating forms, kinds, or types of social phenomena; of documenting in loving detail the things that exist (p. 13).

Pelto and Pelto (1978) described the ways in which the researcher engages in this study:

The anthropological fieldworker, Malinowski stressed, should totally immerse himself in the lives of the people; and that can only be done through months of residence in the local community. Whenever possible the fieldworker should master the language of the people, though much of the behavior available for observation is nonverbal. Residence in the research community ensures, as Malinowski suggests, that the fieldworker observe details of daily life and activity enacted by the people who have become

relatively indifferent to, and unabashed by, the presence of the foreigner. The fieldworker sees elements of daily life repeated over and over again; they become commonplace (p. 68).

I viewed the two schools and the community they served as a unit--a social system with interacting and interdependent parts. My task was to learn from the people, as a participant observer in their social system, how they viewed their social reality and the intercultural exchanges within that reality.

In conducting an ethnography, the researcher is, in effect, the instrument being used for the study. The perceptions, interpretations, and meanings assigned to situations influence the type of analysis and conclusions that are drawn. For this reason, in the following section, I present some of my life experiences that relate to the choice of research topic and to my attitudes toward cross-cultural relations and overseas schools.

Background Information

Introducing the Researcher

My fascination with the subject of cross-cultural relations and American-sponsored overseas schools can be explained by relating some events in my life that affected my thinking.

Of any individual in my life, my mother has been the strongest influence upon my attitudes and opinions on a wide range of subjects. She consciously structured my brother's and my early associations so that we would be exposed to people of various political persuasions. She did not encourage our friendships with the neighborhood children and favored the friends whom we met at the Unitarian Church, children

whose parents were more intellectual than the neighbors, whose racial background was of more variety than that of my segregated suburb, and who were devoted humanitarians. I was well indoctrinated in the concepts of cultural relativity and the brotherhood of humankind. The predominating theme throughout my early life, and kept very much at the conscious level, was the notion that life must be dedicated to productivity and to helping eradicate discrimination and inequality. My mother was outspoken on the subject of identity. How often I remember her saying, "You are what you do, not what you were born." This was the guiding principle of her life and was demonstrated in her political activities, union organization, involvement in peace action groups, and in civil rights organizations.

I was raised to identify myself as a "world citizen." People who emphasized their nationality were discussed in pejorative terms in our household: they were ethnocentric, one of the gravest sins possible.

During the 1960s, I helped organize an inner-city school for young children in a southern city, an experience that influenced my decision to specialize later in education that would benefit minorities.

In college, I studied sociology as an undergraduate and received an MA in education for the potentially handicapped. I taught in inner-city elementary schools in the South before fulfilling a life-long dream to live and work in Latin America. I had studied Spanish as an undergraduate and was completely absorbed by the excitement of communicating in another language and was attracted by the challenge of living in a foreign country. A two-month overseas study project

in Yucatan (where, while conducting the study of child-rearing practices, I lived in a village and slept in a hammock) convinced me that I was well-suited to such a way of life.

I taught elementary school at an overseas American school in Mexico and was later promoted to elementary principal. I was also director of two small overseas American schools in Brazil and Peru. In these three countries, I became fascinated by the relationships between the host nationals and the American and third-country nationals. I was also intrigued by the role of the school organization and its programs in affecting relationships among the school members. I observed how isolated these schools were from life in the host community and wondered about the educational philosophy of the parents and those who developed the educational goals for the schools. From the beginning of my participation in school and community life in Mexico and then later in Brazil and Peru, I was an observer of the interactions and processes unfolding before my eyes. I felt very much like an anthropologist, informally interviewing and making constant mental notes of the events and behaviors I was observing.

I must also mention my fascination with Spanish and the importance it has had in directing my life choices. My first confrontation with Spanish was doomed because of prejudice against the language that my father had instilled in me (he was a classical scholar and considered only Greek and Latin worthy of learning). However, I reluctantly took a required course and unexpectedly discovered that Spanish and I had quite an affinity for each other; I studied it with ever-increasing interest and discipline. I hired tutors, cornered

Hispanics in the school cafeteria, and arranged the overseas study project in order to increase my fluency in the language. I desired perfection and was never satisfied to have a slight gringo (American) accent. Part of the incentive for pursuing a doctoral research project in a Spanish-speaking country was my awareness of the motivational effects of being in a Spanish-speaking environment. Also, if I was going to uproot my children for six months, how could I better compensate for such a change than by giving them another opportunity to be exposed to Spanish?

Selection of the Topic

When I decided to return from Peru to pursue doctoral work in educational administration, I knew exactly what subject I would choose for the dissertation. Although I had not explored the alternative research designs available, I had the idea of examining the subject of ethnocentrism in children attending overseas schools. I was convinced that such children were more ethnocentric than their counterparts attending schools in the United States; rather than taking advantage of the opportunity to educate children to be global citizens, the overseas schools and parents tended to emphasize the negative aspects of foreign living and to stress nationality.

At Michigan State University, I talked with professors concerning the ideas I had for the research project. Several thought the subject was interesting but that the project was overly ambitious. Some were enthusiastic about the idea and offered their support. My classes were subsequently selected and papers were written directed

toward understanding the subjects of school organization, cross-cultural relations, and ethnocentrism.

I then developed a proposal for an experimental study of ethnocentrism in overseas school children. My intention was to develop an instrument for measuring such ethnocentrism. I proposed to demonstrate that, contrary to popular opinion, children attending overseas schools became more ethnocentric as a result of living in the overseas environment.

My dissertation director consulted with me patiently on many occasions, pointing out that such a study could demonstrate that greater ethnocentrism existed in children attending overseas schools, but would shed very little light on how such attitudes developed. What would be more fruitful, and ultimately could produce greater understanding of overseas conditions, would be a community study focusing on the relationship of the overseas school to the lives of the school participants and those of the host community. Such a study would present readers with a picture of the interactions and involvements in overseas schools and the various influences on the associations of the school members in host community life.

I reluctantly considered this viewpoint, finally accepting that a description of overseas life could provide considerably more information to the reader than the limited study I was contemplating. I then developed a proposal for an ethnographic study of cross-cultural relations in the overseas school and community.

Preparation for Entry Into Research Site

I had originally intended to pursue a study in Mexico because of having previous experience there, and also because my children could alternately stay with my mother, who had lived there since 1967, and with me at the research site. However, two professors with considerable experience as consultants to overseas schools in Latin America, suggested that they could make arrangements for the study to take place in Fortaleza. They made the initial contact for me with the director of the Washington School, after which I spoke with the school director on the phone concerning my purposes in conducting the research. I well remember this first conversation as initiating what was to become a constant state of tension, apprehension, and self-consciousness--to remain with me until the final day of my research. This was a period of introspection, of self-absorption and self-criticism, and constant examination of everything I said at the research site. I was always aware that the success of my research depended upon my ability to remain neutral, to be inoffensive, to be unobtrusive, and not to align myself with any particular group or individuals.

During the months of preparation prior to leaving for Fortaleza to engage in the research, I applied for and received approval to undertake the study from the University Committee for Research Involving Human Subjects. (Information regarding the Committee approval is available in my files.)

Because of the nature of ethnographic research and the personal contact of the researcher with the informants, the Committee was

concerned about the welfare of the children and parents whom I would interview. I was advised that I should promise anonymity and confidentiality to the informants and that I should disguise the school and the country; not only would this improve my prospects of receiving permission to conduct the study, but it would encourage the informants to express their feelings, ideas, and opinions freely.

The issue of confidentiality was important to a minority of the informants, and I found that my commitment to disguise names and places was later to create difficulties in writing an authentic report of my research. The problem of disguising the country, the school, and information about the school members was a serious one, although not insurmountable.

I prepared strategies for entry into the two schools and the community, developed sample interview formats and questionnaires to be used with adult school members, the students, and community participants. I also prepared sample letters for use by the school directors to introduce me to their community. Based on information given me by the director at the school, I planned a tentative schedule for classroom observation, attendance at meetings and extra-curricular activities, and with the school participants.

As a school parent (my two children were to be enrolled in each of the schools), I planned to become involved in the activities of the PTA. As a community member, I intended to contact the American Women's Club to learn about other expatriate organizations, and to visit the American Embassy to obtain demographic information about the American community.

Although I could predict the types of organizations I would find and could plan ways to involve myself in their activities, I could not have anticipated how extensive the community would be. My experience in three overseas American schools had occurred in secondary, not capital, cities, although I had participated in extensive observation of schools in several capitals.

Gaining Entry and Establishing Rapport in the Field

I must admit to a high degree of self-confidence in pursuing this research. My previous experience in three overseas schools; knowledge of Spanish; experience as a teacher, principal, and school parent; and my unreserved love of Latin-American countries gave me more than sufficient knowledge about how to prepare myself for the six-month study period. I was often informed by friends who had participated in similar research that six months was the minimum and somewhat limited period in which to conduct an ethnographic study. I reminded them that much of the early research period was spent in familiarizing oneself with the environment, in learning about the rules of conduct, and about the social organization. Because of my previous experiences, I expected to walk into the overseas community and begin immediately to assume my role as researcher/parent/community member.

This apparent over-confidence was merited and did allow me to complete the research without any major problems. I knew "the ropes" in the overseas community.

My first experience with the continued level of hospitality and assistance I would receive throughout the research period occurred during the plane trip to Fortaleza. I sat beside a woman who was coming to Miraflores to enroll her two children in one of the American schools there. She later invited me to spend Thanksgiving and Christmas with her family, and also introduced me to people who proved to be valuable informants. While waiting in the line at the customs desk, a former professor of mine, on an AID contract in the country, happened to be standing behind me. He provided me with a list of people to contact while we were waiting in line and later introduced me to some of my most educated informants. This was the beginning of my functioning in an environment of friendly, involved reinforcement and support of individuals offering to arrange appointments and offering to be interviewed--that would continue until my last hours at the research site.

My children and I were surprised to find that the wife of the director of the Washington School was waiting for us at the airport to facilitate our entrance into the country. She had arranged for a school bus to deliver us and our suitcases to their home: housing in the city was scarce, and we could stay in her home until we were able to find a place. I was immediately concerned about the prospect of destroying any future relationship with the director's family by living in such close proximity--in their own home--but our five days together were most enjoyably spent with their two children, later to become close friends of my children. Again, their kindness was unexpected and fortuitous in a difficult situation and later proved advantageous

to my research as well as personally rewarding in the friendship that developed.

Credit must also be given to my two elementary-aged children for facilitating so much of the early process of negotiating entry and winning the confidence of the school members. I met many people through my children. Sometimes they introduced themselves, "Oh, aren't you the mother of Julie and Timmy? They are. . . ." I found that I was trusted by many people because I was the mother of children who knew how to conduct themselves in the school, had an interest in Spanish, and in making friends.

I was warned in the literature and by my advisers that I should avoid close friendships with my informants, not only to protect me from alignments that would cause other informants to avoid confiding in me, but also because of the personal nature of the work. I soon discovered that I was a confidante of many people: because I guaranteed them anonymity and confidentiality, they trusted me. Some have suggested this was because I was an outsider who would leave and who could have no lasting influence on their lives or professional careers. Although my role as researcher probably influenced them, I also feel that my ability to listen impartially to people's opinions and experiences inspired their confidence.

One of my most dramatic revelations during the six-month period was the way close friendships developed, despite all the advice: because of the intensity of the interviewer-interviewee relationship, because I often went into people's homes, because of my appreciation of the efforts they made on behalf of the children and the community,

and because my time was committed to listening, I was told on four occasions some version of, "I wish that my husband would listen to me the way that you do."

Methods of Collecting Data and the
Actual Range of Data Collected

Once at the research site, and with the directors' permission to participate in any activities, I developed a plan for discovering the universe of people, events, and organizations. This "mapping operation" was described by Schatzman and Strauss (1973):

The researcher has now gained formal entry . . . but quite possibly he does not yet have a workable and reliable perspective on the whole of his field; not even the more obvious, presenting properties are substantially known to him. What he requires is a working conception of the relevant dimensions of the site, including its outer boundaries and inner locales; also the classes of things, persons, and events which inhabit the locales. For all this, he requires a number of "maps": social, spatial, and temporal (p. 34).

It was in the process of developing my temporal, spatial, and social maps that I discovered the immensity of the task before me. During my two-week "mapping operation," I selectively sampled school events and people at different times and different locations: school meetings, classes, offices, extra-curricular activities, field trips, and also community functions and social events.

Once completing this operation, I realized that the universe of people and events was far too extensive to investigate thoroughly and repeatedly, as I had intended. I was one person, with two schools to investigate, in a large and dispersed community, all in a six-month period. I then decided, supported by Schatzman and Strauss (1973), to undertake highly intensive interviews with selected people, of

differential perspectives and positions in the organizations. Once accepting this change, I listed all the people and events I would need to sample in order to provide a complete picture of the involvements of the school members.

I asked the directors of each of the schools to approve a letter for mailing, in Spanish and English, to the school members, explaining the purpose of my research project, but they preferred that I distribute the letters individually. They also requested that I not use the questionnaires I had prepared, not wanting to call undue attention to the project. The use of questionnaires with children would require parental permission, which would not be necessary if I were to interview the children in the course of the school day. I also discovered that without the use of questionnaires, I gained more flexibility in guiding the informant's interpretation of the questions (See Gorden, 1975.) Open-ended questions allowed free responses without time limitation or control of topics, and the subjects were able to express a wide range of opinions, attitudes, and information.

I also relied on observational methods--the most widely used methods for studying social phenomena. This allowed me to interact in a relaxed fashion with students, staff, administrators, and school families, removing or reducing apprehension and encouraging spontaneous responses. I observed them in the classroom, in their social activities within the school and outside that environment, and in their homes, providing a comprehensive view of the associations of the school population.

I began my observation and interviewing at higher levels of the organization (Cassell, 1978). Then, gradually, I moved through the organization, trying not to align myself with any particular group and avoiding long-term contact with any member of the organization.

Not only was it essential to sample the entire range of events within the school and community, but also to examine the time dimension (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973). For example, I observed in two classrooms extensively in both schools, and in other classrooms less intensively. In both schools I focused on a third and fifth grade classroom so as to know the teachers and children well over a period of time. I rotated my observations, arriving some days in the early morning, sometimes in the afternoon. With these same groups I attended field trips or classroom parties to observe their behavior outside of the classroom situation, and joined them at recess and lunch periods, where I had more opportunity to engage in informal conversation with the children and teachers.

In developing the universe of events and people, I attempted to balance my sample with Fortalezans and Americans in similar positions within the school. This included school board members, administrators, PTA officers, parents, teachers, students, and staff. In addition, among parents who were not board members or PTA officers, I arranged interviews in the following professional categories: business, government or diplomatic corps, military, missionary, and academia (including universities, the Fortalezan Ministry of Education, and personnel affiliated with the schools).

In some cases, because there were more diverse perspectives among certain groups, I interviewed more individuals in one category than in another. I also interviewed more members at the Washington School (three times the size of the Columbus School), to insure that I would obtain opinions from all the diverse groups at the larger school.

I developed three interview formats during the research period (Spradley, 1979; Gorden, 1975). Not all the questions were posed to all of the participants whom I interviewed; one question might provoke a lengthy response, leading to issues not suggested by the interview question but of concern to the participant and thus important to record. (See Appendix B for the interview formats.)

Because I was fluent in Spanish, I was able to interview Spanish-speaking school participants in their native language instead of relying on translators. As I frequently commented in my field notes, a study such as this would have been impossible to conduct without fluency in both languages. Spanish-speaking informants could speak in a relaxed fashion about their interests and concerns without fear of being misunderstood or without needing to alter their vocabulary or expression. Although I was confident of the accuracy of my translation, an experienced translator, a Fortalezan, verified the correctness of the interview questions. However, by using open-ended questions, I was able to resolve any doubts of either Spanish- or English-speaking informants concerning the meaning of the questions.

I undertook the translation of all the tapes in Spanish, as well as transcribing the tapes in both English and Spanish--a

cumbersome task. While in Fortaleza I hired a bilingual transcriber, who did not find the material nearly as exciting as I had and subsequently discontinued the work. I did not seek a replacement because competent and qualified transcribers were rare, and I was also concerned with the confidentiality of the material. I am therefore responsible for the translations of all the Spanish material on the tapes quoted in the body of this dissertation.

I recorded all observations and interviews in eight spiral notebooks, each containing 160 pages. Although I used the same notebook for all of my writing, I distinguished additions to the notebooks according to a modification of the categories suggested by Schatzman and Strauss (1973), differentiating the observational notes, theoretical notes, and methodological notes by use or nonuse of parentheses. All observational notes contained as little interpretation as possible, conveyed the action of the event, and were written without any parentheses. Theoretical notes were enclosed with a single parenthesis; these referred to my interpretation of the action applied to past events, which added meaning to the statements or events that I was recording and included my emotional reaction to the observations. The methodological notes were enclosed by two parentheses: notes on modifications in my procedures that I needed to make or instructions regarding different approaches and techniques I might use.

I decided at the beginning not to trust my memory at any time, but to write in the notebooks during all events; if I was always seen holding a notebook and pencil, the school participants would soon accept the notebooks as an appendage or as part of my apparel. I

wrote openly during meetings, in the classrooms, and at social events. At night, I would transcribe these abbreviated notes on my typewriter and file them in a notebook. Entire transcribed interviews, or selections from interviews, were also included. The notebook contained a total of 320 single-spaced typed pages of notes and selections from formal interviews.

Although they discuss the considerable advantages of taped interviews, Pelto and Pelto (1978) warn concerning the problems of tape transcription. I discovered that I required five hours of transcribing time for each one-hour interview. However, the information I was receiving required this technique and would be needed in my report in the same form as stated by the participants. Therefore, although I taped as many of the interviews as possible, I was limited by several factors: I did not have access to the type of tape required for my recorder and sometimes had to wait for more to be delivered. My recorder (and other items) were stolen during the research period. I then borrowed a large cassette recorder, cumbersome to use and to carry on the bus rides to many interviews. I was not permitted to use a tape recorder in the American Embassy, where I conducted several interviews. However, whether or not I taped the interview, I always took notes in the event that the recorder was not functioning properly as well as to avoid continual eye contact with the informants during the questioning.

During the first two months, I transcribed some of the tapes from the interviews. When I found I lacked the time this required, I decided to transcribe the tapes after leaving the research site. This

method provided me with more time for conducting the research.

Another advantage was one I had not anticipated. When I began analyzing the data, I discovered that statements made by school members, which I would not have selected at an earlier date, as well as my observational notes about those statements, were valuable and highly pertinent to the research topic.

In no case did my informants become self-conscious because of the tape recorder. Only one objected to its use; he did not mind being quoted and paused often for me to record his statements verbatim. Children were curious about the operation of the recorder and were amused to hear their voices played back.

Whether taping or recording the interviews in written form, I found the respondents universally eager to talk and to share their opinions on a wide range of subjects concerning the schools and their personal lives.

During my six months at the research site, from July, 1979, until January, 1980, I engaged in a total of eighty-five formal interviews with school participants and community members; fifty-four were tape recorded and thirty-one were handwritten and later transcribed. I had numerous opportunities for short discussions with twelve other informants, whose conversations were also recorded. Of the total group of informants, eighty-three were adults and fourteen were children.

Although I had contact and conversations with many children, I focused on fourteen for more intense conversations and interviews,

both within the schools and as I participated with their families in social and recreational activities.

Table 3.--Adult informants by nationality and affiliation.

Affiliation	Nationality			Total
	Fortalezan	American	Third Country	
Washington School	22	24	1	47
Columbus School	8	15	2	25
Affiliated with both schools	--	4	-	4
Community member	2	5	-	7
Total	32	48	3	83

Table 4.--Child informants by nationality and school.

School	Nationality		Total
	Fortalezan	American	
Washington School	3	6	9
Columbus School	4	1	5
Total	7	7	14

In three cases both mother and father were employed, and in some cases a parent served in two professional capacities. (See Table 5.)

Table 5.--Profession of parents.

Profession	Number of Parents
Teacher	5
Administrator	5
Business	1
Government	3
Missionary	3

I grouped all of the adult informants into the professional categories shown in Table 6. In some cases a person could fall into two categories.

Table 6.--Profession of adult informants.

Profession	Number of Informants
Government or diplomatic corps	11
Business	18
Academic:	
University	6
School related	45
Missionary	6
Military	2

During the six-month period, I engaged in the following activities as a participant and observer (Table 7):

Table 7.--Participant observer's activities.

Activity	Washington School	Columbus School	Community
Classroom observations	30	25	--
School meetings	16	14	--
Field trips	4	1	--
Social activities	14	11	5
Extra-curricular events	4	3	--
Home visits	25	16	--
Meetings of community organizations	--	--	33

I kept an introspective diary, containing my reflections and reactions to the events of each day. I also kept an appointment book in which I listed all of the activities in which I participated daily. This included interviews, classroom observations, grocery shopping, attendance at movies with my children and their friends, among other activities.

I kept an address book in which I listed all of the people whom I had met, their addresses and titles, and a number that I assigned to them. In the beginning, I developed code names for all of the people and used these code names in the transcription of my daily notes. However, I became so confused by my own system that I decided to use numbers as a means of coding the names of the participants.

The directors of the schools gave me permission to receive publications and correspondence in all areas that I requested. They also permitted me to enter the school files and select any information

I needed. Many of the items were prepared for me by the director and her secretary at the Columbus School and by the elementary principal at the Washington School. Other items were available from the appropriate office.

I assigned document numbers to all of the materials received from the two schools and also from the community organizations. (In subsequent chapters, any material quoted from either of the schools or these organizations is designated according to this document number, a complete listing of which is found in Appendix C.)

Data Processing After Returning From the Field

I was informed that my six-months field research would require six months spent in organizing, processing, analyzing, and synthesizing, at the minimum, and I remember thinking, during the research phase, that six months would be excessive for preparing the research report--the pieces of the puzzle would fall into place magically. Little did I realize that months would be spent in talking with my professors, in talking and writing to myself, in searching for knowledgeable people with whom to talk and sort out some of the information I had brought back with me, and finally, unsuccessful in finding knowledgeable people interested in discussing the research, accepting anyone willing to talk and discuss this complex and amorphous subject with me.

My first assignment was to write a chronology of all events during the course of the research, emphasizing the changes in my thinking as the months passed. Writing this seventy-five page report

enabled me to review the months of research and important details of the field study.

I also wrote a twenty-page personal account, guided by Whyte (1955) and Geer (1969), some of which appears in the beginning of this chapter, concerning events in my life leading to the choice of this topic, the ways in which I negotiated entry and established roles at the research site, the social blunders I committed, and other of my reactions to the research experience.

I next prepared an inventory of all the documents I had collected at the research site, including published materials and correspondence with the schools, as well as publications of the community organizations whose meetings I had attended. In addition, I listened to, translated in some cases, and transcribed the tapes I had brought back. Although listening to the tapes had the pleasant effect of transporting me back to the research site, it was also an excessively time consuming but necessary process--and one I would not like to repeat in the near future.

During the seven months of processing, organizing, analyzing, and synthesizing, from February through August, 1980, an equal amount of time was spent in thinking and organizing the data, in reapproaching the subject in new ways, in reexamining, and in thinking again. Although I devote relatively little space here to describing that process, its importance must be stressed.

In this next section, I will describe one part of the post-research phase--discovering the cultural themes in the culture I was studying.

Establishing Cultural Themes

In all honesty I should explain why I arranged so many formal interviews with school participants. True, I wanted to obtain the differential perspectives held by the school members, but any self-respecting ethnographer doesn't need forty-seven interviews in one school for that purpose. I mention this excessive number, not to confess my sins, but for an important purpose: the need to hold so many interviews to discover the patterns of behavior, of social organization, of life styles, and friendship patterns should illustrate the complexity of the discovery process.

I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter that my purpose as an ethnographer, according to Lofland (1971), was to delineate the forms of the social phenomena I was studying and to search for patterns in the behavior of the participants, or cultural themes, which Spradley (1979) defined as "any cognitive principle, tacit or explicit, recurrent in a number of domains and serving as a relationship among subsystems of cultural meaning" (p.186). By identifying these cultural themes, I could better explain the patterns evident in the culture I was studying--the school community.

I mentioned in Chapter II that studies concerned with overseas schools commonly classify the school participants according to their profession and point to the tensions that arise within the school, and also the community, as a result of the differences in the philosophy and attitudes among these professional groups. (See Miller, 1976, for example.) Of course, it is recognized that organizational demands can promote group or organizational loyalty, depending on the individual's

role in the organization, the way in which the organization's objectives are communicated to the member, and other considerations. However, it became evident in the setting I was studying, that grouping the participants according to professional categories did not necessarily assure uniformity in points of view.

The members, in explaining the reasons for the dissonance that existed in the schools and their community, made frequent references to nationality and to social-class factors. The habitual references to nationality influenced my thinking to such a degree that I began to see nationality as the organizing principle behind the choices and decisions made by school members, rather than as a symptom of problems arising from other causes. For example, an American parent walked out of the primary office early one morning toward the end of the school term. She was furious; she had come to the office to look for a sweater that her daughter had lost--it was a new sweater. Three days after it had been lost, when she came to the school to recover the sweater, she was told that all of the lost and found articles were packed up and could not be opened until the last day of classes. She had come this particular morning and was told that she could not get the sweater until ten o'clock. However, she had an appointment at eight o'clock. She said, "I can't come here without getting furious. This place makes me so mad. It doesn't help to insist. It doesn't do any good; they just smile at you. These Fortalezans don't care" (Informant 28, observational notes page 132, hereafter referred to as O.N.).

Such comments, repeatedly made, prevented my searching for deeper definitions. What was important in her statement was not the word "Fortalezans" but "these," a particular set of individuals with certain behaviors not in conformity with her expectations.

It became more and more apparent to me during the course of the research phase of the study that any line drawn between Fortalezans and Americans would be an artificial and inaccurate one. There was as much variation in the views expressed within the group of Fortalezans as between Fortalezans and Americans.

The attitudes and behaviors of the expatriates whom I met, and the corresponding behaviors and attitudes of the local citizens with whom they interacted, tended to cross professional and national lines. It was the way in which they crossed these lines that so confused me and so motivated my increased interviewing, listening, thinking, and organizing.

It is possible that a key feature of a community such as the one studied in Miraflores is its diversity, its lack of cultural heritage, or internal organization. However, this was not the case in Miraflores. A pattern of internal organization was reported to me in obvious and subtle ways from the beginning of my research period. I would like to say that it became immediately apparent to me, but it was not until my fifth month at the site that I finally awoke to the reality of what had been indicated to me repeatedly by the school members: the pattern related to the orientation of the school members toward their work and toward the United States or Fortaleza.

It was this orientation of the members that had relevance to their patterns of friendship, of life styles, of attitudes toward the school, their commitment to the school organization and the country that I found as one of the predominant cultural themes within this community. I termed this pattern a "transient" or a "permanent" orientation: it related less to the time spent in the foreign setting or in the organization than to their identification with the organization or the country. It explained the dissonance within the schools and between the schools.

In Chapter VI, when the school members speak about their lives, attitudes, and feelings, this subject will be explored in greater depth and the concept of transience and permanence will be defined and applied to the school members in Fortaleza.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONTEXT: THE WASHINGTON SCHOOL

Introduction to the Two Schools

Before I present more information about the Washington School that I acquired after arrival there, portions of the two schools' Fact Sheets (1979) are included here. It was through these Fact Sheets that I first became acquainted with the schools, sought salient characteristics that would distinguish the schools from each other, and possible avenues for investigating their participation in the intercultural relationships of their members.

The Fact Sheets are published yearly by the Office of Overseas Schools and contain pertinent data about the schools it sponsors. The information provided here introduces the two schools that served the expatriate residents as well as the host- and third-country residents of Miraflores and describes important differences in their calendar, administrative structure, and curriculum.

The Washington School

The Washington School of Miraflores, Fortaleza, is a private, coeducational school offering a kindergarten through 12th grade program for interested students of any nationality. The school year consists of two semesters: January through May, and June through October. The school was founded in 1940.

The Columbus School

The Columbus School of Miraflores, Fortaleza, is a private, coeducational school providing a nursery through 12th grade program for students of all nationalities. The school year begins in September and terminates in June. The school was founded in 1954.

Organization: The school is governed by a six-member board of directors elected from a self-perpetuating Association, the sponsors of the school.

Curriculum: The school provides a program similar to that found in U.S. public schools and in college preparatory schools. In addition, the approved Fortalezan educational program is received by all students. This bilingual curriculum is instituted in kindergarten through seventh grades. After seventh grade, the school provides an approved U.S. high school course or the Fortalezan course.

Facilities: The school plant consists of 35 classrooms, 2 laboratories, cafeteria, swimming pool, library, elementary and secondary playgrounds. The facility and 60 acres of property belong to the school.

Finances: The school's income was derived from school tuition (90%) and other sources, such as alumni contributions and grants.

(Document 2)

Organization: The school is governed by a nine-member board of directors. The school is sponsored by the Columbus Foundation. All parents or guardians of students enrolled in the school are members; the board is elected by and from this group.

Curriculum: The school provides a program similar to that found in U.S. public schools. English is the language of instruction. All students receive classes in Spanish as a foreign language.

Facilities: The school plant consists of 10 classroom buildings. In addition, other buildings serve as library and central administration. The facility is rented by the school. The new school is under construction.

Finances: The school's income was derived from school tuition (80%) primarily.

(Document 3)

The information presented on these Fact Sheets did not point to unusual conditions in either institution, nor did it distinguish them markedly from other overseas American schools. However, I was curious about the election of the school board in the Washington School. Overseas schools throughout the world are known for their lay control. (See Chapter II.) The Department of State's Fact Sheet on all overseas

schools (1979-80, Document 1) provides general information about the 151 American-sponsored overseas schools and the subject of the control of the schools.

Although emphasis varies, all the schools share the purpose of providing educational opportunities for American and other children which are generally comparable to educational programs in the U.S. and of demonstrating American educational philosophy--and practice abroad to help further international understanding.

The schools are not operated or controlled by the U.S. Government. Ownership and policy control are typically in the hands of associations of parents of the children enrolled who elect a school board to supervise the superintendent or headmaster whom the board chooses to administer the school. . . (pp. 1-2).

That the school board at the Washington School was not elected by the parents suggested fundamental differences in the role of parents at this school and the typical American overseas school, patterned after the U.S. educational model.

I was also curious about student enrollment reported by the Fact Sheets. (See Table 8.)

Table 8.--Student enrollments according to nationality.

Washington School			Columbus School		
180	U.S. citizens	12%	223	U.S. citizens	45%
1,149	Fortalezans	78%	96	Fortalezans	20%
<u>141</u>	Third country	10%	<u>175</u>	Third country	35%
1,470	Total enrollment		495	Total enrollment	

I wondered about the people who had enrolled their children in the schools: how had parents chosen between the two schools, both offering English and an American-type curriculum? The Washington School

had almost three times the enrollment of the Columbus School, yet the breakdown of nationalities was not proportionately the same. My immediate thought was that nationality would play no part in the parents' choice; because the school calendar of the Washington School was that of other South American schools--from January through November--that American parents would find this a major inhibiting factor and would, for this reason, choose the Columbus School.

I couldn't accept this explanation, however, because U.S. government dependents were about evenly distributed between the two schools. Government personnel were employed on short-term contracts and would be following the U.S. calendar with a view toward re-enrollment in the United States or in other American schools in countries where they would next be employed.

What persuaded American parents, whether employed by the U.S. government or under contract with government agencies, to choose one school over the other? I was perplexed because I assumed that American parents would have similar educational objectives and would have similar reasons for their choices. However, like many other of my assumptions prior to leaving for Fortaleza, I would find that this notion could not be supported through observation or interviews with Americans in either school. There was considerable diversity among American government employees and their dependents, as well as the other school participants, a diversity that presented a challenge as well as a dilemma.

To understand what influenced the choice of Fortalezan parents was equally intriguing. In the Washington School, 78 percent of the

students were Fortalezans, whereas only 20 percent at the Columbus School were Fortalezans. It could be inferred from this variation that differences within the schools existed regarding curriculum, instruction, or philosophy.

I was also curious about the division among the nationalities within the faculties. (See Table 9.) In the Washington School, two-thirds of the teachers were Fortalezans and one-third Americans, whereas in the Columbus School the reverse was true: almost two-thirds were Americans, and over one-third were Fortalezans. Of course, before making any inferences from this breakdown I would need to know how the Fortalezans were employed in each of the schools: were they part-time teachers of physical education, music, or other support positions, or were they full-time faculty, sharing equally in status and responsibility for the educational program?

Table 9.--Citizenship of faculty.

Washington School			Columbus School		
50	U.S. citizens	32%	30	U.S. citizens	55%
102	Fortalezans	65%	20	Fortalezans	36%
<u>5</u>	Other nationals	3%	<u>5</u>	Other nationals	9%
157	Total		55	Total	

In this section I have provided the reader with information I gained about the schools before arriving there. It concerned their enrollments, their facilities, and a brief statement regarding their

curricula. All of this information was important in order to understand basic characteristics of the two schools. It did not serve to explain those environmental influences--mentioned in previous chapters--that would help to understand the intercultural relationships of the school members and the contribution of the schools toward those relationships.

By examining the ways in which the stated philosophy and objectives were transformed into daily action within the school program, the financial constraints, the details of the curriculum and class structure, the physical setting and the ambiance created in part by the physical setting, and the role of the school members in this process, could we begin to understand the interplay of forces acting within the schools. In addition, by "participating" in a typical school day or witnessing the way that teachers were oriented to the school, could we then begin to examine patterns of behavior within the particular school setting and to understand the influences upon the behavior of those participating in the intercultural relationships.

Let us now take a closer look in this next section at the Washington School and observe the dynamic processes occurring there. Evident are the ways in which the philosophy and objectives of the school are incorporated into the educational program, the priorities established by the administration for successful functioning of the school, and the emphasis placed upon intercultural interactions in this school setting. We will see how salaries, physical setting, high mobility, curriculum, and work load all influenced the relationships of the members.

An Overview of the Washington School

The Washington School was founded in 1940 by a small group of Fortalezan and U.S. citizens desiring a bilingual school for their children. There were fifty students in the original group, increasing to 700 by 1950, and to 1,470, its present size. In 1946, the school requested that it be provided laboratory school status, and was designated as such by the Ministry of Education. (The Ministry maintains a close relationship with the school and continually supervises its work.) According to the Self-Study for the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (1978),

The laboratory status permits the Washington School to modify curriculum, experiment with teaching techniques, develop and use new materials, and hire a large percentage of foreign teachers. Nevertheless, the School must conform to most of the Ministry regulations and is closely supervised (Document 44, p. 7).

The close supervision by the Ministry and efforts made to conform to its regulations have prompted some groups to suggest that the school is "American" in name only, but really places more emphasis on the Fortalezan standards and mode of education. They claim that the Washington School is really a Fortalezan school that teaches English. As we see in the next section, the school did have a strong commitment to educational development in Fortaleza.

Philosophy and Objectives

The Elementary Teacher's Manual #41 reports that the Washington School is a private, nonprofit school that is "organized for public service." Stated in the section "Activities and Purposes" are the goals of the primary section:

1. to study educational problems,
2. to try to solve educational problems in terms of the needs of Fortalezan education and the Washington School, and
3. to develop educational materials suitable for use in Fortaleza (Document 55).

The 1978 Self-Study reported that

. . . the educational program was not always in line with the philosophy and objectives. In response, a philosophy and objectives committee, composed of secondary and elementary teachers and administrators, was established to examine the program and the philosophy and objectives in order to make recommendations for adjustments (Document 44, p. 37).

The committee's suggestions were adopted and modified and then published in the secondary section catalogue of the school in 1979 (Document 54, pp. 3-4).

Philosophy and Objectives

Our present, fast-changing world is characterized by diverse political and economic systems, international conflicts, and a rapidly advancing technology which has the potential to lead civilization to new heights of well-being or destroy it. To do its part in preparing youth to live in that world, The Washington School of Miraflores holds these principles:

1. All students should value themselves as well as other individuals and peoples. Accordingly, the School must instill an appreciation for the differences and similarities in people while at the same time strengthen the understanding and appreciation of the student's own culture.
2. Individuals are different in background, capabilities, interests, and needs, but they possess common characteristics. The School must recognize and provide for those differences and similarities in an attempt to help each student develop to his maximum potential. It should tend to emotional and social development while not losing track of its responsibility to teach basic information and skills.
3. Education is a life-long process. Therefore, the School must endeavor to teach each student to learn for himself, to think critically and creatively, and to value education.

4. Education is one of the keys to national development and is an important factor in achieving a peaceful resolution of the world's conflicts. However, education of a few will have limited impact, and, therefore, the School must instill in its students by word and deed the value of education for all.
5. Parents are an integral part of the educational process and bear much of the responsibility for what the child becomes. Therefore, the School must endeavor to achieve and maintain the support of the parental body in giving the child as complete an education as possible.

Finances

Finances were an unremitting problem at the Washington School, as at most overseas schools. Because they must depend upon tuition as the primary source, the burden for improvement of the facilities, instructional materials, or salary increases falls upon the school families. The Washington School relied on tuition for 90 percent of its budget, the remainder being derived from loans, U.S. government grant assistance, contributions, and fund raising. Fund-raising programs were usually coordinated by the Alumni Association. (During the period of this study, heavy expenses were incurred for construction of a new auditorium and learning center and for a planned gymnasium.)

Teacher salaries were very low at the Washington School, compared with other American schools in Latin America, but the Washington School did have an equalized salary system according to educational background and experience. Teachers' complaints concerned the low salaries and not the inequities, even though it was obvious that an American teacher drew a much higher salary than a Spanish teacher who performed comparable work. Salaries during the 1979 school year were distributed as follows:

base salary	\$3,050
BA degree	1,300
MA degree	300
previous experience	50 per year, to a maximum of \$250
bilinguality	200 or fraction for partial fluency

A bilingual teacher from the United States with a master's degree could have earned \$5,000 during the 1979 school year, whereas a Fortalezan teacher with one year's experience and a Fortalezan teaching certificate would earn \$3,150. There is no doubt that this large difference contributed to tensions among teachers. (See Chapter VIII.) The board and administration were not insensitive but felt powerless to improve the school's financial conditions: increasing operational costs as well as rising inflation made it possible to give teachers only small raises. Parents complained of high tuition and argued against plans to raise it although they could not affect such decisions. Consequently, parents would recommend modifying the school program in order to increase teachers' salaries without raising tuition: among their suggestions, the pupil-teacher ratio could be raised and the construction projects could be limited or curtailed.

The Physical Environment

In the introduction to this chapter, the school's facilities were described in brief form from the Fact Sheet. My first reaction after visiting the school was to recall that description as being an understatement. Institutions usually exaggerate in their descriptions

of their facilities, and the Washington School had every reason to boast about its physical plant.

The Washington School is a landmark. Unlike any other public or private school in Miraflores, its location is marked on the street map. The school is far from the downtown area, approximately seven miles from the tourist and hotel center, and surrounded by the homes of the affluent and the expatriates. Located on a hillside overlooking the entire city, it is removed from the sounds of transport buses, delivery trucks, passenger buses, and the traffic jams in the narrow downtown streets.

Schools are not usually known for their distinctive architecture. A visitor to the Washington School might be tempted to admire the breathtaking view of the city, rather than to observe the school. However, one glance would tell the visitor that this is no ordinary school; it is distinguished by the absolute cleanliness of the campus, its spaciousness, and the sense of welcome that permeates the atmosphere. One is struck immediately by the perfection of the landscaping with its extraordinary variety of plants and flowers, and their fragrance envelops the school. There is an air of openness here--a feeling that this is an ideal environment for a child. People spontaneously comment, "How could a child fail to be happy in a school like this!"

The second reaction of a visitor to the school is to take note of the movement, activity, and the rush. Buses deliver children, teachers rush to punch attendance cards at the time-clock, and workers are busy repairing and delivering. In the administration building, teachers are purchasing stamps from the secretary, a young Fortalezan

woman who speaks a little English. Spanish is heard everywhere: on the phone, in the children's conversations as they rush to classes, and among the staff. Several people wait to see the director; this is not unusual. There is constant activity in this office, and a visitor senses the urgency of the matters to be attended to here. A paradox becomes apparent: there is a sense of calm here, and yet the pace of the work seems almost frenetic. Perhaps the calm feeling arises from the physical setting: the elegant simplicity of the architecture and the large windows that create the sensation of being on the outside amidst the flowers, trees, and hummingbirds hovering over the hibiscus.

From every point we see more buildings, playing fields, and gardens. Covered walkways connect all of the buildings and enable students, staff, and visitors to walk to classes or to the administrative offices well protected from the summer rains.

Outside the secondary office, students can be seen in animated conversations, and secretaries are attending to high school students with urgent concerns. The three high school administrators, one American and two Fortalezans, are all occupied at the desk. The sounds of many conversations fill the room as the secretaries respond to the requests of the students. A visitor would take notice of the dress of the students: they appear ready for a dinner dance rather than for school, with very-high-heeled shoes, elegant dresses of the latest style, and heavy makeup. All talking in Spanish to one another, they appear self-assured and at home.

The library is separated from the administration building by a large garden where students often come to study and where the American

teachers eat their lunches under the trees. It contains a comprehensive selection of books, but certainly less than a library for a comparable school in the United States. Students are working quietly at the tables while the librarian tells a story to a group of elementary students, seated on rugs in their section of the library.

A visitor leaves the library, passes the high school classrooms, the shop area, the large multipurpose room, and then arrives at the primary office after passing two doors near the entrance: one where the Fortalezan teachers meet during their breaks, and the other, where a mixed group gathers.

A teacher cautions a line of children on their way to an art class to lower their voices as they pass the primary office, but the children do not heed her request; she continues her admonitions as the line passes by.

The primary office, located opposite the secondary office, has a decidedly formal, businesslike, and very busy atmosphere. No loud conversation here: parents, teachers, and students wait quietly to be attended to. Secretaries are organizing files, typing, or handling visitors' inquiries. The executive secretary has a stack of files on her desk, all meticulously arranged. Organization--that is the one word to describe this office. Visitors must wait patiently until one of the secretaries completes her work and rises to attend to them. She is not smiling. She is not unfriendly, just completely absorbed in her work. There is no easy conversation in this office, no students milling around. There is work, work, and more work.

The visitor continues the tour past the elementary classrooms, clearly visible through large glass windows. The rooms are spacious, and several large groups of children can be seen working together. There are three teachers in the room, each with a group of children. The noise level is high as several activities take place at the same time. Unlike most other overseas schools, here a wealth of instructional aids is visible: art materials, science equipment, and audio-visual materials. The rooms are gaily decorated with children's art and class work. Tables are large, with ample room for students to work on their projects. Although they represent many nationalities, the students all look alike, especially in their apparel. The children are wearing their finest clothes: fine sweaters, patent-leather shoes, beautiful dresses. It is obvious: this is a school for the affluent.

The playing field can be seen at the end of the primary classroom complex. The tienda, the store operated by the parents, is visible "up the mountain," as the children refer to the enormous open play area, covered by grass and trees.

Returning, the visitor passes the pool area, where children can be seen taking their swimming lessons, part of the recreation and physical education program of the school. The cafeteria and learning center have rooms of various sizes where meetings and conferences are held; the new theater is near completion, and the entire school community is anticipating its use for their many musical and dramatic productions.

The visitor enters the cafeteria, where many of the teachers are drinking coffee, eating pastries, and talking with other teachers

and secretaries during their break. In the cafeteria line, teachers and staff members talk among themselves. As they leave the line, however, the Fortalezans go to one table and the Americans to another. English is spoken at one table and Spanish at the other. There is no tension or estrangement here; this is a normal practice. Later, a visitor with much experience in overseas schools commented, "I saw the strangest thing in the cafeteria. All of the Americans were at one table, and the Fortalezans at another. I suppose I shouldn't be surprised, though: this is common behavior in all overseas schools that I have visited" (Informant 79, O.N. p. 61).

Toward the end of the school day, parents arrive in cars after their entrance is approved by the guard at the gate. The majority of the students will leave in buses, which slowly enter the circular drive. Children can be seen running from their classrooms to enter the buses, which wait for no one but leave at exactly the pre-announced time. A few of the mothers greet each other warmly and talk while they wait for their children. There is a formality about them, a dignity in their manner, a real camaraderie. The formality comes less from their behavior than from their clothing; they, like their children, are dressed elegantly: fine dresses, high heels, and accessories.

The School Members

Administrative Structure

The Washington School is not only different from most other overseas American schools because of its superior facilities, but also because of its board structure. Unlike the majority, the Board of the

Washington School is not elected from among the parents of the school. Rather, it is appointed by a self-perpetuating group, which in turn is appointed by the Association. Until 1972, the school was supervised by a self-perpetuating group when, for tax purposes and to help in fund-raising activities, authority was transferred to the Association. According to the Board Policy Handbook (Document 46), the Association is made up of charter members and those who have been accepted for membership since the school's founding in 1940. The Association has from seventeen to thirty-one members. It is this body that appoints the Executive Committee, made up of five of its own members for two-year terms, that is responsible for the daily operation of the Association.

The Executive Committee appoints the board members of the school from among the parents and interested community members. The five-member Board of the Washington School is appointed yearly, although many members have served for longer periods. Extended service of the Association members and Board members is seen as providing continuity that could not be obtained from a continually changing directorate. The permanence of its members also helps to define it as a school for permanents. (See Chapter VI for discussion of the cultural theme of permanence and transience.)

The school is administered by a Directive Council, consisting of a director and subdirectors for elementary and secondary. These administrators meet weekly and coordinate the operation of the school. The director is also responsible for the coordinators of health programs

and services, of the research program and the library, and for the directors of finance and of the computer center.

Although the Board meets twice monthly--and often weekly--at the school and is highly involved with school programs, including scholarship grants, fund raising, and other projects, it is a silent presence. It is rarely referred to in teacher meetings, in informal conversation, or by those wishing to criticize policies with which they disagree.

Certain Board members and also a trustee stated that the issue of nationality was irrelevant to the school's organization. The director was selected, not because he was an American but because he was the most qualified candidate. When parents questioned why there were no Americans among the four primary administrators, the response was that the salary wasn't acceptable to an American; some also questioned whether an American would be willing to devote the long hours required or would have sufficient understanding of Fortalezan education to serve in the post.

The Teaching Staff

During 1979, there were 157 full-time and part-time faculty at the Washington School: 50 U.S. citizens, 102 Fortalezans, and 5 of other nationalities. The Fortalezan majority contributed to a sense of permanence among the school faculty. (See Chapter VI.) Most of the Fortalezan teachers had been employed in the school for a number of years and thus provided continuity to the school program. However, recently there was high turnover among Fortalezan teachers as well.

In the past there was little need to recruit teachers in the United States for the English program. School-to-School projects with universities facilitated the hiring of faculty, and teachers on vacation in Fortaleza would apply for teaching positions. But, recently, recruiting trips had been made to the U.S. to search for qualified teachers for the Washington School, due to high turnover.

Because the school year runs from January through October, it is difficult to hire teachers from the United States for the beginning months. Therefore, the school has two hiring periods: January through October, and July through June. Parents were dissatisfied with this policy because of the lack of continuity in the teaching program, but high teacher turnover made the practice mandatory.

Table 10.--Teacher turnover, 1979 school year.^a

	Years Employed					Total
	1 Year	2-3 Years	4-5 Years	6-9 Years	10+ Years	
Grade teachers (Spanish)	1	9	1	3	8	22
Grade teachers (English)	18	5	2	2	3	30
Special teachers	2	2	2	2	3	11
Total	21	16	5	7	14	63

Source: Document 57 N.

^aDuring the 1979 school year, a total of eighty-three teachers were employed in the primary school.

The school administration was also concerned about the high turnover and in its information brochure sent to prospective teachers presented a realistic picture of employment at the school:

Salaries paid by the Washington School are low compared with those now paid in the United States. . . . The salary schedule enclosed should be studied carefully. . . .

It is imperative that the United States teachers be willing to seek solutions to novel educational problems within the frame work of Fortalezan culture rather than to try to transplant ready-made educational procedures. . . .

In addition, a letter is sent to the teacher applicant, advising him of the importance of his attitude toward Fortaleza:

United States teachers at the Washington School of Miraflores work closely with Fortalezan teachers, pupils and parents, and we must be sure that the United States citizens hired are genuinely interested in this kind of experience. They must be interested in working with people of different cultural, economic, religious and professional backgrounds. They must be imbued with basic respect for different cultures and different ways of doing things. We want teachers who are interested in finding adequate solutions to problems within the framework of Fortalezan culture and the needs of the Washington School. . . (Document 48 B).

The high turnover at the school prompted the administration to investigate its causes. Besides the low salary, the administration showed awareness--in the preceding letter, for example--that the short duration of many teachers at the school might also result from their experiences in the intercultural setting. Although the teachers were generally a transient group, this next section points to the relative permanence of the parents and students at the school.

Parents and Students

According to the Fact Sheet (1979), 934 students were enrolled in the elementary school and 536 in the secondary school during 1979. Although many more parents applied, there was seldom an open space.

There was low mobility among school families, and therefore most students remained in the school throughout their entire school career.

The enrollment packet presented to prospective parents reported:

With the exception of children applying for admission to kindergarten, all new applicants must take entrance examinations. Admission will be given only if there is room in the grade requested (Document 51 B).

The Fact Sheet reported that 12 percent of the enrollments were dependents of U.S. citizens, 78 percent were Fortalezans, and 10 percent were third-country nationals. Parents were grouped according to the professional categories shown in Table 11.

Table 11.--Enrollment according to professional affiliation of parent.

Professional Affiliation	Enrollments		
	Dependents of U.S. Citizens	Dependents of Host Nationals	Dependents of Third-Country Nationals
U.S. government, Department of Defense, contracted by U.S. government agency	38	--	--
U.S. and U.S.-affiliated firms and foundations	46	29	28
Other business firms	--	2	1
Religious organizations	1	--	--
U.N. agencies	7	6	15
Fulbright grantees	--	--	--
Government affiliation, including U.S. government	n/a	29	26
Others	88	1,083	71
Total	180 (12%)	1,149 (78%)	141 (10%)

Source: Document 45.

We have examined the physical and administrative structure of the school. In this next section the process of schooling--the school calendar, the curriculum, the teacher orientation, and a "typical day" at the school--will be presented, providing more details regarding the concerns of the school policy makers and administrators as well as the conditions influencing intercultural relationships within the school.

Going to School

Schedule of the Year

The calendar for the year of activities at the Washington School is printed well in advance of the beginning of the school year. The nine-page calendar of activities presented to teachers and families in the beginning of the year is really a summary of the year's events. Additional programs that arise during the year are included in more detail in the monthly bulletin that is sent to parents. A summary of the holidays provided to students and teachers is presented here:

April

9	Monday	
	to	
13	Friday	Holy Week

June

25	Monday	Teacher's Day
8	Friday	Patron Saint of Fortaleza

May

1	Tuesday	Labor Day
10	Thursday	Mother's Day

July

2	Monday	
	to	
6	Friday	Mid-year Recess

August

22 Wednesday Anniversary of
the Revolution
of 1938

October

1 Wednesday National
Independence
Day

8 Monday Columbus Day

September

20 Thursday Constitution
Day

November

1 Thursday All Saint's
Day

(Document 48 F)

North American holidays are not celebrated. However, some overseas American schools do commemorate both North American and host-country holidays, thus lengthening the school year.

Not included on this calendar are many activities and programs such as the drama festival, musical productions, special parties for individual classes, field trips, dances for students, art and science fairs, fund-raising projects, lectures by authorities, and other events.

Curriculum and Classroom Structure

The primary school consists of kindergarten through seventh grade with all children participating in the same educational program. Each grade level is divided into three sections of approximately thirty-five children who have teams of teachers working in Spanish and English. The school day consists of three two-hour blocks:

English language and social studies--taught in English

Spanish language and social studies--taught in Spanish

Arithmetic and science --taught in Spanish and English

All children receive physical education, music, and art for at least two periods a week, and manual arts are taught from fourth through seventh grades. The secondary school serves eighth grade through twelfth grade students and has two college-preparatory curricula: Bachillerato and high school. Each grade level is divided into three sections of approximately thirty-five students for:

Section 1 Bachillerato program: courses taught in Spanish

Section 2 Bachillerato program: some courses in Spanish,
some in English

Section 3 High school program: courses taught in English

Some of the new teachers were not pleased with the system of team teaching and the plan by which children were moved three times daily to different classrooms. Rather than having a self-contained classroom, teachers worked with three groups of thirty-five children daily. One teacher said that she didn't even know the names of all the children whom she taught. She had to share them with seven other teachers daily. She wanted to return to the United States and teach in a self-contained classroom so that she would have more individual contact with the children.

In this next section the teacher orientation at the beginning of the school year is presented, not only to provide the reader with an inside view of that process, but to illustrate the high level of organization and attention to detail characteristic of the school. In addition, we view the heavy work load and the matters that are considered important to the administration as they adapt and integrate the school philosophy and objectives into the educational program.

Teacher Orientation

At the end of the 1979 school year, a group of teachers who were continuing in 1980 expressed their concern about the high turnover of teachers and presented a plan whereby a newcomer might be encouraged to remain. They suggested that a new teachers' welcoming committee be formed in order to make an initiate's transition to Fortaleza and the school a pleasant one from the very beginning.

Before the start of school in January, 1980, the eight new teachers were welcomed at the airport by one of the primary administrators. Housing was found for them with local families, a tea was held at the home of one of the primary administrators, and they were brought by school bus to the teacher orientation. In addition to such meetings before the beginning of the school year, meetings continued among the teaching teams after classes had begun.

Following the orientation, teachers were taken on a tour of the city, and the next weekend on a trip to a nearby city, a tourist attraction.

The teacher orientation began in one of the elementary classrooms. The newcomers sat at tables arranged in a semicircle, and the administrators sat at a head table. The teachers were each given a large packet containing thirty-two items that would be discussed during the orientation meetings and that were to be used for future reference. They commented later that they had never encountered a school that had prepared such detailed and organized information; no question was left unanswered. The list of materials is presented here

so that the reader may share the new teachers' appreciation for the organization of the primary school:

1. calendar of meetings for the beginning of the school year
2. 1980 school calendar
3. school bulletin number 1
4. teacher supervision during recess--schedules and assignments
5. map of the location of recess supervision posts
6. supervision during recess--rules
7. elementary school office and administrative staff
8. manuals
9. swimming and physical education classes
10. reminder of duties for team coordinators
11. bus routes
12. list of the personnel of the school
13. list of the grade mothers
14. grade meetings with parents, payment for materials lost or damaged
15. school supplies list
16. routines
17. list of students in all grades
18. manual for elementary students and their parents
19. result of year-end tests--ten tests
20. class medians on Stanford Achievement Tests
21. list of books and materials to be used in 1980
22. schedule of classes for all grades
23. schedule of teaching
24. schedule of rotation period
25. in-service trainees
26. schedule of classes for in-service trainees
27. suggestions made by teachers from previous year
28. check list for new teachers from abroad
29. grade names at the Washington School of Miraflores
30. new teachers, January, 1980
31. new teachers welcoming committee
32. map of the school

Following the presentation of the agenda, the administrators were introduced to the new teachers and their responsibilities were explained. They emphasized to the newcomers that there was always one administrator available to talk with them. "We do our best to make your work here pleasant and successful."

Manners and behavior in the school were discussed and the packet of information described to the teachers. After the welcoming

committee explained their purpose to the new teachers, the director and another administrator presented the proper procedures for keeping their visas valid and in correct order. The director explained the salary schedule, how payments would be made, social security, and taxes. His manner was serious as always, but showed sincere interest in the teachers' welfare.

The director also explained the reason for closing the bus doors at a specified time and warned the teachers to arrive promptly at the buses in the mornings and afternoons; this procedure, for safety reasons, might appear harsh to the newcomers but they would come to appreciate it later.

The teachers were then given information about registering at the immigration office, were presented with cards for use of the swimming pool, and had their housing arrangements explained; they were living temporarily with Fortalezan families in order to become familiar with the Fortalezan way of life.

The assistant principal then described the stomach problems to expect, informing the teachers of the exact week in which they would become sick. She ended by saying, "Don't hesitate to call me at any time, late at night. I am ready to serve and assist you at all times."

On the following morning, the meeting of new teachers and coordinators was conducted by the primary principal and began at 7:25. Introductions were made by all the teachers, and name tags were provided. They were quite subdued during this meeting, although they were enthusiastic about their new positions and the efforts made on their behalf to prepare them for their work at the school. An air of

formality pervaded this day's encounter. As always, the meeting progressed with perfect coordination.

The primary principal began by describing the background of the school: it had been founded by bilingual parents who wanted sound education, bilingual and nondenominational, for their children. She then reported the enormous demand for entrance into the school, adding that they do not wish to expand beyond the present enrollment. "It's bursting at the seams," she said.

Then she asked the teachers to read the school's objectives in the appendix of their manuals, but noted that the objectives were continually being revised. She added, "We give as much importance to teaching English as we do to teaching Spanish." (As mentioned previously, a feeling existed that Spanish was given more importance than English; a teacher commented, "They can flunk English and still pass the grade.")

The principal commented that when she came to the school there were more English-speaking students and English teachers than there are now, but she didn't explain what had occurred. (However, it was well known that the formation of the Columbus School in 1958 had reduced the enrollment of English-speaking students at the Washington School.) She said that children must know some English to enter in grades other than kindergarten because there were so many host-national students in the school--85%. The school, she said, is open to change; there is experimentation and testing of new ideas. All subjects are taught in both English and Spanish, and special subjects are taught in English. She

then explained that the Fortalezan government was generous in allowing so many English teachers to be employed at the school.

The principal then presented the reasons for adopting the team teaching system. (Parents at the Columbus School often cited this system as one of their principal objections to the Washington School; they felt that their children didn't receive sufficient individual attention at the Washington School.) She asked some of the teachers who had worked in the school before this year to describe their feelings about team teaching. She said that it wasn't always possible to obtain teachers with equal qualifications--that by combining a teacher with experience with one without experience, they would complement each other. Children would benefit from their collaboration. "Some people object," she said, "but for our needs, for our purposes, we have very good reasons for using team teaching. It works for us. We don't make radical changes. We move gradually. You will learn about, read lectures by Dr. Torres [the assistant principal], and see actual practice by her."

She continued with the reason behind rotating the classes, claiming that children enjoy changes. She also mentioned that it would be ideal to have bilingual teachers in each classroom, but that this wasn't always possible. This year, changes were made in the teacher teams so that people could communicate with each other; during the previous year, some team partners were unable to speak each other's language.

After the coffee break, in which the new teachers and the coordinators talked freely, the principal explained about the PTA

meetings, which were held three times a year. She told the teachers to be present and to remain after the meeting to speak with parents about their children. Some parents do not feel that the teachers know their children well; the teachers must learn the children's names. Be careful, she said, not to give information to parents unless you really have the answer.

One of the experienced teachers reminded the principal that it was difficult to learn the names of all the children in time for the first meeting of the PTA. She had 120 students every day! The principal replied that it was important to be ready. She finished by saying, "You decide how you will talk to them" (O.N. p. 256).

It was clear to the teachers that the school maintained high standards for teacher conduct and high expectations for their conformity to school policies. They were also assured that the school administration would be ready to assist them in achieving their aims. However, they were left with the distinct impression that the human relations aspect of work was secondary to that of maintaining a high academic level for the school.

In this next section, we will observe how these policies and procedures were manifested in the day-to-day operation of the school and the role of the children in this highly organized system.

A "Typical Day"

It takes some skill to follow one group of children through their school day as they change classrooms three times, attend a physical education, art, or music class, have lunch in the cafeteria,

go to recess "up the hill," or perhaps attend a field trip. The order and movement of the school day contrast with the "typical day" in a self-contained classroom in the United States. However, the Washington School is different in most respects from other schools in the U.S. or overseas.

The children quite enjoy the movement from class to class. Children of permanent residents come to know most of the teachers in the school throughout their school career. There is such continuity in the Fortalezan staff that a child feels sufficient stability even though the American teachers change frequently.

Let us follow a group of children as they arrive early in the morning and go quickly to their first class, language and social studies taught in English. There is ample space in the room for division into four groups, with two of the groups working independently. Whether or not the children are in English or Spanish class, however, they tend to speak to each other in Spanish, regardless of their nationality. In fact, it is not possible to distinguish the children by nationality, except for the new child from the United States who has not yet learned Spanish; the teachers report that this new child will be absorbed into the larger group very quickly.

In this class, the children are working on group projects that they are going to present to the entire class at the end of the week. The noise level is extremely high, but the teachers seem to accept that four groups and two teachers, all talking at once, cannot help but make noise. Fortunately, the rooms are constructed so that noise from the other classrooms does not enter.

Following this period, the children are dismissed for recess "up on the hill." Some of the girls sit near the tienda playing jacks. Other children play tether ball or other games with balls out on the field. The recess ends much too soon, and the children run to their next class, math and science, in which there is an English-speaking and a Spanish-speaking teacher. The young Spanish teacher is a "trainee" and experiences difficulty with the students: there is constant distraction as he attempts to present his lesson; he becomes disturbed when the children do not give him their attention, and he stops talking and waits for them to listen. Finally, in desperation, he hands them written work and they sit at their desks, completing the assignment. Some teachers complain that the children are disrespectful and treat their teachers as if they were maids, but most agree that the children respond much differently to the long-time members of the teaching staff, the permanents.

It is now 11:50. The children quickly straighten the room, take their lunches out, and eat at their desks. There is conversation among the children. The teacher remains in the room and supervises the children while they eat.

Following the lunch period, the children leave the classroom for their next class, the social studies and language class taught in Spanish. The teacher is an older woman who has been at the school for eighteen years; her teammate has also been here for many years. The teacher is relaxed with the children and leads a discussion about recent international events, praising them for their ability to express their opinions. The children's behavior is totally different in this

class, and they cooperate completely with the teacher. The discussion is interrupted, however, when the physical education teacher arrives to take the children to their class.

When the children return from their physical education class, the assistant principal is present in the room with a group of visiting teachers from a local school. Visits to the classrooms are common, as are regular observations and evaluations by the assistant principal. The children resume their activities, paying little attention to the visitors.

The school day ends, and the children take their lunch boxes and homework and run quickly to catch the buses, saying good-bye to their friends as they pass. They all say that the day races by for them; there is so much activity at the school.

There is pandemonium on the bus, as if all of the day's tensions can be released there. One child says that she can't enter the bus because a group of boys is teasing her. Several children are seen walking over the seats of the bus in order to reach their seats. Teachers come running out of their classrooms to catch the bus, which will leave at exactly 3:00. They know that the bus will not wait for anyone.

Many of the teachers leave for their afternoon tutoring assignments, positions they accept to supplement their incomes. And there are preparations to be made for tomorrow's classes as well as the English and Spanish teachers' meetings scheduled at 7:20 in the morning. A visiting consultant is conducting workshops and helping in

the preparation of curriculum guides for the teaching of English as a second language throughout the week.

One day blends into the next at the Washington School: the work load never seems to abate.

In this chapter, the physical and social anatomy of the Washington School, as well as certain of the processes of the educational program, have been presented. I have described the structure and the processes so that the reader may be aware of the commitment of the school policy makers to quality educational programs for their students and the country. The reader might also appreciate the efforts of the school to achieve its goals, and the obstacles that prevent the school from achieving its objectives.

In the next chapter, the structure and processes of the Columbus School educational program will be examined.

CHAPTER V

THE CONTEXT: THE COLUMBUS SCHOOL

A visitor to both the Washington School and the Columbus School commented to me that he felt instantly comfortable at the Columbus School. It was more of an "American school," he said, not only because there were more North Americans there, but because it was more typical of the other overseas schools with which he was familiar: in its size, its facilities, and its informality. For example, of the 140 overseas schools surveyed in a distribution according to size, two-thirds of the schools throughout the world were the size of the Columbus School or smaller. Only 11 percent were the size of the Washington School or larger (Luebke, 1976, p. 29).

An Overview of the School

A Brief History

According to the best accounts available, the Columbus School was founded in 1954 by a splinter group from the Washington School--a small group of parents who wanted their children to attend a school in which the calendar conformed to that of the U.S. school year. The parents also objected to the lack of individual attention, which they found was the rule at the Washington School, where children changed class three times and were exposed to at least seven teachers daily.

The school began with fifteen pupils and two teachers and operated with a permit from the Ministry of Education. According to a report sent to the U.S. State Department, accreditation from the Ministry of Education was granted in 1978 (Document 25 A).

The school operated with a kindergarten through eighth grade program until 1976, when a high school curriculum was instituted. Academic subjects were taught during the morning hours, and enrichment classes were provided in the afternoon. The original director served until 1977, when a parent group, disturbed by low academic standards, poor administration, and misuse of school funds, forced her to resign. Under that director, 75 percent of the staff was Fortalezan (Document 32).

The enrollment has steadily increased since the high school program commenced. Because increased enrollments were projected, the school board purchased land and received a loan from an American bank to begin construction of a new school facility. Completion of the new school was expected for the 1980-81 school year (Document 25 B).

Philosophy and Objectives

Recent publications of the school--the teacher handbook, student-parent handbook, and enrollment packet--each begin with a statement of the school's philosophy and objectives. Such a statement was conspicuously lacking from previous publications of the school. A report by a committee representing the Latin American Committee of the Commission on Secondary Schools of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools that visited the Columbus School in 1979 provided an

evaluation of the school's progress in eradicating some of the problems that had persuaded the Southern Association to place the school on probation--in danger of losing its accreditation. Five observations and recommendations were presented to the school following their visit. The fifth observation stated that:

Although the parents and board are very much concerned about the accreditation status of the school, it is obvious there is lack of clear-cut direction in which to proceed. The Board of Education and professional staff should adopt a meaningful school philosophy and determine the educational objectives for the school. This guides the school in planning a school program, building school facilities, and employing staff (Document 24 A, p. 2).

Within the statement of philosophy and objectives, which was subsequently prepared by the school, three aims of the school program were listed:

1. . . . The students who come to us from other countries (mainly North America) may continue their studies without any radical changes in their basic curriculum.
2. Also, we shall present opportunities for these transient students to make the most of their opportunities of living in and confronting a different culture.
3. Host country students who attend Columbus School of Miraflores will benefit from the interchange with students from other countries which will enrich their experiences (Document 29, p. 1).

We will see in later descriptions if opportunities were presented for the students to benefit from their interchange with students from other countries.

Finances

Finances in overseas schools are always a severe problem. Because the Columbus School relied on school tuition for 80 percent of its expenses, the budget was seriously affected by any changes in

enrollment or inflationary increases. I present part of a letter sent by the school board chairman and treasurer to the parents, advising them that the tuition rates would be increased by 10 percent, effective during the second semester. This letter indicates the contingencies affecting overseas schools in general, and the Columbus School in particular.

The projected budget for the school year, which was presented at the General Assembly on October 10, 1979, was based on an enrollment of 515 students. It was also our hope that there would be some increases in enrollment in October and November, as there have been in past years, and that this would create some reserves. An unusually large number of withdrawals from school (36 so far), mainly due to transfers to other countries, has prevented such a favorable development. In reality by the end of October, we had only about 485 students, projecting a loss of some \$20,000 in tuition fees. Although this situation did improve, we still did not have the 515 students anticipated in the budget, by the end of November. Increases in operation costs have placed the school in an even more difficult financial position. Required additional bus service to deal with the unforeseen distribution of students in Miraflores caused an extra expenditure of \$1,500. A requested upgrading of bus monitors caused an extra expenditure of approximately \$4,500. Additionally an increase in bus renting fees is also anticipated because of an increase in the price of gasoline. This increase clause is included in our contract with the bus company. Increased activity in the educational program caused increased demand for stationery. Work permits involving sixteen teachers, including those hired from the USA, have caused another assault on our finances. The initial cost for obtaining the permits has already doubled from the original estimate given by our attorneys. Additionally, because progress in this matter has been slow (not yet settled by the end of November), fines will have to be paid for those teachers whose provisional visas have already expired. Unfortunately, the final costs plus lawyers fees are still unknown. As promised at the beginning of the year, the raise in tuition will not apply to anyone who has prepaid his tuition for the entire year. . . (Document 33).

The question of salaries has always been a controversial one at the Columbus School, where I was told that, in the past, preferential treatment had been given to the friends of the former director. The new board was attempting to equalize salaries according to experience

and education. However, foreign-hire teachers were paid more than locally hired teachers, and both groups earned more than Fortalezan teachers. (See Table 12.)

Table 12.--Variation in teachers' salaries.

Citizenship and Hiring Status	Education	Years Experience Before Teaching at Columbus School	Years Employed at Columbus School	Salary
U.S. citizen locally hired	B.A.	3	7	\$4,599.12
U.S. citizen foreign hire	B.A.	6	0	6,000
U.S. citizen foreign hire	M.A.	2½	0	6,000
Fortalezan locally hired	Fortalezan certificate	3	1	3,120
Fortalezan locally hired	Fortalezan certificate	0	14	4,841

In order to attract qualified teachers from the U.S., the board found it necessary to offer higher salaries to those teachers. However, the budget could not support these salaries being paid to all teachers. Teachers understood the reasons for this differential, but the inequities of the system promoted tensions among them.

As significant as the physical environment of the Washington School was to the attitudes of its members, so was the physical setting of the Columbus School. A tour is in order.

The Physical Environment

A Tour of the School

There is nothing distinctive about the physical plant of the Columbus School, except that its deteriorated buildings and absence of landscaping make it stand out as somewhat of an eyesore in the upper-class residential area where it is located. Although the school facilities are temporary, and a new, elaborate, and extensive school will be completed within the next year, the present condition of the buildings strongly affects its ability to attract more students.

Yet there are redeeming features, which are partly a result of the physical condition of the school. The space is so confined that people are forced to congregate, to share each other's materials, to sit down together, to talk together. And the war against the elements--the poor condition of the school--brings forth a spirit of camaraderie and cooperation among the school staff and families.

The Columbus School is conveniently located near the center of the expatriate district and is within walking distance of the favorite hamburger hangout, the ice cream parlor, and other restaurants and stores that sell American products.

Arriving at the Columbus School, a visitor experiences some confusion in identifying the front entrance or in finding a parking place. Walking through the dirt area to the front gate, the visitor notices that the school, serving 490 students, occupies a space equal to that of four of the homes located on either side. When delivering children in the morning, the buses park along the side street in front of the private residences. The pre-school is located in a

converted, large home about five doors from the school, where five teachers provide an educational program for seventy children.

The school consists of eleven small wooden buildings close together, connected by covered walkways. They are all painted a bright white with green trim, giving the impression that efforts are being made to make it more attractive but that not enough has been accomplished. The eye is distracted by trash on the ground and by the large bottles of drinking water that substitute for fountains. Several indigenous women are seated in front of the school, offering their handicrafts to admiring mothers and teachers.

Passing through the front gate, which is guarded by one of the school workers, one recognizes the main office by its long counter, seen through the open door. The director's office, with a view onto the main entrance, can be seen from the gate. The curtains are made of hand-woven Fortalezan cloth, but even they are faded and hanging unevenly.

To the right of the director's window is the entrance to the teachers' room, where teachers can be seen talking, relaxing, planning, smoking, using the mimeograph machine, eating their lunches, or entering the lavatories. This room, like all the others, is small, with not enough chairs for all of the teachers to sit down; when parties are held here, most of those present must remain standing. In the teachers' room and throughout all of the school, there is an air of informality, of casualness, and of calm.

Two tables are located against the front wall of the teachers' room, with chairs placed around each. A group of Spanish teachers is

working at one of the tables, completing lesson plans; a group of American teachers is seated at the other table, also working on plans. Spanish is spoken at the first table and English at the second table. To the visitor, the teachers would seem to be divided according to nationality, but to the person familiar with the school, the separation is simple: the teachers rarely speak each other's languages and are working on separate curricula.

Several teachers leave the room, and one stops at the main office to speak with the director about a personal problem. A family is also waiting at the desk, talking to the receptionist about enrolling their children in school. Another couple is waiting to make an appointment with the elementary principal to discuss their child's progress. Without sufficient room for all of these people inside the main office, most stand outside. A loud buzzer is heard inside the office. A secretary quickly walks through the doorway at the back of the office into the director's office. She comes out, closes the door, and informs the waiting family that they can now enter. She explains to the other family that the director will be unable to see anyone else today since she must discuss teacher contracts at the Ministry of Education: a problem about the fee for having foreign teachers at the school. Someone comments that the director spends more time at the Ministry than she does at the school, and nothing seems to get done. The family waiting to see the director decides to talk with the elementary principal, and they are taken down the covered walkways to the small office shared by the primary and

secondary principals. The door is open here, and the secretary who serves the two principals is sitting at her desk, typing.

The elementary principal walks out to greet the family, a casual manner about him, not at all like the formality of the front office with its buzzer. He comments that it is his intention to help people feel comfortable at the school. Part of the air of informality can be attributed to the dress of the teachers and the students. Some of the teachers wear blue jeans and typical Fortalezan clothing; the children dress as children do in most U.S. public schools: in casual pants and T-shirts. Classrooms are small and poorly lighted. Desks are close together, allowing little space for activities that would take children away from their tables.

There is no playground. The children must be taken to a place away from the school for their physical education classes. At recess the high school students sit on the grass or talk, standing at the side of the buildings. The sounds from their conversations and laughter carry into the elementary classrooms where the Spanish teachers give their lessons. The elementary children, after eating their lunches in the classrooms, go outside to the jungle gym and swings or run around under the tree in the confined space outside their rooms.

But despite the physical limitations, there is a feeling of progress, of high morale, of shared suffering and shared joy--an atmosphere difficult to pinpoint because the material surroundings distract one from the definite mood of optimism and friendship that exists here now.

With the physical space in mind, let us consider now the school participants and their role in the school organization.

The School Members

Administrative Organization

Like most overseas American schools, the Columbus School is governed by a school board that is elected by the association of parents. Any parent is automatically a member of the association of the school and thereby eligible to vote in its general sessions. Nine board members are elected to serve on the board for a period of three years each. Every year an election is held for three board members (Document 28 A).

The board of directors is charged with hiring a director of the school, who in turn is answerable to the board. Under the director are two principals and a business manager, in addition to the teaching staff. During the 1979-80 school year, the board members were all men of the following nationalities:

U.S. citizens	--6 members
Constitutional Fortalezan	--1 member
Dutch	--1 member
Fortalezan	--1 member

(Document 25 A)

The Fortalezan member of the board was elected at a meeting of the general assembly in the fall of 1979. In his address to the audience of association members at the time of the election, he cited as one of the principal reasons why he should be elected that he was

a Fortalezan. Since the school was located here, he thought it important that a Fortalezan serve on the school's board, and he also expressed his personal interest in and commitment to the school's development.

Although the school's director was serving in her second year at the school at the time of this study, the elementary and high school principals were beginning their first year at the school. In addition, most of the teaching staff was new to the school during the 1979-80 school year. In trying to remedy the problems of the previous years under the former director, the board had fired most of the teaching staff and hired new teachers from the U.S., in addition to several hired locally.

In addition to the problems of adjustment and orientation posed by having a majority of the staff that was new to the school and to the country, there were continual operational matters that absorbed the attention of the teachers and parents: problems with the construction of the new school, with teachers' salaries, with registering the school at the Ministry of Education, and within the board created an enormous work load for the school members. It seemed that as each problem was solved, a new one appeared. The pattern that developed was referred to by one of the administrators as "crisis management." The school was run on a day-to-day basis. There was a definite need for long-range planning, but there was no time to develop long-range plans because of the continual crises.

Teaching Staff

According to the Overseas Schools Questionnaire (1979), the total professional staff consisted of fifty full-time positions, including a librarian, business manager, administrators, and counselors (Document 25). The school was proud that it had a high pupil-teacher ratio of thirteen to one. As reported in the introduction to Chapter IV, almost two-thirds of the teachers were U.S. citizens and more than one-third were host-country citizens. The transiency of the dominant group among the administrative and teaching staff contributed to the sense of disorganization and to the uncertainty about school policy, procedures, and programs.

Parents and Students

As mentioned in the introduction to Chapter IV, an almost equal number of American government personnel enrolled their children in the Washington School as in the Columbus School. The parents of all nationalities were grouped according to the categories shown in Table 13.

Of the 175 students representing countries other than Fortaleza and the United States, twenty-eight were from English-speaking countries.

The nursery and kindergarten programs are open to any child, and classes are taught in English and Spanish. The Fact Sheet that is distributed to families of prospective students states that "preference will be given to children whose native language is English" (p. 7). The Spanish-speaking children and speakers of other languages

Table 13.--Enrollment according to professional affiliation of parent.

Professional Affiliation	Enrollments		
	Dependents of U.S. Citizens	Dependents of Host Nationals	Dependents of Third-Country Nationals
U.S. government, Department of Defense, contracted by U.S. government agency	45	--	--
U.S. and U.S.-affiliated firms and foundations	72	7	35
Other business firms	40	40	83
Religious organizations	21	--	--
U.N. agencies	--	--	--
Fulbright grantees	--	--	--
Government affiliation, including U.S. government	45	--	--
Others	--	49	59
Total	223 (45%)	96 (20%)	175 (35%)

Source: Document 25.

are given additional instruction in English as a second language. In elementary school, however, children must:

- a. demonstrate sufficient proficiency in English to function in a classroom situation,
- b. be within the average range in learning ability for age and grade, and
- c. complete all necessary forms.

Children are given admission tests before being accepted at the school in the elementary and secondary divisions. The high school requires that students "demonstrate proficiency in English to function in a classroom situation" (Document 33, pp. 8-9).

We have taken a brief look at the school history, objectives, finances, and physical space, as well as the social anatomy of the school: the board members, administrators, teachers, parents, and students. Let us now look at the school program, the educational priorities that were established, and the curriculum that was adopted by the school. We will also focus on the teacher orientation at the beginning of the school year in order to see how the school policies, procedures, and directives were incorporated into the day-to-day functioning of the school. Apparent will be the attention given to intercultural relations. We should also gain a sensitivity to the ambiance of the school.

Going to School

The School Year in Brief

Throughout the United States, the subject of the school calendar and the months it comprises is not a controversial one. It is predictable that most students will begin school sometime in September and finish the school year sometime in June, barring severe winter storms that require classes to be extended until later in that month. We can also assume that children will have a few days' vacation at Thanksgiving, several weeks during the Christmas holidays, and also a spring vacation for the celebration of Easter.

The cold months of winter are endured, and the family makes plans for a two-week summer vacation, perhaps out of the state, or out of the country, or nearby with a visit to relatives. Whatever the choice, the summer months are anticipated by the family members.

It is surprising to Americans employed outside of the U.S. to learn that the school year does not always follow this schedule. Throughout South America and Central America, the school year usually comprises the months of March through November, or some variation of this, to allow the family and the country a vacation during the hot months of December, January, and February.

One of the main purposes for the creation of the Columbus School was to have a school that observed the U.S. calendar year and to avoid the problems caused to transient families who were attempting to transfer their children from one school system to another without having their children enter a school at mid-year.

A pamphlet printed by the school for publicity purposes, presumably in the mid-1970s, states:

Columbus School was founded in 1954 as an experimental non-profit, non-sectarian day school by the parents of English speaking children. They desired a high quality school run on the U.S. school year, in which every student would be treated as an individual and in which character development would be stressed. Columbus School, with its qualified teachers, is the answer to that desire (Document 32 B).

The most recent brochure of the school, printed in 1977 as a fund-raising method, states in its introduction to the school:

About 20 years ago a dream became a reality in Miraflores. Many parents had longed for an English language school to follow the September-June cycle. Columbus School was an answer to that dream. It was more. . . (Document 25 A.1, p. 1).

The second page of the brochure emphasizes the importance of a school on this cycle as a means of encouraging employees to remain at their foreign posts: "Happy growing children mean happy families and happy long-term employees" (Document A.1, p. 2).

The school calendar for the year 1979-80 is reproduced here to show the holiday and class schedule (Document 31 B). Throughout the year, other activities were added to the schedule. However it is important to see how the school year was envisaged by the administrators who developed the calendar.

COLUMBUS SCHOOL
School Calendar
1979-80

August

28,29,30,31 New teachers' and nursery teachers' orientation

September

3 Labor Day holiday
4,5,6 Teachers' workshop
7 Classes begin from 8:30-11:30, first quarter
10 Nursery classes begin
18 Back to school night

October

1 Fortalezan Independence Day holiday
8 Columbus Day holiday
26 Elementary school teachers' training
29 High school teachers' training

November

1-2 All Saint's Day holiday
9 End of first quarter (45 days)
16 Report cards given to parents, no students
22-23 Thanksgiving Day holiday

December

19 Last day of school before Christmas holiday

January

7 Classes resume
 18 Elementary school teachers' training
 21 High school teachers' training

February

1 End of first semester and second quarter (45 days)
 8 Report cards go out
 18 George Washington's Birthday holiday
 29 Elementary school teachers' training

March

3 High school teachers' training
 27 Last day of classes before Spring break
 28-31 First days of Easter vacation (Spring break)

April

1,2,3,4 Continued Semana Santa holiday (Spring break)
 7 Classes resume
 11 End of the third quarter (43 days)
 15 Report cards go out

May

1-2 Fortalezan Labor Day holiday
 16 Elementary school teachers' training
 19 High school teachers' training
 26 Memorial Day holiday

June

7 High school graduation
 10-11 High school semester exams
 12 Field Day--elementary
 13 Last day of school (42 days)
 18 Report cards may be picked up

(Document 31 B)

Like other American schools throughout the world, the Columbus School celebrates the important holidays in the U.S. as well as the important holidays in Fortaleza: Labor Day, Columbus Day, Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Year, George Washington's Birthday, Easter, and Memorial

Day are celebrated as in the United States. However, Fortalezan Independence Day, All Saint's Day, and Fortalezan Labor Day are also included. On those Fortalezan holidays, appropriate celebrations or commemorations are held, not in the elaborate style as in other Fortalezan schools or even as in the Washington School, but they are celebrated nevertheless.

Although this type of calendar is well suited to the transient family, there are certain disadvantages for the children enrolled in the school. During the summer vacation for the Fortalezan children attending the school, their friends, cousins, or neighbors are still attending classes. The summer programs offered by the swim clubs and other recreation centers, such as summer camp, are not available during June, July, and August, when the entire country is still attending classes. Fortaleza, a large industrial city, has many mid-winter vacation activities available for children, but when these activities are available, the Columbus School children are not able to take advantage of them. Therefore, during the summer vacation, the only friends available with whom they can socialize are other students from the school, who usually live far apart.

A calendar such as this does not adequately reflect the level of activity at any school, let alone the Columbus School. The PTA sponsors an "Italian Night," a fund-raising activity for the school. There is a yearly fair, which receives assistance from the Marines at the Embassy. There are extra-curricular activities for the children, teachers' parties, and a multitude of other programs. (See Chapter IX.)

Curriculum and Classroom Structure

In a statement prepared for the U.S. Department of State in the school's request for financial assistance (1979), a summary of the school's program was provided:

Columbus School is the only school in Fortaleza which operates on the United States School Calendar (September-June). Teaching in English and using U.S. administrators, teachers and textbooks, the school provides a state-wide curriculum for U.S. Government dependents and the American Business Community in Fortaleza. Through E.S.L. and Remedial Reading Programs the school prepares Fortalezan and third country nationals to function in a U.S. classroom environment, thereby demonstrating U.S. education abroad, preparing foreign students to enter U.S. universities, and increasing mutual understanding internationally (Document 25 B, Attachment I).

According to this statement, it was assumed that by studying together in the same setting, international understanding could be promoted among the students.

The Columbus School claimed that its curriculum is similar to that of schools in the United States. A request for a definition of an American curriculum usually received this response: the school uses textbooks from the United States. Special curricula have not been developed recently to adapt to the particular needs of the school, although the administration feels that curriculum development is desirable for the school. A visiting curriculum consultant stated that the school was now ready to begin working on curriculum. She said that previously the school could not develop curriculum; the greatest problem was in keeping order in the school. Now that some organization was maintained, the matters of curriculum could be discussed.

In addition to the normal K-12 curriculum offered at the Columbus School, an Adelantamiento program, approved by the Ministry of

Education, was available to students, which would allow a Fortalezan student to enter a Fortalezan high school following the elementary experience at the Columbus School. The Adelantamiento program would give the student the equivalent of what was taught in a Fortalezan elementary school by certified teachers. The Adelantamiento classes were taught during the afternoon hours in a reduced period of time, thus enabling an interested family to enroll their child in the full-day English program and take advantage of this shortened version of the Fortalezan curriculum.

A Bachillerato program is not offered at the Columbus School, and the Fact Sheet states, "A student graduating from Columbus School High School will not be able to enroll in state institutions, private universities, nor will credits from the High School be accepted for transfer into a Bachillerato program of another Fortalezan school" (Document 33, p. 1).

In the preceding sections we have considered the distinguishing features of a school: its objectives, finances, organization, staff, and curriculum, among other characteristics. However, we need to observe how these functions of the school are put into operation--how they move from goal into action. Let us observe the teacher orientation at the beginning of the year and see the way that buildings, books, teachers, curriculum objectives, and children are processed together and emerge as an "educational program." We will also observe whether or not attention was directed toward programs or procedures by

which the students could profit from their intercultural experiences in the overseas school.

Orienting Teachers

For the first time since the school was founded in 1954, teachers were recruited from the U.S. this year. Before 1979, teachers were hired from among local residents who did not necessarily have teaching experience or certification. Having certified teachers from the United States increased the respect and admiration of the parents for the school. Like most Americans, the parents considered teacher certification a guarantee of superior teachers. They were also certain that there would be noticeable results in the educational achievement of their children if they were taught by certified teachers.

Most of the teachers arrived several days before the beginning of teacher orientation in order to find housing with Fortalezan families or to arrange to live with other teachers from the school. The meetings were scheduled to be held for three days before the beginning of classes, starting at 8:30 each morning.

The first orientation meeting was held in one of the classrooms, which was partitioned for classes but was opened in order to accommodate all of the teachers. There was excitement in the air as old teachers and new ones greeted each other. They looked for places to sit in the room, waiting for the orientation to begin. Of about fifty people present, probably ten of them were Fortalezans. They sat together in the front of the room, while the Americans sat together

scattered throughout the room. The old teachers welcomed the new ones with genuine enthusiasm and promise for the new school year.

There was a coffee pot at the side of the room, but no coffee, cups, or spoons. The room was dusty from the long summer and had not yet been cleaned for the new school year. It was dark and unattractive, unlike its appearance two months later, when children's work would be decorating the walls. It was difficult to imagine how this room could be converted into a classroom in just three days. For this reason, the teachers felt some urgency, realizing that they would be responsible for the transformation of their classrooms from dusty storage areas to inviting learning environments.

The orientation began when the board president, Mr. Carlson, introduced himself. He stressed that the school year would be a good one for everyone. (He was alluding to the previous year, in which most of the teachers had been fired by the board.) The PTA president spoke later, almost emotionally, about the hope of the parents for a successful school year and her appreciation of having such a "great group of teachers." Other references to the problems of previous years were made, followed by assurances that such problems would no longer occur.

The school director, Mrs. Elisa de Franco, a young, attractive, and energetic Fortalezan educator, was introduced to the group by the school board chairman. For a few uncomfortable minutes, Mrs. Franco spoke to the group. Her English was poor, but there was no doubt that she was making a great effort to welcome the teachers warmly to the school. Apologizing for her English, she explained that she had spent her summer in the U.S., studying English and educational administration.

Several teachers commented that her English had improved greatly since last year, her first at the school.

Mrs. Franco, interested in having the teachers get to know each other, introduced a group dynamics game and explained that the purpose was for them to learn about each other. She passed out some poorly translated cards on which each teacher was to write some biographical information. However, without completing the information, the teachers began to talk to each other. She had divided the teachers into groups, but they didn't observe her request to discuss what they had written on their cards. Throughout the orientation the high school and elementary principals entered and left the room frequently, distracting the teachers and giving the appearance of disorganization. The elementary principal confided that he had been up until 3 a.m. completing preparations for the orientation. Both of the principals were new to the school this year, and the teachers were waiting expectantly to hear them speak and to learn about their attitudes toward education and the school.

Mrs. Franco did not remain for the entire meeting, but returned to her office following the introduction of the elementary and secondary principals. At 9:30, the teachers divided and the elementary and secondary met with their respective principals. One significant change this year, announced by the principals, was the joining of their offices in one building; they had previously been located separately. This announcement was met with approval by the teachers, who indicated that separation and lack of communication had existed before.

The principals distributed schedules of the workshops, instructions for the teachers regarding their visas, and a form for filling in their teaching schedule, to be completed later. The paper that explained the visa requirements also included information about Fortalezan social security, their taxes, and general observations. The teachers immediately began talking among themselves concerning the latter:

1. All the teachers should punch their cards when they come in and when they leave the school (this means at the end of the school day). When the card has not been punched either when the teachers come in the morning or when they leave after the school day is over, it will be taken as if the teacher has not been working at the school on that day, and the accountant will withhold those days off his/her monthly salary.
2. It is prohibited to go eat lunch outside the school.
3. A suggestion: carry your passport or a photocopy of the same to identify yourself always (Document 29, pp. 1-2).

Teachers were accustomed to the freedom of leaving school during the lunch period to eat at local restaurants, and they were disturbed about the requirement to remain at school. There was an obvious tightening of regulations this year, and the principals appeared to support this discipline.

The time clock caused the greatest displeasure. The teachers commented that they had never had to punch a time clock during their professional careers; teachers' work was not judged on the amount of time spent, but on the quality of the work; this was not a factory--it was an educational institution.

Although teachers were concerned at this meeting about the enforcement of certain regulations, two months later several teachers

commented that the morale in the school had never been higher. The elementary principal allowed them freedom in their teaching; he never interfered in their classes; he rarely came into their classrooms, and remained for only five minutes if he did enter. The teachers appreciated this freedom.

During the coffee break (by which time the coffee had been found), one of the old-timers, at the school for two years, commented that she had also worked for two years at the Washington School. She, like several others, much preferred working at the Columbus School. They said that there was less paper work and less expected of teachers as regards work and responsibility. Another teacher told how she had brought her child to school one day during the previous year when her maid had not arrived to care for him. He remained in her classroom throughout the school day. His presence was enjoyed by the other children and did not interfere with her teaching. One of the old-timers said that this sort of flexibility didn't exist at the Washington School.

Conspicuously absent from the discussions at the teacher orientation was a presentation of the school's purposes and objectives, although they were listed on the front page of the teachers' handbook (Document 29 A).

After the teachers met for their separate meeting with the primary principal, he addressed them formally. He asked the teachers to work together at this time to schedule music, physical education, art, and Spanish classes so that they would be coordinated among all of the teachers. He left the group alone and returned shortly to

review what they had accomplished. (The teachers appreciated this independence but also had a sense that the elementary program lacked organization and direction.) He asked the teachers if they wished to change grade levels with another teacher at this time, before the beginning of classes, and emphasized that he wanted them to be satisfied with their teaching experience.

A teacher asked, somewhat nervously, exactly what they were expected to teach. He said, "Basically, we teach the quote, American system" (Informant 24, O.N. p. 94). However, he didn't define that system. After an uncomfortable silence, the principal said that they taught an American curriculum, meaning that they used American textbooks. At one point in the discussion, a teacher proposed not teaching math in English because she understood that the Spanish teachers were also teaching math. A suggestion was then made to coordinate the Spanish and English curricula; several of the teachers expressed their confusion about the content of the Spanish program. One of the teachers, who had been with the school for several years, said that she had no idea what the program of Adelantamiento consisted of or exactly what the Spanish teachers taught.

Several teachers expressed their irritation with the interruption that would be caused by the Spanish classes. One suggested that the children be removed from English class for their Spanish lessons, according to their level of ability in Spanish; she then reconsidered, realizing that the same children might be at different levels in English and that grouping in this way would cause a problem for her grouping in

English. The teachers were unable to resolve this problem and moved to another subject.

The elementary principal returned to the meeting after a short absence. A long discussion ensued about the snack that the children were accustomed to eat in the morning. The elementary principal and another teacher were surprised to learn that in past years children were permitted to have a snack before their lunch break. He said that in the United States, children were not allowed to eat snacks in the early morning: eating snacks created a mess throughout the school and also was not beneficial to the health of the children. He felt that parents should feed their children properly in the morning before coming to school. (No one mentioned that in Fortaleza the morning eating habits were different from those in the U.S.--that many families eat a light breakfast because they have a late dinner in the evening.)

Another discussion began about the Adelantamiento program. Teachers were interested in knowing what children learned in this program. A teacher who had been at the school for six years suggested, "Let's get the Adelantamiento and American teachers together," to coordinate what subjects were taught. Until that time, the English and Spanish teachers had no information about the contents of their separate curricula.

Following this meeting, the teachers were dismissed to attend to preparations for the beginning of classes. There was considerable work: organization of the textbooks, obtaining necessary supplies, planning the first week's lessons, and making the rooms habitable.

On the second day of teacher orientation, a visit was scheduled to the school by the Explorers, the Marines from the American Embassy, and a representative from the American Union. The representative from the Explorers gave an enthusiastic presentation of the activities of her group--interested in traveling through the country--and invited the teachers to join them. When the Marines and the representative from the American Union failed to appear, the teachers returned quickly to their classrooms to continue their preparations.

As the English teachers left the meeting, Mrs. Franco entered simultaneously with the group of Spanish teachers who were to meet with her. They were jovial, laughing and talking among themselves. Mrs. Franco appeared a changed person, relaxed and informal. Although they were also informal with her, it was obvious that they respected her greatly. One of the few women in the country who had held an important position in the Ministry of Education, she was known for her accomplishments in initiating and developing a highly successful university program.

As the teachers discussed the Spanish program, they interrupted each other in a friendly manner. Mrs. Franco was in control, but she freely discussed the teachers' opinions; they were trying to decide on suitable textbooks. One teacher had several samples, but they were texts used for Fortalezan children. Mrs. Franco explained that the children were mature, but that their Spanish was deficient; they required texts appropriate to their level of maturity but which would be written at an elementary level. (Classes were to begin in two days, and the teachers did not know which texts they were going to use.)

While Mrs. Franco was helping them in their planning, the elementary principal entered and presented the final schedule prepared by the primary teachers. He indicated, in his broken Spanish, the times scheduled for the Spanish teachers to teach Spanish to the elementary children. They were to enter the elementary classrooms and present their lessons to the children because there just wasn't sufficient room to provide the Spanish teachers with their own classrooms.

The teachers began to laugh among themselves. The English teachers had scheduled three teachers teaching Spanish in one classroom while the other children were allowed their lunch break. The Spanish teachers reminded the principal that the noise would be distracting because most of the students would be taking their lunch break. The teachers were not angry or resentful; they were resigned to the fact that Spanish had an unimportant position in the minds of those preparing the schedule. A visiting consultant had remarked on this situation: "The would get rid of Spanish if they could. No one thinks it's very important for the children to learn."

Classes began with eagerness on the part of the children and with some apprehension on the part of the teachers. They were unaccustomed to working with so few instructional materials, but they were buoyed by the parents' support. Parents came to greet them and welcome them to the school; this seemed to compensate for their difficulties in obtaining materials, sufficient textbooks, and modern teaching devices.

The rooms seemed magically transformed the day that classes began. The teachers were ready for their students. Children came on the buses that were rented by the Columbus School; in some cases,

parents formed car pools to drive their children to the appropriate bus stop, waiting until the children were safely on the buses. There were security problems in the country, and these parents took no chances with possible kidnappings.

The buses were overcrowded on one of the lines, but the children entered in an orderly fashion, sitting sometimes five to a seat in cramped positions. They sat according to their ages, with the nursery children at the front and the older students in the rear. The latter had a protective manner with the young children; there was a family feeling on the bus, just as there was at the school. Children rode silently in the morning, speaking quietly in Spanish and English to each other when they did engage in conversation.

A "Typical Day"

On any "typical day," the children arrive at school either on the school buses or in their parents' cars. They greet each other and mill around the classrooms, usually talking or playing games until it is time to enter at 8:30. As in classes throughout the United States, the morning begins with language arts or mathematics instruction. Although there is considerable noise in the room, with the open windows and the closeness of the classrooms, the children within each room are well behaved. Discipline is not a problem in the elementary, except during the Spanish classes.

The children remain in one classroom throughout the day, except for recess in the morning, their lunch break, or when they leave the school grounds for physical education class. Otherwise,

the art, music, and Spanish teachers give their classes in the children's homerooms.

During the morning, the children engage in instructional activities either independently or in group projects; the teachers often have them work outside in order to have more space and so that one group's noise doesn't disturb another.

We observe a group of children with their classroom teacher. She has not had training in adapting course matter to a level for non-English speakers and tells us that teaching children who are at many academic levels as well as language levels presents unanticipated problems and additional work. She has divided the children according to their language ability for the language arts project: a story the children are writing and illustrating about their Thanksgiving holiday. While the teacher works with the English speakers, the other three groups work quietly and cooperatively. The Spanish-speaking children communicate with each other in Spanish, except when they ask the teacher for assistance, and then they speak in English. Most of the teachers do not speak Spanish and, although tempted to use Spanish in communicating with the children, are unable to do so. The children in this room, therefore, make considerable efforts to be understood in English.

The morning passes quickly, and the children straighten their desks and are excused for their morning recess period. They play outside the classrooms on the swings and jungle gym. The space is confined, and the children must share the equipment. They return to their classroom and continue with the projects begun before recess. The art

teacher enters the room, and the classroom teacher leaves. The children's conduct is now noticeably different. Some teachers say that the children probably don't understand what the teacher is saying--the art, music, and Spanish classes are taught in Spanish--and therefore consider what she teaches to be of little value.

After the art lesson, the teacher confides that the Spanish teachers feel restricted by the lack of space, by having to teach their classes in other teachers' rooms, and by having to take their materials from one room to another. They also feel constrained by the half-hour period they are given to teach Spanish literature, geography, history, and language arts.

The classroom teacher returns and prepares the children for their lunch period, in their classroom. They move from table to table, talking with each other in Spanish and English. The Fortalezan and American children are easily distinguished here by their dress, their speech, and their mannerisms.

Following the lunch period, the children take a short break and then return for their Spanish class. When the Spanish teacher enters, the classroom teacher takes her plan book and leaves. The children begin talking to each other, whistling, and walking around the room. The Spanish teacher needs to yell to be heard. She is known to be one of the most affectionate of teachers, but here she is nervous, aware that she doesn't have their attention. The work that she gives them is finished quickly, and they are given more written work to complete at their desks. She does not attempt to lead the children in a discussion. As the period ends, her frustration is evident; rather

than ending the class in her usually friendly manner, she is curt. (She comments later about the problems that all of the Spanish teachers have had. At first she had forty children to teach, all at different levels in Spanish; at least now she has twenty-nine. However, their conduct has not improved. She thinks that the pattern for their behavior was set at the beginning of the semester.)

The classroom teacher returns and the children are again courteous and calm. She introduces a new science unit; they will be studying about seeds and the way they germinate. The children are excited: they will be planting the seeds of different plants in special plastic containers, which will allow them to observe the growth of the roots. Because she is new to the country, the teacher tells the children that she is unfamiliar with the way to obtain the materials needed, and she therefore requests their help and that of their parents in providing some of the items needed. Children volunteer enthusiastically to bring a watering can, different kinds of seeds, soil, and other articles. The teacher is frustrated by the school's lack of resources but comments later that the children certainly learn to cooperate this way.

At the end of the day, the children gather their lunch boxes and jackets and run to enter the waiting buses. They will be delivered to opposite corners of the city. Some will talk on the phone that evening; a few might spend the weekend with each other. Others will play with their friends in their neighborhood after school.

We have seen a "typical" day at the Columbus School. The complex problems associated with the management of the school are now evident, as are the concerns of the staff. In addition, the informality and disorganization of the school environment; the transience of the school members; the heavy work load experienced because of the financial, legal, and other concerns; and the efforts made by the staff to confront these problems are all apparent. These problems and concerns can be seen as obstacles to the school's effectively incorporating its goals and objectives--to profit from the multicultural setting--into the school program.

Let us turn now to look closely at the school members and consider their relationship to the schools, to each other, and to the country. As we hear them speak about these and other issues, we will learn more about the forces that promoted or discouraged intercultural relations among the school members.

CHAPTER VI

THE SCHOOL MEMBERS

We have come a long way on our journey toward understanding the forces acting on the schools and the school members and influencing their cross-cultural associations. In the first part of this dissertation, I spoke in general terms about overseas schools that have been unsuccessful in achieving their stated purpose of promoting intercultural communication. In Chapters IV and V, however, by examining the physical and social structure of the Washington School and the Columbus School, the issue of intercultural relations became focused on two authentic schools. We can particularize; we can understand and be sympathetic to the specific situations and experiences of the school members who serve and are served by the schools.

There are other sympathies, however, that could be developed: to identify with the school members, to become aware of the diversity of their life styles, leisure activities, organizations they belonged to, and--most important--their attitudes, beliefs, and feelings, not only to learn about their social world, but to appreciate the struggles and accomplishments of their daily lives.

Interviewing Fortalezans and Americans at different levels of the school organization, I found that there was as much variation within the national groups as between Americans and Fortalezans.

The school members often differentiated themselves according to their profession. It was common for a teacher, for example, to categorize all Embassy people as "superficial and status conscious," and for other professional groups to stereotype one another; it was also usual to find that they separated themselves according to nationality, as will be seen in this chapter. I was so influenced by their expressions about national and professional identification that it was months before I realized that there were broader categories that transcended these bonds.

As I mentioned in Chapter III, it was the orientation of the members that was more relevant to their pattern of friendships, life styles, attitudes toward the school, and particularly their commitment to the school organization and the country that I found as one of the predominant cultural themes. I termed it a "transient" or a "permanent" orientation.

Transience and Permanence: A Cultural Theme

The principal organizing force within each of the schools, between the schools, and within the community related to the orientation of the individuals toward the country or toward the school organization. It concerned their identification with the United States or Fortaleza, or the degree to which they identified with the countries along a continuum. Although social class, school and community size, school work load, and calendar all weighed heavily in adjustment patterns and attitudes, the key factor here was the degree of identification with the country or the school. Some people were more committed

to the U.S. than to Fortaleza and there were occasional examples of individuals who rejected Fortaleza completely or had an unreserved loyalty to the U.S. However, in most cases, people expressed varying degrees of loyalty or identification with one of the countries or the schools. This orientation, or identification, related to the psychological sense of permanence or transience of the participant, whether Fortalezan or American. Their sense of transience or permanence was not always affected by the length of time they had resided in Fortaleza or had worked within the school. Whether or not the American remained in Fortaleza throughout his life, he was psychologically not really "at home." Home was somewhere else, and he oriented his life style and future goals to what would be appropriate eventually in his "real" home.

This explanation concerning the permanence or transience of the expatriate is not a new idea. Since the writing of Simmel (1908), on the expatriate as "stranger," this phenomenon has been studied widely. However, to be explored here are the ways in which individuals with a "permanent" or "transient" orientation interact within the school organization, how they view that organization, and how they relate to individuals of similar or different orientations, because the dissonance that was evident within each of the schools and between the schools resulted from this orientation as a permanent or a transient. Before I explain these two dimensions more fully, let us look first at the way in which this phenomenon has been described by several authors.

Simmel discussed the role of the expatriate in the foreign setting, not only in terms of the way in which he viewed himself, but also he pointed out the way in which the "stranger" is viewed by those in the host culture with whom he interacts. Simmel described the expatriate as a "stranger"

not only in the sense often touched upon in the past, as the wanderer who comes today and goes tomorrow, but rather as the person who comes today and stays tomorrow. He is, so to speak, the potential wanderer: although he has not moved on, he has not quite overcome the freedom of coming and going (p. 402).

He further stated:

The stranger is by nature no "owner of soil"--soil not only in the physical, but also in the figurative sense of a life-substance which is fixed, if not in a point in space, at least in an ideal point of the social environment. Although in more intimate relations, he may develop all kinds of charm and significance, as long as he is considered a stranger in the eyes of the other, he is not an "owner of soil" (p. 402).

There have been a number of departures from Simmel's original discussion of the "stranger" concept. However, it is a seminal work that still serves as a theoretical basis for current studies on the subject of expatriate behavior. Park (1928) presented the concept of the "marginal man," a concept that has been expanded upon and modified in connotation since that time. The marginal man is one who moves between two worlds; he is somewhat of a stranger in both of these worlds. Siu (1952), writing about the assimilation of ethnic groups in foreign countries, used the term "sojourner" rather than stranger or marginal man. He identified the sojourner as one who

clings to the culture of his own ethnic group as a contrast to the bicultural complex of the marginal man. Psychologically he is unwilling to organize himself as a permanent resident in the country of his sojourn. When he does, he becomes a marginal man (p. 34).

Important to Siu's definition is the purpose for which the sojourner leaves his own country. The sojourner arrives in the foreign country with a job to accomplish or a mission to complete. Here Siu did not relate the extent of time spent in the foreign setting nor the organizational demands placed upon the sojourner to his definition. Rather, he focused on the attitude of the sojourner, or his orientation. An individual could become a permanent resident in the foreign setting while remaining a sojourner in his attitude: "The sojourner stays on abroad, but he also never loses his homeland tie" (p. 39).

Bonacich (1973) noted that other writers presented the pattern for the development of "middlemen minorities"--immigrant groups--but did not explain the reason for the persistence of these groups as a form. In her theory, she distinguished between sojourners "who keep alive the desire to return," and the settler who orients himself to the country in which he lives, with an intention to remain permanently (p. 593). Like Siu, she pointed to the orientation of the sojourner to his homeland as a key factor in the perpetuation of the solidarity of middlemen minorities. The group cohesiveness persists due to the sense of impermanency felt by the sojourner, for his economic specialization, and the hostility that is directed toward him by the host community (p. 584). Bonacich characterized middlemen minorities as manifesting

resistance to out marriage, residential self-segregation, the establishment of language and cultural schools for their children, the maintenance of distinctive cultural traits, and a tendency to avoid involvement in local politics except in affairs that directly affect the group. . . . They form highly organized

communities which resist assimilation. These features, I contend, are related to an orientation toward a homeland (p. 586).

As in the writing of Simmel and Siu, Bonacich related the process of acculturation to an orientation toward the homeland rather than to the experience in the foreign setting. The identification of the sojourner to his homeland may be a permanent characteristic of his attitudes, although he may reside permanently in the foreign environment. His persistent desire is to return to his homeland, and this orientation perpetuates his separateness from the culture in which he may live out his life.

Useem, Useem, and Donaghue (1963) included in their discussion of the roles of expatriates in the foreign setting a description of the corresponding roles of those host citizens who served as representatives of their society in organizations in which they would interact. They said that these representatives of two societies develop new cultural rules and patterns that are shared by communities throughout the world who regularly interact (p. 3). They called these individuals members of a "third culture," which they defined as incorporating "the behavior patterns created, shared, and learned by men of different societies who are in the process of relating their societies, or sections thereof, to each other" (p. 1). The tensions that arise within third-cultural organizations result from "vast differences [that] prevail between the two societies in degree of literacy, technical knowledge, wealth, complexity of social organization and modern institution. These differences evoke sensitivities on both sides" (p. 4).

Useem, Useem, and Donaghue reported that third-culture patterns are learned by succeeding generations just as any cultural patterns are learned. The generations are not based on chronological age "but on the time at which participants are socialized to the third culture and the experiences which they have had in the third culture" (p. 7). They reported that there are presently three generations within the third culture, the "first time outers," the "experienced," and the "old foreign hands" (p. 8).

The first time outers are new to the host country or have had no previous experience in any binational third culture. Host citizens may also be "first time inners," sharing in the enthusiasm for the ideals of the third-culture organization. A key feature of their description of the first time outer is the organizational involvement of the person. The success of the person's adaptation into the third culture depends on the organizational environment and the position of the first time outer in the organizational hierarchy, and the "degree of crystallization of the third culture" (p. 8). Important to their description of the third culture is the potential of the organization to mold the attitudes of the third-culture participants. Previous discussions neglected this important relationship and tended to view the expatriate in isolation from his work environment.

The experienced member of the third culture, whether a host citizen or an expatriate, is one who has "come to terms with a more crystallized third culture and with already established organizations" (p. 8). The experienced member does not participate with the same enthusiasm as the first timer and is more reserved in his identification

with the ideals of the third-culture programs. The counterparts among the host citizens are those who are either foreign educated or have had previous experience in third-culture organizations.

The old foreign hands are those who were living in foreign countries during the colonial period. Some no longer identify with the third culture and have become part of the host culture. Among the local people there are also old foreign hands; those who "were once subordinated in the colonial culture now find themselves in positions in which they are coordinates with foreigners, and in many instances, the organizational superiors of foreigners" (p. 9).

Nash (1970), in his study of styles of adaptation in Ciudad Condal, described the evolution of attitudes among foreign residents and the stages through which they passed in the acculturation process. He said that the most acculturated in Ciudad Condal were the longest-term residents. However, he did admit that time factors were not the only factors affecting acculturation. He pointed out that the most acculturated were those who had a "predisposition to acculturation in their backgrounds" (p. 134). Some of those who had become acculturated were raised in subcultures or cultures that were compatible with that of Ciudad Condal. Like Bonacich and Siu, Nash stressed the importance of an identification with the United States or home country, even by the "old hands" in the community (p. 135).

Cohen (1977), in reviewing the various theories concerning middlemen minorities, pointed out that the "boundary between expatriates and middlemen minorities remains vague, however, insofar as individual expatriates extend their stay indefinitely" (p. 19). Cohen

stated that transience and privileged status of the expatriate account for the persistence of the phenomenon of strangeness within expatriate communities. He said that expatriates, unlike middlemen minorities, "do not usually consider their career and future bound inextricably to the host country. Hence, they may possess fewer vested interests in the long-range development of the host society" (p. 9).

Some of the characteristics of middlemen and expatriate communities presented here help us to understand the opinions expressed by the participants in subsequent chapters. Their orientation to the U.S. and their criticism of Fortaleza and of the school are understandable when we consider their behaviors in relation to their transiency in the country. Useem, Useem, and Donaghue's discussion of the attitudes of the host members of the third culture help us to understand the comments made by the school participants in this study and their criticism of Americans who didn't take advantage of their presence in the country to travel and come to know the country well. They are criticizing the transient behaviors and attitudes, not the "Americanness" of the person.

I use the terms "transient" and "permanent" rather than "sojourner" or "settler" because they were terms used by the school participants themselves. For example, I was told on countless occasions that the Washington School was a school for permanent residents, and the Columbus School was for the transients. And yet, there were circumstances in which parents of a transient orientation enrolled their children in the Washington School, a school for permanents.

A student who could not be accepted at the Washington School due to high demand for enrollment often attended the Columbus School until a place was available at the Washington School. However, the orientation of this student and his family might be that of a permanent member of the community. Therefore, although the Washington School might be a school for permanents, by our definition, it would have students who had a transient orientation, who identified more with the United States than with Fortaleza, and did not support the organizational goals of the Washington School. Similarly, it was possible for the Columbus School, a school for transients, to enroll a number of students who were permanents in their orientation: committed to contributing to the education of the country. The existence of permanents and transients within the same organizational setting and the degree of their identification with these dimensions suggests conflicting goals, conflicting loyalties, and opposing values. It is this dissonance, or incompatibility, that created the tensions that existed within the schools and between the schools. (This subject is explored fully in Chapters VII, VIII, and IX.)

As in Useem, Useem, and Donaghue's definition, the terms "transient" and "permanent" can apply to both Fortalezans and Americans in the overseas setting, or third-culture environment. In addition, within an organization, those members who are committed to the organizational ideals or belong to the dominant group within that organization can be termed permanents. Ideally, a permanent in the country is also a permanent within the organization. However, as we will see, in some cases a permanent in the country, or a teacher with a permanent

perspective, worked in a transient organization like the Columbus School, thus accounting for the incompatibility of his views with the majority or dominant group in the school, and also his state of disequilibrium regarding his work there.

The state of transiency is strongly affected by organizational involvement as well as by the attitudes of the host citizens interacting with the expatriate. What is especially important is the degree to which this orientation affects the state of equilibrium within the school. Certainly, these conditions can change and the organization can influence an individual--as pointed out by Useem, Useem, and Donaghue--to become more permanent in his orientation; or the school, over a period of years, can change its orientation.

Occasionally, a teacher who had been employed at the Washington School, a school for permanents, found that his orientation was not congruent with that of the majority at the Washington School. He would seek a position at the Columbus School, where he did "fit in" with the dominant group. For example, a Fortalezan teacher at the Columbus School had taught previously at the Washington School. She was a fluent speaker of English, preferred what she termed the "informal" associations with Americans, and looked forward to her graduate study in the United States. Once teaching at the Columbus School, she felt more comfortable. Here she felt that less was demanded of her. Where before she had been a transient in a permanent organization, she was now a transient in a transient organization.

Let us look now in more depth at this typology of transient and permanent, remembering that not every permanent will possess all

of those characteristics listed under that category. It should also be remembered that this typology is not fixed, but dynamic; nor do people fall into either one or the other category. Rather, they may tend, at one time or another, to manifest characteristics in one or the other category, or between each category, along a continuum. Just as people's thinking is constantly changing, developing, expanding, and evolving, so they may move between these categories of transient and permanent. (See Table 14.)

As we take a closer look now at the school members, it is important to keep in mind the different commitments of the transient and permanent toward the schools and the country as well as the social networks of the participants. The privileged status or its lack affected the school members' choice of associations and their description of their social worlds.

The School Members Speak

The following school members--Gloria Swinton, Earl Cummings, Cynthia Dye, Grace Durrer and her daughter, Sharon Pelham, Marta Esperante, José Santos, and Carmen de Herrera--were selected for several reasons. They are representative of the range of viewpoints and the variety among them; they each depict life styles shared by other school members. For example, Cynthia Dye, a single American, associated often with other single teachers without family commitments or similar limitations on their time. Marta Esperante, however, was also an unmarried teacher; but with a large family network and many commitments, she had limited time in which to develop friendships outside of the family circle. Sharon Pelham, a married teacher, enjoyed a

Table 14.--The overseas school participants--transients and permanents.

The Transients	The Permanents
<p>The condition of being transient is related less to the length of time to be spent in the foreign setting than to uncertainty about one's ultimate permanence in that setting or organization.</p>	<p>The condition of permanence is related less to the length of time spent in the foreign setting than to one's sense of permanence in that setting or organization. Even though the individual may reside there for a short time, his or her attitude is that of a settler in the area.</p>
<p>1. The transient usually attends the Columbus School because of its American calendar and because of its emphasis on English and the familiar values and ways.</p>	<p>1. The permanent usually chooses the Washington School because he wants his children to associate with host-country children, to have a quality education, and to learn Spanish.</p>
<p>2. The transient is "passing through" on his way to another country, another profession, or another stage in his life.</p>	<p>2. The permanent is "here to stay" in the country or in his profession.</p>
<p>3. The transient identifies more with the U.S. than with the host country. He may obtain material goods from the U.S., make frequent trips there, or plan his final return to the U.S. It remains his "home."</p>	<p>3. The permanent identifies with the host country, learning how to shop there, where and how to develop friendships with host-country citizens. He learns to use the resources of the country and to satisfy his needs.</p>
<p>4. The transient is looked upon as someone who doesn't understand the local conditions, either within the school or within the country. The transient tends to judge events and actions taken by the school by comparison with the U.S. patterns or previous school experiences rather than by the conditions and background of the actual events.</p>	<p>4. The permanent has knowledge of community events and circumstances that explain people's behavior or the school's actions. The permanent understands that decisions are made by people or by the school because of situational factors, tradition, or historical events.</p>
<p>5. The transient is seen as an amateur, either within the country or within the professional setting. The organizational or country</p>	<p>5. The permanent sees himself as an established professional, committed to the institution or to the country.</p>

Table 14.--Continued.

The Transients	The Permanents
<p>demands are secondary in his or her life. There are other pressures, commitments, and interests that may take priority.</p>	
<p>6. The transient feels powerless in the school or in the country. He is in the minority group and therefore has no voice. He doesn't "fit in" with the dominant group.</p>	<p>6. The permanent feels powerful. He belongs to the dominant group in the school and therefore "fits in."</p>
<p>7. The transient, because he isn't acquainted with local conditions, has unrealistic expectations about what the school should do for him, either economically or socially.</p>	<p>7. The permanent, because he understands local conditions, has a realistic idea about what the school can do for him. He is accepting of the contingencies.</p>
<p>8. The transient is new to the school, the "outsider."</p>	<p>8. The permanent is familiar with the school. He belongs.</p>
<p>9. The transient sees the permanent as being snobbish or resistant or distant or unwilling or uninterested in friendships.</p>	<p>9. The permanent looks upon the newcomer with suspicion, assuming that his stay will be temporary, hesitating to establish new friendships, reluctant to begin friendships that are soon to terminate.</p>
<p>10. The transient is seeking friendships. He is away from family and friends in the U.S. or in his previous place of employment.</p>	<p>10. The permanent has long-established friendships and family commitments within the host country. He is not seeking new friendships, either within the "environmental bubble" of the expatriate enclave or outside the family.</p>
<p>11. The transient expects the permanent to reach out to him, to adopt the nurturing role.</p>	<p>11. The permanent resists the dependency of the transient.</p>
<p>12. The transient expects the school to serve the social and cultural needs of its population.</p>	<p>12. The permanent has his social needs satisfied outside of the school in other support services of the local community. He looks upon the school solely as an instructional agency.</p>

privileged status because of her husband's ample income and was able to participate in the social world of the elites in the community; her low salary did not affect her choice of social activities.

Representing different levels of activity in the school is Gloria Swinton, the first school member we visit. Not an active participant, she might have appeared apathetic. However, she was a supporter of the school and committed to it, but with so many other involvements, she was unable to contribute more.

Gloria Swinton

Gloria Swinton, a Fortalezan, was the curator of the Museum of Anthropology in Miraflores. She had a small office overlooking the patio area of the museum. Her office was sparsely furnished and accommodated her modest desk and two vinyl chairs for her visitors. She was eager to talk, and following this interview she invited me to lunch at her home.

Gloria Swinton grew up in affluent surroundings in Fortaleza. Her father had been named ambassador to France but was called back to Fortaleza before the Revolution of 1938, at which time the expropriation of large land holdings occurred; thus the family lost its extensive farm lands. Her father escaped from the country with his family when Gloria was five years old, and the family settled in Chicago. From the life of a powerful, privileged, and respected family, they moved to cramped quarters in the United States. Gloria's mother, who had led the life of a wealthy socialite, worked long hours in a restaurant while her father worked night shifts at a factory.

Gloria's father, through his contacts with previous associates in France, was able to obtain a position with the French Trade Association in France and later a permanent position there. As their foreign representative, Gloria's father was transferred to Germany, then to Portugal, and finally to Argentina. Upon her father's death, the family returned to Fortaleza, where Gloria attended high school. (By this time she spoke English, German, Portuguese, and Spanish--all fluently and without accent!) She said that this frequent moving from country to country aroused in her a desire to establish roots--to belong somewhere.

I was not happy at a Catholic School, so I did not want that kind of school for my children. I am a practicing Catholic, but I don't want nuns to be taking care of my girl's education. And what I did not like at the Washington School--what I liked and disliked, both ways--I knew that at the Washington School, that my kids would be, just one of the group. My husband has a tendency to spoil them tremendously; they get a birthday present a month. So I imagined, if my kids went to a middle-class school they would very easily become The Rich Kids. And I didn't want that for my children. I was always so different from the group when I was a child that I didn't want my children to stand out and brag about, well, what I did as a kid. I was the only one who had been to New York, the only one who had been to Fortaleza, and I didn't want my children to be outstanding in any way. At the Washington School they would probably be in the lower income. I made this decision very consciously. I wanted my children to look up at someone else, rather than themselves, for their achievement. I was outstanding, even if I didn't do anything. When I was in France, well, I was the only one who came from someplace else. . . . I became a compulsive liar. I had to tell always those very interesting stories about Fortaleza, and the very outstanding facts about my life in other countries. Now that I look back on it, it was really incredible, because I could even fool the principal. I didn't just fool my peers, I fooled my teachers and the principal. So I thought for my children, if they bragged about anything, it would have to be about their own accomplishments.

Because the school was bilingual, wasn't very important to me. I have a brother who is two years younger. And the fact of speaking four languages at the age of sixteen made him drop out of high school. He was so important, because he spoke four languages, that

he was hired by the President to serve as one of his interpreters and to assist with arrangements for visits by foreign dignitaries.

He was so young, and spoke four languages, and was so nice, that I think that is why my brother never went to college. So, I don't really think it is very important to be bilingual. I didn't choose the Washington School because it was bilingual. I chose it because it was coed and because my kids would be anonymous at the Washington School.

I can't think of something really bad at the Washington School. I am really satisfied with the type of education my children get there. It costs twice as much, but gives twice as much. I have heard complaints from other mothers; sometimes the teachers at the Washington School make a great difference between really rich kids and the rest of the kids. Because I am not one of the rich families, I do not know if it is true. Sometimes what I don't like at the Washington School is the difference in the mentality in the Fortalezan teachers and the American teachers. I always get along much better with the American teachers. I always have this impression--the Fortalezan set, they are always earning a living because they couldn't find anything else to do. I haven't had any of the problems that are usually mentioned at the Washington School, like kissing all the little boys in their class. I've never had that sort of problem. Maybe because my kids are still too young. I have never tried to help my kids to become popular. Like for instance, I would never invite the whole class and give them fancy things, or things like that. Maybe because my two get along very well with everybody. I don't have to push them. I don't have to help them. They pick their own friends. The only friends I tried to stop them picking were friends who always go around with bodyguards. That's because I'm always afraid that they would be mistaken for the rich kids and be kidnapped and taken. And so when they are invited to homes, where there are very many bodyguards, well sometimes, I stop that. That's because I'm afraid that something could happen to them, because they are mixing. . . .

I don't have very many friends. I have several girls my age whom I like very much, but I don't see them very often. Well, because everyone seems to be so busy, that we arrange to have lunch once a month with a group of friends, because that was the only time that we could get together. On the other hand, some ladies in Fortaleza think that I'm a little cuckoo, because, what do I need to go back to college, to work. Why don't I stay home taking care of my violets, and things like that, you know. . . (Informant 1, O.N. pp. 27-30).

Gloria Swinton's home was not that of a middle-class family. Far removed from the city, it had a private entrance leading along a winding road. Attended by several maids, we toured her exquisite and luxurious home, tastefully and simply decorated, and admired together

the view of Miraflores. (The Swintons also owned a home in England, where they spent some of their vacations.) Mrs. Swinton talked about her hectic schedule, trying to attend to her children, her husband (a business executive), and her work at the museum. She was concerned about the isolation of her children from their friends who lived in other parts of the city and suggested that she pick my children up after school one day to meet her children and swim in their pool. However, when she began searching for a convenient day, she admitted that her children were occupied almost daily with piano, ballet, and swimming lessons, and, of course, family obligations. In fact, she suggested that we wait for a few weeks when, she hoped, there would not be so many commitments on their time.

Of almost all the other school participants whom I interviewed, regardless of nationality or profession, those who had the means to offer such lessons for their children took advantage of the opportunities available in the city. When I asked children whom they played with after school, most said that there wasn't time to play with anyone because of their busy after-school schedule of lessons and family activities.

One recess with a third-grade class, the girls were talking about the parties that their mothers had held recently and were enthusiastically discussing the dresses they had worn and what had been served at the parties. Jessica reminded the group of her upcoming birthday party; Luz María was certain she couldn't attend because her friend lived on the other side of the city, and her mother was in the

U.S. at the time. Had Jessica ever been to Luz María's house? They both said no; they lived too far from each other. One child said that she played with her cousins who lived nearby; another said that she played with the neighbor children, who also attended the Washington School. The other girls told her how lucky she was to have these friends nearby: they didn't have any school friends who lived near enough to play with after school. In most cases, however, the children said that they didn't really play with friends after school; they were so busy with their activities and their homework that they didn't have time to become lonely.

One of the teachers expressed her concern about the children's lack of free time. Sra. Rodrigo told me,

The school encourages this socializing especially when we see that the children have problems with social adjustment. We recommend that they bring children home in their neighborhoods, that they invite children over in order for them to develop socially. It's somewhat difficult to arrange this, because many of them have their time so full of . . . one day they have ballet, one day they have swimming, another day they have piano lessons. They have their time completely filled (Informant 60, O.N. p. 126).

And then there were all of the family obligations--birthday parties, church functions, dinners, anniversaries, holiday celebrations. I wondered how the school could sponsor an extra-curricular activity for the children and expect any participation, given their hectic outside lives.

Earl Cummings

Earl Cummings, an American teacher at the Washington School, also lived on a hillside overlooking the city of Miraflores. But there was no private entrance to his home, nor maid to answer the door,

nor guard to watch the house during the day when he was at work. Earl's salary at the Washington School, and the irregular income from the sale of his paintings in the U.S., did not allow him the conveniences he had taken for granted while living in Los Angeles, where he had been a free-lance art critic for Los Angeles newspapers. He had come to Fortaleza on assignment for a publishing firm to illustrate children's books about the country. He had become enchanted with Fortaleza and decided to remain there, accepting a position as art teacher at the Washington School.

He spoke about his experiences in Fortaleza:

This is a wasteland here. The teachers--they are a dull group of people all from the Midwest, Ohio and Michigan. I've been here three years. I really don't have any social life. There's no one to be with. I just read in my free time. There have been some good people in the past--they all left. The good ones always leave. But we maintain correspondence. I just received a letter and a box of chocolates from some good friends who were here.

I've moved forty times over the past; I need some stability. But I like it here, too. There are certain advantages. When I lived in California, I couldn't afford to go to the theater. It was just too expensive. At least I can afford things here. Here, I'm in the upper half, I'm on the top. You feel you are part of the upper class here. Even though you don't have the money, we have the privileges--go to the best doctors, best movies. . . . There is a certain feeling when you drive a car here.

I've been involved with all of them--including Toastmasters and Community Theatre. Not now! Community life down here is very like--a gringo. I guess it's almost like the U.S. You have the Polish section, the Italian section. . . .

Toastmasters and Community Theatre are all Embassy people--they are really dislikable people. They are middle-class people living like kings in a foreign country. They're very spoiled people. It's difficult for a person from Tennessee, to now live with two maids, a chauffeur, and a wife all dolled up. They are obnoxious people. There are exceptions, though. . . .

Here you have your business people. . . . Embassy people control the Community Theatre. You don't really make friendships with those people. Canadians are very different. I did work for the Canadian Embassy and had good experiences with them. Fellowship Church--Embassy people, missionary types. . . . It's a place where you go to make contacts. There are rich gringos there, wheeling

and dealing. I realized after two years, none of them were my friends after two years, none of them were my friends. That's what I wanted. Friendships. I was one of the have-nots. All I was looking for was friendship. I didn't want business contacts. Unless you are a Bible freak, it's pretty lonely there.

Explorers--a lot of Embassy people there. American Club, Embassy people there. That's a real place it's better to stay away from. I've gone there a couple of times. It's probably very interesting--cross-pollination takes place. You have got all sorts there. People that couldn't get into the athletic club in the U.S. come down here and pretend that they are something really special. Living it rough, living way over their heads. It's unbelievably phony. American artist colony--it doesn't seem to exist here. Americans, there isn't a group of intellectuals here. I was involved with the Patronato de Bellas Artes [Patrons of the Fine Arts]--mostly rich Fortalezans. I worked in the theatre part of that. I got to know all kinds of different people.

In some of the other schools there is a closeness that we don't have here. The Kennedy School, seems that the teachers were closer and hung around together. In fact, they are different types of people, at least the time I spent with them. Two or three years, a week at a time. They go out drinking together after school. They don't seem to have the problem of organizing that kind of thing like here. Just getting a few people to go out for an afternoon. Parties are a big failure here. There is a continual iron curtain between primary and secondary. They just . . . it's overwhelming. They have parties at the beginning of the year, and then everyone goes their separate ways. There must be a lot of people sitting at home doing nothing. This is probably the worst place I have ever been. It's a disaster for a community where people speak the same language, have the same interests. God! The amount of people who leave because of frustration! There is no social life at all. The Fortalezans stay away from the teachers. There is no attempt on the part of parents to make the teachers feel more comfortable. They have one meeting, one little party for the new teachers, and that's it--for the PTA. But, there are very few parents that see that and understand that the Americans here are lonely, that they are not paid too well, and that they need support. They need a bit of home life. These people do a lot of entertaining. They do nothing but entertaining--both Fortalezans and Americans. Occasionally you do get an American family who will invite a couple of teachers over, but it's very rare. Why? I haven't been able to figure it out. You ask the director some day. I've got more contact than anybody in the school. I can get on the phone and get anything, three or four parents to do anything for me. But I don't ever get invited. These people really like me. "Earl," said one parent, "I'd do anything for you because you are the only God-damn person in the school who has spirit." But as far as . . . with all the people I do know, you'd think that I'd be invited to a finca [country estate], to a lake, but it's a separate thing. You are part of the school and not part of my social life. It makes

you think that you are another breed. You're like a servant. You don't function in the same world as these people. There is no saving grace as far as a social life. There is nothing for an intellectual life. I am taking the course at the University conducted by the Fulbright scholar. It's the first time in five years that I have actually sat in a room with a few people and had a decent intellectual conversation that was really concentrated and of great value.

After a while you just stop worrying about it. You just exist, in limbo (Informant 47, O.N. pp. 73-74).

Consider the orientations of transient and permanent as they might apply to Earl Cummings. Although he considered himself to be a permanent in the community and contributing to the goals of the school, he was looked upon by others as a transient, someone who didn't belong. The majority of the school parents belonged to the upper-middle class or upper class, and Earl felt that he was rejected because he was not a member of their social class. The rejection also occurred because of his transience--ignorance of the social mores within the community. As a teacher, he did not associate with the parents on a coordinate level within the organization. He said, "You don't function in the same world as these people," a world in which associations and involvements had been formed and had evolved over a lifetime.

Earl Cummings was one of the few teachers who was supporting himself on his teaching salary and the infrequent sale of his paintings. Most single teachers in both the schools were tutoring students after school so as to supplement their income. Earl Cummings lived by himself, but most of the single teachers lived together in order to pay the high rent prevailing throughout the city, especially in the areas where expatriates and wealthy Fortalezans lived. They usually lived in the more affluent areas with access to public transportation, American

movie theaters, the bars frequented by expatriates, and because of their reputed safety. Several of the groups of teachers who lived together invited me to go to the bars with them in the evenings and also to the movies.

Although they complained frequently about the low salaries and their inability to enjoy Fortaleza as they would have liked, they had quickly learned where to find inexpensive entertainment. One group, two men and two women, roomed together in Colonia los Hibiscos, near the school. (A colonia is a section of the city.) They were paying \$600 per month for an unfurnished, three-bedroom apartment. I was pleased to be invited there for dinner. As I entered their apartment, the teachers apologized for the lack of furniture. I had not taken them seriously when they had told me that I would be eating on the floor: a door propped on bricks served as the dining table. "It's not like the States," they said, "where you can scrounge around among your friends and come up with a houseful of used furniture." Two were eagerly studying Spanish, one was studying guitar, and the fourth occupied her time with her new Fortalezan boyfriend. This teacher, like the other teachers who began dating Fortalezans, was learning Spanish at a rapid pace. She talked enthusiastically about meeting her boyfriend's family, attending a holiday celebration with them, and feeling so much a part of life here.

I became very friendly with an American teacher whom I saw frequently at the Washington School, attending to matters in the primary office, attending to parents and children, or busily engaged in her classroom. I had hesitated to request an interview because of her

obvious responsibility at the school, although she had been recommended by several people who felt that she had a positive view of the school and life in Fortaleza. She was referred to by many people as an "old-timer" and one who was very committed to the school.

Cynthia Dye

Although even the Fortalezan teachers rarely wore the typical dress of the Indian women, Cynthia had a collection of dresses and blouses made from the weavings of the Indian women. She wore them almost daily. Although she was very busy, she always greeted me and my children cheerfully and engaged them in conversation. I was pleased to see her along on an Explorer's trip to the village of San Miguel, in whose history she was knowledgeable and interested. I appreciated being with Cynthia on this trip; she showed courtesy to the village people, appreciated the country, and did not complain about the Fortalezans.

Cynthia and I attended a concert together at the Teatro de la Revolución [Theater of the Revolution] and also visited the Museum of Anthropology. At lunch after the museum visit, she talked about her commitment to the school and how she hoped to have an administrative position there in the future. She said that she felt somewhat out of place there, the only teacher who remained this year; all of her friends had left the school. Following their resignation, Cynthia interviewed the departing teachers, asking them why they had chosen to leave and soliciting their ideas for improvement of the school. She had undertaken this project as a means of benefiting the school.

Cynthia also told me that the school had tried to bridge the gap between Fortalezan and American teachers, but she considered the problem to be the language barrier, not an intentional segregation of teachers by nationality. She said, "Few Americans feel comfortable with Fortalezans because their Spanish is poor. It is that much harder in another language to make friends. It is really worth it to get to know the Fortalezan teachers; they are great fun!"

She talked frankly about her opportunities here:

You know, you have a job without doing anything, just by speaking English you can teach it. You don't have to compete for a job. You really don't have to worry too much about friendship because if you're half-way friendly, you know, the people come through with the other half. It's a very friendly sort of culture. . . .

I asked Cynthia how she had become interested in teaching at the Washington School.

My life led to this more than I think. When I was twelve, I had a teacher for Spanish, from Peru, and I vowed that I had to go to Peru. And it's funny, because I didn't even like her. I was terrified of her. But she fascinated me, a very tempery sort of woman. Actually, one like I have never met in Peru since. I didn't get there as I thought I would when I was twelve. I planned this since that age. I did! I studied Spanish. I picked my college. I decided that I didn't want to major in Spanish because I thought that was too narrow. So I had an inter-departmental major. Like I was looking at Latin American studies programs and mine is similar to that, the one I finally took. I never changed; it was really funny. Very few people are like that. I was so, one track. I just got caught up with the Spanish-American thing. I always feel that I made a detour with marriage--got off the track. It's okay because I got back on it. First thing I did when I got divorced was to make a trip back to South America. I studied in Peru, and much to my surprise, Peru was not the epitome of everything--like Colombia and Guatemala--both better than Peru. Lima is really a sad city. To me, it's the saddest place I had ever been until I went to Managua. The area around it is beautiful. But all of that I don't like as much as I like Fortaleza. The Fortalezan Indians are a happier, healthier, more colorful, richer culture, and they are oppressed as all the Indians in Latin America

are, but they have survived better, they really have. And it's just a joy to go to markets and things like that, for me.

I asked Cynthia if she would have been so happy in Fortaleza if she hadn't spoken Spanish so fluently before coming here.

I'm not sure. Because I've seen the people who don't and who aren't learning, too. They're not really trying. I used to see that when I was a tourist, we would go to the same places and I'd hear them talking afterwards. I couldn't believe that we had just been to the same place. But you miss too much. And the Fortalezan people that you can talk with (if you only speak English) is a very limited group. It's a very wealthy, cosmopolitan, well-educated group. Not that those people aren't interesting, but it sure doesn't give you a very true picture of Fortaleza.

I think that being a foreigner here is not a disadvantage. It's an advantage. I've learned in a sense, like you learn the ropes. Everything was difficult in the beginning. Not so much the language--fortunately I had quite a bit of Spanish. But everything--getting from one place to another, figuring out the buses, buying things. Like, shopping is a whole different thing here. Looking for a place to live. Everything was difficult. But I felt a lot of that would have been true in a different city in the United States. But you just have to, you have to learn, like where is your favorite place to eat, where the kind of food you want, and the kind of people you like, or music and how to get there and how to get home at night, buses and . . . so it's just a matter of getting acquainted with the city. I felt very lonely here in the beginning. I really felt much more a foreigner. I always feel a foreigner, because I am. I've learned that no matter how well I speak Spanish, I certainly don't look Fortalezan. But I don't feel, I don't feel so lost, and I don't feel lonely.

You know, it was up to me whether I stayed or not. It seems like, a lot we did on our own. . . . I asked everybody on the streets; I still do. I find that they give me good advice. I think that most people are very helpful. It's the way, it's your basic attitude toward people, and they will respond accordingly (Informant 11, O.N. pp. 82-86).

When I last saw Cynthia, she had just returned from a summer vacation trip to Mexico; it had made her appreciate Fortaleza all the more, and made her more determined to make a permanent place for herself at the school and in the country. As to compensation, she said, "Oh, I am furious about the salaries at the school," but that didn't seem

to diminish her enthusiasm for the school, its administration, or the teachers.

Cynthia strongly identified with the school's goals and with the country. She considered herself to be a permanent. In the beginning, she was viewed by the Fortalezan teachers as a transient, someone who would be leaving the school soon, but over a period of three years, by means of her involvement and her persistence in establishing friendships, she proved herself to be a permanent and was accepted by the school staff as such. Cynthia, however, did not belong to the dominant group in the school; the affluent world of the parents was out of her reach. However, Cynthia did not necessarily feel that she should have access to that social world; the school was not obligated to satisfy her social needs. In her thinking, the organizational demands took priority.

Grace Durrer

Grace Durrer, the woman who had sat across from me on the plane during our trip, had come to Fortaleza to find a home for her husband, a businessman, herself, and their two youngest daughters--who would be attending school here. She and her family had lived twelve years in five Central and South American cities before returning to the United States, where they had lived for the past fifteen years. She spoke Spanish, although it was "rusty," and looked forward to speaking it again on a continual basis.

Now in the library at the Columbus School, I learned that she had enrolled her two daughters, who spoke no Spanish, here. I had

already met Beth, the older one, in a class; the students in this senior-level sociology class were from ten countries, although none was from Fortaleza. Beth was discouraged by her inability to speak Spanish; it prevented her participation in a class project. The students were to conduct ethnographic studies in Miraflores. She was excited by the prospect of working independently but was not anxious to conduct her study solely with Americans; yet she realized she could not speak sufficient Spanish to study a Fortalezan group. Neither did she know how to get around the city, and she worried about herself as a teenage girl wandering there alone.

On the plane, Grace hadn't known in which school she would be enrolling her daughters nor where the family would be living. She said that she "wasn't satisfied with the bridge and teas which predominate in overseas communities where the wives do not work. I'm going to get involved."

Now they were living in the exclusive area of Colonia Las Camelias, equalled only by such places as Beverly Hills, California. The home was spacious, as were all in this area; quite a few families in this colonia had children attending the Columbus School and the Washington School. Mrs. Durrer's home was convenient to the area that Cohen (1977) termed the "environmental bubble": fast-food restaurants, American supermarkets, and other convenience stores--all with imported items from the United States. In fact, this area primarily served those foreign and local families who were willing to pay the high prices of goods imported from the U.S.

Grace began by relating the family's experiences after living in Central and South America for twelve years:

When we left, the oldest was in the 9th grade, the next was in the 7th, the other one was in the 4th, and the youngest was a toddler. When we went back to the States, we went into cultural shock. We've always said, "dare to be different," and they were at the age when we went back, going into junior high and high school, where being different was a "no, no." But they were different. They thought different. They didn't know the T.V. programs, they didn't know the dances. Well, they had records and knew somewhat, but they really were kind of "out of it." And they were looked upon as being a little strange, themselves, I think.

We did send Bob back one year to prep school before we moved back. And . . . I think the advantage of living overseas is that you come out of the United States and look back at the United States objectively. And you see not the United States as divided into two political parties, nor so many factions or religions. But you see the whole thing as a national unit. It's sort of like when you see the flag on the Pan Am jet when you're living in a foreign country. You want to pledge allegiance and say, "That's mine." It's some kind of feeling of belonging to one big national unit. And you go back in and you see it, again, spread out. . . .

National events take on certainly more meaning in the scope of international events. And in the United States we are so provincial. We're more apt to know what's going on in our little neighborhood and our little town, and not an awful lot of interest in what is national or international, unless it's a dynamic crisis. And then, it's not on an international scope, at all, or a world-unity type of thing. I don't think people feel that way at all.

The calendar year had something to do with my enrolling our daughters at the Columbus School. I think the fact that there was only one school year remaining for the oldest. I think, probably had there been her high school career remaining, we would have chosen the Washington School, both for the quality of education, the campus, probably the advantage of having more choice of curriculum, and probably socially, as far as a better chance, perhaps, and I put that in quotes, of integrating into the Fortalezan. . . , although, I understand that there exists there, a division between Fortalezan and American. . . . I don't know if it's true.

I would hope, wherever and whatever school, that there wouldn't be a division. I think that there's probably always going to be a natural. . . . But I think it can be overcome. I think there is a division at the Columbus School. I think in the faculty and in the students and that is going to filter down. I think that comes from just, administration filtering right down through to the students. And if there's not an attitude of togetherness, then it's going to not be felt in the student level. But then here I am a perfect example. I don't know any Fortalezan people. I haven't

reached out. Then I've only been here a couple of months. But I still haven't . . . then I think: Okay, put your money where your mouth is.

What am I going to do? Where do I start? Do I go next door to my next-door neighbor? Or does my next-door neighbor come over to me, who has just moved in? Nobody. I don't even know who they are. Now. I think that has to do with living in Colonia Las Camelias. In the other colonias I would be not as intimidated. . . . I'd probably go next door. And I think my next-door neighbors would come over here. I don't know. I may be wrong. But I find that I relate far more to working-class level than I do to the really affluent, upper-class Fortalezan. I'm a little intimidated, probably more by money than by position. Because I'm a fairly democratic person, I suppose.

My husband did most of the footwork in helping me get settled. Lois Mahler from the church was the welcoming person. She gave me names of doctors and dentists and . . . no organization, per se, assisted us, nor did we have a company. Now normally in other places, we were under, sort of, the umbrella of an American company. But the company (here) did nothing, at all. We didn't ask. Maybe they would have. And I didn't feel like . . . it was sort of like coming home. I walked in and felt, into the country, and felt that, even though my language was rusty, I could manage, that I wasn't afraid, and I found the people hospitable at every turn. After living in so many other countries, I found the people here just, very kind and helpful. Everything that I ever needed, shop keepers, hotel people, to people on the street. So I felt very comfortable from the beginning.

The only thing that bothered me was the idea that people said that you couldn't leave your house unattended. And I felt at first, very housebound, by fear, until I overcame that. I figured, well, I'm not going to live that way. These are eternal things. And we'll try as much as we can to be secure. We're not going to be bound by them. That's just a state of mind (Informant 39, O.N. pp. 198-200).

Here Beth came in to join the conversation. She told about leaving all of her friends in the United States and how difficult it was to establish friendships here. She found the students to be bored: they occupied their time with disco dancing and drinking. She wanted to be involved in life here in Fortaleza but didn't know where to begin. She was active in the English-speaking church but didn't have a great deal in common with the other people there. A few weeks later, Beth withdrew from the Columbus School and enrolled in a small experimental

school in another Fortalezan city. There she felt that more was expected of her academically and that there was more of a family life within the school. She was living with a Fortalezan family and was excited about her progress in learning Spanish.

Grace Durrer did not have the introductions most businesses offer to their executives hired for foreign assignments. Usually these individuals not only receive annual vacation travel to the U.S., housing in the host country in the affluent neighborhoods, but also club membership and school tuition for their children--to compensate the employee and his or her family (it is almost always his family) for the necessary adjustments to the foreign setting and any hardships endured.

At the time that Grace Durrer spoke about her experience in the Columbus School, she could be considered to be in a state of transition. She would, in succeeding months, encourage her daughters to withdraw from the Columbus School and enter a school where they had more Fortalezan associations, would widen her circle of friends, and become more of a permanent in the community.

Sharon Pelham

At a meeting of the Explorers, Sharon Pelham, whom the program credited with being one of the founding members, showed slides of recent trips made by the group. She was an exuberant and very attractive woman. She taught speech at the Columbus School and had lived in Fortaleza since 1959 with her husband and two children who had attended both schools. (This was not my first encounter with people in this

situation. In many cases the circumstances were such that a parent had no choice--there was no room in the Washington School due to the demand within the country from Fortalezan families. Although Columbus School and Washington School parents often referred to each other in stereotypic ways, the choice of schools was not always an ideological one. Choice of schools is discussed in more depth in Chapters VIII and IX.)

I saw Sharon Pelham next during the teacher orientation at the Columbus School. She talked enthusiastically with the few old friends still at the school and welcomed all of the new teachers. She was at ease, an old-timer at the school, and clearly pleased to be beginning the school year again. Driving me home from one of the meetings, eager to share her ideas about her life in Fortaleza and her experiences in the schools, she told me that she hadn't wanted to come to Fortaleza in 1959, when her husband had come here for business purposes. She related her early experiences, not atypical of nonworking wives in overseas countries:

I wasn't thinking about anything. I was thinking about me and what I was enjoying, which was extremely superficial. And I was too young and innocent and naive. I loved the people and the attention and the flowery words and that type of thing, the ambience. I knew a theatrical group and an arts group and very artsy kinds of people. . . . And my husband traveled a lot, and a woman left alone, anywhere, especially in a Latin American country where there are [she laughs] a lot of Latins roaming around . . . and you know, all the people you're involved with, you know, the art shows twice a week, and the theater, and ballet, you know, the parties, ambassadors, you know, that kind of thing.

I was very insecure, or else I could have gotten into something that really, really interested me. But I was a housewife, all my life, after I married Gary. And all I knew was cleaning the house, cooking, cleaning up. And here I had someone I could pay \$30 a month who could do the same thing I did, all my life.

And it threw me for a loop--getting used to living in this country. I didn't know where my interests were, except for traveling and studying historic places. So we organized the Explorers. So I was really in a state of suspended . . . of suspension, entirely. So . . . I was running away from reality . . . and enjoying it. And I met a woman who I liked very much, and we became very close. And she said to me, "Sharon, what are you going to do with yourself when I leave here? What are you interested in, what do you want to do with yourself?" All of a sudden I realized what a waste most of my life had been . . . and then I got involved. I was always involved in the theater, . . . in horseback riding, going to the villages, you know, traveling . . . teaching at the Columbus School, writing for the Fortaleza English Gazette.

Both my children attended the Washington School. The oldest graduated from the Columbus School and then attended the high school. At that time we couldn't get them into the Washington School, and the Columbus School accepted anyone and everyone, not that they wouldn't be accepted, they were competent students. There wasn't room, we weren't a priority. We weren't with a government agency. We didn't know anyone.

At that time the Columbus School only went through primary. There was no junior high or high school. It was just primary school. Then, at that point there was room, and there was no other school in Fortaleza where they could have attended that was worthwhile. Many of their friends did the same.

I was a member of Toastmasters, but dropped out. We were involved in the church at one time. We don't really belong to any definite, sponsored social group or social organization, I would say. We're joining the American Club, I think. We don't know. It's a very social club, which is fine. The facilities, I would say, mainly, they're not quite up to par.

Both our children belong to the squash club. They were involved in the Boy Scouts and Cub Scouts. Girl Scouts, no. They've never had an American Girl Scouts troop here, or Brownies. You have the swimming group, which our son was involved in. There is an enormous amount of things available here.

I think it's a very hypocritical life basically; I don't like the upper-class Fortalezans per se. I can't generalize. The middle class and lower class are honest, artistic, humble, lovely people. It's the bureaucracy and the oligarchy that run the government, that are, it's a very hypocritical kind of life.

I don't like the kind of life they have--they buy their kids cars and cars zoom around Miraflores, without caring. They are very impolite people. Their car is their weapon. You know, their motorcycle is their weapon. It's a way of getting back at the imperialistic American. Fortaleza is a beautiful country, I think. You know, Fortaleza, itself, without the Fortalezans, would be marvelous [she laughs].

I feel they should be more aware of things in Fortaleza. As far as socially, I feel the Fortalezans, the upper-class Fortalezans that you would have something in common with, are really

unaccepting. They have their own social structure, they have their own lives, you know. And it's built basically around the family, which in a way might be hypocritical, but there they are at a given time. They might have two or three mistresses, which their wives accept, and they live, in name only, with their husbands. I do not like, I've said it before, and I can't generalize, because I've met many I do like very, very much, and we're friendly with some, but on the whole, I do not like Fortalezans. I feel they have no respect for themselves and probably they don't have respect for anyone else. The way they drive, the way they talk, the way they act. And if you can't be useful to them, they have no use for you. Basically, I would say upper class. If you're not in a certain social structure, you know, financial . . . they're kind of unaccepting. And I love Fortaleza . . . I love Fortaleza.

That's not a nice thing to say. . . . Maybe it's because we're not at the Washington School, and we're not having our children involved. . . . Because at the Columbus School you have a lot of military, and the military kind of sticks together, and you have a lot of Embassy and the Embassy stick together. I'm--that kind of thing. I'm sure that they would say the same things about Americans, in general. I think Fortaleza is a very triste country, it's a very sad country. I guess I expected when we were told we were coming down, I was, oh so excited. Music, you know, and mariachis, and guitar playing, and, I'm very romantic. . . . It's not a very happy country.

The American Union really helped us settle in. Having, not, belonging to any, uh, large company, you know, multinational company, you know, Embassy group. I think the American Union helped. And then, mainly Explorers. And it's very hard living in a country like this, because, if you're staying, I feel, it's a transient country and your friends leave, and of course, there is always that void there. And it's difficult for everyone concerned, mainly for those who stay.

I don't feel a sense of belonging. I feel more American since I've been here, than I did living in the States. I appreciate my country more, after living in Fortaleza for as long as I have. . . . My bags would be packed within ten minutes if someone asked me to go back to the States. I feel there is no . . . I see Pan American World Airways, and my heart flutters. Because that is part of the U.S. I see the American flag flying and I feel very emotional. . . . The only reason I would hesitate, is because of my children (they are here). I don't like the idea of maids; I love doing my own housework. I love my own scene in my own home, without having the invasion of privacy. I have the feeling that there is something more important, and I'm not being religious, or have any religious aspects at all. Nothing seems to be sacred here, important here, except exploitation of each other. . . (Informant 38, O.N. p. 288).

Sharon Pelham was an example of someone who, despite twenty years in the foreign setting, still maintained her homeland tie. Although strongly committed to the school, it represented an allegiance to the United States, a loyalty she felt increasingly during each succeeding year in Fortaleza. Sharon was a transient working in a transient organization.

Marta Esperante

One always felt welcome in the teachers' lounge at the Columbus School, a room usually filled with teachers crowded at tables, completing lesson plans, or taking a break from classes. There was always an air of conviviality, the conversations were loud, and the smoke was thick.

Two of the teachers usually sat apart from the group of Spanish teachers. They were cordial with the others but seemed to be occupied with tasks that did not involve them. One, Marta Esperante, a rare Fortalezan teacher who did wear the typical Fortalezan clothing, explained that many of the others, insecure about their social position, would not wear the native apparel.

Marta lived close by, in Las Rosas, one of the five colonias where the expatriates and local elites lives. Like the other single Fortalezan teachers in both schools, she lived with her family; this complicated arranging an interview since it was the Christmas holiday season and her family had a celebration each night during a twelve-day period.

Marta had a reputation for being industrious and dedicated. She was proud of being able to note attitude changes in the children whom she taught. She was now in her second year of teaching at the school and was graduating that month from a private university with a degree in biology.

I'm going to continue working and studying. I want to get a master's degree in biology, too.

My father is a businessman and my mother is a housewife. I have three brothers. (I lived in Chile for ten years.) . . . and my three brothers are students at the university.

Marta related that her family belonged to the upper class. I asked her about the other teachers in the school.

Generally, teachers are from the middle or lower-middle class. Perhaps it's because of the salaries. You find here a lot of young people, especially young girls, who prefer to continue working as secretaries, because the salaries are much better. The Columbus School, in comparison with the other schools in Fortaleza, the salaries are higher. Here, there are schools that pay you \$50 a month, \$500 a year. Well, I was in a school, of Sisters. There are many concepts which I don't like nor, which I consider only create conflicts in the long run. Many concepts that they have . . . but this isn't to say, I think there are many good things that they give, and that stay with you forever. Or rather, the social conscience that they form in you. In the schools that I have been in, how can I explain it, there has always been, the type of school that searches for reality, a reality for the country. I was taught that children are the future. And because I like them . . . my mother is a person who is fascinated with kids, also. And when I was a kid, my mother used to sing to me. . . . I think those things really had an influence on me--when you grow up seeing. And also, at the University, I chose my major for the same reason.

I was in a school in Chile . . . in which I received a lot of English instruction. When we moved here, I couldn't continue studying anymore here. Because here the English is, really, the English instruction is mediocre, I would say. It's deficient. I think, how would you say it, there aren't people here, specialized, who could give classes in the schools. Although, in the school in which I studied, a private school, one of the best ones here, right? . . . I was in the Colegio Santa Cecilia. And these Sisters from the Colegio Santa Cecilia, I think they are very liberal, really liberal. And they, they don't try to give you the image, let's say, of so much dogma, so much religion. They try to

teach you about practical things: to find solutions, you know what I mean, to analyze films, books, that is, they give you a preparation, including study of such things as marriage . . . about things, very, that is, about life. They don't sit you down for prayers; they hardly ever pray. You know, they hardly ever pray. And, at another extreme, they give you a consciousness of social reality that, I think, sometimes reaches a point where it is a conflict for many of the girls who are there and live in the surroundings that they do. I was talking with a Sister (I left there six years ago, but I adore her, because I spent a lot of time with her and I took a lot away with me from her), and I told her (she was one of those who sends the young girls out to the villages to work). . . . We founded a school; we were the director, the teachers. That was the year I graduated. It was an incredible experience. I think that, that year I learned so much there. But I wonder, at what point do you, there immersed in the village, do you become an accomplice, do they make you an accomplice to the feeling of social foreboding that so many people have. Do you know what I mean? Because you reach the point that, you realize that you have to fight against the social class that your parents, an entire lifetime of struggling for a standard of living that your parents want to provide for you. The moment comes that you have to take a stand against that. What I'm referring to is this. Suppose that, listen, they have, for example, a project for teaching literacy, that is, teaching people to read and write. They can send you, beginning when you are in the third year of high school. That is, before you would have graduated as a primary or secondary teacher. They send you to the slums to teach people to read and write. But, the teaching methods many times contain things that are going to raise the consciousness of these people to the point that they rebel. I told the Sister, at the moment that these people rise up, they are going to rise up against them, against these same girls, because they aren't going to recognize them. So to what point, do they have to take into consideration, you understand what I mean? Where does it begin . . . what point do they want to reach without causing damage afterwards? Because, it's inevitable. That is, these girls belong to a circle where their parents, many of them have worked all of their lives for their daughters to be there (in the school). So, I think . . . I told her, that they have to . . . reconsider their objectives, in respect to the social work that they do. It's very good in some cases. But also, at the time when all these people rise up, and have . . . we're going to be responsible in part, with these methods in reading. You should see some of the sentences, they're really. . . .

The parents look on it as an activity of the school, they look at it like an activity like, you're going to play with children at the orphanage one day of the week, or you're going to. . . . But now, the parents are complaining because the girls arrive from school and don't let the maids do their work, for example. And the mother says . . . "Why does my daughter arrive home with such ideas?"

And I learned a lot of good things there. But, and I'm being completely sincere, for me, the Columbus School, there's a point where, I don't feel satisfied because I don't think they have any humanitarian objectives, motivation of the individual--in the slightest. . . . When I started here with Elena, I commented to her. Having such a diversity, of children of so many countries, of so many, of a culture so different, such that you could really take advantage of it. . . . And so much depth that you could develop. These kids are really, going to be in the future, the adults who are placed in the most important positions, and they aren't going to take anything with them, anything humanitarian. But I think that time is passing by and they aren't thinking about anything that is academically of value. It really worries me, you know. It worries me. . . .

It's as if, you transplanted a little piece of the United States here to Fortaleza and we're fighting against a whole system of life that is, . . . it's fighting against a system, an ideology, the mentality of a nation (Informant 87, O.N. pp. 282, 321).

Marta Esperante, a permanent resident of the country, committed to education to benefit Fortaleza, and identifying strongly with the country, did not have a firm investment in the Columbus School, a transient organization. She was there for a specific period, until her university education was completed. The reason for the dissonance between Marta and the other Spanish teachers was that she had a permanent orientation but, because of her limited commitment to the organization, was cast as a transient there. Thus her attitude and behavior were not congruent with those of the dominant group of the school.

José Santos

I met José (Joe) Santos at the Columbus School teachers' party, which was held at the high school principal's home. All of the teachers and administrators were present that evening, and the atmosphere was relaxed and jovial.

Joe, as he was called by everyone, was discussing the taking of the hostages in Iran, and he was most outspoken in his views. He was a businessman and married to one of the American teachers at the school. I wondered why he had chosen the Columbus School for his children.

At their home, I learned that he was in the poultry business, and he described their farms at three different locations. He laughed when he said that his wife was teaching at the school as "her hobby." Obviously, her salary contributed little to their support; he said that it was grocery money and laughed again. Joe was proud of their home, happy to have a large living room, large enough to hold a dance there for their friends. He spoke English to his children and only used Spanish with the maid.

Had he made a lot of friends at the Columbus School?

Not really. Well, I have a large family. We celebrate every birthday, and everything. And we have a lot of friends in the neighborhood, and we have a lot of other friends. We go, usually, to the receptions, and things like that. But we really don't have any. . . .

Joe talked about his childhood in Fortaleza and the Roosevelt School in Los Hibiscos that he had attended--"It was the best school at the time." At sixteen, he went to the U.S. and attended college there without having finished high school in Fortaleza. He said proudly that he had enough credits to be accepted into college in the U.S.

My young brother, he was eight at the time, he came up to attend school there. I got my residency then; it was very easy at the time. And, my father used to send me a check, so I didn't have to work. And I went to school; I met my wife the second day

I was there, because we happened to live in the same boarding house. And, mostly there were five Americans, four or five Americans. The rest were Latin American university students. It was nice. . . .

And then, we got married the following year. My mother died when I was five. My father had a heart attack, almost, when I married, because I was the oldest son. And I worked as a customs clerk at the Immigration Department because they wanted somebody who spoke Spanish. And we came to Fortaleza in 1967, that's when my family met Becky, and then the next year, we came back and lived a year in Leon. Becky was completing her thesis, and we lived there in a village.

That was the first time I had lived outside the city. We didn't have any running water--no toilet! Mark was two years old, and we lived there for a year. When you asked him to say something, he would speak in three languages. All his playmates were little Indian children. He spoke a weird mixture of the three languages. We found a really nice house--it had belonged to some missionaries. It had a regular floor: it didn't have the regular brick floor that the other houses had. It was a great experience. And my father used to come every weekend and bring all sorts of things, groceries [he laughed], so it wasn't so bad. Then we went back to the States in '69. That's when John was born. Becky went back to college. I was working at the post office. My two brothers were, by then, 12 and 10, and they lived with us for about two years. They were already living there. They were living in Detroit with an American family. The following year we came back, because my father died. We returned in 1971, because somebody else was running the farm and we needed to watch it [he laughed]. We've been living here since. We came with enough money to live here for a year, and to see how things would work out.

We registered the kids. Mark was six months at the Washington School. Once we came here, we heard of the Columbus School. The Washington School was, I guess, the only school for most of the American people.

I asked him why they had chosen the Columbus School if they had registered their children at the Washington School before arriving in Fortaleza.

Well, they had to preserve their English, because they both wanted to go back to study in the States. We knew that they were going to pick up Spanish--just living here. So we wanted to make sure that they preserved their English. Becky got a job at the Columbus School. And here we are.

A friend told me about the Columbus School. We were at the hotel, waiting for the people to give us the house. I went to visit this friend of mine. And he told me about the Columbus

School; we had a deposit at the Washington School. We didn't like the atmosphere at the Washington School. We really liked the Columbus School. It was more like a public school where Mark had gone to . . . very similar. The Washington School was very snobbish. Fortalezan nouveau riche. I heard a lot of things afterward, which makes me glad that I didn't enroll Mark there. In fact there are a lot of kids who have attended one day or half a day and they have demanded to be moved to the Columbus School . . . American kids like, uh, the Marshalls and Bruffs. The whole atmosphere. . . . The kids that I knew in the States, the way they dress, I would say. . . . I think there are a lot of rich Fortalezans in the Columbus School. Maybe, I don't know really, why the big difference. It's casual.

We have some neighbors here . . . their four kids, their son is a very good friend of my son. They were very close friends when we lived on the corner. They moved to Los Hibiscos and they put him in the Washington School. And . . . he's completely changed. They still see each other. They spend weekends together sometimes. But the kid's completely different. All because of all the big cars that his friends have, though he doesn't have, let's say, more money than we do. No he doesn't. But, he has that attitude . . . the cars, the clothes.

I was surprised, when I visited the Santos at their home, that they lived in Las Conchas. They were the only family in either of the schools whom I came to interview who lived in this area. I questioned Joe about their choice of residence.

When we came, I had a very good friend that moved to the States, a doctor. He offered us his house and we could stay as long as we wanted. And it was in Los Hibiscos. And I said, no way. I'm not going to live there, because then my kids are not going to know any Fortalezans. Gringo Gulch, he called it! And of course, at the time, it was cheaper [he laughs] also, and it wasn't as expensive to live here. A lot of factors. We looked at a lot of houses. The neighbors. . . . It's very nice. Because most of the neighborhood, they are professional lawyers, doctors. One of our neighbors was a lawyer, another was an architect. You know, upper-middle class. It's not that bad.

My case is not very common, because all my family, all my friends are Fortalezans. So my kids . . . but I have to tell you, my oldest one, he doesn't have any Fortalezan friends . . . he just has friends from the Columbus School. The younger one, he's the blond one. He's more Fortalezan, because he speaks perfectly. He has no accent. He's completely bilingual.

My father brainwashed me, because he wanted me to learn English, no matter what, because he never had the opportunity (Informant 85, O.N. pp. 289).

Joe Santos was content with the Columbus School and satisfied with the preparation that it was giving his sons for their future study in the U.S. Joe identified with the United States, was married to an American, and was indoctrinated, he said, by his father to learn English and to leave home at a young age and study in the United States. He rejected the values of the dominant group at the Washington School, whom he considered to be snobbish. According to this description, therefore, Joe could be considered a transient who enrolled his children in a transient school. However, within the school, he belonged to the dominant group and was therefore a permanent within the school organization. He belonged there and felt a sense of accomplishment in the contributions he was able to make to the school's development.

Carmen de Herrera

Carmen de Herrera, one of the elementary administrators, told me, enthusiastically about her experiences in rural education as a young woman. She emphasized that, by accepting a position at the Washington School, she had never deviated from her early work in contributing to educational development in Fortaleza.

Although some of the new teachers had the impression that Sra. de Herrera was humorless and rigid in enforcing rules of discipline, I learned from others who had been with the school for many years that she had always been the organizer of social activities outside of the school. She had planned trips for weekends and also organized picnics and parties. At her home in Colonia Las Violetas, it was obvious that her family had been prosperous; in her home, as well as in her conduct,

there was an emphasis on modesty and simplicity. Sra. de Herrera introduced me to her three sons, who showed me into the dining room, where twenty guests were seated at elegantly set tables. (She was holding a dinner to celebrate her husband's birthday.)

At this first of many occasions spent socially with this family and with the other primary administrators and their families, I learned that their lives were not completely dominated by their work. Sra. Herrera was as dedicated to her family and their social world as she was to the school. Her husband explained to me that Americans lived to work, but Latins worked to live. They were committed to their work, yes, but they left their work at the office when they came home. He emphasized that they really know how to enjoy themselves. Isabel de Sanchez, a teacher at the Columbus School, had expressed this same idea when she said, "Americans come here and the school is their life. But the Fortalezans have their families here, their life, many times other jobs besides working here in the school" (Informant 48, O.N. p. 135).

On one occasion, Sra. Herrera invited her husband to join us for a piece of her homemade fruit cake. He and I had become quite friendly, and he called me "La Gringa." (Gringa referred to a woman from the U.S. and usually had a derogatory meaning.) During our conversation, Sr. Herrera began talking about gringos who come to Fortaleza and don't get to know the country. He chided me for having traveled so little in the country. I defended myself by explaining my heavy work schedule, but he said that all Americans had some excuse. He then talked about how Americans had little awareness of the

conditions in their own country, that many travel from city to city, from hotel to hotel, without ever having seen the real conditions of poverty that exist there. He had driven through the state of Georgia and had observed how many whites and blacks lived in the rural areas, under conditions of extreme poverty. Both he and his wife commented that the poverty in Fortaleza was much more bearable, that the poor here had everything that they needed to sustain them, but that in the U.S. people were suffering. Sra. Herrera reproached her husband for speaking so critically of Americans and the United States. I was pleased with his frankness and enjoyed our stimulating conversations; he was pleased that I spoke Spanish and was aware of my appreciation of Fortaleza and the kindness of his family.

The Herreras' children spoke frankly also about why they had chosen not to attend college in the U.S., as most of their friends had done. They appreciated the universities in Fortaleza and, more than this, they did not want to be separated from their parents for four years. They had been actively involved in their church youth group and had participated in weekend excursions and the regular meetings. The Herreras took me one weekend to the church retreat, a peaceful, natural setting that they had helped to develop in the mountains. They explained that the group had meant a real force for maintaining family unity, something they valued highly.

Sra. Herrera was also a member of the Fortaleza chapter of Delta Kappa Gamma, the women's educational sorority. The purpose of this organization was to encourage the advancement of women in

professional positions in the country. She was an officer in the sorority, as were the other primary administrators from the Washington School.

Sra. Herrera was feared and respected by the children because it was her duty, among others, to oversee the administration of discipline in the school. Her approach was not punitive, however. For example, Sra. Herrera was called to calm the children on the bus; she informed them of the dangers to them and to the driver and also appointed monitors to serve in maintaining order. The children immediately observed her request.

Sra. Herrera was most anxious to talk about her rural teaching experience:

I was very young when I went to teach in the village. I was only sixteen years old. That is to say, I was an adolescent. And nevertheless, they showed me great respect, great respect--the children and their parents. For them, a teacher is a wise person, a learned person who arrives at their village and knows everything. And whatever problem may arise, the teacher is going to resolve it for them and give them whatever advice is needed. For them, a teacher is, something superior to them. They don't consider age, nor do they consider things like, social conditions; rather the teacher for them is a wise person. The mayor seeks the teacher out a great deal for advice. Because they have faith that he knows more than he does.

I went to live there, at their level. In order to take a bath, I had to get water from the well, with a bucket. I would bring the water back and take a bath. In order to wash my clothes, I had to go down to the river. Every Sunday I went to the river, took my clothes and then I washed my clothes in the river, in the exact manner in which they did. After washing the clothes, in the rocks of the river, just as they did, I hung my clothes to dry. I took some food along for lunch, and I ate then. I bathed, because I was in the water all the time that I was washing; I washed my hair. When I had finished eating lunch, the clothes were dry, because the sun was tremendously hot. It's on the coast and the sun is very strong there, terrible heat! I returned to the house, ironed my clothes, and then for the next week, I had all my clothes ready for the week.

I did this because I wanted to. I wanted them to know that I would mold myself according to their customs. And they saw this in a most natural way and never, never did we have problems. There were two of us from the city there, two young girls. We never had a problem, that someone would follow us to the river and bother us. On the contrary, whenever we needed to go somewhere, they offered us horses, they offered us people to accompany us, if we wanted to go somewhere. When I needed to come to the county seat each month to pick up the checks of all of the teachers (because I was the director), the parents always would say to me, "You can take any of our children with you so that you can have company." So I took them, in turns, with me. . . . So with the permission of the parents, I took children with me, so that they would have the experience of visiting the county offices. The majority of them had never left the village. And whenever I had the opportunity to come here to the capital, I also took students so that they could become acquainted with the city. At that time we could only reach the village by train. It was a full day's travel. We left the city at 7 a.m. and arrived there by 4:30 in the afternoon. From there the road branched, and there was no entrance by car. No vehicle could enter there. . . .

I was learning how to be a teacher. I had a certificate, but I was really learning. . . . At that time, when I arrived, the children only went to school in the morning. But I discovered that they were not completing all of their required work in that time. So, I offered them, voluntarily, and I didn't require this of the other teachers. . . . But I came to work in the afternoon also, and the other teachers came also, voluntarily. And the children came also voluntarily. And so we were able to do many things that weren't possible in the morning. We taught them carpentry, knitting, embroidery, and they learned to do many things in these hours. And at night, we had meetings with the parents, to give them little talks related to the education of their children.

. . . When I came back to the city, and went to work in a public school here in Miraflores, it was a little different, but the people still had that attitude that the teacher was someone very special--they appreciated the teacher. I was in a public school and here there were very humble people. They appreciated the teacher; but it isn't the idolatry that one finds in the rural areas. But they cooperate with the teacher, and when they see that the teacher is sincerely working for the benefit of their children, the parents support the work of the teachers.

I never had any problems with parents here in the city. I worked in eight different schools, because I didn't have a fixed post in one school. I worked in several schools. I worked this way for two years.

. . . At the same time I began to work at the Washington School. . . . I was very interested in working at the Washington School, and for this reason I left my work with public education. This was in 1955. I just celebrated twenty-five years with the school. I was

working in a school and a friend of mine informed me that a teacher was needed at the Washington School, because one of the teachers was going to go on a scholarship to study in the U.S. Someone was needed to be trained to take her place. I went, and was told that I could take the tests. There were about ten people examining me. I went home and received a telegram that I was to begin work on Monday. I arrived on Monday, and I stayed. I, it could be said, inaugurated the program of teacher training here at the Washington School. I was the first person to be trained in that program. I remained several months receiving the training from this person. . . . I then became teacher of fifth grade, for five years. Then, in 1958, the position of assistant principal was offered to me, helping in the primary office with the director. . . (Informant 75, O.N. pp. 283, 321).

When we consider the events in her life, her dedication to the Washington School, and to educational improvement in Fortaleza, we can understand the attitude of disdain of Sra. de Herrera and her husband for the American transient who did not share their commitment to the school or to the country.

I have presented selections from interviews with only a few of the many school participants with whom I spoke during the course of the research in Miraflores. However, from these few examples, we can appreciate the diversity that exists among them. Also evident is the relative insignificance of nationality as a force in determining people's thinking on many subjects, attitudes toward the country and school, or attitudes toward other school participants. From these few cases, we can also discern some of the events in the daily lives of the school members that encourage or discourage positive cross-cultural associations. In the next chapter we will discuss this subject in depth.

CHAPTER VII

INFLUENCES ON INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS: OUTSIDE OF THE SCHOOLS

Many questions were answered in the previous chapters as we observed the schools, their members, and their environment. A closer examination of the multicultural settings of the Washington School and the Columbus School revealed organizations with lofty aims, yet suffering from continual problems of mobility, financing, and excessive demands. We gained an appreciation of the fragile nature of the school organizations. A closer look at the school members enabled us to learn about their concerns, opinions, feelings, and involvements; and we gained insight into their relationship with the school organization.

We now have enough answers to our questions about the schools and their members to focus, in this chapter, on the major theme of this study: the intercultural relations of the school members and the role of the school in the cross-cultural interactions within the school and the community. Specifically, we will examine the environmental and personal forces that influenced the associations of the school participants in both schools, since, as we have seen, there is a good deal of interchange, not only among the teachers, but among parents as well. We will explore the community served by the two schools and

examine the forces that tended to both segregate and integrate the school members.

Forces That Segregate the School Members

During the course of the research, the school participants rarely spoke to me regarding the environmental contingencies affecting the operation of their schools or affecting the relationships of individuals within the school community: such influences as a dispersed and diffused school community; housing problems, such as absence of new construction or soaring housing rents; political problems that threatened the lives of the school members or discouraged their association with host citizens; financial problems that affected their ability to associate with persons of similar interests and experiences; and mobility. Rather, the frequent assertion was that personality characteristics, motivations, and human nature influenced cross-cultural understanding and associations. Let us look now at the environmental conditions that affected the associations of the school members in Fortaleza: conditions that are common to most expatriate communities, particularly in lesser-developed countries.

Environmental Influences in the School Community

1. Community size. Nash (1971) and Cohen (1977), among others, pointed to the effects of a large, established expatriate community on the ability of new residents to integrate into that community. The small expatriate communities that do not have a firmly established structure provide more avenues for entry. Miraflores had a long

established expatriate community, and the founding of the Washington School in 1940 and later the Columbus School in 1953 occurred as a response to the needs of those expatriates who desired an American-type education for their children. Such an established expatriate "environmental bubble" (Cohen, 1977) provided for the newcomers to the area a ready-made resource for their many needs. The shopping centers, book stores, and clothing stores that all handled imported goods; the community theater group and the American Union with its several subgroups; the two Christian churches that served the English-speaking population; and the other organizations provided a convenient organizational network for the newcomer. An expatriate moving to one of the secondary cities within the country would not have found this environmental bubble of organizations ready to assist in the process of acclimation to the new environment, and the newcomer would be required to seek out organizations within the host community or even to isolate himself if he chose to do so.

It was apparent to me that this extensive network of expatriate organizations in Miraflores served to separate expatriates and host citizens in important ways, despite the fact that their intentions may not have been to effect this form of segregation. Rather, the original intention in many cases was to assist the newcomer to become acculturated while providing those services that would facilitate the transition from one culture to another. Instead, however, they often had the opposite effect. For example, one of the parents at the Columbus School, of Hispanic origin, with fluency in both English and Spanish, explained why he had very few Fortalezan friends, although he

preferred to live in Fortaleza rather than in the United States and felt that he had adapted completely to life in Fortaleza. He explained that the American community was so large and provided so many Americans to choose from in forming friendships, that "there is a tendency to get together. If there were fewer Americans, we would have to cultivate friendships with Fortalezans" (Informant 58, O.N. p. 245). His friendships had come from the Columbus School and the Fellowship Church, a real center for expatriates in the city.

On the other hand, because this expatriate community was so well established, an effort was not made to seek out new people. The organizations were available to newcomers, but a welcome wagon did not necessarily appear. I found many Americans who were not aware of the work of the American Union, for example, and I felt somewhat slighted because they did not roll out the red carpet for me. However, an experienced foreign resident explained that he did not expect to be invited to functions by the expatriates. He said, "The American community here is very large and dispersed. It is an old community and the people have their established friendships" (Informant 79, O.N. p. 60).

The resources available to the expatriate within the expatriate network provided such extensive associations and activities that it was the rare person who removed himself from that circle to form associations within the Fortalezan community. Of course, some expatriates associated with those Fortalezans who were affiliated with the embassies or other third-culture organizations, such as the Peace Corps, UNICEF, and AID. However, it should be remembered that the orientation

of any of these groups was toward the United States and its development goals.

2. Residential living patterns. As in most lesser-developed countries, expatriates in Fortaleza usually lived in the affluent sections of the city, where suitable housing was available for them. They also chose to live in these locations for several reasons: the closeness of their homes to the expatriate shopping districts, their distance from the downtown area, recommendations made to them by friends already living in the community, and the relative safety of these areas because of increased police protection.

It could be assumed that although living in the affluent sections of the city, and segregated from the middle- and lower-class host population, the expatriate would associate widely with his neighbors who were usually of equal status. However, frequent association within the neighborhood was limited by several factors: social class of the expatriate family, mobility, security measures conformed to by the local residents, political conditions, and language fluency, among others. As in any neighborhood, proximity of housing units, common entries or garage areas, housing compounds, and enclosed or shared play areas can encourage association among neighbors. However, in the case of Miraflores and the affluent residential areas, the homes tended to be large, separated by expansive gardens, and enclosed by high walls.

In addition, the five areas where expatriates tended to live were separated by long distances; children in both of the schools frequently commented that they did not see each other after school

because of the distances they lived from one another. Although high school students were sometimes permitted to ride the public transportation system in order to visit each other's homes, most of the children required supervision and transportation by their parents for such visits. Especially at the Columbus School, where parents were not always well known to each other, children would sometimes associate cross-culturally within their neighborhoods. However, as one parent mentioned about the Fortalezan friends of her American son, "Billy's friends' parents aren't necessarily my friends." Several children mentioned that they had three distinct groups of friends: those who lived in their neighborhood, their relatives, and their school companions.

3. Political instability. Although political instability is ubiquitous to the conditions in which most overseas schools operate, it is particularly pronounced in Latin America. Schools in Argentina, Chile, and Nicaragua, for example, have been known to suffer sudden losses in enrollments due to political conflicts within the country as well as conflicts between the United States and those countries. In Fortaleza, one of the trustees associated with the school since its inception in 1940 related that the Washington School "has lived in an atmosphere of political instability since 1940" (Informant 26, O.N. p. 295). Nevertheless, frequent threats of bombs planted in the school, kidnappings of parents, and attempts on the lives of the parents and children had created an atmosphere of foreboding throughout the city, and a preoccupation on the part of some parents with the safety of their children.

Although the Washington School, because of its serving the elite population of the city, felt a direct responsibility for the safety of the children within the school and on the buses, it did not feel its existence threatened. Because the school was composed of Fortalezans for the most part, even in the event of civil war, the school would be expected to continue operating. There would always be a need for schools, even with a change in governments; and this school, known for its relationship to education throughout the country, was considered to be stable.

Political instability threatened the existence of the Columbus School to a greater degree. Because it served the transient population, whose residence in the country was determined by agreement with foreign countries, and because a minority of the students were permanent residents in the city, political instability threatened the school's future.

In addition to promoting insecurity with respect to the school's continued operation, as well as danger to the school population, political problems strongly affected the cross-cultural associations of the school participants. The need for strong security measures affected parents' willingness to allow their children freedom to play with their friends in the streets and in their neighborhoods. Parents mentioned to me frequently the fact that they no longer allowed their children to play unsupervised because of this preoccupation with possible kidnapping. In addition, fear prevailed concerning the freedom with which many individuals expressed their political sentiments.

Although objecting to the present regime in the country, and the manner

in which it was preventing opposition candidates from gaining a position in the upcoming elections, the school participants were constrained in their conversations with host citizens, suspecting that openness might result in repercussions for them and for their families. I was warned on several occasions not to talk openly about political matters with anyone because, with the large extended family, one couldn't be certain whether or not the person to whom I was talking was a relative of an important political figure.

These examples cited above suggest some ways in which the environmental conditions tended to segregate nationalities from one another, regardless of personal desires or program ideals. In the following section, we will examine some of the ways in which certain forces, which I will term "personal," or more within the control of the individual, affected their relationships with individuals of other nationalities.

Personal Forces That Act to Segregate the School Participants

Often expatriates arrive in the foreign setting without possessing important information concerning the advantages of living in certain residential areas, information about the size of the community into which they are moving, or the political conditions of the country. There are, however, influences upon their associations over which they have more control than those environmental concerns, but which are also highly variable. For example, their professional position, their permanence or transience in the country, their language fluency, social-class standing, religious affiliation, marital and

family status, and the organizations to which they belong all have varying effects upon their cross-cultural associations. Conspicuously lacking from my list of influences is that of personality characteristics and attitudes. I do not discount the possibility that different personality types tend to segregate themselves more than others; rather, it is that analysis of psychological factors is beyond the realm of this study. Also, I have seen so much variability in personality characteristics among people who successfully adapted to the foreign setting that I would not give personality characteristics a place of high importance among those influences affecting relationships among nationalities.

1. Permanence and transience. As discussed in Chapter VI, the influence of permanence and transience in the country and the school, and the effect that this had upon the individuals' adjustment, associations, attitudes and behaviors, and the corresponding attitudes, adjustment, associations, and behaviors of the host citizens, were profound and repeated themselves throughout each of the schools and among individuals of various capacities in the organization. Transience was a major determining influence in people's choice of friends, their attitudes toward their work place, their commitment to the country, and to the schools.

I noted, early in my field work experience, that the subject of transience and permanence was a complex one, although I did not give it that terminology, and that it certainly had many ramifications. As late as December 4 I commented in my notes:

When I am with these ladies [from the Washington School], I feel that their world is divorced from that of the Columbus School--a totally different kind of orientation. While the Columbus School may have people who are more socially conscious or aware of international relations, it seems that the Washington School people are more attuned to conditions in Fortaleza, more interested in active involvement in Fortalezan society, in social service. The Columbus people do a lot of complaining about conditions but don't put their money where their mouth is. Curious--many of them come to work with community projects of some type. I haven't put my finger on this difference and must spend some time contemplating this difference in ambiente [atmosphere] that I feel. . . (O.N. p. 212).

Depending on one's perspective, those transient in the community, with less of a commitment to the country and to the school (see Chapter VI) were often quite cosmopolitan and sophisticated in their knowledge of international relations and their commitments to social reforms and development. By no means could they be considered indifferent to social questions. What distinguished them from the permanents was their commitment to broader issues of a more global nature. They did not limit their interest to local matters and concerns; rather, their interests were directed often to their future professional involvement in these international matters. The permanents, however, could almost be termed provincial in their commitment to the host country, their continual mention of Fortaleza, and their overriding concern with means by which they could improve conditions in the country. To the transient they appeared nationalistic. However, taking social concerns within the country into consideration, they were by far more committed, more knowledgeable, and had more involvement in local issues than the transient.

My first confrontation with the condition of transience and its role in associations within the school community occurred in

response to a question I asked a teacher at the school who had served there for a ten-year period. She was an American who was married to an established and affluent Fortalezan businessman. She led an active social life and supported her husband's business endeavors. I asked her how I might meet some of the Fortalezan families from the school. She responded that "the only way to meet the parents is to have lived here all of your life" (Informant 44, O.N. p. 70). Although some people considered her response to be indicative of the closed nature of the Fortalezan community, which even some Fortalezans considered to be true, she was referring more to the need to be a permanent resident, and to be considered as such by the local residents, in order to establish friendships.

A continual problem apparent throughout the host as well as expatriate groups, and among all professional groups and children also, was what has been referred to as the high turnover rate or high mobility of the residents in Miraflores. Children expressed hesitancy to develop close friendships with children whom they knew would only be residing there temporarily; adults expressed the same feelings. One teacher mentioned her problem with the transience of the American teachers at the school:

When I first came to the school, there were still some people who had been here for quite a while. And so, it was sort of a little more cliquish at that time, and I think there were more group activities going on that you were invited to. And so, I think in that sense, there was a lot of interaction, because there was a strong foundation group here. Those people left, and what arrived later, were individuals that again I think became close, personally. But those people have gone again too, mostly. So, I feel, after being here three years, that I have lost a lot of people, that I really, that I really miss. It's

hard to develop viable kinds of relationships when people keep leaving eventually (Informant 3, O.N. p. 50).

A career foreign service officer, who had served in seven foreign posts in which seven different languages were spoken, admitted that making friends was difficult. She said,

You know that you will always be leaving in two years. Why get close? It's also easy to say, well, I failed at that friendship. I'll just leave then and try another (Informant 13, O.N. p. 105).

These transients were often called travelers, people who were "passing through," adventurers, by the more permanent members in the school. Sometimes they were seen as people who were less professional, or as less committed to the profession of teaching or to the schools. On the other hand, host citizens expressed the same opinion concerning the effects of mobility upon their choices of friendships. Some were reluctant to establish friendships that they knew would soon terminate.

Whereas some permanent members of the community joined such organizations as the American Union in order to remain in contact with Americans and the United States, the transience of many of the organization's members sometimes promoted inactivity on their part. A Fortalezan wife of an American businessman stated that she and her husband had been active members in the American Union. However, "as our friends left one after another, and new ones came, we became less active in the American Union. Now we are inactive" (Informant 29, O.N. p. 164). Whatever the cause or effect in this situation, the lack of continuity in the organization resulting from the transience of some of its members was important in their consideration of activity as members.

2. Professional groupings. Although many people crossed professional lines when forming their friendships, it was evident, especially during the beginning stages of foreign employment, for people to associate within their professional groups. They would often be met at the airport upon arrival by their business associates, who would assist them in settling in at their new post. The new foreign service wife was greeted by the experienced foreign service wife. An experienced teacher would sometimes assist a new teacher in becoming adjusted to life in Fortaleza. This was a courtesy extended by most organizations to their new members. The ready availability of friendships within the organization and national group encouraged a perpetuation of this type of friendship. Sometimes private companies, however, hiring a foreign consultant, did not provide these same benefits. A wife of a new executive hired by a Fortalezan firm said that none of their friends came from her husband's business associates but from the American Club where she played tennis. When asked why this occurred, she said, "They're all Fortalezans and I don't speak Spanish" (O.N. p. 13).

It was common for people to characterize each other according to their profession. For example, parents would refer to the different attitudes held by other parents concerning educational matters and account for these attitudes by stating that they were embassy people, or businessmen, or missionaries, and thus thought in certain ways. Among the host citizens, however, there was less mention of profession and instead, of family association. One would often hear such comments

as, "Oh, he's part of the Muñoz family," or "His brother was the former Minister of Finance."

3. Family relationships. Family influences had a profound effect upon cross-cultural associations among the school participants. Expatriates often saw the large, extended Fortalezan family as a major obstacle in establishing friendships with host citizens. They felt that they might be an imposition, or an unnecessary addition to a large group that did not need to expand.

Family responsibilities tended to be so time consuming that Fortalezans often complained that it was impossible to develop new friendships. There just wasn't time, with baptisms, weddings, birthday parties, religious holidays, and family dinners. So, although it would appear that these families rejected the newcomer, in many cases their reluctance to accept invitations or provide invitations to their homes was a result of a family life of hectic schedules and commitments.

Americans often complained that they invited Fortalezans to their parties but that they didn't always attend these events. Common explanations were that Americans had a good deal more freedom in their relationships because of the absence of family commitments. Fortalezans, however, did not have the freedom or time to participate in their activities such as weekend trips to well-known tourist attractions.

Just as it was acceptable and prevalent to explain discipline problems with children as resulting from indulgence by the maids, it was common to blame the lack of social relations between Fortalezans and Americans on the family structure, the extended family relations,

and the established pattern of family associations in Fortaleza. Although there is certain truth to this assertion concerning the difficulty in penetrating these groups, I was able, as were many other Americans, to succeed in joining these groups. It required effort, not any unusual personality characteristics, attractiveness, intelligence, or other factors. As one teacher said, "Probably, I don't make the effort to meet some of the Fortalezan teachers either" (Informant 3, O.N. p. 49). Similar statements were made by parents of both nationalities. Another teacher, complaining of the lack of invitations that she had received to Fortalezan homes, said that she didn't know if she would go out and seek the social contact.

4. Language. The inability to speak Spanish or English by either of the nationalities was a significant force in inhibiting relationships across cultures. There were incidences in which individuals with little ability in either of the languages established friendships cross-culturally, but this was not the rule. The difficulty in establishing friendships resulted from the person assuming that it would be difficult to establish friendships without language fluency, not from previous failures. There were enough people who were not competent in either of the languages who successfully established friendships that I questioned the following commonly made claim:

Definitely, the barrier of language is basic. If you don't know the language, you could say that it's torture to be with people who speak a language that you don't understand.

However, she did acknowledge that

the people who make an effort, learn it eventually. But unfortunately, among Fortalezans as well as North Americans, some people resist learning the language" (Informant 75, O.N. p. 283).

Curiously, the language factor was less significant with adults than with children. Adults generally were appreciative of the efforts made by either group to speak the language. Grammatical errors were easily forgiven, and the companion attempted to gain the general meaning of the struggling speaker's conversation. A great deal of nonverbal communication was able to substitute for vocabulary and syntax in many cases.

Children, however, were often less forgiving of language failures. Cathy, a young North American child, new to the Washington School when I first arrived there, was ostracized from the play groups at recess as well as at lunch periods. She was teased without provocation on her part. She related to me that the children didn't like her because she was an American. She was a competent student in the classroom but was isolated from the others and given special assignments until she was able to work at the same level with the other children in Spanish. Because of her deficiencies in Spanish, however, it was several months before she became able to function with the other students. On several occasions, when I saw her alone on the playing field, we struck up a conversation. Each time she told how snobbish the Fortalezan children were, how they picked on her and teased her. One day, she ran up to me on the playground, whispering excitedly that she had a new friend. A Fortalezan girl from the class had asked her to play a game. Cathy's Spanish had improved to such a degree that she could converse with the Fortalezan children. Gradually the teasing ceased and she became part of the group. She was no longer given separate assignments in the classroom. I asked her later, at the end

or my six-month period at the school, if she still felt that the Fortalezan children hated the American children. She said that, in retrospect, she had been wrong. She thought now that they had just teased her because she had been new and didn't speak Spanish.

5. Social class. Of all the forces that tended to discourage cross-cultural associations among individuals, social class was the most sensitive. Often school participants claimed that the separation between the nationalities occurred because of "cultural differences" they considered to be inherent in the national group or to differences that were insurmountable. When asked to define these differences, the informant usually referred to choices of food, family obligations, dress, and other customs or "cultural symbols" (Patterson, 1977). As mentioned in Chapter VI, these so-called cultural differences were cited frequently as causes of the separation between the nationalities in the community and the school. However, at closer examination, the separation often occurred because of vastly different life styles, economic conditions, educational experience, and all of those factors that are incorporated into social-class distinctions. The majority of Americans are members of the middle class. And the majority of those accepting foreign assignments are also members of the middle class. Once living in the foreign setting, by virtue of the responsibilities they hold in their organizations and because of their increased salary due to "hardship allowances" and other benefits for foreign employment, they suddenly have the financial means to associate with the elites; however, certain barriers exist between them in some cases. Often individuals commented on the closed nature of the society, on the

snobbishness of the Fortalezans, or on their superficiality. I found there to be a lack of knowledge of the social rules and behaviors that would allow a person to associate on the same level with the local elites. Some people learn these social rules quite quickly; others, due to various factors, learn more slowly. Some refuse to learn. An American who had lived in Fortaleza for three years summed up this position well:

I think that social class is a consideration. I think that some parents (I know that it's been mentioned before), that some parents feel that they should do more in terms of inviting teachers to their home, helping them feel settled, giving them advice--in terms, you know, medical advice, and many things that they are familiar with. But it simply isn't done. I think part of it is the difference in socio-economic level. I don't think it's so culturally different. I think it is simply of social class. Most of the teachers here are rather middle class and the parents are not. I don't think it's at all cultural; I think it's simply a class distinction. I think that a lot of the comments that you hear from American teachers, I guess a lot of the overall frustration, they blame on Fortalezans or cultural differences. And I feel, that this is not really the case, that a lot of it just stems from differences in, probably experiences due to class distinctions, because most of the people I know here have not come from really upper-class backgrounds (Informant 3, O.N. p. 52).

That social class was significant in separating children could not be denied. Within the school, every effort was made to encourage equality. However, outside of school, children noticed such things as clothing, chauffeur-driven cars, and other such obvious signs of affluence. Although many people suggested that children's friendship development had to do with the neighborhoods in which they lived, there were some who admitted that this was not the only deciding factor. A Fortalezan high school student commented: "For the Fortalezan, it's where we live." Then he paused for a moment and said,

I'll tell you the truth. Of the Fortalezans (at the Columbus School) we're in a different social class. The North Americans live in Las Camelias, Las Gardenias, or Las Rosas. The Fortalezans live in Las Piedras, Las Conchas, or Las Violetas. But to my knowledge, there isn't one Fortalezan living in Las Camelias. The majority of the Fortalezans in the school are from a lower social class. We're of the same background, but we live a little lower here. . . (Informant 62, O.N. p. 304).

6. Religious affiliations. Of all expatriate organizations in the city, the Fellowship Church, the interdenominational Christian Church for English-speaking residents, and the Episcopal Church, to a lesser degree, were real social centers within the expatriate community. The activities provided by these organizations for adults and children were extensive. Their commitment to social service was commendable, and large sums of money were filtered through the churches for social service and development projects.

In a service I attended at the church, I saw familiar faces from both of the schools, from the other organizations whose meetings I had attended, and from the organizations I had visited throughout the city. It was obvious to me that the Fellowship Church was the social center for the Christian, English-speaking community. In a group of about two hundred attending, I saw only one Fortalezan present. There was no effort to exclude Fortalezans; however, the church attracted American expatriates. There were five visiting families from the U.S., who introduced themselves and their home community. There were appropriate cheers from the congregation from residents in Fortaleza who had come from those particular states. A report was made at the service about the score on a recent football game, and good-natured rivalries were apparent. This service could have taken place

in Any City, U.S.A. There was no sign during this service that the church was located in Fortaleza.

When questioned concerning the incongruities evident at the church--its role in the community as a social service agency, and also the absence of Fortalezans from participation in the church--a ready explanation was presented. People wanted to worship God in their native language. The intimate nature of the worship experience could certainly justify this segregation. It wasn't intentional, it was the nature of worship itself. As in the case of much of the separation between Fortalezans and Americans, it had to do with the circumstances of the organization's establishment or the type of activities engaged in, among other reasons.

A Fortalezan, born of American parents living in Fortaleza, spoke of her support of the Fellowship Church:

The church is kind of a U.S. community. But they do a lot of things for Fortaleza. Their outreach is good. They have a good benevolence committee. They have a home for poor boys on the street. They helped after the hurricanes tremendously. They helped people who were crippled by the hurricanes to get houses--not just a wall, but furniture. The church has done a lot of good through money from the U.S. citizens. And that's good. And for that reason, we've always contributed quite generously. But the church itself, when you go in there, you hear not a word of Spanish. Everything is in English. And a lot of those people, I don't feel that they are very nice people. They may be quite prejudiced. They'll help in an indirect way. But I think that they definitely think that the Fortalezan people are inferior. . . . It's a transplanted American community, like the American schools are in many countries (Informant 70, O.N. p. 314).

7. Interest groups. Although some organizations and interest groups succeeded in promoting cross-cultural understanding, the majority did not. Their inability to gain intercultural participation can be defended by its absence from their goals. However, it is

important to examine how the separation among the nationalities occurred as a consequence of their activities or programs.

There was a wide availability of organizations, religious groups, hobby groups, educational associations, and recreational facilities and clubs existing in Miraflores. Throughout my six-month research period, I attended meetings of these organizations. Some had been established through the American Embassy, such as the bowling group, a book-reading group, and a bridge group; others had members who were affiliated with the Embassy, such as the Toastmasters or Community Theater. A popular organization was the Explorers, which sponsored short and sometimes longer trips throughout Fortaleza. Their membership was almost entirely English speaking and attracted teachers from both of the schools, members of different embassy groups, and occasionally a Fortalezan who worked for some of the international organizations. The Explorers' monthly meetings were well attended and had informative presentations about different aspects of Fortaleza, from scientific to educational. Explorers was, by and large, a transient organization, and frequently there were sad farewells to its leaving members. Although it was not well known within the Fortalezan community, the Explorers were admired because Fortalezans considered them to be interested and appreciative of the country.

The American Union published a lengthy monthly bulletin announcing a variety of activities among the English-speaking community, from bake sales, La Leche Club meetings, to announcements of its general meetings as well as special events such as July 4th celebration, Halloween parties for the children, and the election night watch.

The Women's Club of the American Union sponsored a lending library, a Spanish-English conversation group, art and craft fairs, book clubs, canasta and bridge groups, and special luncheons. The American Union's objectives were included in the organization's introductory brochure for prospective members:

1. To establish an entity through which citizens of the United States of America (residents in Fortaleza) can obtain cohesion, status, identity, and participate in matters of general interest, mutual benefit and importance to the American Community.
2. To increase friendly relations and better understanding between Fortaleza and the United States of America through activities in all appropriate fields.
3. To provide the means by which the American community can coordinate and organize social, patriotic and community activities of the mutual benefit of all citizens of the United States of America.

. . . The main functions of the Union are aid to a medical clinic in Colonia San Felipe, and the maintenance of cemetery plots available to Union families, should the need arise. . . (Document 20).

As in most other capital cities throughout the world, the work of the American Union was well known, as were the activities and programs made available to the Union members. The Union did not intend to exclude Fortalezans, but to provide Americans with programs that would be equivalent to those they would find in the United States.

In addition to these organizations, there was the American Club, the German Club, the Italian Club, and the Spanish Club, to mention a few, which were open to membership of Fortalezans, but whose activities were directed toward a consciousness of national origin.

I attended a meeting of the Toastmasters, an international group of people interested in improving their speaking ability. Although open to any interested person, the orientation of the members

was toward the United States. Most of the members were affiliated with the Embassy or with businesses serving the international organizations.

Among the teachers at both of the schools, few were aware of the existence of the American Union and its subgroups. Their members were more established residents of Fortaleza, involved in business or embassy work. Since their meetings were often held during the day, they could not attract women who worked during the day time.

The American Chamber of Commerce had an active organization in Miraflores, as did the Masons. Their existence facilitated the transfer from the United States to Fortaleza of many members of the expatriate community. Both of these organizations had an international network, and their members could make important business contacts for the newcomers.

In addition to these formal organizations, workshops were periodically planned by English-speaking members of the community. I attended a Parent Effectiveness Training workshop organized by American women affiliated with the Embassy and development organizations. They mentioned that Transactional Analysis groups had functioned as well as other independent counseling groups for community members.

The American Union fashion show was a popular event for the expatriate community and was well attended by members and nonmembers. The Halloween party for children of American Union members was also a popular event. For many of the teachers who could not participate in the day meetings of some of these groups, or who did not move in the circles of the business and embassy wives, their evenings and weekends were often spent in Spanish and guitar classes, Explorers'

meetings, or at the local bars and restaurants that catered to English-speaking people.

Many of the Fortalezan parents in both of the schools belonged to such organizations as the Fortaleza Club and the El Sol Golf Club, which had an exclusive clientele, their particular churches, or social clubs. There was also active participation in some of the charitable associations, including the Cancer Society, the orphanages, or with the scholarship association. Most of the members of these charities, however, were the permanent members of the community. English-speaking people generally contributed to charities through the American Union or their churches.

I attended a meeting of the Fortalezan Association of University Women, a group to which belonged the distinguished women in business, government, and education in the country. Although it was exclusively Fortalezan, the organization was part of the international association and participated in its international activities. I also attended a meeting of Delta Kappa Gamma, an international women's educational sorority to which belonged some American members from the Washington School who were married to Fortalezans and thus permanent members of the community. This organization served to promote women in professional positions in the country.

My impression in most cases was that the English-speaking organizations served a social need for the American overseas, whereas the Fortalezan groups were seriously committed to social reform or improvement of professional conditions for their members. Of course, this could be easily explained, and some Americans told me that they did

not feel that they should participate in any organization that could be interpreted as engaging in political activity; after all, they were guests in the country.

Although both of the schools were available for use by the local community, none of these community organizations held its meetings at the schools. In fact, the Fellowship Church was frequently used for meetings of community organizations as was the Instituto Fortalezco-Americano, the English-language institute and cultural exchange center under the direction of a foreign service officer from the United States. The Instituto had a large auditorium and classrooms that were often used by both of the schools for dramatic presentations. There was little or no relationship between the Washington School and the American Union. The director had never heard of the organization, although he had resided in Fortaleza for fourteen years.

It can be argued that the Columbus School was not used for the functions of any of these organizations because of its inadequate facilities. Even school board meetings were not held in the school but in the homes of the board members. The school assembly meetings were held in a local hotel meeting room. The school was not suitable for such events.

I saw in the many organizations that catered to the needs of the expatriate Americans an unintentional but definite segregating force in the community. The abundance of activities available to the expatriate required the American to make little effort to seek friendships outside the familiar circle of family or national community.

Forces That Integrate the School Members

Perhaps the reader will question how any American who might desire specifically to integrate himself into Fortalezan community life might be able to do so considering the network of organizations available to substitute for those involvements he might have had in the United States: community theater, church choir, traveling groups, the Chamber of Commerce, Masons, bridge clubs, and book clubs as well as church social and charitable functions. And in addition to those influences and involvements, how could one avoid the political pressures, the effects of residential isolation, and the large and dispersed community influences that existed?

Environmental Influences in the School Community

During my six months in Miraflores, I observed no environmental forces that I considered might encourage cross-cultural relations. The political conditions within the country, the threat of kidnapping and robbery, tended to encourage people to close into their family, religious, and national groups. At the organizational and personal level, however, there was evidence of efforts toward developing cross-cultural understanding, although to a limited degree.

Personal Forces That Act to Integrate the School Participants

1. Organizations with altruistic aims. Organizations such as the Partners of the Americas had as their stated aims cross-national and cross-cultural understanding and mutual benefit for the contributing members. At meetings of this organization, permanent American

residents were present and active participants. All of the American members of the Partners whom I met during the course of my involvement with the organization were married to Fortalezans. It is interesting to note that the children of members of Partners of the Americas all attended the Washington School, the school for permanent residents of the community. The Partners meetings were conducted in Spanish, the language of the country.

At an annual meeting of the Partners of the Americas, held in Miraflores, the Washington School contributed buses and some maintenance crew to assist with the technical aspects of the conference. The director of the Washington School was present at some of the meetings of the organization.

Already mentioned was the Delta Kappa Gamma chapter whose meeting I attended. Their purposes were not purely social but to encourage the involvement of women in professional capacities in the country. Present at this meeting were teachers and administrators from the Washington School.

The Bahá'í Faith also had an active group in Miraflores with a minority of English-speaking members participating in the religious, social service, and social activities of the organization. The meetings of this group were also held in Spanish, although in most cases the American members did not speak fluent Spanish.

The significant aspects of the Partners, the Bahá'ís, and Delta Kappa Gamma, as well as other organizations that I do not mention here, was that their purposes were not purely social. Within each of their statements of objectives was mention of contribution to the country.

Fundamental to attainment of their purposes was the necessity for the members to work together to achieve their goals. The members of the Bahá'í Faith mentioned particularly that it was this aspect of their organization, the need for interdependence, that allowed the members to achieve positive relations between the national groups. (This aspect will be explored in the concluding chapter.)

In addition to the ability of these organizations to encourage positive intercultural interactions among their members, these organizations also succeeded in gaining participation across social-class lines. The organizational aims and objectives attracted people of contrasting social, economic, and educational experience and status; the need within the organizations for total participation in order to achieve those aims encouraged friendships among these diverse groups of people.

Aside from these organizations that had altruistic aims, there were also interest groups that attracted individuals of many nationalities, such as stamp collecting and basketball. Those who were interested in the Patronato de Bellas Artes tended to associate interculturally. The majority of the members were the Fortalezan elites in the community, but some permanent American residents, interested in the theater and the arts, supported the efforts of the Fortalezan association to bring internationally known artists to the country to perform.

2. Mixed marriages. One of the most obvious ways in which cross-cultural relations were accomplished on the personal level was through mixed marriages. The associations of those people involved in

mixed marriages were usually with other couples who were married cross-culturally.

Young American women teachers and male teachers also frequently met Fortalezans and began dating, meeting their families and their friends. Whatever their motivation, they usually learned the language quickly, were accepted into an extended family, came to know the country, and sometimes married and remained there. The original intention may not have been to meet an eligible partner or to marry and remain permanently.

Usually those involved in mixed marriages did not participate actively in the expatriate community functions. They were more independent in their associations, choosing to participate in Fortalezan organizations or those of the extended family.

Although missionaries are known throughout the world to integrate themselves into the community life of the host culture, I found that in most cases among the missionaries whom I met, their closest and most intimate friendships occurred with other English-speaking friends. Although they had wide association and acquaintances among the host culture, their close friendships were reserved for those people who spoke their native language.

3. Effort and permanence. There were isolated examples of individuals who, with that intention in mind, crossed the cultural barriers that existed to plan social events, to attend meetings, or to invite individuals of other nationalities to their homes with the express purpose of integrating themselves into the community. Some had a religious perspective concerning the oneness of the human race

and expressed a sense of responsibility for bridging what they called the man-made walls that separated the cultures. Others, permanent residents in the community, recognized human need. For example, one of the long-time teachers at the Columbus School knew of the marriage of one of the Fortalezan teachers and planned a party for her. Unfortunately, only one American attended, one of the other permanent residents in the community. The others, not realizing the importance of the occasion, could not attend for various reasons.

It could be concluded that permanence brought with it a sense of responsibility for the organization, the country, and its inhabitants. There were some newcomers also who left their national group to sit on the other side of the cafeteria with the Spanish teachers, or who invited themselves into their meetings, as I did on many occasions. They considered themselves to be permanents, however, and felt that they were making an investment for their future in the country they now called home.

It became clear to me that to counteract the segregating influences of the expatriate community's environmental bubble, the environmental influences, and the personal influences, action was required in order to bridge the cultural gap that existed between the nationalities. These isolated examples of successful cross-cultural relations were the result of conscious effort in most cases, and not of accident, contrary to the prevalent notion that placing individuals of various nationalities or races together will encourage their appreciation of one another and their interaction.

With an understanding of the forces outside of the school that affected the intercultural associations of the school members, let us, in the next chapter, focus on the influences within the Washington School that promoted or discouraged positive interactions.

CHAPTER VIII

INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS: WITHIN THE WASHINGTON SCHOOL

In this chapter, I will describe and discuss what the school represented to its members and the issue of cross-cultural relations in the school. In previous chapters, I presented the role of the school in intercultural relations as viewed in the literature and in the stated aims of the school. However, the aims and desires of the school members regarding the direction of the school in intercultural relations were not considered. Without knowledge of the aspirations and expectations of the clientele, basic information is lacking to account for the school's success or failure. It is important to learn why parents enroll their children in the school, their views on the school's mission, and the school's role in the community to put into perspective their opinions and involvement in intercultural relations.

What the School Represents to Its Members

As is well known throughout educational institutions, and particularly in overseas schools, there is wide diversity of opinions and sentiments regarding educational goals, the mission of schools, the role of the school in the community, and the role of parents in the community or in the operation of schools. As reported in Chapter II, one of the most difficult problems confronted by schools is this

diversity of opinion and the continually changing views of parents that result from the constant turnover within the staff and the clientele. The Washington School, unlike most overseas schools, served a permanent clientele, whose educational aspirations were well known to the administration. The directors did not expect protest groups to form or sudden changes to be recommended; changes were made gradually, based upon their understanding of the long-term needs of the school population.

Choosing the Washington School

Why did some Americans choose the Washington School for their children? There were some Americans who knew they would not be living permanently in Fortaleza who chose to enroll their children in the school, understanding that there would be conflicts in the school calendar and curriculum differences compared with the typical American school in the United States. Despite these problems, they had chosen this school over others in the city and particularly over the Columbus School.

For many who saw no real difference between the schools, the choice was not an ideological one. One mother said simply, "The two schools were very similar and the facilities were so much superior at the Washington School, that based on that alone (we were considering only traditional schools), there was no other choice" (Informant 10, O.N. p. 305).

Another American, a career foreign service officer who had spent most of his professional life in Latin America, said that he

specifically chose the Washington School because he wanted his children to have a Fortalezan experience. They had lived all of their lives in Spanish-speaking countries. This was a typical response from the Americans who had chosen the Washington School.

An administrator at the school commented concerning the desire of some parents to have their children associate with Fortalezan children:

Unlike the Columbus School, to mention a name, we have U.S. parents here who are interested in having their children associate with Fortalezan children. They're even willing to put up with a different school year because they have some belief in the idea that maybe while their children are in Fortaleza, it's a good idea for them to go to school with Fortalezan children. So, we don't have the attitude that you might get from the typical parent, I'm generalizing now, from the Columbus School, whose interest is in English. "To hell with this language, I'll be gone in two years. Who cares what my child. . . ." It's the Army family attitude. . . (Informant 12, O.N. p. 284).

A Columbus School teacher's son, who had attended the Columbus School throughout his elementary years, chose the high school at the Washington School. Since he was going to spend his life in Fortaleza, he wanted to develop friendships with students who would be his lifelong friends; he hesitated to make friends with transient students who would shortly be leaving the country.

Another permanent American, whose children attended the Washington School, had initially not wanted her children to attend that school--neither with other Americans nor with affluent Fortalezans. Therefore, her children had been enrolled in three different Fortalezan schools where, according to her, they had experienced discrimination. She explained that they looked different and they didn't speak

Spanish--sufficient reasons for the other children to tease them. So, reluctantly, she enrolled them at the Washington School--a compromise.

Why had the Fortalezan parents chosen the Washington School? For many who had attended the school themselves, there was no alternative; they were convinced of the superiority of the school. For others, it was a way to learn English, yet to be in a Fortalezan environment.

I asked many of these parents why they had not considered the Columbus School since their children would have more opportunity to speak English where there was a majority of English-speaking students. The parents were adamant in their response and without exception responded: the facilities were inadequate, they didn't want their children associating with transients, they wanted their children to learn good Spanish, and they wanted them to receive the Fortalezan instructional program.

Some parents enrolled their children in the Washington School because it was one of the few coeducational schools in the country, others because there was no religious instruction. Fortalezan parents varied a good deal more than Americans in their reasons for choosing the Washington School, but not once did a parent mention that he had chosen that school so that his children might associate with North Americans. Learning the English language was important to them. On the other hand, North Americans who had chosen the Washington School did state that they wanted their children to associate with Fortalezans.

The School's Mission

The majority of the parents, children, and staff members, those permanent members within the organization or the country, shared similar views concerning the mission of the school. The transients also shared views based upon their orientation toward the organization or the country.

Without exception, when asked about the school's mission, their response was spontaneous. The school had successfully projected its objectives to the participants through its publications, at its meetings, or in informal conversation. It was known throughout the country and had, since 1940, steadily worked toward achieving its objectives.

As mentioned in Chapter IV, the American transients sometimes spoke disparagingly of the mission of the school, occasionally criticizing the choice of its name. They would say that the school was not American enough. Some questioned why the school received financial assistance from the United States when it was really a Fortalezan school serving Fortalezans. They felt that the only American characteristics of the school were its name and the teaching of English.

Another American expressed it this way:

I guess, what comes to me, since it's mostly a school attended by Fortalezans, would be to learn English, to have a facility with English language. I think the basic idea, probably in the beginning, was to have cultural exchange and interaction among many foreign students. But it seems that since the majority of the students here are Fortalezans, it takes on the aura of a private school, attended mostly by kids of this country. And it's not so international, after all (Informant 3, p. 54).

That the school did not operate specifically for the foreign transient student was expressed by one of the school trustees:

That was not the concern of the early people. We've always had a certain number of transient U.S. citizens, naturally. But that was not the purpose of the school. The school was for mostly Fortalezans, and those U.S. people who had some commitment to the community. But it's different from some so-called American schools (Informant 12, O.N. p. 284).

I was impressed by the fact that most of the permanent residents had a definite opinion concerning the school's mission and that they supported this mission. They varied from ascribing the school's purpose as preparing future leaders for the country to providing a quality bilingual education. Whatever the variation, the responses reflected their and the school's orientation toward the country. Let us hear some of their responses. A Fortalezan parent and active PTA member stated that

The objective of the school is to really get people out so that they can really be leaders in a way . . . leaders in their own society (Informant 30, O.N. p. 302).

A Fortalezan school board member said regarding the purpose:

Basically, to provide good education and set the paces on how this good education should go throughout the country. That is what has happened as a laboratory school. It does fulfill a lot of purpose (Informant 57, p. 306).

Another Fortalezan parent spoke of the school's mission in this way:

Half of the future leaders of the country are at the school. Half of the boys, that is (Informant 1, O.N. p. 29).

A permanent American member of the school and community responded in this way:

. . . to give Fortalezan children and children from the international community a U.S.-type education in Fortaleza and also to be a bilingual school. I consider it the only true bilingual school in the city (Informant 10, O.N. p. 305).

Last, a Fortalezan mother said that the purpose of the school was to

. . . give the best education to Fortalezan children as Fortalezans and not as Americans--not engineered for children going to the U.S., but those making their lives here. . . (Informant 29, O.N. p. 166).

Regardless of their nationality or role in the school, the permanent member, with little variation, saw the orientation of the school toward Fortaleza, either by creating future leaders or by contributing to educational development. It should be noted here that there was agreement among the school participants, reaching through all levels of the organization, regarding the mission of the school. Their statements were congruent with the school's stated philosophy and objectives. It should also be noted that there was no reference to the encouragement of positive cross-cultural experiences. This is not to say that this goal was unimportant to these people; rather, it was not one of the fundamental purposes of the school, in their view.

The School's Role in the Community

The Washington School had a reputation among overseas schools for its contributions to the local community. However, it was different from most overseas schools in many ways: its continuity, the nondemocratic school board, the permanent nature of its clientele, and the dominant orientation of its members to the host country rather than to the U.S.

I was surprised to find that the school participants had a clear understanding of the school's role in the community, which was also consistent with the stated goals of the school. Even the new teachers, unaware of the details of the school's programs with the local schools and the relationship to the Ministry of Education, knew

that the school had an important position in educational development in the country.

Parents were pleased with the role of the school in contributing to the local community and to the country, in the training of rural teachers, the production of materials and tests, and consultation services to public schools. The doors of the school were always open to visitors who wished to observe the methods and materials used at the school.

Whenever I asked school members to describe the school's role in the community, I was never asked to define "community": was I referring to the school community, to the larger Fortalezan community, or to the U.S. community? In all cases, the participants' responses indicated that the orientation of the school was toward Fortaleza.

The definition of the school's role usually focused on the institutional level: the school stood for educational advancement in the country. However, this was not defined as social service or action projects--such as those engaged in by some schools, particularly the Catholic schools--in which students worked with the rural poor in teaching literacy and hygiene. An administrator clarified this role and distinguished it from other schools in the country:

Some of the schools do a lot more in community development. We're dedicated mostly to trying to improve education as a process and as a procedure, as a community enterprise. Whereas some of them consider that their schools should carry on action projects that are in favor of the underprivileged. So, we have no quarrel with that, but ours is a little different. But most of the parents accept this (Informant 12, O.N. p. 284).

Despite its contributions, some people felt that the school was isolated from Fortaleza; what was meant was that its students were isolated from the lower- and middle-class children and the concerns of the majority of the population. Although the school made a vast contribution in providing educational assistance, only staff and administrators were in contact with the local schools. The charity was handled at the institutional level, and an opportunity to involve the students in a mutually beneficial undertaking was missed.

Fortalezans whose children did not attend the Washington School still knew of its important position in the community, but they disputed the claim that the school was important in educational development. Many said that it was isolated from Fortalezan educational development, that it had no more involvement than did the German School or the Austrian School, other than to provide a high-quality academic program for its students. "They all have pretty much the same status, the same position in society. And I don't see any involvement. . . ," was a typical response (Informant 2, O.N. p. 24).

A similar view was held by an official at the Ministry of Education, who said that the school was known for its privileged status and did not take advantage of its resources. Less isolated from the community than in the past, it was still not participating as it could. He felt that the training programs could be expanded so that village teachers could learn new teaching methods from the Washington School and that the children could experience more active involvement in the country's development (Informant 87, O.N. p. 155).

The Fortalezan teachers were unanimous in expressing support for educational development. They contributed to test production, materials development, the training of local teachers, and the sharing of information on curriculum planning.

The school board chairman presented his perspective and the reason why the school's contribution was not always appreciated or understood:

In reality, we could say that the school has a clearly defined role. We could also say that the school is an island within the community. The work of the school is known widely by the public as well as private institutions. And the school has succeeded in publicizing widely what it does in both spheres, even though it continues being "The Washington School--the institution that enjoys all the privileges." What I mean is, that is the concept that is held by many people from the community. "The Washington School. Ah, it's that school that has everything." . . . It is known in Fortaleza as an institution which works, which gives training (Informant 55, O.N. p. 307).

An American teacher represented the other teachers speaking about the important role of the school in the community:

They usually have, each year, once in primary and once in secondary, a large fair, of sorts. A lot of this is donated, and many things are made by hand. And it's really a lucrative affair, because there is a lot of money here and a lot of things are purchased. A lot of these profits go to charities--they go to the poorer public schools. And, of course, a lot of it stays here, and goes into the plant, in terms of the solar heating system and the auditorium, and so on. But they do give money to charities. And I think in the lower grades, especially, in social studies, I think the children study a lot about indigenous people. They learn quite a lot about the history of Fortaleza--actually more than I realized before. They study government; they study civics. They really learn a lot about the country, different departments, local governments, customs. So I think they do quite a good job in that area (Informant 3, O.N. p. 54).

Participants at all levels of the organization agreed on the school's important role in the community in contributing to educational development. It is interesting to note that no school member mentioned

the role of the school as a demonstration center for the promotion of international understanding.

The school sponsored frequent field trips to enable the children to relate the theoretical information they were learning to the actual situations in the country. It was felt that once observing social conditions and speaking of values in the classroom, children would be able to make the necessary judgments regarding ways to remedy the social and economic injustices and inequities.

Parents, however, were not used sufficiently as resources in the classrooms. Considering their professional and wide travel experiences, the parents could have made a greater contribution. However, the school administration was concerned that parents not overstep the bounds of their role in the school. This was a private school run by professionals who did not visualize the parents as participating in school planning, curriculum, or decision making. Suggestions were accepted but not solicited. In this sense, the school was somewhat isolated and projected that image to the community. If the parents had been permitted that sharing role, perhaps the bond between them and the institution would have been closer and more rewarding to both.

The school sponsored numerous extra-curricular activities and programs. Such programs as "Argentina Night," music and drama productions, and the PTA meetings were enthusiastically received by the parents who attended them. Although the meetings were all conducted in Spanish, the PTA used simultaneous translation on one occasion so that the English-speaking members of the audience would be able to

understand the proceedings. Efforts were made to attract non-Spanish speakers and to make them feel welcome.

However, concern was expressed that there was not wider participation by the school families. It was understood that family commitments or such scheduled activities for the children as music lessons were often responsible for poor attendance. Although parents requested more family-centered activities, the administration doubted whether they would make use of the facilities or programs even if they were provided; additional activities would probably meet with apathy. It should be remembered, however, that the school was not a social center and never was meant to be such a center. It was a school for permanents who had a variety of social commitments outside of the school.

Parents were actively involved as link mothers, room mothers, assisting on field trips, helping to make materials for the classroom teachers, operating the tienda, and other services. Their role was that of assistant, not decision maker. Whether because of language, permanence, or other factors, those most involved in these roles were the Fortalezan mothers, thus perpetuating the idea that the Americans had little active involvement in the affairs of the school.

A number of parents expressed the view that the school was controlled by the wealthy Fortalezan parents and that it would be futile to try to work with the PTA or to attempt to effect any changes in the school. However, administrators and PTA members said that participation was welcome, that what distinguished the workers from the nonparticipants was not nationality, but rather interest in the

school and permanence in the community. The PTA president responded to the criticism:

It's a very well-integrated group. We have North Americans as well as Fortalezans. Of course, there are certain North Americans that feel more confident--the ones who have lived here for longer periods of time. They are more active. But I would say, equally, they are involved (Informant 55, O.N. p. 316).

There were varying degrees of involvement in the institution at the professional as well as social level, among the Fortalezans and Americans. It would be difficult to generalize about this involvement, but there were distinct differences among the transients and the permanents in the school. In fact, they mentioned these differences themselves in referring to their involvement in the school; the involvement of the parents, staff, and students; and the force of the school in their lives.

A typical response concerned the effect of transience on the involvement or commitment of individuals with the institution. An administrator represented this view and stated that transients identified less with the institution and therefore contributed less to it. The school, rather than being a force in their lives, was of little importance to them.

Although permanents in the school expressed a greater degree of dedication to the school, its goals, and to Fortaleza, they tended to blame the school less for the failures in their personal lives as regards their social relationships. They did not look to the school to provide social opportunities for them. They had established relationships outside of the school, with their family members or within their churches. (See Chapter VII.)

In all cases, when I attended social and family functions with some of the Fortalezan and American permanents in the community, the conversation rarely touched upon the school. The school almost seemed incidental to their lives. It was the rare individual who discussed the school outside the institutional setting, yet their dedication to the school was unquestioned and the intensity with which they worked during their long hours at the school was impressive to any observer. In Chapter VI, Mr. Herrera had expressed this sentiment, that Americans live to work, but Fortalezans, he said, worked to live. They kept their work lives and their personal lives completely separated.

Because the Washington School was a school for permanent residents, children usually made friendships within the school that continued for years. They might meet in the first grade and know each other throughout their elementary and secondary careers. A parent would hear the names of certain classmates mentioned in each succeeding grade. Families would meet at the various school functions, from the art festival to the classroom presentations; however, just providing the location for encounters did not always result in establishment of friendships.

There were occasional examples of children who arranged to meet after school, and consequently their parents had an opportunity to become acquainted. Although this was rare, it did occur on enough occasions to be considered a practice among the parents and children. Several mothers said that they had made friends with the parents of their children's friends, although this happened less often across national lines than it did within national groups.

Intercultural Relations in the School

Although there was agreement among the participants concerning the school's mission and role in the community, considerable diversity existed in regard to their views about the relationships between the nationalities of the school participants. Most people had given some thought to this question, and others had developed theories to explain the reasons why positive relationships did or did not occur in their own lives or among the other school members whom they observed.

Most people with whom I spoke expressed disappointment about their cross-cultural relationships. They admitted that they had few friends of the other nationality and were eager to explain their theory to account for the absence of these alliances. Except in the case of mixed marriages--and I have no statistics on their number in the school--close friends were usually of the same national group.

Personal Influences on Intercultural Relations

Although there were various interpretations regarding the reasons for the lack of better communication, there was general consensus that a division existed between Fortalezans and Americans in the school. The school participants themselves provided reasons for the lack of integration among the Fortalezan and American school members: the belief that these were natural groupings, the existence of antagonism, the lack of common interests, cultural differences, and different commitments.

1. Natural groupings. Those who expressed the view that the separation existing between the national groups was a natural one

felt that it would be unnatural to expect these groups to become more integrated. For example, this view was expressed by an administrator:

Now it's true, on the playground, I'm sure little gringos tend to group together, because of affinities--just natural things. It would be very unnatural for people of a kind not to group together, as it were, just as "birds of a feather." Anyway, but in the classroom, they're all together (Informant 12, O.N. p. 285).

Although many people who expressed this point of view also had close friends of the other nationality, they explained that the dominant form for friendships was among members of the same national or language group because of natural affinities.

When questioned about the relationships between the nationality groups in the school, most people admitted that they had noticed a division when they first came to work at the school. For example, a new Fortalezan teacher commented to me, "There is absolutely no integration of Fortalezans and Americans at this school." However, the teachers almost unanimously agreed that after working in the school for a time, and for whatever reason, they soon came to accept the separation because there was no overt antagonism.

An administrator commented concerning the evolution in his own thinking:

. . . If you go the cafeteria, or to a party where both groups are represented, you would quite often see the separation. That's quite normal, in my opinion, quite acceptable. I guess when I first came, especially when I became administrator, I hoped that I would be able to bring the nationalities together into one big happy family, which I wasn't able to do. I've changed my perception on that. I'm not so interested . . . I don't believe that a goal of international groups is to make all people into one big happy family. I think it's impossible, to begin with. People, as I've found out, tend to want to be with their own kind, to use--that's an unfortunate term--and we've seen that even with racial relations in the States among

blacks who, for a time, thought that they wanted to be integrated. They're not so certain now.

. . . It's always been a matter that I thought was important, and yet over a period of time, I began to think that it was less urgent, and then I began to see that it was impossible, and not necessary (Informant 26, O.N. p. 295).

Although it had been a concern of his when he first became an administrator in the school, something occurred during his experience in the school that led him to believe that it was not only impossible to integrate the nationalities in the school, but not a goal of international groups; the separation was a natural one.

Another administrator also agreed with this sentiment and added that any attempt to bridge the gaps between the nationalities would be an artificial one. He described the programs intended to foster understanding that had been tried through the years: the drama, music, and sports activities. However, when these activities proved unsuccessful in bridging the gap, he felt that the school had done all it could do to remedy the situation. He reiterated the commonly expressed opinion that social activities were not productive in fostering understanding between the groups. He concluded by saying, "We've never tried to create an artificial image" (Informant 12, O.N. p. 284).

Students in the secondary, however, claimed that the relations were often strained between the nationalities in their grades and that no attempts had been made to improve conditions there. When asked why no action had been taken, one student replied, "They [administrators] don't think that it is a problem. The students think so, definitely" (O.N. p. 108). According to this student, because the

division was considered a natural one, it was not viewed as a problem requiring attention.

2. Language facility. For many school members, the division between the nationalities resulted from their inability to speak each other's languages. A long-time administrator remarked concerning the division, particularly evident in the cafeteria:

They are just having their coffee break. It's a relaxed period for them. They want to chat with each other and it's better with people who speak their language; the communication is much easier (Informant 75, O.N. p. 283).

She had made many attempts over the years and now felt that the separations occurred simply because of language inadequacies. Relations were cordial; members merely had difficulty communicating.

A visiting consultant stated that the relationships between Fortalezans and Americans were much better at the Washington School than at the Columbus School, and she attributed this to the respect held for the Spanish program at the school. She said that the school, although making no specific attempts to promote positive interactions, had prevented serious problems by giving equal importance to both of the languages.

3. Commitments. Both Fortalezans and Americans reported that the separation between the nationalities occurred as a result of resentment concerning their work situation that had developed because of differing commitments to the organization, to the country, and to their interests. This different orientation or commitment to the organization was explained by an American teacher:

I felt that I was a professional teacher when I came here. I found that a lot of people were passing through. And I kind of include that because I felt that this was a career and I don't have a lot of respect--I find that I do now--I find that some of the people are a little more serious. But at that time I felt that they were sort of like traveling types and not really into the career of teaching at all (Informant 3, O.N. p. 51).

This teacher was describing the orientation of transients in the organization and the dissonance that such an orientation promoted in an organization dominated by permanents.

4. Transience and permanence. As mentioned in Chapter VII, the high mobility of teachers at the Washington School was an important influence on the cross-cultural friendships of the members. The high turnover among American teachers was pronounced, although there was considerable turnover among Spanish teachers during the 1979 school year. However, among the school families, the population was so stable that there was rarely a withdrawal of a student or family from the local community; any turnover occurred among the foreign residents.

The majority of the school families, teachers, and administrators were permanents in the community and in the school. From this permanent majority emerged the dominant policy-making body of the school. The trustees and board members had served, in most cases, for periods of twenty to thirty years. There were few Americans who remained in the country that length of time or who could have demonstrated this commitment to the school. Therefore, the organization gave the appearance of being a Fortalezan organization, resisting penetration by American members.

Most North Americans in the school could contribute less to the functioning of the school because of their transience than could

the permanent Fortalezan members. In addition, they were often ineffective because of their transience. An example of what occurred in the school organization as a result of transience was cited by a PTA officer:

. . . To serve on the PTA, unless you die or something else happens, you know, you should serve two years. But some of the Americans are moving continually, and that's--its aggravating because then you have to have another one come in and show them all the things. And then it's sort of--it doesn't work (Informant 30, O.N. p. 302).

Their inability to speak Spanish well also made the transient Americans in the school less effective workers in the school organization than Fortalezan members. Also, the permanent members of the community had considerably more knowledge about the resources available to the school, its relationship to the local community, and also the attitudes of the parents. This knowledge could only be gained over time.

What appeared to be discrimination against Americans within the school board and administration was really indifference to the interests or attempted contributions of transient members who were considered by the permanents to be less attuned to the needs of the school and the country. Their suggestions were often disregarded, therefore, and the organization concentrated upon the needs of the majority. According to the school board chairman,

We have so many local students, that the transients, just may come and go but don't affect, but don't make--they're the tails that don't make the body wiggle. It doesn't really bother the school (Informant 57, O.N. p. 307).

Some Fortalezan members of the school also admitted that they were reluctant to establish friendships with people whom they knew

would be leaving upon completion of their contracts. An American teacher explained that he was ignored by the Fortalezans during his first year at the school, although he sought their friendship. "I was received aloofly by the Fortalezan faculty, as if I weren't there." He said that it wasn't until his second year, when the Fortalezan teachers saw that he was going to remain at the school, that they began smiling and talking to him (Informant 5, O.N. p. 33).

Even among the Americans who were permanent residents, there was irritation at the complaints and suggestions made by the newcomer, whether Fortalezan or American. They grew impatient with such comments as, "Back in my school in Kentucky, we did it this way. . . ."

The elementary administration attempted to combat the negative effects of the high mobility among teachers by planning a welcoming tea and other activities for the new teachers. However, social activities were usually fruitless in promoting lasting friendships or cooperation. Those attending these functions would engage in polite conversation and then gravitate toward those with whom they could communicate most effectively--in their own language.

5. Common interests. Many individuals explained that the lack of integration of Fortalezans and Americans resulted from an absence of common interests. Those individuals, they said, who pursued their interests in such hobbies as chess or stamp collecting, and purposely sought Fortalezans with whom to share those interests, were successful in integrating themselves into a Fortalezan group. However, they admitted that this required special effort.

I saw examples of Americans--musicians, artists, or people with other interests--who sought Fortalezans with whom to share their common interests. Their nationality became less important than their commitment to the common interest. Because they were going to be permanently residing in the community, they wanted to find fellowship for their avocations. It is possible that the motivation that united the two national groups in these situations could be applied to developing common interests within the schools.

6. Cultural differences. School members commonly identified differences as being the cause for the division between the nationalities. However, they also mentioned that children rarely noticed these differences; it was the parents who tended to emphasize them. It was agreed that children in the elementary grades were well integrated within and also outside of the school when the parents encouraged their friendships. An administrator commented:

There is always a division. There have been many people who have fought to unite the two groups of teachers. They have wanted to have meetings of the teachers of Spanish and English, and that they form only one body. They haven't succeeded in this. The difference in the cultures is definite. It's not language, it's culture (Informant 55, O.N. p. 315).

She went on to explain a difference in the cultures:

For example, a Fortalezan child goes to the home of a North American. And instead of cleaning the place where he ate, he waits for another person to clean his place. And his mother says, "No Johnny, this little boy doesn't appeal to me. He has very bad manners." From one point to another, this is a problem which has to do with mores, social mores.

However, occasionally some questioned the view that cultural differences were responsible for the separation. This teacher felt that the

assertion was made by school members in order to free them from the responsibility of developing these relationships.

Fortalezans are probably familiar with hearing that "Fortalezans are different, Fortalezans don't understand," many generalizations that aren't fairly, I think, attributed to being Fortalezan. And they probably have a defense built up against Americans. I wouldn't blame them, for all the little comments that they have to hear. Likewise, Americans, I don't think a lot of times we realize where the frustrations are coming from. We tend to blame them, I think unfairly, on cultural differences. And even though these aren't purposeful, voluntary kinds of walls that we build, I think that we simply tend to ignore the presence of each other, because we don't want to be hassled; we don't want conflicts. I've never heard any, like, arguing, in terms of this, you know-- fights or actual friction. But I think, it's underlying. Like, convenient avoidance. Not even intentional, but sort of automatically a way of your body dealing with them, not wanting to be hassled (Informant 3, O.N. p. 53).

Although there were various perceptions regarding the existing division, few people looked to the school organization as playing a part. Most members agreed that personality characteristics, attitudes, language abilities, common interests, commitments, and cultural differences were responsible for the disunity. And although the members acknowledged that the separation existed, few considered intercultural relations to be an important issue within the school.

The School Organization as an Influence in Intercultural Relations

Comparing the school organization and its operation with other overseas American schools I have observed throughout Mexico and in Central and South America, I would judge the Washington School to be one of the most successful in dealing with many of the elements in its organization that are notorious for causing conflicts among national groups, such as salary differentials and preferences shown to one

nation's curriculum. However, there were other policies, practices, and organizational characteristics that tended to promote separation.

Many of the organizational problems encountered by the majority of overseas American schools can be regarded as inherent in their operation. Some include those concerns mentioned in Chapter II: high mobility among staff and families, the size of the school, curriculum concerns, program planning, financial problems, distribution of salaries, and bureaucratic concerns. Not only do all of these problems prevent the schools from considering methods for promoting cultural understanding, but in some cases they inadvertently create distance between the national groups. Let us observe some of the ways that these organizational conditions affected cross-cultural relations in the Washington School.

The Washington School, through years of experimentation and careful planning, had used much of its resources to produce quality educational programs. A by-product of this effort was a sense of cooperation among the school population, a commitment to the goals of the organization, and a unified sense of accomplishment of its aims. The Washington School was successful in preventing antipathy between the nationality groups due to measures it had taken to form a balanced program between Spanish and English, in its classroom structure and team-teaching system, and in its administration.

1. School size. Usually a school administration considers an increasing student population to be a positive sign in its development; the larger the school, the more diversified are its curricular offerings. However, the rapid growth of the Washington School and the

high demand for entrance negatively affected relationships among the nationalities. As the school grew larger, accompanied by a sense of anonymity, the intimate nature of the friendships and associations was gradually lost.

A large faculty afforded opportunities for factions to develop; in a small faculty, differences in nationality, language, religion, social class, and age could all be ignored because of the absence of alternative choices; the members needed each other and closely associated with each other. However, as the school size increased, there was more opportunity for the participants to seek those with whom they expected to have more affinity.

Some teachers felt that the impersonal nature of the school resulted from the administration's intention to discourage social relationships, but it was caused by the greater emphasis placed on the goals and accomplishments of the organization. The following is indicative of this sentiment: "The intimacy is not possible when there are so many teachers and so many tasks to be accomplished" (Informant 60, O.N. p. 201).

As the school size increased, so did the commitments by its policy makers to the education of the students and to the country. In the process of increasing the school's effectiveness and efficiency, attention to the human relations aspect of the organization suffered. Not only did the administration lose interest in developing programs or policies for intercultural interaction, but the matter became of little importance to the overall functioning of the school organization. This position did not come about through intentional action on

the part of the policy makers; it resulted from the growing size and diversification within the school structure.

2. Classroom structure. According to many long-time participants, the Washington School had made strides throughout the years to eliminate many characteristics within its organization that created distance between the nationalities, not always to alleviate the cross-cultural tensions, but to improve the learning of English by students. For example, for many years American students were grouped together to facilitate their learning of English. However, when this resulted in poor English learning by the Spanish-speaking students, who needed the interaction with, and example of, native English speakers, American students were then divided evenly among the three sections for each grade level. As a result of this improvement in the organization of the English program, the children in the lower elementary grades became an integrated student body. Although integration was not the objective behind the change, it was a positive result of the changes made in the instructional program: the even distribution not only encouraged interchange by the children because they were working together at all levels in the classroom, but also because teachers were involved in the team-teaching situation and in some cases with a person of the other nationality.

The teachers who worked together in the team-teaching situation were most likely to develop friendships. The opportunity to work with each other, to depend upon each other, and to learn from each other was perhaps the most positive means by which friendships developed,

and several teachers told me about the close friendships that had resulted from the team-teaching situation.

This type of structure was very effective in preventing cliques from forming in the lower grades. However, the organization of the secondary section as well as the upper elementary, because of the emphasis upon English, tended to segregate the teachers as well as the students. The administration, however, felt that it had done as much as it could do to alter the program and its structure. The effort was toward effectively teaching English and Spanish, not upon fostering intercultural experiences.

Although the team-teaching system sometimes placed Fortalezan and American teachers together in the same classroom, these arrangements were frequently unsuccessful because of a lack of training in team-teaching techniques and lack of familiarity with each other's language. Teachers grew to appreciate the system as the most appropriate for the Washington School, but there were complaints about its implementation. Teachers felt that they were the last considered; it was the effectiveness of the system that was paramount in the thinking of the administrators. One teacher said:

I found that there was very little training or very little direction, in terms of team teaching. This would entail, at the inter-personal level, with the team teacher. I hadn't experienced team teaching before and I felt that was rather difficult at first. I like it very much now, but I think that was something that I was disappointed in. I think there are exercises, and there are ways of dealing with team teaching, or whatever, that could have made it easier, and would have helped me with skills that I didn't have in interpersonal relationships that would have made it much better. I knew that I was going to be a team teacher, so I wasn't surprised about that. But I was a little surprised that you are sort of put into a classroom with

a person who is not even trained in teaching, you know, in education. And you have to try to see eye to eye, more or less, and compromise, and come out and be good teachers, and not let the children see conflicts (Informant 3, O.N. p. 49).

Although some teachers worked in teams in which there was a Fortalezan and an American teacher sharing the classroom responsibilities, the American teachers and the Fortalezan teachers had separate meetings in order to coordinate their programs. There was little understanding within each of the groups regarding the instructional program of the other language. Although the need was realized by the administration, there was little coordination between the two curricula. The Fortalezan and American teachers held separate meetings because of the curriculum differences, and the effect was, understandably, to separate them across national lines. An American teacher commented on the result of holding separate meetings:

Fortalezan and American teachers have no social communication. Administration doesn't foster communication among teachers. There are the English teachers and the Spanish teachers. They have separate administrative meetings weekly. They have no meetings together. There are three functions during the year: the PTA, a values meeting in which there is social activity, and a discussion among Fortalezans and American teachers. No, there is no communication. It's not intentional--there is no provision made for teachers to communicate with each other (Informant 46, O.N. p. 38).

There were few opportunities structured within the school program, and therefore teachers had no need to communicate interculturally.

Opportunities for communication among children were evident in the lower elementary grades. The method by which the American children were evenly distributed in the different sections in the elementary grades assured that they were well integrated into those classes. During my six months at the school, I did not witness any

cases of separation according to nationality by the children. When asked if there were such cliques, the children always responded in the negative. There were so few Americans in each class that they could not combine separately.

In the secondary school, however, there were instances of cliquishness and separation by nationalities. This was blamed upon the organization of the secondary curriculum, in which there was a bachillerato program with courses taught in Spanish and intended for students attending Fortalezan universities, and the American high school program for the American high school students and those others who planned to attend universities in the U.S. A parent commented:

I think there is a division, always has been in secondary. They think of themselves as either high school students or bachillerato students--and then there are cliques (Informant 70, O.N. p. 314).

3. Rules and regulations. Certain rules and regulations within the school discouraged association between parents and teachers. In Latin America, parents traditionally show their appreciation to teachers by giving them presents, but the school discouraged this practice and parents were not permitted to follow their custom. Parents consequently felt that personal association with teachers might suggest that they were trying to influence their children's grades.

Although the administration appeared to be aloof and to discourage friendly relations with the teachers, the purpose of their more formal behavior was to avoid showing favoritism. As the school had grown larger, it grew impossible for the administrators to maintain close friendships with all of the teachers, and therefore they avoided personal relationships with any.

4. Curriculum matters. The curriculum coordinator felt strongly that the curriculum in the elementary grades should deemphasize nationality. Rather than study particular countries of origin of the student population and identify their cultural differences, it was her idea to stress the universal values and principles held by the world's cultures. However, from the level of idealized program goals into the classroom was a long step.

There were isolated examples of teachers incorporating these suggestions into their teaching of social studies. They received encouragement, occasionally from their team partner and from the supervisor, in arranging field trips that not only enabled the children to gain a knowledge of Fortalezan history, geography, and current events, but for the teachers, as well, to add to their understanding of the society of which the school was a part.

However, teachers were not systematically trained to teach this global perspective, and the curriculum coordinator was aware that the high teacher turnover prevented the control over curriculum and teaching methods that would be necessary for implementing such a program. Several elementary teachers attempted to correlate the social studies program with current issues and events in Fortaleza, but most were limited in their knowledge of Fortaleza and therefore relied on U.S. textbooks for the teaching of social studies.

There was a movement within the Washington School, supported by the administration and faculty, to encourage the teaching of values rather than specific facts about nations; a committee had been formed to discuss methods for integrating these concepts into the curriculum.

But the teachers were overwhelmed with the burden of teaching so many subjects in the reduced time they had; instead of six hours a day with their students to teach all subjects, children were in the English class for three hours and in the Spanish class for the same period. It was accepted that there were certain deficiencies and that courses were not taught as comprehensively as would be possible where instruction took place in one language. However, teachers did express frustration at having these time limitations. I wondered whether, with careful planning, one subject might not have been taught by team teachers in both languages.

5. Financial concerns. Unlike public schools in the U.S., overseas schools must rely on tuition and grant assistance from the U.S. government for their operation. The Washington School experienced resistance from parents when they were approached concerning the raising of tuition, even though teachers' salaries were among the lowest in Latin American schools. American teachers, as reported in Chapter IV, received low salaries compared with their potential earnings in the U.S. Although there was an equitable salary schedule, and effort was made not to discriminate against Spanish teachers, their salaries were considerably lower and this created resentment among some Spanish teachers. For example:

I think that there are hard feelings on the part of Fortalezan teachers because of pay differences. For instance, the difference is, in Fortaleza you are allowed to teach without a college degree. So they are paid at a base level. All of the American teachers have a college degree. As a result, they automatically make higher salaries. Now they are more qualified. But the point is, since Fortalezan teachers are allowed to teach, with fewer qualifications, they feel slighted because they make a lot less money. Also, most of the Fortalezan teachers have been here, they

have started here as their first job. So most of their tenure or experience in teaching is at this school. And they don't get experience by the year. For instance, a Fortalezan teacher who teaches ten years will not get a raise in salary each year. But an American teacher that has ten years experience will get paid for her experience at another school when she comes here. These little things can add to hard feelings (Informant 3, O.N. p. 53).

The school administration felt it had done everything structurally possible to eliminate any cause of division among the nationalities without sacrificing the quality of the instructional program. Because it was felt that their system most effectively taught both Spanish and English to the students and enabled them to have an American-type program as well as the Fortalezan program, changes for the purpose of fostering better relations among the national groups seemed unnecessary and counterproductive with the organizational goals.

6. The work load. The work level, described in Chapter IV, was considered excessive by some, and the reason for the school's success by others. Whatever the judgment of the observer, the work load was so heavy for administrators and teachers that little attention could be given to the need for promoting positive cross-cultural experiences among the school community members. In fact, the organizational demands were so extensive that the concerns of integration among the nationalities seemed irrelevant to the organization's purposes.

In this chapter, we have seen that either through its internal organization or through the school programs, the Washington School had experienced some success in encouraging intercultural understanding. However, such achievements were overshadowed by the negative effects

of forces within the school structure and the environment that promoted separation within the school or between the school and the community. We have seen that despite the good intentions of the school members, intercultural interaction was not only not achieved, but was not a major consideration in the program objectives of the school.

Action was not taken because of the overriding concerns with program goals, with maintaining the American and the Fortalezan programs, with contributions to educational development in the country, and with problems resulting from financial concerns and the high turnover among teachers.

CHAPTER IX

INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS: WITHIN THE COLUMBUS SCHOOL

The Columbus School was very vulnerable to the environmental and personal influences, discussed in Chapter VII, that encouraged separation between the national groups within the school: mobility, financial concerns, political conditions, residential living patterns, as well as language fluency, social class, and interest groups. However, within the school organization and in its program objectives existed forces that also acted to promote cooperation among the groups in the school. In this chapter we will examine some of those forces that both segregated the school participants and also influenced their cooperation.

What the School Represents to Its Members

As mentioned in Chapter V, the Columbus School was a cooperatively run school; parents automatically belonged to the school association from which the school board members were elected. This type of board structure was instituted and supported because it provided assurances that the board would be responsive to the needs of the majority of parents in the school. Because parent sentiment was extremely important to the operation of the Columbus School, we will listen to the parents express their opinions concerning the meaning of

the school to them. We will listen as they explain their reasons for choosing the Columbus School, the school's mission, and the school's role in the community. This information will provide insight into the intercultural interactions within the school.

Choosing the Columbus School

Finding an adequate educational environment for their children posed a real problem for transient parents. In some cases parents had not made a decisive choice regarding the enrollment of their children at the Columbus School. They felt that they had no real alternatives in the city. Although the Columbus School may not have met with their expectations, it at least provided their children with an American curriculum following the American calendar year.

Several parents informed me that they had not learned of the Columbus School until arriving in Fortaleza, whereas they had received information about the Washington School. A parent from another Spanish-speaking country, married to a Fortalezan, explained how he had learned about the Washington School and his subsequent experience at the Columbus School:

It was recommended to us that it was bilingual and our children could keep their English language to some extent with the English culture. And we wanted them to be raised bilingual. I had never heard of the Columbus School (Informant 50, O.N. p. 296).

He enrolled his children at the Washington School during the summer months when there was space available for them in the classes. However, there were no vacancies for the fall semester and his children could therefore no longer attend the Washington School. The Washington School recommended that he enroll his children at the Columbus School

until space was again available at the Washington School. For over a year, his children then attended the Columbus School, where this parent became actively involved as a board member at the school. I asked him why he had transferred his children back to the Washington School when a vacancy occurred over a year later:

The Columbus School caters to children of diplomats and executives of other nationals. In other words, the turnover at the Columbus School is very high. The average child stays here for three years. Now, if we were planning after six months to stay longer than five years, we thought it would be better for the children to stay in an environment and get friends, and get familiar with people who were going to stay in this country. It's not good for children to say goodbye every year to all of their friends. . . . And the Columbus School was an American school and we wanted them to get a little more acquainted with the Fortalezan culture. But the main reason was the turnover at the Columbus School. . . (Informant 50, O.N. p. 296).

Some parents chose the Columbus School because of its American curriculum and because of the emphasis placed upon the English language. For these parents, the choice was a simple one. They knew that the Columbus School placed greater emphasis upon English than any other school in the city. For example, an American parent explained:

I never considered going to the Washington School. No, never. Because I wanted my kids to go to school in English, because I think they'll get their future education in the States. And I wanted them to have as good a background in English as possible. I heard that the Washington School was about 95 percent Spanish speaking. It told me that their English development would not be the same as it would be at Columbus, where the percentage was much higher of English speakers. I figured that they would learn to speak Spanish, which is all I care about anyway. And they have. It was also because of the school year--September to June. . . . I thought I could have more input and I heard that that was not quite as possible at the Washington School. Because it's the families that run it, you know. There are families that run the Washington School (Informant 66, O.N. p. 311).

For many parents, the matter was simply that they had to live in many countries and did not wish an interruption in their children's

education. They had faith that schools everywhere were interchangeable and that as long as classes were held according to the same calendar year and an American curriculum was promised, their children would be educated.

I wanted my child to be able to continue here and to a school in the States without a whole lot of interruption. But I would like him to have a cultural enrichment from being here (Informant 4, O.N. p. 299).

Children often expressed strong opinions regarding their preference for the Columbus School. They confided to me that there was less expected of them academically at the Columbus School than what was reputed to be expected at the Washington School. They also appreciated the informal atmosphere, the lack of rigid rules, and the sense of independence they felt the school encouraged. Some had attended the Washington School and had asked to be transferred to the Columbus School for these reasons.

A parent who had enrolled his children first at the Washington School spoke of the reason for changing them to the Columbus School. He said that the acceptance letter from the Washington School had prompted him to change his decision concerning their enrollment there:

. . . This was implied, you know, that since they were an American school, they had Fortalezans waiting in line to get in, and that we should consider ourselves [lucky]. This was the impression that I got . . . and I have a strong bias against the Washington School, which is maybe unjustified . . . more among Fortalezans than among Americans there is a certain snobbery, there's a kind of cold atmosphere there.

He then talked about his impressions of the Columbus School: "It was such an informal environment, somewhat disorganized. It's very relaxed, kind of a comfortable school" (Informant 82, O.N. p. 292).

The informality was a direct result of many things, but particularly the transient nature of the school members and the size of the school. The disorganization, this parent said, gave an impression of informality. There was an absence of rigidity, regulations, and policies. This informality also contributed to a feeling on the part of parents that they could take an active role in the operation of the school.

Many parents mentioned their appreciation of the opportunity to contribute to the school. Although they did not always take advantage of this opportunity, they knew that it was available to them. The school, after all, was owned by the parents, and they knew that a democratically run board would allow this influence by the parents.

A mother expressed this sentiment:

The input you can give, it's so much greater. Sure, there's still the bureaucracy. There's just so much more that you're allowed to give, just so much more (Informant 66, O.N. p. 312).

A board member explained why Fortalezan parents chose to enroll their children in the school:

Most parents are people who are not staying in the country but are just being transferred all over from one country to another. Now, about a fifth of the students are Fortalezans. Let's talk first about the Fortalezans. The Fortalezan parents who send their children to the Columbus School, in my opinion, are interested in just one thing--English--the English language. Secondarily, but very secondarily, in the curriculum. They are not that interested in an American education for their children as much as in the English language. Some, but very few, I think might be interested in getting some acquaintances and relations with American executives and also diplomats because they will further their own careers. But what proportion of them I don't know. There is a third reason that is never mentioned. And it is that all private schools in Fortaleza are hopelessly overcrowded. Now, if you open a Buddhist school, teaching Chinese, you will also get Fortalezan students. Because there are very few places open in the schools for Fortalezan children--good places. That

doesn't mean that the places that they send their children to are good. People think that anything is good because there is no alternative to anything.

Now, the non-Fortalezans. About 55 percent of the students are Americans. So that if you have 25 percent who are third country children. . . . The Americans want to have an American education. They are more interested, a little bit more, in curriculum and programs. Especially about the English language. There is a second motive in that that also influences some people I think, and it's a debatable motive, I think. They think that American education is superior to Fortalezan education and they think that American teachers are better than Fortalezan teachers.

Now the third country people. I think they send their children to the Columbus School, first of all because of the English language. Second, I think that because their companies pay for that, or it furthers their own careers. In other words, they are in contact with Americans. . . . I think also that most believe, sincerely, that the American program is superior to the Fortalezan one, and that now when they go abroad to another country, they will not find much Spanish programs. . . . In other words, a North American education is far more useful in Korea or Africa than a Spanish education. And fourth, because they have very few alternatives. There is a tremendous demand for schools (Informant 50, O.N. pp. 296-97).

Supporting his statements, a Fortalezan parent from the school explained his reasons for choosing the Columbus School:

I have a very special appreciation for the United States, not just because my two sisters live there, since they married, because I admire the United States. And it continues being the most powerful country in the world, and the most advanced, thanks to the efforts made by its people. This impresses me. Because I believe that we are in this world for the short time that we have, to improve ourselves. The human being has to achieve--all of these accomplishments that the U.S. has, these are achieved only through a good education. And the education that is received in the U.S. is very good, in my view (Informant 59, O.N. p. 281).

It is interesting to note that among all of the parents interviewed, only one mentioned an interest in "cultural enrichment from being here." No parent talked directly about the opportunity that children had in attending school with children of other nationalities. Their interest concerned much more fundamental issues: the English language, the American curriculum, and the school calendar.

Let us look now at the perceptions of the participants concerning the school's mission. We will see whether or not there was a unified perspective regarding the purpose of the school. An understanding of the school's mission will tell us about the members' definitions of the Columbus School as an educational institution.

The School's Mission

Although the school's objectives and philosophy were clearly defined in the new publications of the school (see Chapter V), there was little discussion during school faculty meetings, PTA meetings, or even during the curriculum meetings about these objectives. However, individuals with whom I talked had a generally clear understanding of what the school's mission was. It was a mission that had persisted throughout the school's existence, from its founding in 1953 by a splinter group from the Washington School, throughout its current operation. It was the reason that justified the separation from the Washington School. This was a school for transients, and the Washington School could not adequately serve the needs of the transients because of its calendar, not to mention its orientation. Parents most often complained of the impersonal nature of the Washington School and distinguished the Columbus School by its concern with the American educational principle of individualized instruction.

Although parents and teachers at the Columbus School saw the school's mission similarly, there were divergent opinions expressed by transient and permanent members of the school with respect to their

approval or disapproval of this mission. An American parent who had worked on the policy committee with her husband said:

It's a school for English-speaking children, primarily for Americans, transients--who are transient, kids who have to continue their education somewhere else. Usually, of course, by law they have to have Spanish. And the first, the first priority of the admission is American, English-speaking kids (Informant 52, O.N. p. 299).

A Fortalezan parent married to an American commented on the purpose of the school:

It's usually for American people, in transit, that they will, that the kids won't lose their, let's say that if they are going to stay here for a year or two years, that they can go to another country and continue in an American school or in the States. I think that's the main purpose. That's the reason why we put our children there because John is planning to go to college in the U.S. (Informant 85, O.N. p. 289).

An American parent presented a similar view of the school's mission:

The plant of the Washington School is far superior, the exposure to Fortalezans is infinitely better than what we have. Ours is a transient school, basically, to handle the transients, I would say . . . and also, for locals who would like to learn the language, to give education to those who are, that are transients, to those who want to learn more about the American way of life, because . . . and because they want to learn English. It's a difficult question to answer (Informant 38, O.N. p. 288).

Some more long-term members of the school mentioned that the philosophy of the school was constantly changing, depending on the dominant group of parents in the school at that time, or serving on the board. Since the school was controlled or strongly influenced by the board, the school's philosophy and objectives were subject to change.

The purpose, it changes so much. The only problem is, whatever your philosophy, or the philosophy of the school, if you don't have the personnel to implement it, it doesn't do you one darn bit of good to have a philosophy. So that has always been a hampering [factor] (Informant 66, O.N. p. 312).

Some of the permanent members of the Fortalezan community questioned the school's purpose. For example, this view was expressed: "Look, I really don't find a clearly defined school philosophy, other than that it is a school which fulfills a need" (Informant 50, O.N. p. 296). A Fortalezan teacher commented similarly, "It is possible that the school has objectives. I have asked, and I haven't received an answer" (Informant 87, O.N. p. 282).

Although some members may have disputed the importance or the value of the school's mission, it was clearly understood by the school community. The school fulfilled a need; it served the transient population. It is interesting to note that these statements about the school's mission reflect the importance in the school members' thinking of maintaining a school that ministered to the special needs of transients. However, in their explanations, they did not qualify the nature of education for transients. It should also be mentioned that their statements concerning the school's mission did not include any references to the cross-cultural opportunities available for the students. We see that although they associated daily with members of the other nationalities, this contact was not a major consideration in the school members' perspective of the purpose of the school.

The School's Role in the Community

Among the transient members of the Columbus School, there were two definitions of "community." When I asked members to tell me their perceptions of the school's role in the community, they often asked me whether I meant the community of parents in the school or the

community of Miraflores. To the Washington School parents, community meant the larger community of Fortaleza, and the school was inextricably part of that larger community. However, to the Columbus School parents, there was a clear delineation between the American expatriate community and that of Fortaleza. They also, as I mentioned earlier, conceptualized themselves as part of a larger community of foreign service workers, or international businessmen, a loosely flowing, dynamic group that had a larger, greater role to play in world affairs. It was a commitment to economic improvement or development on an international scale.

The transient members saw the school's role in the community as very limited, but it was justified in several ways:

In the Fortalezan community it doesn't really have [a role], as far as I can tell. I mean except that some Fortalezans have their children there. I mean, it can't get involved as a private school. And as a private school involved with foreigners, it can't get involved with anything as far as politics go. . . . You just sort of have to divorce yourself from that. I think there should be something somewhere where you sort of help another public school, and they have done that once in a great while (Informant 52, O.N. p. 300).

A Fortalezan parent spoke of the school's role in the community: "In reality, it's such a small segment of the Fortalezan population, I don't believe it has any impact on the larger community" (Informant 59, O.N. p. 281).

Another Fortalezan parent shared the same view:

What community? Oh my, I've never thought of it, really. I think that it is probably helping some American kids but besides that I don't see, I know that they sell some of their old books to Fortalezan schools or they give them, but besides that, I really don't think there is any important role that the Columbus School plays, because in that sense, I think that they are a little bit isolated (Informant 58, O.N. p. 289).

An American mother explained her feeling concerning the role of the school in the community and also justified the lack of role:

I would say it has no role. It fulfills a need. As far as contributing to Fortaleza, it doesn't. It doesn't. I mean, I certainly can't see that it ever has. I've never thought about that. All I have worked for is the survival of this school. And when you are fighting for survival, you don't really look as to whether it can be useful to somebody besides you. I mean, I have five kids that I want to educate at the Columbus School. That's my first and foremost. . . . I mean I don't care if anybody . . . whether there is a greater good that the Columbus School . . . peoplewise. . . . What can Columbus ever contribute? I mean, Columbus just has to live. . . (Informant 66, O.N. p. 312).

Although this parent, and others who expressed a similar view, would not be opposed to the school contributing in some way to the larger community, her attention had been completely absorbed by the need to maintain the school organization.

Some parents were not satisfied with the role of the school in the community and felt that its scope should be widened. These were the long-time members of the school or the permanents in Fortaleza.

. . . It doesn't go much beyond providing an education. Because it offers few services to families, or to students beyond that. It's an educational institution, and that's about the end. . . . After school, people just seem to go their separate ways (Informant 41, O.N. p. 310).

A Fortalezan parent commented on the isolation of the school and attributed this lack of role in the community to the transience of the families:

I would say that the involvement of those parents and those children in the community at large is very small. They are really transient people. Many are here and they pass through Fortaleza or Fortaleza passes through them. In other words, Fortaleza leaves very few traces of Fortaleza. . . . It just was, another station, among many. . . (Informant 50, O.N. p. 297).

Although there were varying degrees of support of the school's role in the community, there was agreement among the school members that the school had no role in the larger community. Except for two parents from the Columbus School, no school member had considered the potential of the school as a contributor to intercultural understanding; their attention was directed to the internal needs of the school organization.

Because the Columbus School was a transient school, every attempt was made to replicate the type of program that would be found in a typical school in the United States. The school engaged in extra-curricular activities and programs such as Halloween parties, Christmas programs, PTA meetings, Boy Scout meetings, dance lessons, an annual fund-raising activity, a spaghetti dinner, and others. For any school in the U.S., the number of activities might seem sufficient, but for a transient school, there was a definite need expressed by families for more family-centered activities, especially those that would fulfill the needs of the high school students, who were without recreational activities in the summer and after school.

A teacher spoke about the need for more activities:

. . . that there is a great deal of exchange and involvement in activities, I would say that there is almost none. I have a feeling that there is little participation by the Spanish staff in the after-school activities. There is no association outside of work. The kids are crying for activities. This is one of the great faults that they have found with our school over the years. The school does not provide enough activities. The Washington School does have more activities. . . . People's social lives are divorced from the school (Informant 41, O.N. p. 308).

When activities were provided for the families or students, there was not always a positive response to these programs. The lack

of response was usually blamed on parent apathy. However, parents explained that their lives were already filled with social and family commitments as well as professional obligations. The environmental bubble provided so many diverse activities for the expatriates that they had no time in their busy schedules for more social commitments. The permanents in the community had additional family obligations to occupy their time.

During the Halloween, Thanksgiving, and Christmas celebrations, parents participated by supplying refreshments for the classroom parties, and they were invited to attend these parties also. Parents felt welcome at the school, and there was generally a good response by the American parents to assist in the classrooms. The teachers usually requested assistance from the English-speaking parents, because most of the teachers had little knowledge of Spanish themselves. Spanish-speaking parents were not intentionally excluded from these activities; rather, the problems of communication prompted the teachers to rely more on the English-speaking parents.

Although the school was weak in projecting itself into the community, there was an effort made by some parents to assist the teachers in adjusting to life in Fortaleza and to the school. Teachers were invited to the homes of the parents and board members for holiday dinners and for cocktail parties. Parents valued having these certified teachers in the school and wanted to show their appreciation.

Unfortunately, this hospitality did not extend to the Spanish teachers; it was assumed that they would enjoy their holiday celebrations with their families. However, whenever a cocktail party was

sponsored by the PTA or the school board, and all of the staff was invited, the Spanish teachers attended these functions.

The PTA consisted mainly of American mothers; they admitted that the PTA was an American organization at the school. Occasionally, Fortalezan parents contributed to the work of the PTA, but such involvement was rare. It wasn't a matter of apathy; it had to do with several other reasons. A parent spoke of the PTA members:

. . . mostly English-speaking people. I wouldn't say just Americans. There are other Europeans, for example, but you don't see very many Fortalezans. The meetings are mostly conducted in English, which is probably why mostly English-speaking people participate (Informant 52, O.N. p. 299).

Among these American or English-speaking parents, there were only a few who were really involved in the affairs of the school. There was some encouraging news, however; some parents felt that the election of a Fortalezan board member was a sign of increased involvement by the Spanish-speaking population in the school:

. . . I feel that this was very significant and quite important to have a member of the Fortalezan community on our board. I feel that he can contribute much important information about how the Fortalezans perceive the school, actually, why they have their kids here. And perhaps this will serve to create some bonds of friendship and actually some involvement in the school from the Fortalezan community . . . to my knowledge there were no Fortalezan members on the board before (Informant 41, O.N. p. 309).

Because of the inadequate facilities, the school was not used by the school members nor by the local community. Although it was not within the school's objectives to act as a service institution to meet the religious and social needs of the community, the school was available for the members' use. However, there were so many organizations within the expatriate community, and especially at the nearby

Fellowship Church, that the school was not seen as an institution that satisfied more than the educational needs of the children. The children's drama group, the children's Bible study, their camping experiences, and the orphanage work were all planned by the churches or independent organizations.

The community was not used adequately as a resource in the instructional program. Although some of the teachers who had been with the school for several years were somewhat defensive about the types of programs previously planned by the school (whereby children actively participated in field trips and studied about Fortaleza), at the time in which I was in the school, only three field trips were made by the students. In addition, only a few of the teachers made use of available lecturers in specialized fields who could assist in the classroom. A capital city such as Miraflores had professionals in all fields who could contribute to the school; it had museums, galleries, monuments, government buildings, and other historical sites that the children could visit and learn about--and a parent community knowledgeable in various fields and with extensive travel experience. The operational problems prevented the school from opening its doors to the community resources that were available. It was not that teachers were unwilling to take advantage of these resources; it was that their attention was absorbed in the many problems associated with the daily functioning of the school.

Intercultural Relations in the School

Because there had been conflicts in the school across national lines, there was an awareness on the part of the school members regarding the school's involvement in cross-cultural relationships. Although there was disagreement about whether discord or division among the nationalities was natural or whether the school could take an active role in encouraging or discouraging intercultural experiences, the subject had been given considerable thought by the school members.

Their opinions ranged from recommending that the school not play any role, to accusing the school of promoting conflicts by its salary differential. Parents agreed that the school was not a force in creating cross-cultural understanding. For most, this condition was a result of the transient nature of the school. Considering all of the changes it was undergoing, it was not possible for the school to be concerned with the social interchanges of its members; such needs were satisfied by the expatriate organizations that existed for that purpose.

Personal Influences on Intercultural Relations

1. Transience and permanence. The high turnover among staff and families was the most frequently cited reason that close friendships did not develop among the different national groups within the school. I asked a teacher if she had close friends in the school. She said, "Close friends, no. And that is perhaps due to the tremendous turnover that we have had during the past two years (Informant 41, O.N. p. 308).

A Fortalezan parent explained how transience affected the kinds of relationships within the school:

I would say that a large percentage of Americans abroad are not interested in being abroad. They're just interested in, as a tourist might, in what is original, different, superficial. But they are not interested in other people. And the main evidence that I give for that would be the lack of knowledge of other languages. If you don't know other people's languages, you can't communicate with them (Informant 50, O.N. p. 298).

In addition, some Fortalezan parents felt that since they had such little influence in the school, their participation in school events was not essential to the school's functioning.

Another parent recognized that the transient nature of the majority of the school participants prevented there being more interaction among them.

Look, what I find is a typical attitude among foreigners--to isolate themselves. I insist to my children that they invite American friends to the house or that they go to their houses. They invite them, but they don't come. I don't know . . . but it is typical of foreigners (Informant 59, O.N. p. 281).

There was another aspect to the mobility factor that was mentioned frequently, and this concerned the orientation of the school members, their attitudes toward the organization, and toward the country. This was expressed in different ways, sometimes to refer to different attitudes, different interests, or different commitments.

A Spanish teacher expressed this feeling:

. . . Do you want me to give you my personal opinion? I don't have any interest in developing friendships with them. I'm being sincere. I know that I speak very little English and that there are problems, serious ones. I work, and I work hard. And I chat with them and joke with them. . . . I prefer, personally, . . . no, I don't have any interest in friendships. I'm being sincere. . . . I chat about the work, and I'm responsible. But I hardly have any association with them. And it's logical. They are like a separate group from the United States, and they speak

about identical subjects, as if they were still there. And I reflect . . . I lead a life completely identified with Fortalezuela, and I'm studying. And what we could have in common is very little. But I don't have the feeling that I am associating with people who know what they are doing. Rather, on the professional level, they don't interest me either. I have watched them completing the workbooks with the children, and . . . I don't see anything in them that would attract me professionally either.

I sense that for them it's a means, it's their subsistence, or their work . . . and I don't get the feeling that they are there, identified, sharing a similar purpose, or objectives. . . (Informant 87, O.N. p. 282).

Transients were seen as possessing a different orientation and less commitment to the organization or to the country. To this teacher and others, therefore, there was no common bond on which to establish friendships.

There was another view expressed by some parents, and this concerned a lack of interest in cross-cultural friendships:

There is very little between the--very little between the two nationalities at our school. I think there's a need to encourage it--better understanding of backgrounds. I mean, we can learn from each other tremendously. But there's never that--there's still a kind of a separation. I think it's lack of interest. I think you get to a certain point in life where you don't need to. . . (Informant 38, O.N. p. 288).

She, like many others, realized that mutual benefit could be derived from association with one another, but it was a mystery to most people how this relationship could be achieved. Lives were very busy and hectic; wasn't it better just to leave well enough alone?

2. Common interests. Some parents mentioned that they did not share common interests with other school members and therefore sought their friendships outside of the school. They might serve together on the PTA, but their friendship ended there.

3. Language inadequacies. Children often reported that their friendships were made according to their language capabilities. Of course, language proficiency related to the length of time spent in the Spanish-speaking environment, although many children did not perceive this relationship. For them, a friend either spoke the language or did not. A Fortalezan student explained this relationship:

There are two groups of friends at the Columbus School: those who speak English well and those who prefer to speak in Spanish, although we speak English, too. The two groups get along perfectly well. Yes, we divide ourselves, because each one has a different culture. Sure they are good friends, but it's not the same thing as if I were talking with Carlos or María (Informant 62, O.N. p. 304).

4. Parental influences. Parents frequently accepted responsibility for encouraging or discouraging friendships across national lines. Several parents reported that they used common stereotypes in their own conversations. They were aware that such negative references to Fortalezans and to Fortaleza had a detrimental effect upon their children. A mother said:

I am sure that we are doing them no favor in saying, "These Fortalezans they . . . or they don't have holes in the road in the U.S. like they do here. . ." (Informant 28, O.N. p. 119).

Some parents admitted that they did not know other parents in the school and that this lack of contact influenced their children's choices of friendships also. Parents often commented that they had not made the effort to become acquainted with parents cross-culturally. A teacher said,

The kids that even meet the Fortalezan kid in a classroom do not see this child after school. Their experience is limited to the hours that they spend in this premise. Their association after school is very, very limited, very limited except within their neighborhood. Again, because of distances, because

of transportation and security measures. Kids will often tell you that they never see anyone after school. . . . Parents don't know each other. Not even parents within the school know each other well enough to feel comfortable doing this (Informant 41, O.N. p. 310).

In addition to the above-mentioned influences on intercultural interactions within the school, influences within the school organization also existed that both discouraged and encouraged those relationships.

The School Organization as an Influence in Intercultural Relations

Unlike the Washington School, where changes occurred gradually, the Columbus School was known for the radical changes that occurred in its administration, board, and program objectives in recent years. There was such a high turnover within the administration and staff, and among the school families, that few school members had a historical perspective concerning the school. It was unusual to hear teachers talk about events of ten years ago, or the progress that the school had made in certain areas, because few people had been at the school long enough to be able to reflect on its growth. The school was subject to changes in parent clientele and consequently changes in sentiment concerning its operation. Since parents had direct influence, there was a potential for vocal groups to pressure for changes in the school's administration or operation. The dynamic nature of the school had positive as well as negative aspects: the parents felt that the school was open to innovation, that they could have influence, and that they were respected.

1. Mobility. All of the characteristics of the Columbus School that made it responsive to change also made it vulnerable to instability. The network of organizations in which the Columbus School operated was not a stable one whose resources could be depended upon. The school's relationship with the Ministry of Education was in question. The school's transient population was subject to sudden change as political problems encouraged the American residents to withdraw from the country. Foreign companies whose employees enrolled their children in the school, also concerned about political conditions, might withdraw their families from the country. The school's projected enrollment had not been reached, yet the school had hired staff in order to serve that expected enrollment. Rapid inflation affected the school's financial status and ability to increase salaries. The mobility of the school members strongly affected the school's ability to maintain consistency in the administration, the staff, and the curriculum.

The new administration experienced difficulties due to transience. Since the three administrators had been hired within the past two years, one having little knowledge of American education and the attitudes of the parent population and the other two lacking knowledge about the Columbus School and the environment in which it operated, this assured that time would be devoted to their orientation within the organization, rather than to the on-going needs of the school. Parents, board members, and administrators all discussed the need for continuity, consistency, and permanence in the school, recognizing the

necessity for long-term planning rather than crisis management, as it had been termed.

A continual turnover of teachers, dissatisfied because of salaries or because of unequal treatment, presented major problems to the school administration. During the previous year, the board had fired most of the teaching staff and hired new staff from the U.S. The time and attention given to interviewing, hiring, and orientation detracted from time needed for curriculum development and teacher supervision.

Continual changes on the school board, due to transience, also prevented continuity; undue attention was given to the orientation of new board members to the needs of the school and to their role as board members.

There were some positive aspects to the high mobility. Because the new administrators were adjusting to their new work situation, while orienting the new teachers as well, there was a certain degree of disorganization present within the school. Although their efforts were to develop an organized system, their immense tasks, and their lack of experience at this particular school and within the country, gave the impression of informality and lack of organization. This informality created an atmosphere of friendliness and openness. The congenial atmosphere appealed to a consultant to the school, who commented about his impressions of the Columbus School and the Washington School.

Among the Central American administrators, the Columbus School is laughed at. But I felt at ease there. People here [the Washington School] don't talk to you. There they are friendly

and smiling. Mrs. Franco called everyone in the school in to meet me . . . very friendly (Informant 79, O.N. p. 72).

Parents walked in and out of the school freely, sometimes helping, sometimes bringing a forgotten lunch or jacket to a student, sometimes just coming in to observe the classes. The school administration was attempting to formalize the procedures to a greater degree; but in the meantime, the constant movement created a sense of informality and openness in the school.

However, the problems caused by high mobility precluded the school's devoting attention to the intercultural interactions of its members. It was not that these matters held little importance to the school policy makers, but rather, that there was not sufficient time to concentrate upon them in addition to the severe problems of maintaining the organization. My interest in the cross-cultural relations aspect of the school's operations was sometimes greeted with a smile. Obviously, it was a luxury to consider these matters, and this school could not afford such luxuries. It was, a visiting consultant said, fortunate if the school could continue operating.

2. Inadequate resources. There were certain elements within the school organization that worked to counteract the forces of segregation. The very problems of lack of resources and materials, lack of equipment, the small space, and the inadequate facility all contributed to cooperation within the school.

The small school facility, the small classrooms, small teachers' room, and the small courtyard had the effect of bringing people together. Work space had to be shared, as did the social space. There was really no place to go in the school where separate groups could be

formed and congregate. It was this confined space that sometimes encouraged school members to come to know each other. The teachers' room was so small that teachers either sat or stood side-by-side silently, which they did frequently, or talked with each other, which they also did frequently, and also occasionally cross-nationally. The small courtyard space did not allow groups of children to form and isolate themselves from one another.

There was also a positive aspect to the condition of the facility and the lack of materials. The facility was so poor, and the absence of resources so apparent, that students, staff, and parents developed a sense of protectiveness and sympathy for the school's deficiencies. There was a sense of camaraderie concerning the school's problems and a feeling that every member of the organization was needed to counteract these inadequacies. Oppression is an effective motivator of unified action, and it was this sense of oppression--sometimes by the board and usually by the elements and forces that affected the finances of the school--that created a sense of unity, of purpose, and of drive on the part of the staff. This was their school, and only they could assure its survival. They needed each other, and this need was an important source of integration for the staff and families.

When I rode the school buses with the children in the morning and afternoon, they were so crowded that the children sometimes needed to sit five to a seat. There were often insufficient books in the classrooms, instructional materials and supplies, or lack of paints and crayons. Rulers had to be shared, as were the other materials.

Once again, the children needed to rely on each other, to cooperate, and to share.

Because teachers did not have all of the materials they needed, they many times had to search the city for materials for their projects. This enabled them to explore the city, when they did take advantage of the availability of resources.

3. Conflicting program goals. Within the school board existed two groups: the Fortalezan faction and the American faction. The so-called Fortalezan faction (called so by the administrators) supported the efforts to balance the curriculum, supported the teaching of Spanish, and also supported the Fortalezan director. The American faction was the strongest force and had the most supporters among the parents. They wanted an American curriculum for their children.

A teacher expressed concern for these conflicting goals:

. . . Is the school here only for North Americans? Is the school a place where North Americans have to learn how to live together with other people? To what extent? I don't know. I don't have an answer. I feel that saying that this is a place where North Americans get a North American education as if they were in the States, is not it. Because we aren't in the States, and the fact that they are somewhere else, is, and must be, a positive factor. So they must learn as much as possible from the fact that they are not at home (Informant 37, O.N. p. 287).

One of the board members spoke about the lack of support for the director among the American faction. He told how this undermined her in carrying out her duties.

There was a bias from the beginning because she is a Fortalezan. We should be able to form a team instead of putting her down at every opportunity that comes up. I find myself sometimes siding against her. Then I say, what am I doing? (Informant 58, O.N. p. 246).

He emphasized that this lack of support for the director filtered down to the children. He had noticed, among his own children, stereotypic remarks made about Fortalezans and in reference to the director.

It was well known that this faction, good intentioned but very nationalistic, wanted the school to become more of an American school.

A teacher commented on this sentiment:

Parents feel that students are not given a 100 percent North American education, whatever that is. They feel that a more homogeneous group, let's say all North Americans, they would be given a better education. This is a disadvantage of the Columbus School as perceived by some parents. They feel that having the other nationalities here is not advantageous for their children (Informant 41, O.N. p. 310).

One of the administrators commented on this view. He said, "The board wants a totally American school--red, white, and blue. They don't want to recognize the fact that anyone else exists" (Informant 24, O.N. p. 193).

The new high school and elementary principals were appreciated by the teachers and the parents for their professional conduct and their concern for the teachers' and children's welfare. Teachers stated that these new principals contributed to a pervasive feeling of optimism about the school's future. However, it was known that they had difficulty in communicating with the director and also with the board. They complained of secretiveness and deception, of messages not being received by them from the director, of the board not supporting them, and of information being denied them. With each crisis confronted by the administration, parents and teachers became more convinced of the need to have an American director. No matter how competent and hard working the director was, there was such strong sentiment about the

superiority of an American director that it appeared inevitable that she would experience difficulties in performing her duties. The following opinion was expressed frequently:

I feel very strongly about having an American director, a person who is familiar with an American educational system and philosophy that we have. I feel that much progress would be made in the development of our school, the curriculum, the hiring of staff members, the planning, the entire system is viewed differently by a North American than it is by a Fortalezan.

The administration, actually is divided. Because the director is a Fortalezan and her philosophy of education, her training, her knowledge, actually of the American child, the international child, is partly to blame for that. I don't think it is anything that she has done willfully on her own. It's just actually the fact that she's . . . lack of knowledge . . . there should be better communication within the administration (Informant 41, O.N. p. 309).

This sentiment within the board, among the teachers, and within the administration regarding the factions that existed could not help but filter down through the school and be sensed and observed by the students.

An American parent spoke about the school organization's role in affecting the types of relationships among the nationalities in the school.

There is always a potential cleavage between the Americans and the Fortalezans. I think what happens here is a--there is a natural potential for division. I think that will always exist. And I think that if other kinds of problems occur in such a way that encourage that split, it will become a real problem. In other words, for example, here we had two faculties, split along ethnic lines, sense of identification, authority--split!

This teacher had observed other overseas American schools and noted a situation in which there were positive relations between the nationalities.

I've been at the Cali School, where they had team teaching, where they had a Colombian and an American working together in a team.

It makes a different thing. They're working together. It would make it very difficult for a split to occur. . . . You would definitely not want to organize a school in such a way that it might encourage conflict and splits along those lines (Informant 82, O.N. p. 293).

The Columbus School, as he saw it, was organized along the lines that encouraged a split among the members. Working together, at a coordinate level within the organization, he saw as a potential method for alleviating the cross-cultural tensions between school members.

4. The instructional program. The Columbus School attempted to provide an American curriculum supplemented with classes in Spanish as a second language. (See Chapter V.) Interested parents could enroll their children in the Adelantamiento program, which provided them with additional Spanish instruction, comparable to that taught in the Fortalezan schools. However, the majority of the students, and all of the American students, did not enroll in the Adelantamiento program. Their only exposure to Spanish in the classroom occurred for one-half hour daily. The Spanish program was known to be disorganized and lacked planning. The teachers found the instruction of basic Spanish concepts to mature students to be a complex problem; they lacked training and materials to prepare an adequate program that could be taught to students in the short time they were given.

The Fortalezan teachers were not highly respected by the other teachers and by some of the parents. Indicative of their attitude is the following statement:

Actually, most of the Fortalezan teachers have the philosophy still that you learn when you memorize, etc.--that you're not taught to think. I don't mean that this is generalized, but it tends to be the philosophy (Informant 41, O.N. p. 310).

Spanish teachers were aware of the attitude toward them by some of the other teachers. They were also aware that Spanish was not given a position of importance among the subjects taught by the school. Concerning the status of Spanish in the instructional program, a Spanish teacher stated:

According to what I have seen, it is totally secondary. It is so unimportant that the English teachers don't lend their pencils or their erasers. Now, these are very little things, but in the long run, they have their effect. . . (Informant 87, O.N. p. 282).

The dissatisfaction with the way in which the curriculum was structured and with the position of Spanish in the curriculum was undoubtedly a force in creating disunity and misunderstanding among the Fortalezans and Americans in the school. It served to maintain a distance between the two groups and within the administration, as well. U.S. textbooks were used as a basis for the curriculum at the Columbus School. Curriculum guides were being prepared for the school, but the new staff, with its many problems in adjusting to the school, to the lack of materials, and to the different levels and languages within each classroom, was having difficulty in teaching that material. Many of the teachers in the elementary were unaccustomed to teaching children who spoke no English and found that this affected their ability to vary their approach to teaching and the content of their classes.

Because they had recently arrived in the country, the majority of the teachers did not include subjects concerned with Fortaleza in

their teaching of social studies, creative writing, mathematics, or geography. They were already overburdened with the teaching of the subjects normally taught in the U.S. classroom. The classroom teachers, therefore, relied on the Spanish teachers to complement their program by teaching the subjects relevant to Fortaleza. However, this was not accomplished. The Spanish classes, lasting a half-hour each day, did not provide sufficient time for teaching Spanish language, literature, history, geography, and other subjects.

Some transient parents recognized that their children might be learning more about Fortaleza, but felt that there was not sufficient time to teach such subjects without detriment to the American curriculum. A PTA officer expressed it this way:

I suppose that he could learn more about Fortaleza. But I really want him to concentrate on his studies in English. I really don't care. He can speak Spanish and we'll be going back to the States in a year or two, and if he wants to pick up any Spanish history on his own, that's fine (Informant 52, O.N. p. 300).

One of the teachers who had lived in three other foreign countries wanted to learn about Fortaleza herself and so borrowed some books in order to learn about the country. She then decided to teach a unit on Fortaleza to her class so that she and they would become better acquainted with life in the country. She helped the children draw maps of the country and then arranged a field trip to a large relief map in the city. This was one of the few field trips planned by the teachers during my six months at the school. This teacher's project required planning and consultation with individuals knowledgeable about Fortalezan geography. Usually teachers did not undertake

such projects; they did not teach subjects relevant to Fortalezan history or current events, and they were not aware of the resources available to them in the community.

Although this teacher's project could be considered a positive means for acquainting children with life in Fortaleza, it was not a goal of the curriculum. An American teacher commented on the relevancy of the curriculum: "The curriculum at the Columbus School isn't meant to be relevant to life at all. The curriculum is to allow kids who move to go to the States" (Informant 66, O.N. p. 312).

In this case, there were no sins of commission; rather, there were sins of omission. By neglecting the study of Fortaleza, the children were deprived of a means of integrating themselves into the country.

5. Salaries. Teachers were keenly aware that the salaries were not equal and that there was a considerable discrepancy between the salary paid the American teachers and that paid the Spanish teachers. Although conditions had improved markedly and the board was making a genuine effort to raise the salaries, the differential had profound effects on creating resentments on the part of the Spanish teachers. The American teachers were aware of this differential, and some took action in support of the Spanish teachers as well as the locally hired American teachers, whose salaries were lower.

A Spanish teacher expressed her view concerning the effect of the salary differential on the Spanish teachers:

. . . If you know anything about industrial psychology, if you reward the worker, he produces more. And if they [the board] wanted Latins to be contented, they would show that they valued

them--and above the level of words and praise. The salaries are a tremendous difference; it's as if you didn't have the capacity, or you weren't sufficiently prepared. . . . They would find a way to improve the conditions for the Spanish teachers. . . (Informant 87, O.N. p. 282).

The Spanish teachers interpreted their lower salary to mean that they were valued less in the organization; they recognized that they did not hold a coordinate position in the school organization. Their unequal status was not conducive to promoting friendship among the nationalities within the school.

We have seen in this chapter that the school members shared similar views on their reasons for enrolling their children in the Columbus School, on the school's mission, and on the role of the school in the community. However, they held diverse opinions regarding intercultural relations in the school. Although it was a subject on which they had contrasting opinions, intercultural relations were not of paramount importance among the concerns of the school members.

In most cases, any success in promoting positive cross-cultural experiences occurred as a result of forces beyond the control of the teachers or administrators. There was no concerted effort by the school administration, board, or teachers to promote understanding between the national groups; their tasks were too great and their problems too complex to devote attention to promoting intercultural interactions.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The growth, development, and support of overseas American schools as resources in intercultural understanding were concurrent with the support of cultural exchange and area studies programs in general by the U.S. government, foundations, universities, and scholars. This support was based on the premise that world peace and understanding could be accomplished through familiarity with the different cultures and ethnic groups throughout the world. The emphasis, therefore, in area studies and exchange programs, as well as in curriculum development, was on an awakening of the public to the existence of and characteristics of these different groups worldwide.

However, a growing disillusionment with such programs and their achievements during the 1970s has led some social scientists to question the previously accepted assumptions concerning the ways in which people come to understand and accept each other--that obtaining information about others is not the only path to achieving a peaceful society. Learning about cultural and ethnic differences has not diminished the barriers between peoples but has exaggerated or magnified antipathies, suggesting to some that those differences pose insurmountable problems for attaining international cooperation.

Much has been said in the literature and in this dissertation about the overseas school as an ideal multicultural environment. In Chapter I, I spoke of my expectations for those schools and the means by which mutually beneficial intercultural relations could be developed. I saw the overseas school as a laboratory where educational programs could be created, experimented with, modified, and finally applied--not only for the children attending the overseas school, but for schools in the United States and other countries. I also envisioned a setting where young children would associate on a daily basis with other children of many countries, learning to appreciate and trust each other and to recognize the commonality of the human race, rather than emphasizing the differences between national, racial, or religious groups. I saw a laboratory where children would be challenged academically, where the "basics" could be quickly absorbed and used as a foundation for studying about the social sciences, about world systems of education and of economics, where this knowledge would be applied to the study of futuristics, to crisis management, to resolution of problems confronting the entire human race--not just one of its sub-units, the United States. In short, I saw the potential of the overseas school as a microcosm of a new social order.

I was not alone in maintaining these expectations and illusions. I reported in Chapter II statements made by other writers regarding the potential of overseas schools to promote intercultural understanding, to develop a global consciousness in their members, and to contribute to the host country. Those with first-hand experience in the schools also agreed that the schools were not achieving their expected potential

to develop multicultural curricula, to use the resources available in the host country, and to enable children to learn about and learn with children of other nations. They said that success had not been attained because obstacles existed preventing the schools from realizing their promise. These obstacles were severe financial problems; distance from the U.S., which created hiring difficulties and inability to obtain adequate materials; high mobility, which prevented continuity; and poor administration. They said that if funding problems were resolved, and pupil and teacher turnover controlled, the schools could then achieve their potential to provide "quality American education" and also to be "demonstration centers for the promotion of intercultural understanding."

The obstacles that stood in the way of the Columbus School and the Washington School becoming models of intercultural interaction should now be apparent. I will review them here, albeit briefly, because the schools' lack of success in this area has to do with a larger issue, which will be discussed in the second section.

Intercultural Relations in the Two Schools: A Passive Process

The clearest obstacle to the schools' achievement of intercultural understanding among their members concerned the work load. Both schools were overwhelmingly burdened with responsibilities, obligations, program concerns, hiring difficulties, and salary inequities that--as I have said throughout this dissertation--relegated intercultural relations to a minor place in their priorities. In addition, both of the schools had adopted a curriculum that affected their ability to achieve

binational communication, but in different ways. The Washington School, with its bilingual program and ostensible equal attention to both languages, appeared to promote attitudes of equality and cooperation but, in reality, it required, to maintain this dual system, separate planning, organization, and meetings for each linguistic system. This divided operation fostered separation among the teachers, who had contact with each other but little active interchange.

At the Columbus School, Spanish was given an inferior position. Its unequal status, and the lack of coordination between the Spanish and English curricula, resulted in misunderstanding and distance between the two groups of teachers.

The salary differential between the foreign-hire North Americans and the locally hired Fortalezans contributed to segregation within the schools.

Among the participants, their social networks rarely intersected. The wealthier members had access to a world that the less affluent had difficulty penetrating.

The school had little influence in the social networks of the permanents and the transients. The friendships of the newcomer were made through the expatriate organizations for the most part, and the permanents had established social contacts within the community or the school. Their different orientations toward the school and the country promoted tensions and dissonance.

Stressful situations arose, not solely due to the "cultural" or "national" differences so often cited by the members, but because of confrontations among and between people who had not previously

lived and worked in such close proximity. The glaring differences were those of life styles and means, of resources and knowledge, of "knowing the ropes" in the overseas environment. The confrontations were those of various social and economic classes coming face to face with each other, often for the first time. The majority of the expatriates came from the middle-class in the United States; now living overseas, although their income and resources may have increased, they still did not know the upper-class rules of behavior in the host country. In addition, inadequate language facility, interest groups, and family commitments also contributed to the separation among the nationalities.

In Chapters VII, VIII, and IX, the environmental and personal influences on the intercultural relationships of the school members were examined, and the school participants' perceptions with respect to this issue were presented. The reader could reach the conclusion, as I did, that the overseas schools I studied were, based upon the aforementioned reasons, not ideal settings for the promotion of intercultural relations: in the Washington School, relations were cordial but a distance existed; in the Columbus School, there was not only distance but resentment. We could claim that these schools were so overburdened with the problems cited above or powerless in the face of political or economic forces affecting their operation that they could not possibly plan methods whereby cross-cultural understanding could take place. Yet, a question remains. Although both of the schools suffered from financial problems and high mobility rates, the problems were not so severe at the Washington School; with its permanent

clientele it was able to maintain continuity throughout its long operation.

The Washington School appeared to have the best of what both countries could offer: a Fortalezan program and the American program, a facility equal to any well-equipped school in the U.S., a dedicated staff and administration, highly educated parents from a variety of countries and professions. These differences between the two schools, and the nearly "ideal" conditions at the Washington School, lead us to question whether the "idealness" of the environment is really paramount in our considerations.

We certainly would not blame the school participants for the lack of success in this regard, or even for the failure. We have seen that they had very good intentions in most cases. There was no malice on their part, and little antipathy expressed for other national groups. They did not blame their lack of intercultural relationships on the school, and rarely on other individuals. Their time and attention were so occupied with their work, their adjustment to the schools or to the country, leisure activities, and their family commitments that little was left for developing friendships with the other national groups.

Can we conclude, therefore, after examining the experiences of the schools and their members in cross-cultural relations, that the schools studied are not the ideal environments that I once thought them to be or that the authors agreed that they were? Before I deal with this question, let us consider a broader question--the assumptions concerning the ways to achieve intercultural relations.

Examining the Assumptions

The apparent discrepancy between the agreed potential of the schools for promoting intercultural harmony, and the absence of such relationships in the schools studied, suggests that our assumptions about cross-cultural relations need to be examined: assumptions about American education as a means for promoting such relations, assumptions about ideal environments, and assumptions regarding the way in which intercultural interaction occurs.

Assumptions About American Education and Intercultural Relations

We have observed throughout the chapters a prevailing belief that "American education" was to be found at the Columbus School, that overseas schools were ideal environments, and that no conflicts existed between American education and positive intercultural relationships. If anything, this study should suggest the contrary--that American education and intercultural cooperation are not synonymous.

As mentioned in previous chapters, obtaining an American education for their children was an overriding concern for most expatriates. Although they were adamant in their support of American education and in their belief that it was a superior form of education, they were unable to define "American education." For most, including teachers and administrators, American education was synonymous with American-made textbooks; it meant certified teachers from the United States; it meant having a school that was accredited in the United States; it took place from September through June; and it terminated with a diploma. What I am saying is that a myth, a body of belief, has been

built around the notion of American education. (See Meyer & Rowan, 1978, for a discussion on this subject.) Few people I met in Fortaleza were able to define what American education meant, other than by its above-mentioned indications and that it was symbolized by the credentials that it provided to their children. Whether their children were receiving a high-quality program that fostered creativity, challenged their intelligence, prepared them to live in and affect a world of crises and conflict, encouraged their benefiting from association with students from other countries and social classes, or to profit from their experiences in a foreign country, may have been matters of concern, but were rarely mentioned to me. The subjects of quality curriculum and quality instruction have been surrounded by mystery in the United States and, as well, among expatriates living in Fortaleza. Most know very little about educational credentials and diplomas, other than that these papers open doors, inspire confidence, and usually provide status.

Overseas American schools, out of a desire to offer an educational program of equal quality to that which is considered available in the United States, often engage in programs and projects for which they have insufficient resources--regardless of whether such enterprises are necessary or appropriate in the overseas setting. The schools are overburdened in part because they unquestioningly accept educational standards almost impossible to meet, considering the schools' isolation from the United States.

In an attempt to create an overseas school that is truly American, a curriculum and an organization are exported to the overseas

setting that are almost caricatures of the typical U.S. school. Economic and political forces acting upon the schools, the diversity among the clientele, the effort to imitate and transplant "the best of American education"--all prevent or inhibit attention to such needs as improvement of curriculum and instruction and the promotion of improved relations between the schools' nationality groups.

Schools within the U.S. have been loudly criticized for segregating students in obvious and subtle ways: students from urban and rural areas usually attend different schools; students of different social classes generally do not study in the same schools. Children are also still segregated racially. In addition to these obvious forms of segregation occurring intentionally or unintentionally, there are other subtle forms of segregation, such as tracking of students according to ability levels, their language fluency, or economic class. (See Persell, 1977, for elaboration of this topic.)

These same kinds of segregation occur in overseas American schools. One could argue, therefore, that if the schools in the United States are unable, due to economic and political forces, and their structure and curriculum, to foster intercultural cooperation, it is unreasonable to expect that the overseas American school, attempting to replicate that structure and curriculum in the foreign setting, could also promote such collaboration.

In addition, the educational movement toward "individualized instruction," made popular in the United States and now instituted in overseas schools, usually encourages students to work separately, rather than collectively. The system promotes individuality and competition,

rather than interrelatedness and cooperation. (This subject is discussed in the final section.)

Assumptions About the Ideal Environment

Overseas schools have been designated "ideal environments" for several reasons: the presence of students from many nations, the staff is usually highly qualified, and the parents are generally well traveled and well educated. Instead of studying about foreign countries out of textbooks, children in overseas schools live in the countries, learn the language, and associate with the host children. They gain first-hand knowledge of the geography, history, arts, life styles, and belief systems of the people of these countries--that is the assumption.

Yet, in this study, we have seen that the transients, for the most part, are isolated from the life of the country, and the interactions within the school are limited and unproductive. The obvious conclusion would be that the schools--because of all of the problems we have discussed--are unable to profit from their ideal setting; but that if they were to coordinate their goals with their constituency, reform their administration, acquire sufficient funds, and improve their curriculum and instruction, they would be able to benefit from their ideal setting.

The fallacy of this argument is that no organization operates without one or many of the problems of work load, finances, high mobility, salary differentials, or under political or economic conditions it cannot control. If I were to suggest that only by alleviating

these problems could positive relationships occur among members of different nationalities, I would be saying that people can only work together, associate with each other, or form viable and productive relationships under optimum conditions, free from the stresses of environmental or personal influences. We know that this is not the case.

The few organizations I observed in this study, where there was an integrated membership, and members worked together on a coordinate level and for mutual benefit, were also plagued by many of the same problems experienced by the schools.

In both the Washington School and the Columbus School, when a separation occurred between the nationalities, the common explanation was that it was a "natural" division. Those who were initially interested in bridging the cultural gaps, or in promoting cooperation, said that they had gradually become less enthusiastic about the idea and had finally accepted that "human nature" was responsible or that people preferred to be with their "own kind"; they had come to accept what occurred in the organization as being natural, inevitable, and acceptable. In other words, the "natural," "ideal" setting for intercultural interaction became a setting where people segregated themselves "naturally."

Assumptions About Intercultural Relations

As I mentioned earlier, there is an unspoken assumption that trust, acceptance, and interaction take place naturally. Chapter II is replete with statements of various authors that mere propinquity

will foster understanding between the school members. No action is required for cooperation to take place--it is a passive occurrence. A corollary is the assumption that the longer one is exposed to, or in face-to-face contact with, someone of another nationality, the more likely it is that the cooperation will become established and secure. When it doesn't occur, the failure is blamed either on the school, on the narrow-minded members, or on the other reasons cited previously.

Certainly, experience with desegregation in the U.S., and assumptions made about the friendly relations that would result because of proximity, have been questioned. We now have considerable evidence challenging the idea that proximity and contact ensure understanding and cooperation; yet the assumption persists that the process takes place without intervention, effortlessly, by chance, automatically, and fortuitously.

It may appear to the reader that what I am presenting here is a tautology: cross-cultural interaction occurs when action takes place to promote it. Consider, however, the assumption that cross-cultural understanding occurs without intervention. I am saying that it requires specific action and effort--for that purpose.

In order to counteract the effects of the existing school structure and curriculum, it would be necessary to take specific action to promote cross-cultural interaction as a norm. And to go a step further, in U.S. schools, overseas schools, or any organizational setting, action is required to counteract the effects of values and policies that promote segregation rather than integration, individualism instead of interrelatedness, independence rather than interdependence.

Constructive Intercultural Relations:
An Active Process

During the course of my study, I observed few actions by the schools or by the members for the specific purpose of encouraging intercultural interaction. The Washington School had made attempts at creating bonds of friendship through sponsorship of teas and other social activities, but they proved unfruitful. Teachers enjoyed the events but regarded them as a means to relax, to "let off steam," not for developing friendships or respect for one another, knowledge about each other, or empathy. The warmth temporarily created was short-lived.

One of the school members suggested the reason why these attempts proved unsuccessful. He said that the relations between Fortalezans and Americans were "congenial, yes, but they tend to be separated . . . they don't get close because they don't need to get close" (Informant 57, O.N. p. 327).

His comment was a profound one, and not nearly as simple as it first appeared to me. What he was saying was that the school did not provide the means whereby people needed to associate closely with one another. The separate Spanish and English programs assured a separation of the members: if the teachers had had a program that was coordinated closely, they would have needed to get close--they would have had to work together. It was practicable in both of the schools for the Spanish teachers and staff and the Americans to maintain the school functioning without having to meet with each other, to discuss, or to coordinate their language programs. Neither needed the other's cooperation. Therefore, encounters in the cafeteria, in the hallway,

or at social events were cordial but restrained. No one needed to endure the embarrassment of inadequate Spanish or English, or to leave one's familiar circle of friends to penetrate another group.

Everyone lost, but the most deprived were the students who would have gained immeasurable benefits, both in language progress and in observing the cooperation of the two teacher groups: role models for their own intercultural future.

Intercultural relations, as I mentioned earlier, is an active, not a passive process. For example, I observed in both the Washington School and the Columbus School subgroups where cross-cultural interaction and understanding did take place. Moreover, some members of the school community belonged to outside organizations that, on occasion, demonstrated cross-cultural communication. These groups were composed of different nationalities, different social classes, but their members were permanents in the community and the school. (It will be recalled that an essential characteristic of the "permanent" was not his length of time in the country or in the school, but his commitment or loyalty to the organization or to the country.) In the case of these organizations or subgroups within the school, there was commitment to the goals of the group and, more important, the tasks assigned or accepted in each group for the attainment of their goals required the participation of all of the members--they had important roles in the organization; they were needed. The group had altruistic aims rather than purely social purposes. And there were few members; they needed each other, they had to work together, to accomplish their purposes. No matter what the members' social class, religious background, or

language ability, they were each needed for the tasks at hand, and the "cultural symbols" of nation, race, class, and religion became secondary. (Refer to Chapter VII for a description of these groups.)

In both cases, the members were actively involved in their organizations and with each other. They took a step, they were producing, they were accomplishing, and they were not passive. In working together for a common cause, they developed mutual respect, trust, need, appreciation, and empathy. They invested in the organizations and in each other, a sound basis for friendship.

Suggestions for Constructive Intercultural Relations

What can we learn from these integrated, active, involved, and committed subgroups of permanents in the school or community? Is there a principle that can be applied to the overseas schools for promoting intercultural interaction?

When the school member said, "They don't get close because they don't need to get close," he didn't add, but I will, that a means should be found whereby the members would need each other in order to attain the goals of the school, to work together at basic levels of the school organization. It would not be necessary to invent tasks for groups to engage in; the schools are overburdened with work, and the school members, faculty, parents, and students could work cooperatively to help share the burden.

A future project might involve a proposal for overseas schools to assist them in profiting from the high mobility rate and to accelerate the acculturation process for newcomers. It could include some of

the suggestions made in the next section for modification of their school programs and environment, for curriculum adjustments, and policy amendments.

Restructuring the School Environment

I have focused in previous chapters on the environmental and personal forces influencing the cross-cultural associations of the school participants in Miraflores and how they acted to segregate the school population rather than integrating them. In addition, the school structure, replicating that of the U.S., also encouraged segregation rather than integration. Therefore, any proposal to encourage intercultural relations must take into consideration the environmental, personal, and school influences.

1. Briefings for new families. Organizations and businesses sending employees to overseas posts can participate in a form of briefing for the future expatriate--before he or she leaves for the overseas assignment. Such briefings would not only prepare employees and their families about conditions in the new post, but about important psychological considerations. They can be prepared, not only to expect the usual differences in living standards--which are so often emphasized in a negative manner--but also the positive adjustments they will witness. They can be prepared to predict, appreciate, and enjoy the changes and differences rather than to fear them. Careful and accurate indoctrination of this kind creates positive and realistic expectations. Such a project engages the whole family, and role playing can be used to enable the members to act out anticipated situations. (See Bronfenbrenner, 1979, for evidence supporting this proposal.)

A project of this type could be used and adapted by any organization or business maintaining foreign offices or affiliations. The preparation initiated by the company in these briefings could then be continued by the overseas school once the expatriates arrive in the foreign setting. One of the important effects of such a program is that the expatriate family would look to the school as a resource in the acculturation process.

2. On-site involvement projects. Rather than taking a secondary role in the acculturation of the new family, the school can immediately assist the newcomer to integrate into the school and community. (This orientation role is usually accepted by the churches or the local expatriate organizations.) An ongoing newcomers committee in the schools could function to welcome new members, not only by providing social activities, but immediate opportunities to work within, and contribute to, projects-in-process, in a capacity they would enjoy and which would provide them with a sense of accomplishment and membership in the school community.

Continually functioning committees, engaged in such projects as building, expanding the fine arts program, and fund raising, among others, could attract the newcomer, who would have a wide range of committees from which to choose. They would be open to all nationalities and ages, as well as both sexes, with special construction, decorating, gardening, and other activities available for the new students. The members would also benefit from intergenerational contact. By working in these groups, newcomers and transients would be

associating with permanents in the community, learning "the ropes" from them.

Groups of school members could devise means for incorporating the study of the local community into the curriculum, for adapting the curriculum to the host country, for integrating global education concepts into the curriculum, for contributing to the host country, and for planning interchanges with host-country schools or educational institutions. All of the opportunities viewed as available and desirable by the authors cited in Chapter II could be developed and implemented by these committees of active individuals.

Although I mention here a limited number of suggestions, the principle of group involvement and interaction can be applied throughout the school program.

3. Restructuring the classroom. Aronson et al. (1978) suggest principles for fostering cooperation rather than competition, intended for the classroom but that can be applied to other situations. They claim that traditional teaching techniques used in U.S. schools foster competition; students are pitted one against the other and vie with each other for the teachers' attention and approval. In cases where students have distinct advantages over each other (for example, in overseas schools some students have previous experience in the system and thus have learned techniques for success, or new host-country students do not know the dominant language in the school and thus have a disadvantage within the classroom), competition is increased rather than decreased. Therefore, they claim the approach to teaching needs

to be altered and cooperative methods substituted for those that encourage competition.

One technique that is suggested (and there are certainly many) is to organize assignments so that students need to learn from each other rather than only from the teacher. Aronson et al. place responsibility on the student for independent researching or group researching. For example, a class project in which students are assigned to learn about the lives of presidents could be devised so that the class is divided into groups of five students each. Each student in the group is responsible for obtaining and organizing information about a certain period of the president's life. However, each student must consult with the other four in order to complement the information he has received and also to complete his project. If one student does not contribute, none in the group succeeds. The students soon learn that they must depend upon each other and encourage one another in order to obtain valuable information. In the process of learning from each other and cooperating with each other for the purpose of classroom achievement, Aronson et al. claim that the students learn to appreciate and value each other. They learn that each individual has important contributions to make--not necessarily equal to those of everyone else, but worthwhile, nonetheless.

The suggestions made for cooperative classroom learning are based on the belief that the teacher need not have sole responsibility as instructor or conveyor of valuable information. The teacher can become a facilitator, one who guides learning and informs students of appropriate methods for obtaining their information. Roles need not

be static, and students and teachers can share in instruction, learning, and researching.

4. Ongoing training in cooperative methods. Schools accepting these principles and using these and other such methods for part of their course material can develop ongoing training programs for their new teachers taught by experienced teachers or administrators. They can learn how to incorporate these principles in the classroom and apply them to different subject matter. The continuing training allows teachers to review the methods or to return to the training sessions when problems occur in the application of the principles.

A central file can be maintained of successful cooperative projects and used and adapted by other teachers according to the ability levels of their classes. Particularly advantageous are those projects that adapt local needs or conditions to the course objectives. New teachers may call upon this ready storehouse of material for their classes.

Policy Amendments

1. Development of mutual need. Each of these changes requires recognition by the school administration that involvement by the clientele will contribute to improvement of school programs and that their assistance will not necessarily lead to their assuming control of the school. Many schools are apprehensive about promoting participation in such capacities because they fear that the members will usurp the schools' ultimate authority for decisions that should be made by professionals trained in educational policy, methods, and procedures.

I am not suggesting that the community assume an administrative or policy-making role in the schools, rather that opportunities and alternative choices be provided for the members to contribute to the schools. Proper methods of delegating responsibility or providing alternative choices will ensure that desired roles be maintained. A community that is contributing to the school is also investing in the school. In the process of assisting, these individuals become supporters of the school's goals and aims.

2. Reassessing goals and objectives. In addition, it is important for the schools to reassess their goals and objectives in order to determine whether many of the projects and programs that are supported are superfluous or irrelevant to the needs of the students and do not take into account the opportunities available in the overseas community.

For example, much of the testing that takes place in overseas schools is culturally biased. Some of the standardized tests developed in the U.S. do not accurately reflect the knowledge of the students in those schools. However, valuable time is spent in conducting these tests--time that could be better spent in other pursuits.

3. Unequal salary distribution. School policy makers also need to reevaluate their policies and attitudes regarding the distribution of salaries. Salaries based on nationality lead to inequalities and cause friction between the faculty members. Overseas schools need to give consideration to alternative methods of remuneration, realizing that inequitable systems have detrimental effects.

Expanding the Curriculum

In addition to the encouragement of involvement by the school population, modification of the instructional program would be necessary to enable the members to profit from the international experience.

1. Using the community as a resource. I questioned assumptions pertaining to American education in the previous section and mentioned the myth that surrounds American education: that children are almost magically educated when they sit in classrooms with American textbooks, being taught by a certified teacher. The alternative education movement in this century offered some overdue criticism regarding this myth and valuable suggestions for educators: among them, that children are capable of conducting their own research, of questioning the opinions of authorities, for devising projects, and searching for solutions to existing and potential local and world problems. They suggested that much of this activity should take place outside of the school building, in the local community.

Many of these suggestions can be incorporated into curriculum modification for overseas schools, which, because of their foreign location, have colorful opportunities for their use. Students can explore and examine contrasting political and educational systems, and many other subjects as cited in Chapter II. (I will not discuss them here but refer the reader to that chapter for curriculum planning and for profiting from the foreign setting.)

The assumption here is that children will learn much more from studying and researching the local community than from relying exclusively on American textbooks. Social studies, history, and other

textbooks are often outdated and deal with issues peripheral to conditions where the children are living. In addition, overseas children tend to be sophisticated in their knowledge about international events and find some American textbooks to be provincial, irrelevant, and even biased in their reporting of conditions and events. (See Fitzgerald, 1979, for a discussion of the lag in American textbooks.)

Because of difficulties in ordering and receiving imported textbooks, overseas schools could more wisely invest in their libraries, rather than in updating their textbooks. Moreover, a comprehensive selection of books in the library would provide students with resources for research projects to examine the questions presented above.

2. Intercultural learning. As mentioned previously, global education concepts can be incorporated or integrated into the entire curriculum. Especially important is the teaching of ecological, sociological, psychological, and anthropological concepts regarding the interrelatedness and interdependency of the human species.

The need for such consciousness on the part of children and other members in the overseas community should become evident from this present study. The differences among the members we studied were not those of nationality, or "cultural" differences. We saw Americans and Fortalezans with similar views, reactions, and life styles. The significant differences were those of orientation to the country and to the organization as well as those of privileged status. Textbooks and instructional programs that emphasize differences between national, ethnic, religious, or cultural groups are not only misleading in their assumptions, but damaging to the students and members who receive this

instruction. They are indoctrinated to see themselves and others in stereotypical form rather than as sharing in the commonalities of all humanity.

Curricula that emphasize past events, glorification of war, outworn and inappropriate traditions and customs, which look on these past events as static and unchanging, contradict the reality of the development of civilizations--that people, customs, cultures, and national groupings are dynamic, undergoing constant evolution as new customs and traditions develop. The curriculum needs to be made responsive to these changes.

Implications for Further Research

We now approach the end of the journey to Fortaleza and the study of intercultural relations in the two overseas American schools there. Using qualitative research methods rather than quantitative methods, we were able to focus on one community and understand the conditions and influences affecting cross-cultural experiences there. However, it is important to determine whether the patterns observed in this one setting can be generalized to other intercultural settings. These patterns can be formulated into a hypothesis that future researchers can test for applicability to other intercultural environments:

Constructive intercultural relations exist when the following conditions are met:

1. when action takes place for the specific purpose of promoting intercultural involvement,
2. when the members of the organization work together at coordinate levels to achieve the organization's goals or a subgroup's goals, and

3. when the goals can not be attained without universal participation within the organization or subgroup: each of the members is needed for the completion of the task, and the members are dependent upon each other.

This directed involvement promotes a sense of responsibility and mutual need among all members and a commitment to and investment in each other. A result of this interdependency is the creation of respect, appreciation, and cooperation among the members, based on their capacity and contributions--irrespective of their race, social standing, religious affiliation, or language proficiency.

Such attitudes and skills are not only important for members of overseas school communities, but for an increasing number of Americans and citizens of other countries who participate in foreign employment, study, or exchange, or who are called upon to cooperate, contribute, and consort on international concerns. Individuals in all intercultural settings require a new consciousness, divested of national, religious, or racial loyalties and highly attuned to the needs of the planet's inhabitants. This study and others contribute to a growing body of knowledge and understanding about positive means for achieving cooperation and appreciation among participants in multicultural environments everywhere.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

USE OF THE TERM "AMERICAN"

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Throughout the dissertation I use the term "American" to substitute for "United States of America" in expressions such as overseas schools of the United States of America, schools in the United States of America, educational system in the United States of America, and citizens of the United States of America. I have substituted the following expressions: overseas American schools, American schools, American educational system, and American citizens.

Within the United States of America the term "American" is commonly used without any evaluative connotation or inference of superiority or exclusivity. However, the term is somewhat offensive and its use often considered arrogant in Central and South America as well as in Canada and Mexico, which are also part of the American continents. Although "North America" is often used in Central and South America to refer to the United States of America, the accuracy of this term is sometimes disputed because Canada and Mexico are also included in North America. "United States," although typically designating the United States of America, is also a term whose correctness is contested because Mexico is also the United States of Mexico.

I have decided to use the term "American" in most cases when referring to citizenship, to the United States educational

system, or to schools of the United States, for the sake of facility and clarity.

I apologize for any offense it may cause to any reader.

APPENDIX B

UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW FORMATS

APPENDIX B

UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW FORMATS

School Members

1. How long have you lived in Fortaleza?
2. Have you lived in other countries?
3. Where do you live here? Why did you choose that area?
4. What is your occupation?
5. What is your educational background? Where did you study?
6. What languages do you speak?
7. How many children do you have? What are their ages?
8. What school do they attend?
9. Why did you choose this school for your children?
10. How do you feel about your overseas living experience?
11. Have you noticed any changes in your feelings about life here during the time that you have lived here?
12. What did you expect to find here before you came?
13. What do you think of the people here?
14. What individuals or organizations assisted you in settling in here?
15. How would you describe your adjustment here?
16. What have you learned from overseas living?
17. What have you learned about your own country and foreign countries?
18. Have your feelings about the U.S. and Fortaleza changed?
19. Do you feel a sense of belonging here?
20. What gave you that feeling or what would give you that feeling?
21. What would make life easier here?

22. How did you first make friends here?
23. What influenced your choice of friends here?
24. Has your circle of friends changed during your stay here?
25. Has it been difficult making friends here?
26. What is there to do here in your leisure time?
27. What do you do on the weekends?
28. What did you do last weekend? With whom?
29. Do you tend to spend your free time with other school members, professional associations, religious associations, etc.?
30. Whom did you have lunch with yesterday?
31. What is the center of your social life here?
32. Whom do you invite to your home for social activities?
33. What was the center of your social life in the U.S.?
34. What is social life like in Miraflores?
35. Do you have social contact with people of other nationalities?
36. Who sponsors those activities?
37. Do people stick to their own group here, or do they associate with different groups?
38. How many different groups, organizations, associations can you name here in Miraflores?
39. How does one become a member of these groups?
40. What kinds of recreational or social activities are planned by the school?
41. Who attends these functions?
42. How would you describe your involvement in the school activities as compared with your involvement in the U.S.?
43. Do you participate in school parent groups? In which ones?
44. What is the result of having such a cultural mixture in the school?

45. What are the advantages and disadvantages for your children in attending the Washington (or Columbus) School?
46. What is the guiding purpose or philosophy of the school?
47. What is the role of the school in the community here?
48. What do you think the role of the school should be?
49. What has been your children's experience living here?
50. After school, do your children play with other children from the school, with neighbors, or with children of your professional, religious, etc. associations?
51. Whom do you invite to your home for your children to play with?
52. How do you envision your role as "community member"?
53. What kinds of social or recreational, cultural, educational activities are planned within the school to promote interaction among teachers, parents, etc.?
54. Describe the relevancy of the curriculum to life in Fortaleza at this time.
55. What is the mechanism for curriculum change?
56. Is there parent or teacher involvement in curriculum development?
57. How does the curriculum address issues of relationships between different national or cultural groups attending the school?
58. How are parents involved in the school?

Community Members

1. How long have you lived in Fortaleza?
2. Have you lived in other countries?
3. What is your occupation?
4. What is your education? Where did you study?
5. How many languages do you speak? Describe your degree of fluency in each language.
6. How many children do you have?
7. What school do they attend?
8. How did you choose this school for your children?
9. Do you participate in school parent groups?
10. What kinds of people attend the school?
11. What kinds of activities are planned by the school?
12. Do you attend these functions? Why?
13. How does the school involve itself in community affairs?
14. What do you think the school should do, or what role should it have in the community here?
15. List all the different groups that you can think of in Miraflores.
16. Do you have social contact with people of other nationalities?
17. Who sponsors these activities?
18. What made you choose to live in your present residence?
19. What is social life like in Miraflores?
20. What is the center of your social life?
21. Do people of different nationalities mix well, or do they stick together?
22. What do you do on the weekend? Last weekend, this coming weekend?

23. Do your children play after school with friends from school, with neighbors, or with relatives?
24. How are families encouraged to participate in school affairs?

Children

1. How old are you?
2. Male or female?
3. What school do you attend?
4. What language(s) do you speak at home?
5. What language(s) do you speak with friends?
6. What does your father do? Where was he born?
7. What does your mother do? Where was she born?
8. What countries have you lived in? What countries have you traveled to?
9. When people move to a new place, sometimes a person from the school or from their parents' business or from their church introduces them to others in the community. How were you first introduced to people here?
10. Was it difficult to make friends here? Why?
11. Has your group of friends changed or has your group been the same during your stay here?
12. What are the names of your best friends?
13. Before I came here, I imagined that I would find _____.
(Child is to complete this sentence. Same procedure is followed for Questions 14, 15, and 18.)
14. I think that Fortalezans here are _____.
15. I think that Americans here are _____.
16. How do people get along in the school?
17. Do you have discussions in class about relations between people from different countries?

18. After school I like to _____.
19. What did you do after school yesterday? With whom?
20. What kinds of activities would you like to see the school plan for children and their families?
21. What kinds of class projects have you had to help you get to know Fortaleza?
22. Every school and community has groups of people who get together--stamp collectors, people who like to sew, swimmers, church groups, language speakers--and many others. Name all the different groups that you can think of in the school or in the community.
23. What groups do you belong to?
24. What do you like least about living in Fortaleza?
25. What do you like most about living in Fortaleza?
26. What do you like least about living in the United States?
27. What do you like most about living in the United States?

APPENDIX C

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

APPENDIX C

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

General

<u>Document Number</u>	<u>Description</u>
1.	Fact Sheet on Overseas Schools from Office of Overseas Schools
4. Packet	Workshop on Educational Goals, 1979
5. Pamphlet	Work of Partners of the Americas, 1979
6. Road & City maps	Miraflores and Fortaleza
7. Pamphlet	Annual Report of Delta Kappa Gamma Sorority, 1980
8 & 9. Packets	Tourist Information
10 & 11. Magazines	Miraflores English Publication, 1979
12. Brochure	Experimental School in Another City
13. Brochure	Miraflores Boys' Home, 1979
14. Book	Report of Volunteer Organization, 1974-78
15. Newspaper	Miraflores English Publication, 1979
16 & 19. Newsletters	The Explorers, 1979
20. Newsletters	The American Union, 1979
21. Newsletter	The Fellowship Church, 1979
22. Program	Miraflores Community Theatre
23. Packet	Toastmasters, 1979

Columbus School

<u>Document Number</u>	<u>Description</u>
3. Fact Sheet	Data from Office of Overseas Schools, 1979
24. Correspondence	A. Southern Association Visiting Committee, 1979 B. Credit for Professional Growth C. Accreditation Status D. Certification for Teachers E. Report of Visiting Committee, 1978 F. Report of Visiting Committee G. Evaluation and Suggestions, 1978 H. Consultant Visitation
25. Completed Forms	A. Overseas School Questionnaire, 1979 B. Breakdown of Students by Country and Other Statistical Information
25. Misc. Forms	A. Inservice Training Questionnaire B. Report Card, Grades 4-6 C. Pupil Progress Report D. Report Card: Grades 1-3 E. Teacher Application F. Answer Sheet G. Field Trip Guidelines H. Salary Schedule and Calculation Sheet
27. Correspondence	A. Consultation Visit, 1978 B. Curriculum Workshop, 1978
28. Manuals	A. Board, Parents, Administration, Faculty B. Faculty and Students C. Students, Curriculum, Scholarships, Construction
29. Handbooks	A. Teachers' Handbook B. Visa Procedures C. Teacher Workshop Packet and Schedule
30. Handbook	Student/Parent Handbook, 1979-80
31. Packets	A. School Objectives, 1979-80 B. School Calendar, 1979-80 C. Organizational Chart D. Budget, 1979-80 E. Salary Schedule
33. Publications	A. Directory B. Student Newspapers, 1979 C. Illustrated Brochure D. School-to-School Brochure
33. Packet	Parent Information for Registration
34. Bulletins	Daily Teacher Bulletins, October-December, 1979
35. Pamphlet	School Self-Assessment, 1974-75

Washington School

<u>Document Number</u>	<u>Description</u>
2. Fact Sheet	Data from Office of Overseas Schools, 1979
36. Books	Annual Reports for Each Year, 1968-77
37. Brochure	Introduction to School
38. Brochure	Development Program, 1975-79
39. Brochure	General Information, 1979
40. Pamphlets	Eleven Illustrated Pamphlets, Undated
41. Magazine	Student Literary Publication, 1978
42. Magazine	Student Literary Publication, 1978
43. Report	A. Self-Study, 1977 B. Evaluative Criteria
44. Notebook	Report of Self-Study, 1978
45. Completed Forms	Overseas Schools Questionnaire, 1979
46. Handbook	Board Policy
47. Lists	Student Enrollments
48. Correspondence	A. Bulletin for Teacher Applicants B. Letter to Prospective Teachers C. Application Form D. Salary Schedule E. Listing of Firms and Services F. School Calendar, 1979
49. Correspondence	A. Parent Group Concerns, 1978 B. Responses to Parent Concerns, 1978
50. Bulletins	A. Reminder to Parents B. Fund Raising C. Scholarship Committee D. Special Arts and Crafts Classes E. Chamber Music Concert F. International Night Information G. International Night Program
51. Packet	A. General Parent Information B. Enrollment and Reenrollment, 1979 C. Enrollment and Reenrollment, 1980 D. Student Information Form E. Information About Grading F. Chart of Grades G. Bus Schedule H. Agreement Between Parents & Association I. List of Teachers
52. Manuals	A. Manual for Elementary Students, 1980 B. Manual for Elementary Students, 1979 C. Teachers' Manual, Secondary, 1979
53. Handbook	Student Regulations, 1979
54. Catalogue	Secondary Section, 1979
55. Manual	Elementary Teachers, 1979

<u>Document Number</u>	<u>Description</u>
56. Bulletins	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. 1979 School Calendar B. Milk Service C. Calendar for January, English and Spanish D. February Calendar E. Calendar for March F. Special Bulletin, Dental Clinic G. Calendar for April H. Calendar for May I. Calendar for June J. Calendar for July K. Calendar for August L. Reenrollment for 1980 M. Calendar for September N. Program for Summer Vacation O. Calendar for October
57. Packet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Survey Data B. Teacher Suggestions C. New Teachers' Program D. Parent Organizations E. PTA Annual Report F. Curriculum Modifications G. Report Card and Evaluation Forms H. Parent-Teacher Conferences I. Marking Periods J. Teacher Evaluation K. Extracurricular Activities L. Holidays M. Field Trips N. Staff Turnover, 1979 O. Curriculum, Team Teaching P. Team Teaching Q. Curriculum Policy
58. Packet	New Teachers' Information (see page 106 for complete listing)

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