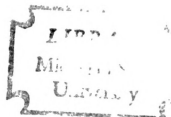






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## ABSTRACT

### TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS: A MULTIMETHOD STUDY OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATES OF FOREIGN STUDENTS

By

Susan M. Asch

This is a sociological study of networking; an examination of the on-going process of generating understandings and interpersonal relationships between foreign students and Americans, when they are brought together on an American university campus. It is also an exploration of the content of these understandings and relationships. This study was conducted on a Midwestern university campus during the period 1965-1972. The information on which the study was based came from three sources: 179 American students who were named by 180 foreign students as their "closest American student associates"; 40 American non-students who (a) were named by these 180 foreign students as "closest American associates," or (b) who were brought into contact with foreign students through their official positions (foreign student advisors, etc.); and a series of selective ethnographic studies of those sectors of campus life in which foreign students participated. The foreign students who named the Americans came, in equal numbers, from six areas: Western Europe, India/Pakistan, Nigeria, Latin America, Thailand, and Japan.

Theoretically, we were concerned with processual concepts. The concept of "network" emerged as the most useful explanatory-predictive tool available for our purposes. Another productive source of concepts was previous studies of regularized contact between persons of different nationalities and/or cultures. These studies had suggested a number of concepts, such as "oikoumene" and "third culture," which were particularly relevant to this process. Further, the studies of the sets of relationships and understandings which arise between persons in transnational contact situations constitute case studies of system-generation processes. For these reasons, we took as the basis for our research questions, that set of implicit hypotheses, documented in the exchange-of-persons literature, that constitute the rationale for many exchange programs.

These, put together with "network," suggested: Contacting → Interacting → Networking as the basic processual sequence we wished to investigate.

Thus, the operational research questions were:

1. If members of an American academic community and foreign students are brought into contact, will this lead to continuing professional-intellectual and/or "social" associations between a number of the Americans and the foreign students?
2. If a member of an American academic community comes to associate with a foreign student in that context, will he/she also come to associate with
  - (a) other Americans who associate with foreign students, and/or,
  - (b) other foreign students?  
(And will they come to associate with him/her?)
3. If a member of a given American academic community comes to associate at one time with a foreign student, and possibly other foreign students and foreign student



associates, will he/she continue to associate with these and other foreign student associates and foreign students in this university and/or in other university settings?

The theory pertaining to these questions was at several levels of refinement; therefore, a multimethod approach to the problem was designed. This approach consisted of (1) ethnographic studies of the campus situations and groups wherein foreign students were found; (2) an open-ended questionnaire study of the named American student associates of a selected "set of sets" of foreign students; and (3) a semi-structured interview study of American non-student associates of foreign students, collected with a "snowballing" technique.

Briefly, the findings indicate that foreign students on the American campus are probably involved in an early stage of transnationalization. However, for many of them, and their American associates, this may serve as a "sensitization" experience (making them receptive to becoming transnationals) rather than transnationalization itself.

People who appear most likely to become transnationals are adults who are established in their professional careers, who have stable family lives, and who have undergone a "sensitization" to foreign persons and places. They do not become true transnationals until they have (1) lived abroad, in a professional capacity, and (2) returned to their native land. Further, upon their return, they meet other people with similar experiences who recognize the returnees as transnationals, and welcome them to the "in-group." They then associate with other transnationals, and find it easy to establish

relationships with American and other transnationals, both in the U.S. and on subsequent trips abroad.

Two common contexts in which transnationals meet are (1) professional/academic situations, and (2) living proximity of the partners in the relationships, or the proximity of their families. Transnational relationships survive long separations in time and space of the participants, and still remain strong. The pattern of the relationships constitutes a network. Individuals feel differently about their experiences in networks than about those which they have in groups.

The study concludes with an outline of some practical implications of those findings for educational policymakers, and some suggestions for further research directions, including new methodological approaches to network research.

TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS: A MULTIMETHOD STUDY OF THE  
AMERICAN ASSOCIATES OF FOREIGN STUDENTS

By

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I am also indebted to Dr. Homer Higbee and the Office of the Dean of International Studies and Programs for the support that made possible the study of the transnationals. The supplies and services for the latter period of the quantitative analysis, as well as the final compilation and presentation of the results, were also provided through their assistance. Further, the personal and professional insights of the International Studies and Programs faculty and staff were invaluable in gaining an understanding of the concept of transnationality itself. For all this, and much more, I owe them (and particularly Dr. Higbee) warm and sincere thanks.

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## SECTION I

### THEORY

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## CHAPTER 1

### OVERVIEW

#### Introduction

The investigative focus of scientific sociology is clearly upon the principles underlying human behavior, particularly human behavior in groups. When a well defined set of positions becomes articulated through a predictable set of relationships, and when this structure is occupied by a group of humans for whom the relationships serve particular functions, we call this entity a social system. Surely it would seem that the first questions which would spring to the minds of researchers concerned with such systems would involve how such a set of "positions" develop and how they become articulated and occupied. However, this has been the case only in a limited sense. Our aim here will be to discern why this has occurred, and to discover and apply, in an investigatory manner, concepts appropriate to this purpose. We will venture this in an attempt to enhance, to at least a small degree, our understanding of human social systems.

#### The Problem of Analytical Level

A number of theories aimed at explaining the emergence of social systems on the grand social-process level, such as Barrington Moore's Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy (1966), C. E. Black's Dynamics of Modernization (1966); and Samuel Huntington's Political Order in Changing Societies (1968), have been set forth in



the past few decades. In general, the concern here is for economic and political states of particular groups within societies which seem to correlate with, be adaptive to, or even cause particular whole social-structural/functional states within the society. The substantive focus of these works has been, overwhelmingly, the modernizing nations of the world. The net result of this focus on the nation-state as the unit synonymous with the new social system formed, has been to locate the system-producing process at the institutional level of analysis for the bulk of culturally comparative work.

At the opposite end of the spectrum we find Heiderian (Heider, 1958) balance theory and its offshoot, coalition-formation theory, which, while it suggests how social-structural relationships or arrangements may be formed at the interpersonal interaction level, largely ignores the problems of social context and the social and cultural antecedents of the participants. This is primarily done by supplying an artificial ("controlled") type of the former and dismissing the latter, on the basis of a questionable application of the theory of randomization.\* Even the reflexivity of the model added by

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\*Many laboratory experiments in sociology are predicated on the notion that the effect of subject background will "average out" in the long run, if the sample from which the Ss come is a random one. Thus, this logic goes, the findings should reflect basic or universal laws of human nature or behavior, regardless of the cultural configuration of the society from which the Ss come. (These "cultural factors" account for the particular variations on the basic theme. The underlying assumption, of course, is that such a theme exists.) Without arguing for or against the existence of a general set of laws of human behavior, criticism may be leveled at this approach on a strictly methodological basis. Simply, the Ss populations from which the samples for most laboratory experiments are drawn are highly selective samples for most laboratory experiments as drawn are highly selective samples in and of themselves. All of the behavior of the residents

Theodore Mills (1954) does not compensate for the basic lack of social embeddedness of the relationship considered. Homans (1964) supplies a twist on this tradition; he takes the social context into account, but denies its separate reality and importance.

It seems obvious that some theories of social system emergence midway between these extreme are necessary if we are to explain and predict this phenomenon on an everyday-life level; on a less comprehensive and generalized level than within the grand historical panorama, and yet richer in social context than the psychological laboratory.

That is to say, the social contacts which form the basis for new social structures are neither carried out between massive entities called "classes" or "nations" or "cultures," nor between relative-strength ciphers in closely controlled, uniproblematic situations. Contact is originated between living, breathing people--people with a past, present, and future--living complex lives with multiple affiliations and facing simultaneously demanding problems. A theory of social system construction must grapple with the problem where it stands, neither "sliding off" entirely into social and personal economic, political, and demographic preconditions for structural

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of university towns and that of university students themselves undoubtedly exhibits certain culturally-based commonalities; therefore, these will never "factor out." The same may be said for the behavior of all U.S. residents. The questionableness of the randomization procedure, then, rests on the fact that these studies often propose to explain the behavior of a population ("all men") from observing the behavior of a random sample of a selected sample; a group of persons admittedly randomly drawn, but from the highly selected (in cultural terms) sample populations of, say, Ann Arbor, Cambridge, or New Haven.





formation, as Moore, or at the opposite extreme, Homans, has done, nor into studies of facilitating attitudinal emotional climates for such formation, as does Lerner in The Passing of Traditional Society (1958). An understanding of these latter factors, however, is crucial for retaining our perspective on the participants as embedded in a social context, and as being whole, integrated, and unique individuals, and not simply units of a class or nation, nor "random" collections of unreflexive person-concepts which are the indicators of the inter-relationships between the individual and the social system.

Quite possibly, a factor which has blocked the study of the full process of a social system formation has been the fact that it cannot be fully understood at any single level of analysis. It is a phenomenon which can and must be treated on many levels, as is indicated by the range of the literature. Integration of these, however, is a difficult task for well trained social scientists to perform, given that a major dictum within such fields is the necessity for keeping the levels of analysis clear (e.g., the classic example of this is, of course, that suicide rates should be explained by social-structural conditions such as "anomie" rather than by a set of individual reasons for suicide). Clarity of analytical level is often, somehow, equated with non-reflexivity of the social phenomena treated at each level. Attempts to integrate occurrences at several levels are often denounced as "over-socialized conceptions" or "reductionalism," as though demonstrating a relationship between the phenomena of one analytical level to those at another were tantamount to attributing ultimate causality to the phenomenon at one level, or denying the reality of the phenomena at other levels.



When speaking of socio-genetic explanations, the work of Peter Blau cannot be ignored. However, although Blau's theories are admittedly (a) concerned with the generative process, (b) pursued across several analytical levels, including that of the individual human relationship, and (c) neither reductionistic nor structurally/functionally imperativistic, they do tend strongly towards unidirectionality. That is, although each analytical level is seen as having a separate reality of its own, these realities are not treated as reflexive, but as steps in a process by which "smaller" units produce "larger" ones without the occurrence of the reverse process. Talcott Parsons has been criticized, correctly, I believe, by Walter Wallace (Wallace, 1969, pp. 36-44) as a "functional imperativist." This basically is the converse of the position of Blau, thus having the same logical faults (Blau, 1964).

If considered carefully, we can see that although actions must be initially carried out by individual human beings (societies do not act; their members do), the net effect of a number of persons acting together is not the sum of the individual actions, but a produced effect, which we may call an "interaction." Several interactions carried out together also produce a social entity which is not equal to the additive effects of its components. (This, of course, is Durkheim's point.) A social system, although quite "real," can be seen as the end-state of a series of levels of produced social entities. To consider its formation, we must confront this production process --thus, social system formation must be analyzed as a series of processes, each process a feature of the phenomena at its own level

of analysis. There have been a few rare studies which have dealt with social system emergency contextually and at the level of the human relationship. A. L. Kroeber throughout his works (see particularly Kroeber, 1945), and Gordon Hewes in "The Ecumene as a Civilization Multiplier System" (1945), have concentrated on the appearance of a particular historically relevant social systemic form--the "oikoumene"--as a function of trans-societal personal contact. However, the historiographic nature of their work makes it unsuitable for discerning the particular forms of personal contact made, and perforce concentrates primarily on description of the resultant system.

S. F. Nadel's The Theory of Social Structure (1957) is another of these uncommon works; at a highly abstract level, the author explains how people may "juggle sets of positions," thus interrelating networks and creating new ones, through the juxtaposition of hitherto separated social-structural niches. Further, he makes an especially interesting suggestion as to how positions juggle sets of people (to use mechanism as a strictly semantic convenience). Unfortunately, Nadel's work is couched entirely at the theoretical plane--perhaps, if had lived, this author would have indicated ways of implementing empirical investigation of his model. However, as it stands, it is an elegant sociological metaphor, but not a series of researchable propositions.

Finally, in a series of continuing works, John and Ruth Hill Useem (J. Useem, 1971, 1966; R. H. Useem, 1966; Useem and Useem, 1967, 1963, 1953) as well as several of their colleagues and students--Donoghue

(1963), Cottrell (1970), Restivo (1971, 1966), Vanderpool (1971, 1966), McCarthy (1972), Byrnes (1963), and Winter (1968), among others--have touched closely upon the problem at this level. So far, the systematic investigation has been concentrated upon "mapping out" the constellation of the social and personal conditions necessary for the creation of new, if abbreviated, social systems, as well as providing descriptions of a particular kind of new system. However, the continuing focus upon structures and functions at several analytic levels which clearly stand out as new and differentiable from the old has made these studies an invaluable source for deriving the set of systemic referents absolutely necessary to the proposed systematic exploration of the interpersonal process involved in social system formation.

#### The Problem of Analytical Type

A second analytic problem which has handicapped the study of social system formation is that the "process" of generating a social system has been confused with "function" in social systems, and "change" which takes place within established social systems. Although these are all non-static concepts, they should not be equated with one another.

This theoretical confusion stems in large part from the unexamined assumption of the early generations of leading American sociologists. These American scholars were profoundly influenced by the European intellectual community of the late 19th and early 20th century. The work of the European scholars was founded upon the observation of societies with massive traditional underpinnings



and highly structured social class arrangements, whose major processes were easily conceived of as being those of maintenance and transformation of basic forms, at both social and individual levels. As investigators they were themselves building upon the paradigms of previous scholars of the same societies, and making, therefore, the same implicit assumptions.

The social science evolved by these European scholars highly influenced the formation of American sociological theory. It was, understandably, highly structural in nature. Uniformly, it posited basic, and universally applicable, underlying forms of forces, the discovery of whose characteristics and functions were the first priorities of sociology. This often was carried through as structural/functional analysis of societies, communities, social groupings, and institutions. Others were concerned with the basic forms of human nature. The unidimensional polar-type continuum was a major conceptual tool at all analytical levels (Miner, 1952).

In this context, then, social processes were treated as consisting exclusively of either the maintenance of existing social forms or forces, or the transfiguration of one form into another. As Radcliffe-Brown (1952:4) rather neatly put it, as the summary to his own discussion of the social process, "In comparative sociology we have to deal theoretically with the continuity of, and with changes in, forms of social life." This maintenance process was conceptualized as "function"; the transfiguration process as "change." [Although Radcliffe-Brown himself does use the term "function" somewhat differently (1952:12), an identity of process and function is what is meant



by the "functionalist" school in general, which includes such influential scholars as Talcott Parsons (Meadows and Mizruch, 1967:7).]

Assuredly, both function and change should be viewed as processes--our difficulties, here, however, are with accepting (a) that these two "active components" of social systems should be considered the totality of social processes, or (b) that they may be conceived of entirely in terms of social forms.

Further, despite the inclusion of processually-oriented statements in their theoretical formats, the main concern of most investigators in the sociological-anthropological mainstream was the classification of all phenomena into the conceptual categories comprising their own explanatory schema (Sorokin, 1937-41). These conceptual categories were defined by a set of fixed loci on one or more dimensions; they were thus inherently static and non-processual. Even those researchers who, on a theoretical basis, were concerned with process in a way separate from structure, function, and change, seemed to slip into an equation of process with at least one of the three on an operational basis (Znaniecki, 1952:186-236; Loomis and Loomis, 1965:4-5). At the root of this tendency appears to lie the continued belief in the explicability of all social systems in terms of a comprehensible number of basic and universal social forms.

There were some early sociologists, on both sides of the Atlantic, such as Park at Chicago, who analytically and empirically explored the process of emergence of new kinds of human communities, and their culturally related values and behaviors. However, the processual component of their theoretical focus, as such, had

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relatively little impact on the development of American sociological work in the subsequent generations.

The central barriers, then, to the study of the process of social system generation have been twofold. First, the usage of the term "process" in the most influential works in the field (as identified with "change" and/or "function") define process in terms of structural outcomes, rather than inherent characteristics and properties. In other words, the study of "change" and "function" has been dealt with as a question of what social forms are produced or maintained under particular circumstances, rather than how these are produced or maintained. It is possible that the advent of "variable" analysis, reinforced by the climate of objectivism in modern science and the availability of machine-handling for data, has served to strengthen this static-structuralist approach in recent years.

Secondly, both of these concepts imply the prior existence of the social forms, or at least the patterns for them, with which they are concerned. Therefore, by definition, students of these processes have excluded the process of social system generation from their investigatory purview. In sum, the equation of process with structurally defined functions and/or change, concomitant with the assumption that all social phenomena are variations on a finite and static set of discoverable themes, has militated against the investigation of the process of social system generation. This has been true for several generations of American sociologists, even when these scholars were confronted by the tremendous societal variations of the past 100 years.

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This is where the research mentioned above has been invaluable; the substantive focus of these studies has been, from Kroeber on, the new social systems which evolve during continued trans-societal interaction. Theoretically, these social systems have also presented the interesting problem of being, usually, transcultural--that is, not only have new such arrangements of social positions arisen, but these were, in a sense, built "from scratch," inasmuch as the participants did not share the same conceptual model of what constituted a social system. This necessitated either the construction of a new set of cultural agreements among the participants or the juxtaposition of two or more non-coincidental social systems, the latter of which alternatives would not allow the day-to-day relationships of the participants to be smoothly articulated.

Although these new sets of cultural agreements were once the basis and the hallmark of transnational interactions, the conceptualization of such third cultures, or "third societies" in Spicer's terms (Spicer, 1961), may be seen to have new relevance in the post-modern world. When traditional cultures of even a generation's duration can no longer provide the pool from which participants in interactions can draw patterns for their behavior; when social structures are in great flux and their ability to bind together the behavioral norms and expectations for their positions is transient; when the ways of acting and feeling towards other people are no longer known or fixed from encounter to encounter; then the everyday lives of all persons may be seen as a process of building "third societies" and "third cultures" and "third selves," of continually reworking the

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structure of their relationships to other persons, and reassessing their understanding of these relationships. In this way, the post-modern world may be seen as a vast and ever changing series of "third systems" and "third processes."

The yet exploratory nature of the study of "process" in even these transnational investigations illuminates the way in which the historical development of sociological methodology has forced systematic investigations into more static structural/functional terms. The research emphasis on the established form and content of society may also be attributed to the lack of substantive definitions and indicators of what constitutes "process" in social relationships. Thus, an inescapable consequence of our theoretical concern for the study of "process" must be a methodological concern for the development of substantive indicators and measures.

This is not to say that there are no methodological tools for the investigation of "process"--the in-depth interview, participant observation, and deductions-from-series studies have all yielded data basically processual in nature. However, as Boulding notes in "The Emerging Supraculture" (1969), non-static concepts are inordinately difficult to express in English. This, possibly more than any other factor, has apparently led to the presentation of the findings of processual studies solely at a descriptive level. That is, semantics have militated against the refinements of these data into theoretically articulatable concepts. Therefore, the construction and/or discovery of processual concepts which both admit of practical methods of investigation and are organizable into frameworks of theoretical relevance must be our first concern.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE EXCHANGE-OF-PERSONS LITERATURE: TRANS-SOCIETAL CONTACT AS A CONTEXT FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEM CONSTRUCTION

As we have stated, one of the primary problems connected with research which deals with the process of social system creation is finding an appropriate substantive context. That is, we must find a research field in which social systems are routinely being created, if we are to study the creation process.

Heretofore, such contexts have largely been found naturally only in trans-societal contact situations--situations of continued personal contact between members of different societies. Although such situations are clearly found in diplomacy, business, religion, and other social-institutional settings, the field which has been the major site of the trans-societal contact research has been the educational setting. Within the population of the educational institution, the student sub-population has been the most thoroughly investigated.

These are several practical reasons that research has concentrated on this sub-population. First, in terms of sheer numbers, there are usually enough "foreign students" (that is, clearly identifiable members of other societies) on a large campus to form a sampling population of respectable size. Secondly, lists of "foreign students" are usually kept by some "office" or organization connected



with the educational institution. (Thus, they can be easily found to study.)

For a select set of studies (Judy, 1967; Borck, 1966; Asch, 1968; Terry, 1969) a prime criterion was that "foreign students" are often forced into situations of intensive contact with Americans by the nature of the American dormitory-residence and classroom systems. Therefore, the chances that social interaction patterns of some kind will develop, in an observable time period, are maximized for this population.

Further, foreign students are less likely to already be members of some on-going transnational set of interpersonal interactions. Therefore, they will be involved in social system construction, rather than maintenance. Foreign faculty members are often recruited precisely because they are members of such an interaction set--they frequently come, for example, to collaborate with a colleague. In short, "foreign" or "exchange" student populations are often those sampled in studies of transnational contact because they are easily accessible, and highly likely to be engaged in the process to be studied--social systems creation. Finally, students in general are an accessible and fairly cooperative population--they will fill out questionnaires, come to interviews, submit to tests, whether in the name of science (and curiosity) or for relatively little money.

Conversely, not all researchers using "foreign students" as their subject population concern themselves with the process of social system formation; Selltitz et al. (1963), for example, treat social system formation as a given or independent variable, while

investigating attitude formation as the dependent. The same is true of Morris (1960) and many other studies of this period, reflecting probably the concern for the national "image" which emerged in the United States immediately after World War II.

That is, a large number of previous studies on educational exchange are primarily concerned with determining the factors which contribute to a positive view of a host country (especially the United States) on the part of foreign nationals. The type of host national social systems participated in by the foreign national is one such factor considered in these studies. (Also see Selltitz and Cook, 1962; Watson and Lippitt, 1955; Sewell and Davidson, 1961; Beals and Humphrey, 1957; Coelho, 1958; Bennett et al., 1958; Gullahorn and Gullahorn, 1963; Kelman, 1962; Klineberg, 1965; DuBois, 1953, 1962; Lesser and Peter, 1957.)

Klineberg and Breitenbach (both in Eide, 1970) have both reviewed the literature to date; Breitenbach provides an excellent comprehensive bibliography. The consensus of opinion is that nearly the entire thrust of the non-demographic research on international exchange of persons has focused on the effects on the exchangees as separate personality/attitudinal systems, or on the effects on their individual change-oriented actions upon their return to their place of origin. (Even DuBois, 1953, 1962, is speaking of individuals when she focused on "culture learning.") The studies by Barakat, Nassefat, and Kuppuswamy in the latest Peace Research Monograph (Eide, 1970) based on current UNESCO data are no exception in this regard, nor are the still newer studies of Ibrahim (1971) and Greenblat (1971).

Although these studies do not contribute directly to the understanding of the social system formation process, their research tends to confirm the existence of special sets of attitudes and beliefs which arise between the participants in trans-societal contact situations. If attitudes are regarded as entirely individual properties, these findings would not be useful in approaching the problem of social system generation. If, however, attitudes are also regarded as potential group properties, then these findings become most significant.

We have, of course, already established our position on this, at least implicitly: we believe that no characteristic developed post-natally can be wholly individual, but that these are always the products of an individual's past, present, and potential associations and interactions. Therefore, when sets of behavioral, cognitive/affective, and/or physical characteristics are shared with a set of proximate others who mutually recognized one another as members of a group, and when these characteristics are found as whole sets consistently and exclusively in the context of association with these others, we say that these characteristics are group properties. That is, we expect all individuals acting as members of this group, and no others, to evince this particular whole set of behavioral characteristics.

Taking this stance, we may first suggest that an on-going set of shared characteristics is indicative of the potential existence of an on-going group, membership in which may either lead to, or be determined on the basis of, this shared attitudinal set. Secondly, if

certain consistent shared characteristic patterns lead us to suppose that a group "carrying" these patterns is present, then we might also reasonably suggest that the pre-existing characteristics or conditions which seem to be associated with possession of these traits may also be associated with membership in the group "carrying" such traits.

In brief, where we see such a set of common characteristics, we may reasonably look for a group whose members are the characteristic-sharers (or some social-level entity in which the set of characteristic-sharers are jointly involved). Thus, although many researchers in this field have concentrated on attitude formation, individual learning processes, and personality change, they may have also provided useful indicators that the process of social system formation we wish to study is also taking place.

Another identifying characteristic of these studies is that they concentrate almost entirely upon one side of the interaction actually under investigation; that is, upon the "foreign student." They, by and large, do not mention the most nationals from whom the learning, formal or informal, is done; that is, the effectors of the effects upon the foreign nationals. That is, of course, very much in line with the United States' and United Nations' concerns for "modernization" of the nations from which many of these foreign nationals came, during, roughly, the twenty years following the Second World War (Harbison and Myers, 1964). An important exception to this is the study by Shaffer and Dowling (1966) of the American friends of foreign students on the Indiana campus. However, this

study also concentrates primarily on the personal (individual-level) characteristics and attitudes of the American students, and there is little or no suggestion that the American students might constitute a social system of any kind.

The later works of the Useems (Useem and Useem, 1963, 1967; J. Useem, 1971) and the body of theses and dissertations associated with these studies stand out in the exchange-of-persons research in sharp contradistinction to the others, in that their focus is explicitly macrological. They are concerned with the ways in which whole complexes of understandings of the world and behavior patterns arise during trans-societal contact (that is, contacts between persons of different societal origins and permanent affiliations). There is, moreover, an explicitly stated supposition that these patterns of understandings and behaviors are the properties of particular semi-groups, and that the occurrence and structure of these are potentially predictable (Useem, Useem, and Donoghue, 1963; Spicer, 1961).

The Useems term this set of behaviors-and-understandings which arises between foreign and host nationals, and which is particular to this type of interaction, a "third culture."\* The sets of understandings-and-behaviors specific to particular interactions between members of two different societies, they term a "binational third culture." (Spicer, as we have noted, speaks of "third societies.")

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\*They define a particular segment of the "world-encompassing third culture" as "the binational third culture," which they further define as "the complex of patterns learned and shared by communities of men stemming from both a Western and a non-Western society who regularly interact as they relate their societies, or sections thereof, in the physical setting of a non-Western society" (Useem, Useem, and Donoghue, 1963:3).

[illegible]

The group which carries this "binational third culture" is thus a "binational group" (Useem, Useem and Donoghue, 1963:13); the whole "third culture" may therefore be said to be carried by a cluster of such "binational groups." They distinguish between functional and locality-bound binational groups, and note the existence of other societal members who have the potential, due to the possession of the appropriate complex of attitudes, of belonging to such binational groups. [It is this series of distinctions which clearly relates their work to the main body of network theory (Useem, Useem and Donoghue, 1963:1315).]

Perhaps the only shortcoming in these studies, for our purposes, is that no concept has been developed to describe the whole set of people who are the carriers of the "third culture," this set that forms the "cluster of binational groups" mentioned above. They have, however, provided an unmistakably "social-level" concept ("third culture") which expresses the notion of a functioning complex of attitudes, personality traits, and behaviors (any of which might, singly, be construed to be an individual-level characteristic).

If we bear in mind the past history of exchange-of-persons research, the development of this macro-level concept may be seen to be exceptionally important, inasmuch as it represents a clear break with the preceding (and concurrent) psychologistic tradition. It is the recognition of social-level process in these few studies that relates the entire exchange-of-persons literature directly to the problem posed here, as well as to the greater body of sociological and anthropological theory.

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It is, therefore, not surprising that this particular set of studies has had a great deal of influence both here and elsewhere (Breitenbach, in Eide, 1970:90-91). The combination of (1) the emphasis upon the emergence of "something new" during trans-societal contact and (2) the insistence that this new entity be viewed macro-logically (in conjunction with the explicit conceptualization of the new form as the "third culture") constitutes a unique germinal contribution to the field, upon which we will here capitalize.

In sum, the exchange-of-persons literature has given us a picture of the type of individual who becomes involved in trans-societal contacts, the sorts of "personality" and attitudinal changes he may undergo during the course of the contact, and the later consequences of such personal and attitudinal change. It also suggests that these preconditions and changes occur in discernible patterns, and a rather small literature further suggests that these patterns are not simply rearrangements of pre-existing individual complexes, but are new social-level phenomena. This same literature goes on to point out that these new social attitudinal and member-characteristic patterns are carried by coherent sets of persons, which they describe, and term "groups" or "societies." Taken as a whole, the exchange-of-persons literature has thus provided us with evidence which indicates that the process we wish to study, social system formation, may be observed in this substantive context, while it further suggests at least one major organizing concept which may be used for this purpose.

## SUMMARY

So far, we have said that the process of constructing social systems needs to be investigated at <sup>levels of process</sup> ~~a series of levels of analysis~~, concentrating particularly on the level of reflexivity of person and society. "Reflexivity" in this context refers to the back-and-forth processes by which individuals become and affect social-level entities; and by which these entities affect and are separated into, individuals. Typical phenomena of this level of analysis are "interpersonal interaction," "reference group behavior," and "socialization." However, as we have noted (page 5), these are usually studied as entirely separate phenomena, rather than as the processes relating particular social forms; and conversely.

Further, we must provide for consideration of the particular social context of the human lives concerned in any specific application of our investigative schema. The process of generating social systems must be clearly differentiated from other non-static concepts used to describe similar social phenomena, and methodologically feasible and theoretically articulatable indicators of this process must be developed. We noted that the particularly crucial set of studies for this theoretical problem have concentrated on a particular substantive field (trans-societal contact, primarily in educational institutions) for basically pragmatic reasons. Finally, we suggested that the fading applicability of these reasons indicates a new and broader expanse of social phenomena for which this theoretical approach may have great salience.

## CHAPTER 3

### RESEARCH DIRECTIONS: CONCEPTS

The first problem of this set that we must confront is this: in exploring the process of constructing social systems, what should be the lines of our design for entering the field? That is, what are our proposed processual concepts for research, and what are the relationships among them?

One set of research guidelines might be derived by questioning the assumptions concerning the socio-genetic process made in the previous studies (especially J. Useem, 1971; Useem and Useem, 1967, 1963, 1953) when delineating the succession of stages which occur when trans-societal human communities arise. These assumptions basically are (1) that continuing trans-societal contact between individuals will lead to on-going multi-level interactions between these individuals, and (2) that a cluster of on-going multi-level trans-societal interactions will (a) become a trans-societal community, (b) involving a set of common shared understandings, or a "third culture," as well as a set of cross-links between individuals.

These assumptions represent the connections viewed as those necessarily made between originally separate social and personal systems if they are to be merged into a coherent, functioning whole; in other words, "if an individual is to be fitted into a given social system, so that it shares in structuring his life pattern, while it

is in turn affected by his behavioral-attitudinal input. The suggestion is that such particular personality systems, or individuals, are integrated or built into groups, which occupy certain social systems through the process of "interaction." However, viewed in another light, these concepts might be seen as indicating a succession of systems: the individuals, the multi-level interaction, and the integrated social entity. There are probably two reasons why these systems have been seen as constituting a "natural progression," without the process of the progression being known. First, in working backwards from existing transnational networks, it logically appears that this was the process by which these had been formed (Kroeber, 1945). Secondly, on a practicum level, this has formed a useful rationale for the setting up of various exchange programs as well as for the maintenance of various sub-programs within such exchange plans (U.S. Advisory Commission on International Exchange, 1963, 1964; Klineberg, 1970). In regard to this, the reasoning is that if individuals in contact can be expected to form multi-level interactions, and thus a trans-societal community, then contact may and must be facilitated. The organizing rationale for many of the programs themselves, particularly those based in America, is that (a) such trans-societal communities will be formed under these conditions of contact, and (b) not under others, and (c) that such communities will facilitate the transnational flow of useful information, and finally, (d) that international harmony will be increased as transnational personal bonds and sharing of common interests increases. Although we will not necessarily be investigating the latter two propositions, they have traditionally supplied the value

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imperative\* which has indicated the desirability for previous social science investigations, of regarding this succession of social phenomena as a "natural progression" in the generation of trans-societal communities. In short, both deductive logic and the "one-world" ethos have contributed to the construction and support of the assumptions which have linked these social systemic situations together. It is precisely the validity of these assumptions which we wish to investigate here.

As a means of isolating the processual concepts we wish to investigate, let us briefly review the systemic concepts, from the implications of the on-going nature and relatedness of which, the processes are drawn.

#### Contacting and Interacting

First, the notion of "individual": although never a main concern of sociology, this has generally been regarded as a biotic unit possessed of a personality system, which in someways reflects idiosyncratic attributes, and, in others, the structural/functional makeup of the society in which the person has been socialized and/or of pan-human characteristics. At any rate, our particular interest will only be in the results of the proximity of the biotic units upon the possibility of intersection of the personality systems carried by these units; that is, the effects of contact on the development of

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\*Again, I wish to emphasize that this is a particularly American approach to the exchange program--it is obviously in accord with the prevailing cultural values of the importance of personal contact and individual efficacy (see D. Lee, 1959).

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new interpersonal systems. The proximizing process will be referred to as "contacting"--"interacting" will refer to the process of reflexive affecting of each personality set by the other.

The use of "interacting" rather than "interaction" is a deliberate attempt to avoid a flaw in logic of a type common among sociologists (Wrong, 1961). This particular error occurs when an intermediate state (in this case, "interaction") is posed as an explanation of movement between two other states ("individual" and "social system"), rather than a direction of movement. The term "interaction" itself may refer to an entire state of affairs in which personality structures intersect, reflexively affecting each other, and in so doing produce a social entity which is more than the sum of each individual set of personality structures. This latter entity alone, however, is what is often referred to as "the interaction." Some specific examples of interaction-as-an-entity might be a marriage, a piano and cello duet, or a fist fight. In this study, we will refer to the first way of conceptualizing interaction as "the interaction situation," and reserve the second meaning (again, interaction-as-entity) for our use of "interaction." The process occurring in the interaction situation (and therefore, in the interaction), we will refer to as "interacting."

### Networking

The third-level concept we have so far designated rather amor-  
phously as a "social entity" or "social system"; we have sometimes referred to it as a "community" or "group." This profusion of terms reflects an underlying vagueness and confusion in much of the



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literature describing both the international scene and the post-modern world (Toffler, 1970; Slater, 1970).

The problems seem to lie in the nature of the entity formed by the adjacent and interlocking interactions of sets of contactants in trans-societal contact situations. This entity cannot be described accurately as either an aggregate or a collectivity (in Parsonian terms), but appears to fall somewhere between the two. The participants in the entity usually do not share even one common characteristic; nevertheless, they seem to cohere and to have some sense of self-identity as a set. The Useems (Useem and Useem, 1967, 1963, 1953; R. H. Useem, 1966; J. Useem, 1971, 1966) and others have clearly documented the fact that a set of common understandings and shared behavior patterns which have been termed "third culture" arise in such sets of interactants.

It is the very development of such understandings and patterns which constitutes the clearest evidence for the existence of some social-level entity. This sense of identity, however, is not quite the "we-feeling" of the Gemeinschaft "community"; in fact, there is no clear-cut and mutually agreed-upon way through shared characteristic, attitude, or behavior, to identify members of this particular entity (or to distinguish them from members of other such entities). It is, in some ways, an easier task to distinguish those persons who are not members of the set or entity, than to clearly delineate the set of those who are. It is, in this sense, quite possible to establish the parameters of potentials, for membership at one point in the set, once the nature of the entity is understood.

Conceptually, the difficulty is that: it is apparently not possible to establish boundary conditions for social forms of this type, although they do exist as separate and identifiable phenomena, or as "social-level realities," in Durkheim's terms. They are neither collections of unrelated, wholly autonomous individuals, nor are they truly "groups," with well-defined qualifications for membership and a collective consciousness. Mayer (A. Mayer, 1966b) has called them "quasi-groups"; and Boissevain (1968), "non-groups." A more positive term, and one with more explanatory power which has been used to cover such social contingencies, is "network";-for these reasons, it is this concept we intend to introduce here.

"Network" has been a richly treated concept in several disparate literatures, possibly reflecting the variety of situations in which such ~~boundary-less social entities~~ are found. One of the earlier literatures in which the concept appears widely is that of formal organizations, where it is used to describe informal organizations(s) within formal structures (Jacobson and Seashore, 1951; Weiss and Jacobson, 1955; Evan, 1966; Weiss, 1956; Richards, 1971; Schwartz, 1968; Katz, 1966). It has also been widely used in the communications literature (see Eisenstadt, 1953), and especially in the diffusion-of-innovations literature (for the classic work in this area see Rogers, 1962, and for a current review, Brown, 1968).

The notion of the network is probably most central in the literature of the social anthropology of urbanism and political organization in developing areas, and it is in this body of work that the conceptual framework has been most extensively utilized and

elaborated upon. [See particularly A. Mayer, 1962, 1966a, 1966b; Cohn and Marriott, 1958; Mitchell, 1966, 1968; Whitten, 1968, 1970; Epstein, 1961; Goode, 1960; Gutkind, 1965a, 1965b; Jay, 1964; Srinivas and Beteille, 1964; P. Mayer, 1964; Wolfe, 1970; also see the papers of a symposium on networks in the *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, Aronson (ed.), 1970.]

The literature surrounding urban family structure has also contributed heavily to the conceptualizations of network; if Barnes (J. A. Barnes, 1968, 1964, 1954) is the forefather of the social anthropological school of network scholars, Bott (1957) is the intellectual ancestor of this. (Although the volume of this literature is immense, see especially Young and Willmott, 1960, 1957; Aldous and Strauss, 1966; Babchuk, 1965; Bell and Boat, 1957; Laumann, 1972; Mercer, 1967; Litwak, 1960a, 1960b; Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969; Nelson, 1966; Reiss, 1962; Turner, 1967; and Udry and Hall, 1965, 1966.)

The network approach has further been utilized by many students of community power, of urban neighborhoods and of urban voluntary organizations, although in work of this bent, network is seldom discussed, or even defined, on a theoretical level. (For example, see Aiken and Oxford, 1970; Axelrod, 1959; Dotsin, 1951; Breton, 1964; Caplow and Forman, 1950; Greer, 1956; Greer and Kube, 1959; Hannerz, 1968; Lee, 1968; Miller, 1958; Perrucci and Pilisink, 1970; Smith, Form, and Stone, 1954; Sower, 1957; and Tilly, 1969.)

Demographers (Kofeed, 1970), geographers (for a summary, see Haggett, 1969), and sociometrists (see Simmel, 1964; Katz, 1947;

Ranio, 1965; Anderson, 1969; Travers and Milgram, 1969) have traditionally dealt in theoretical frameworks which, if not in all cases specifically "network" conceptualizations, have been its close cousins. Demography-geography, interestingly enough in light of its disciplinary "distance" from sociometry, has borrowed heavily from it for explanations of intra-regional affiliation and inter-regional migration patterns (Feldman and Tilly, 1960; Hagerstrand, 1966; Moore, 1970; Morrill and Pitts, 1967; Wheeler and Stutz, 1971; David Jacobson, 1970; Anderson, 1969; Cox, 1969). Sociometrists themselves have been particularly concerned with the analysis of friendship and acquaintanceship processes using network concepts (Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1954; Foster, 1961; Sutcliffe and Crabbe, 1963; Newcombe, 1961; Gullahorn, 1952; Byrne and Buehler, 1955; Boulton and Janson, 1955; Babchuk and Bates, 1963; Babchuk, 1965; Albert and Brigante, 1962).

Two relatively new trends in the network literature are a set of writings on networks qua networks (Jay, 1964; Adams, 1967; Aronson, 1970; Barnes, 1964; L. W. Crissman, 1969; A. Mayer, 1966a, 1966b; Nadel, 1957; Stebbins, 1969; Wolfe, 1970; Boissevain, 1968; Whitten and Wolfe, 1973; Plotnicov, 1962; Ramsay, 1962; Southall, 1959), and the use of "network" as an explanatory-descriptive concept in the "sociology of knowledge," especially inasmuch as this latter treats of "schools of thought" and the diffusion of ideas (PSIEP, 1969; Price, 1965; Kadushin, 1966; Sheldon, 1973; Crane, 1965, 1969, 1972; Hagens and Hagstrom, 1967; Hagstrom, 1965; Glaser, 1964).

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Nevertheless, "network" and its related terms have not become a part of the common parlance of sociologists, in contradistinction to the terms "individual" and "interaction." Aronson (1970:221) suggests that the usage of "network" as an organizing and explanatory concept is gaining in popularity due to three recent trends in the social sciences:

- a. A concern with types of social behavior which can not be aggregated, in analyses of groups and institutions;
- b. A greater attention to relationships between individuals and groups in one scale unit of political or economic activity, and those in another;
- c. A movement towards analysis of elements of social process, and away from (or beyond) structural description.

These three trends, which Aronson discerns particularly in the general literature of social anthropology and sociology, closely parallel the concerns expressed here for (1) concepts and methodologies dependent on central tendencies rather than boundary conditions; (2) the reflexivity of social units of different analytic levels; and (3) social process. Inasmuch as "network" emphasizes foci rather than boundaries, reflexivity and process rather than structure, it would seem well chosen as the central concept in our own investigative framework.

The classic definition of network comes from J. A. Barnes' germinal study, "Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish," published in 1954, although Radcliffe-Brown (1952) mentions the concept in an earlier work.

Barnes (J. A. Barnes, 1954:43) defines "network" in this way:

The image I have is of a set of points some of which are joined by lines. The points of the image are people, or sometimes groups, and the lines indicate which people interact with each other. We can, of course, think of the whole of social life as generating a network of this sort. . . . A network of this kind has no external boundary, nor has it any clear-cut internal divisions, for each person sees himself at the centre of a collection of friends. Certainly there are clusters of people who are more closely knit together than others, but in general the limits of these clusters are vague.

Bott (1957), in what is certainly the next most cited reference in the network literatures, Family and Social Network, re-emphasizes and enlarges upon Barnes' distinction between closely-knit and loosely-knit networks. These latter concepts refer to the degree of interconnectedness of the associates of a given individual. Later work has clearly shown that closely-knit networks are usually found in conjunction with substantially differing social-structural conditions than loosely-knit (see particularly Laumann, 1972). The most frequently mentioned conditions are the degree to which the relationships in the network are many-pronged (Chrisman, 1970; A. Mayer, 1966b); the nature of the primary dimensions along which the constituent relation are formed (Crane, 1972; Chrisman, 1970; Kadushin, 1966, 1968); the nature of the components which are linked (Richards, 1971; Anderson, 1969; Mitchell, 1966, 1968; Stebbins, 1969); and the ability of the relationship to be deactivated without loss of potency (Chrisman, 1970; Wolfe, 1970; Mitchell, 1966; Stebbins, 1969; A. Mayer, 1966b). We will summarize the effects of these shortly.



Before elaborating our description of networks further, we should note that occasionally (and particularly when the interrelated points are not people, but organizations, communities, or other large groups of people) a network is not defined with reference to a specific person. It is treated, under these conditions, wholly as a social-level phenomenon, definable by a boundary condition, such as the limits of the formal organization itself. This treatment of any network type would seem to negate two of the most useful qualities of the network concept: the implied interrelationship between the "individual" and "social" levels of analyses, and the ability to define sets of people without specifying boundary conditions, especially as these latter may not be present in every situation. Therefore, we will concentrate entirely, here, on person-centered networks.

A third contribution to the set of constructs surrounding the focal concept of network, is the complex of notions designated variously as the "arena of interaction" (Chrisman, 1970) and the "action set" (A. Mayer, 1966a). The "arena of interaction" refers to an institutionalized setting in which the network participants may occupy adjacent roles, and thus become potential interactants. An "action set" is composed of individuals who are linked together in carrying out some specific activity. When the set of people becomes regularized (the likelihood of which would be increased, although not assured, by the institutionalization of the activity), Mayer (A. Mayer, 1966b) then refers to this set as a "quasi-group."

These two interlocking concepts will be particularly useful in explicating the "networking" process with which we are concerned.

Both are ways of specifying the content of the network linkages, the former by observing the context in which linkages between the interactants (potential, actual, or dormant) are embedded, and the latter by observing the actions (or investigating the motivations) of the participants themselves. The primary disadvantage connected with the notion of the arena is that it tends to infer the content of a particular linkage from the expected content of a set of similar linkages (that is, from the content and parameters of the role-set occupied). "Action set," on the other hand, while referring to the specific behavior of a particular set of individuals, and thus increasing the precision with which the contents of the linkages are inferred, ordinarily cannot be used to account for non-activated network components, such as potential or dormant linkages.

A "potential" linkage, as we will define it here, is a bond which may be formed in the future, due to the existence, or the anticipated existence, of an occupied adjacent position in an arena of interaction, in which arena the focal individual participates, or anticipates participating. A "dormant" linkage is a bond which has been formed in the past, and is not being acted-out in the present, although still having the potential to be readily activated in the future.

If, for instance, as Stebbins (1969:7) suggests, networks are used to construct decision-making models, network components which are not immediately obvious (not being acted out at a particular time) may still be crucial to reliable explanation and prediction. As an example, let us consider a male college student choosing a spouse (making an important decision). He will probably reflect on whether his family (with whom he

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has a dormant set of linkages) and his future employer and/or colleagues (a potential set of linkages) will also be able to engage in harmonious interaction with the chosen individual.

Inasmuch as "arenas of interaction" are settings, while "action sets" are people, we may perhaps refer to action sets within arenas of interaction. In addition, we will take further liberties with Mayer's term and speak of "potential action sets" and "dormant action sets," to refer to sets of individuals in arenas of interaction with whom the linkages of the central person are, respectively, potential or dormant.

"Action set" also has an intended connotation of goal-directedness; that is, the set of people in question have consciously established their relationships in order to achieve a specific goal. These overtones of goal-orientation need not detract from the usefulness of the concept in situations which are basically non-task oriented, if we interpret the concept "goal" broadly enough. As Vinacke (Uesugi and Vinacke, 1963) has shown in his study of coalition formation within girls' groups, it is possible for participation in a group with a particular prevailing affective state (i.e., interpersonal harmony) to be the shared goal of the participants--the same may well be true for participation in an action set.

With these dimensions in mind, and upon examination of a number of the various data fields and methodologies, as well as the respective analyses and theories, of the existing studies which utilize network as a major concept, a central typology becomes clear. Networks may be seen to be one of three types, which types may possibly constitute a continuum. The three roughly correspond to the original

Barnes-Bott notions of closely-knit and loosely-knit networks with a mixed-mode type interposed between the two.

(a) The first type, the closely-knit network, called a "tightly-knit" network by Stebbins (1969), a "local network segment" by Whitten (1970), a "locality-bound binational group" (in a particular trans-societal context) by the Useems and Donoghue (1963), a "clique" by Adrian Mayer (1966b), and an "interlocking" network by Laumann (1972), is generally agreed to be definable as a highly interrelated set of points all related to a specific central individual.

Aside from the distinguishing characteristic of the density of the relationships among the focal individuals' associates, certain other features, corresponding to the social conditions also usually characterize the relationships in closely-knit networks. First, these relationships are liable to be "many-stranded" or "many-pronged." This means that the relationships between the person viewed as the network nexus, and his associates, are each based on mutual participation in several different action sets, which may be dormant, activated, or even potential. Another way of putting this is to say that many-pronged relationships are those which occur when the same personnel occupy adjacent positions and are interactants in more than one arena.

For example, if a man is on the same bowling team as his brother-in-law, the relationship may be said to be "many-stranded," in that these two men may interact in two "arenas" of social activity--kinship-based functions and the bowling team. If they also work together, and/or belong to the same voluntary service organization,

the relationship may be embellished by the strands or bonds drawn from these arenas as well.

It is a further "structural" characteristic of closely-knit networks that not only the relationships between the focal person and his associates are built on many bonds, but that the relationship among the associates are also multistranded (Lauman, 1972; Chrisman, 1970).

Turning to the content of the linkages, or alternatively, the context (Chrisman, 1970), it would appear that linkages in closely-knit networks are more likely to be affective than instrumental (Chrisman, 1970; Laumann, 1972) in content. That is, although each linkage is made up of many strands (in such a network), either more of the strands will be based on affective bonds, or the most important of the strands will have an affective base. By "affective bonds," we mean continuing relationships between individuals based on their emotional feelings for one another and/or for the relationship; we also imply the absence of a specific shared task whose objective is anything other than the furtherance of the relationship. In both cases, we may say that the linkage is more heavily weighted on the side of affectivity. In situational terms, this means that the bonds upon which the linkages in a closely-knit network are most often based tend to be drawn from the kinship and social-recreational arenas. This distinction might also be viewed as that between ascribed and achieved bond sets.

Finally, closely-knit networks are characterized by the active quality of their linkages; apparently the maintenance of such a network demands the continuing social and geographical proximity of the

participants. We shall refer to this quality of the linkage as its "immediacy"; an "immediacy" level thus constitutes the degree to which the linked individuals in a given network must be in immediate proximity.

More substantively, both Laumann (1972) and Bott (1957) have noted that members of networks of this type tend to be highly homogeneous on a variety of dimensions. They are likely to be working-class individuals who live in neighborhoods which are socially (ethnically, religiously, occupationally, politically, and economically) homogeneous. (The crucial dimensions of social homogeneity may vary from culture to culture.) Kin form a high proportion of the linked participants. Bott found this latter was particularly the case for women (1957); Laumann's (1972) study was confined to males. Mitchell (1966) also documents this kind centeredness of networks in African urban systems, inasmuch as tribesmen may act as surrogate kinsmen in ethnically mixed areas.

We might hypothesize a negative relationship between this constellation of substantive characteristics and relatively high rates of social and physical mobility, thus explaining the lack of diffusion of the interpersonal linkages in this sector of the population. However, this connection is not one that can be readily investigated in the present study, so it must remain speculative at this time.

In many ways, it would seem that a closely-knit network resembles a group. However, upon closer examination, we see that, although a group may well be one type of closely-knit network, the concepts are not at all synonymous. A group has a boundary; a network, no matter how closely knit, does not.

Another way of putting this would be to say that the actual points making up the set in the closely-knit network of any given individual may differ from the points in the closely-knit network of another individual in the network. That is, the closely-knit networks of two individuals need not have a high degree of overlap, although these individuals may be members of one of the others' closely-knit network. If such a high degree of overlap existed in several closely-knit networks, we might then be able to characterize these areas of overlap as a "group."

To summarize, then, closely-knit networks are made up of a set of highly interrelated, fairly homogeneous individuals surrounding a focal individual. The linkages between the focal individual and the network members, as well as between the members themselves, are multistranded and primarily affective in content, and finally, the immediacy of such networks is high. In short, this is the prototype of the American working man, securely entrenched in his own small world of kith and kin. The world itself is the small town, or the urban neighborhood, where "everybody knows everybody," and all their business; and those who move out socially or geographically are "lost."

(b) If closely-knit networks constitute one polar type in a general "network form" continuum, then loosely-knit networks are clearly the opposite extreme (Bott, 1957; Stebbins, 1969). Loosely-knit networks have also been referred to as "functional binational groups" by the Useems and Donoghue (1963), "action sets" by Adrian Mayer (1966a), and a "radial network" by Laumann (1972). Practically



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every student of networks recognizes this basic dichotomy of type. Many different terms have been coined to describe this difference, usually to emphasize a particular dichotomizing characteristic. (Only a small, although hopefully representative, sample of these terms has been presented here.)

Loosely-knit networks are characterized by the single-strandedness of the component linkages, the low interrelatedness of their units (the focal person is often the only common point of linkage in the network), the instrumental basis for many of the bonds, heterogeneity of membership, and low immediacy. In other words, as we have suggested, loosely-knit networks are the converse of closely-knit on a multi-dimensional continuum.

In more "human" terms, membership in a loosely-knit network will mean that a focal individual will have a number of relationships of very different kinds with a set of people who may or may not share a set of common characteristics. These people probably do not know each other, and their relationship to the focal individual is likely to be of one type--that is, to have only one basis (occupational, kinship, neighboring, co-membership in a voluntary organization, etc.). A majority of the relationships of the focal individual are likely to be based on the joint performance of a particular task; however, when the task is not being carried out, the relationship is not diminished, but simply held in abeyance until the task situation is reactivated. [For example, Crane (1972) points out that professional colleagues who may meet primarily at conventions may literally carry one conversation over from year to year.] This is

the world of the international scientific/academic community; the world of the mobile professional who has few close friends or family members present at any one time or in any one place. "Home" may have little meaning for this person, but wherever he goes, he finds old friends and friends of friends--college roommates, professional colleagues, ex-neighbors, long-lost cousins, old Air Force buddies, his parents' friends. The original reasons for association have often faded away, but the bonds remain, across time and space. (It is, in some ways, the "old boy" tradition in a complex new form.) Thus, these individuals may be "at home" everywhere--and yet, never truly at home anywhere.

Returning to our central concept, this dichotomy of network type would seem to closely parallel the familiar Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft distinction in community studies; the impact upon an individual human life of participation in a Gemeinschaft community is similar to the effect of participation in a closely-knit network. (The implied converse is also true; Gesellschaft community participation resembles loosely-knit network participation.) However, the two concept sets are not substantively synonymous; it is entirely possible that a resident of a Gemeinschaft community might participate in a loosely-knit network. Upon closer examination, it becomes clear that it is the nature of the way in which participants affectively experience participation in the polar types of the entities which is similar; not the forms of the entities themselves. Indeed, perhaps some of the confusion surrounding the definition of community has arisen because participation in a network has been mistaken for

participation in a particular community type, due to the substantive similarity of the participation experiences, further confounded by the underdeveloped state of network theory.

The existence of this basic dichotomy of network type may also partially explain the substantially differing accounts given of networks by various researchers. The recently published findings of Crane (1972) and Chrisman (1970), for example, would seem to be diametrically opposed in many respects. This is easily understood if we examine the sample population of each--Crane has studied the professional interpersonal affiliations of research scientists, while Chrisman has observed the behavior of Danish-American working-class families. Crane's population has the substantive characteristics usually associated with the members of loosely-knit networks, while Chrisman's has those of closely-knit. Quite naturally, they construct two different models of network. Within the broader context of a network typology, these models correspond nicely to the opposing types, and serve to corroborate studies which initially posit a dichotomy based on corresponding substantive variance.

(c) To regard this dichotomy as an adequate description of network types, however, would be a gross oversimplification; most current scholars, notably Wolfe (1970) and Laumann (1972), either construct a more elaborate typology, or expand the dichotomy into a multidimensional continuum, of which the original pair of concepts form the "polar types." This intellectual history also closely parallels that of the folk-urban dichotomy cum continuum, and the argument for expansion to a larger typology or continuum is much the same

(Miner, 1952; Harris and Ullman, 1945; Duncan, 1951; Firey, Loomis, and Beegle, 1950).

Wolfe takes the former tack; his dichotomy of network types is, however, one of the few which is not based upon the Bott-Barnes "interconnectedness" dimension. Rather, Wolfe's typology of "limited" versus "unlimited" networks reflects the variety of linkages and/or points in the network. "Limited" networks are composed (a) of linkages of only one type or (b) of linkages between elements of one type. "Unlimited" networks may be composed of linkages of any type between elements of all types. (Wolfe's "elements" are usually individuals, but they may be different types of these.)

"Limited" networks, or "sets," are further divided into five specific types--personal, categorical, action, role system, and field. The major flaw in Wolfe's model lies in the fact that these types are not mutually exclusive, nor is there any apparent explicit or implicit conceptual parameters which would suggest they are exhaustive of all possibilities for network type. They, therefore, cannot be arranged to form a semblance of a continuum of network types, nor arranged along any dimension on which mobility from one form to the other is possible.

In sum, Wolfe's model is highly structural; and strictly speaking, is not a typology at all. Its contribution stems from its recognition of the relative complexity of network types due to the variety of possible linkage types.

Laumann (1972) suggests a continuum of network types, based on interconnectedness and homogeneity, and with forms parallel to

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closely-knit and loosely-knit networks (interlocking and radial, respectively) as the polar types. Intermediate to these is a type of network he terms "transitional." "Transitional networks" are Barnes-type networks which simultaneously possess sectors which are highly interconnected and have homogeneous elements, and sectors with low linkage density and high heterogeneity of elements.

This formulation seems to be to the best, to date, of the recombinations of, and enlargements upon, the body of concepts and data which has sprung from the initial Bott-Barnes model. It has reference to a focal individual, allows for movement of a set of individuals from one network form to another, and characterizes both the linkages and elements, on single, separate, well defined dimensions. In other words, Laumann's networks are located by central foci, rather than boundaries, and the typology of form is clearly a continuum--which is to say that the model is processually oriented. Thus, the model embodies all the virtues which Aronson originally claimed as properties of "network" conceptualizations. For our purposes, then, we will consider a network to be a central individual and his linkages to others, where the linkages are initially characterized by their relative density (the interconnectedness of the "others") and multi-strandedness, and the individual and his "others" (the network elements) are characterized by their relative similarity or dissimilarity (their homogeneity).

We will assume that the formation of these linkages is due to a variety of factors, among them mutual participation in social "arenas" by the central individual and his "others," whom we may then call an

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"action set" in any given arena. The arenas may lie in the past, the present, or the future, but the relation of the temporal proximity of the arena to linkage potency should covary positively with the homogeneity of the elements and the density and multistrandedness of the linkages. This characteristic of linkages is that factor we earlier termed "immediacy."

In conclusion, then, our purpose here has been to choose and delineate a term which allows us to express both the notions that (1) interactions do not occur in a vacuum; they are surrounded and profoundly influenced by other on-going interactions, but, (2) although interactions may become embedded in matrices of interactions, they continue to exist as separately functioning entities. This matrix of interactions is, of course, the network, operationally defined as a set of linkages, intersecting at specific individuals or "points"--an entity with an infinite growing edge and no objective "center."\* The process of creating, maintaining, and terminating these linkages we will refer to as "networking."

This conceptual set is shown diagrammatically in the concept chart appearing on page 46.

An underlying assumption of this formulation is that each process results in the system as an end-state, at least on the conceptual level. That is, the structures are conceptual markers on the processual continuum--this does not mean that the process actually

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\*The notion of the "focal individual" can be viewed either as a research convenience or as a subjective construct; that is, everyone is a "focal individual" to himself (Blumer, 1962, 1955; McHugh, 1968; Schutz, 1962).

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## CONCEPT CHART

(Conceptual Units Utilized by Type and Level of Analysis)

Types of Analysis	Levels of Analysis		
	Personal	Personal/Social Reflexivity	Social
Systemic	Individuals	Interaction	Network
Processual	Contacting*	Interacting	Networking

\*Note that analysis of a processual type allows a more sociological concept to be used at the "personal" level. Also note that process implies a series of central defining conditions, rather than a bounded state, thus allowing for a greater range of behaviors under each concept without the loss of clarity.

"stops" at certain points, but that we may use the systemic terms to denote certain points in the process. Another way of phrasing this is to say that we assume that the processes form a single continuum, which we mark with the systemic points.



## CHAPTER 4

### RESEARCH QUESTIONS

We may more clearly delineate the exploratory tasks we have been discussing, if we phrase them as a succinct set of questions, in this way:

1. Does continuing interpersonal contacting lead to (a) regularized and (b) multi-level interacting?
2. Does the overlapping or proximity of regularized and/or multi-level interacting lead to networking?
3. Does this contacting-interacting-networking process serve as a pattern for behavior for the participants in the context of future (trans-societal) contacts?

While the sequence may be logical in a theoretical sense, this does not necessarily suggest that it must be endlessly repetitive in a given environment. The practical situation established by one occurrence of this system-formation process may be inhibitive to re-occurrences of similar types. That is to say, just as the previously cited studies found, once such an interactive network is established, new personnel may be co-opted into it; it may not be an endlessly proliferating phenomenon.

Substantively, this raises yet another issue--if this processual sequence does occur, but does not continue indefinitely, what are the consequences of reaching the end-state of the process (where the process is no longer "construction," but "maintenance," or

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"function") for other social structures which may be committed to preserving the continuance of the construction process or to facilitating the initial contacts? Conversely, if this processual sequence does not occur, what is the face of these structures, whose existence depends on operations based upon facilitating the process?

A particularly interesting point, if we assume that the previous logic is empirically, as well as theoretically, sensible, is that in post-industrial societies a process of destruction of social systems and cultures as well as construction and maintenance, may need to come under our scrutiny, although our primary concern for construction still remains.

## CHAPTER 5

### RESEARCH CONTEXT

As suggested earlier, "contacting," "interacting," and "networking" must be understood as references to the behavior of real people. These people are clearly not simply amorphous human forms of standard design, nor do they live in a void; they operate in whole personal, social, and physical contexts, which must be taken into consideration in our investigation. The intent to discover behavioral principles of wide applicability does not constitute an excuse to ignore the salient particulars of the human lives composing the research field.

At the level of the personal context, we must exercise some discretion; that is, while the personality characteristics of the participants in a potential interaction are of obvious importance in determining whether this specific contacting will develop into on-going interacting, each interaction will be produced by a unique combination of personalities (Bott, 1957:133). These do not need, in a sociological study, to be specifically documented to explain the general process of the development of interacting. To do so would be to treat the problem at an overly particularistic, predictively inefficient, level. In other words, this would constitute an attempt to determine what the results of a general situation will be for a particular individual or set of individuals, rather than whether the



general situation will occur in a given social context. Of interest, however, will be indications of (a) personality types,\* or (b) positions of individuals which seem to preclude the move from contacting to interacting, to facilitate it, or to allow it only in conjunction with other identifiable types or position occupants.

By the "social context" we will primarily mean the institutional setting(s), or arena in which the particular contacting-interacting-networking process we are observing is lodged. We will treat the institution as a milieu, considering its type, its geographic locus, its general relationship to other institutions in the society, its internal "character" and external "image." By and large, we will not be concerned with its informal or formal internal structure, except as this directly constitutes or affects the immediate setting for trans-societal contacting-interacting-networking.

We will also be concerned with the characteristics of the population of the potential network--aside from general demographic characteristics, such as age, sex, ethnicity and socioeconomic level (we might also note mobility rate and direction, family size, etc.). We will attempt to ascertain its general "tenor" and "style." (Is the pace of life "fast" or "slow" for this population? Are they past, present, or future oriented? Are they psychically as well as physically mobile or fixed?)

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\*This "type" is meant in the sense of the common demographic factors and previous experiences found among the members of a particular set of persons, delineated along some other dimension.

The "physical context" of the research refers to the material environment in which the postulated process takes place. Specifically, we will mean factors such as prevailing architectural styles, climate, predominant transportation methods and topography (both natural and man-made).

Given these topics of interest, it will become apparent that a research field similar to those used in earlier studies of trans-societal contact/new-system generation is also appropriate here. The same arguments for the usefulness of studying trans-societal contact, in any educational-institutional setting, using "foreign students" as the primary sub-population, hold. (Briefly, the campus setting is conveniently located for most researchers, as well as being relatively permanent; "foreign students" are readily identifiable and the situation is one in which the processes we wish to study are quite likely to be taking place.) Furthermore, it will be entirely possible to answer the questions posed vis-à-vis each context, in this setting.

Inasmuch as it is clearly possible to use a research field comparable to those of previous studies, it is also methodologically tempting to do so for several reasons. First, it is then possible to use the findings from previous studies, in at least a limited sense, as (a) a basis for comparison of the data gathered in this study, (b) a means of "fleshing out" the research context (that is, an aid in describing the specific parameters of the field situation), and (c) a method of giving additional depth and dimension to our own findings. Secondly, it is also possible to avoid some of the



previously discovered methodological pitfalls (to the extent that these have been documented) peculiar to this substantive area.

Finally, it represents a continuance of the effort to answer a basic substantive question, which we find to be of some interest: how useful are exchange programs?

In this case, then, the positions and personality types forming the basis of our research field will be those ostensibly centering about the foreign student population; most of the occupants of these are literate, highly educated members of the "university community." They are involved in contacting persons (the foreign students) who are also possessed of these characteristics, as well as being likely to be young, male, and of another race. Further, findings of the previous research indicate that the foreign students and many of their American associates are graduate students--which suggests that both members of the interacting set are likely to be personally competitive and achievement-oriented. Certainly the foreign students, and many of their associates within the university, are highly (and willingly) geographically mobile. A final personal-situational characteristic of the foreign students, whose associates we will consider, is that they are "first-timers" or belong to a group which is relatively new to the campus.

The social context is clearly that of an academic institution--in this case, a large, Midwestern, state-supported university, located on the outskirts of a medium-sized city (with whose residents and institutions the members of the "university community" have only limited contact). The undergraduate body is largely "in-state," and

is closely tied to home and family--on weekends, there is a mass exodus of students from the campus. Many residence halls are large, noisy and monotonously similar to each other. They have few study facilities; many upper-classmen, and most graduate students, live off-campus, often in mass housing specifically designed for student clientele. University-owned married student housing is widely separated from the "singles" graduate housing, and the dichotomy in lifestyles parallels the geographical disjuncture.

The "foreign student program" is explicitly a charge of the university, and in fact, foreign students are often oriented and language-trained here, before dispersing to other parts of the country. Preliminary investigation suggests that there is a strong "caretaker" emphasis in the institutional handling of foreign students in general, which has naturally constituted a powerful set of preconditions for the position types which have arisen and surrounded the foreign student body.

Physically, the university campus is large and garden-like, and is closely allied with several suburban sections of the city. The climate is rather harsh, and public transportation is expensive and fraught with difficulty. Private cars and bicycles predominate as the major forms of transportation for most undergraduates and many graduate students.

Many factors of this sort contribute to the formation of specific social, personal, and physical contexts, in which the contacting-interacting-networking process which we propose to investigate is carried out. In light of these considerations, we might rephrase the research questions operationally, thus:

1. If members of an American academic community and foreign students are brought into contact, will this lead to continuing professional-intellectual and/or "social" associations between a number of the Americans and the foreign students? *contacting*
2. If a member of an American academic community comes to associate with a foreign student in that context, will he/she also come to associate with
  - (a) other Americans who associate with foreign students, and/or,
  - (b) other foreign students?  
(And will they come to associate with him/her?)
3. If a member of a given American academic community comes to associate at one time with a foreign student, and possibly other foreign students and foreign student associates, will he/she continue to associate with these and other foreign student associates and foreign students in this university and/or in other university settings?

Although it would have been possible, in the context of this research, to differentiate ways in which members of particular subsets of Americans interacted with different subsets of foreign students, we did not do so for several reasons. Our first consideration is theoretical, at a high level of abstraction: to conduct the investigation in this way would have represented a different level of analysis, dealing with interaction between groups, or their analogs, rather than interaction between individuals. This would, thus, have contravened our avowed purpose of investigating the process of construction of social level entities from individuals.

Secondly, on a substantive level, the dimensions of the salient subsets of Americans and foreign students are not yet clear. Are Americans to be classified by academic level, geographic area of origin, commitment to international peace, open-mindedness, or along any of a myriad of other dimensions? Are foreign students to be classified by culture area, nationality type (industrialization, political

powerfulness, intra-national stability of institutions), academic affiliation, previous overseas experience, or some other factor? To attempt such closure at this junction would seem premature.

Third, at the level of middle-range theory, in terms of the state of knowledge in the field of transnational interaction formation, we must still be concerned with discovering the general outlines of the process of transnational interaction formation, rather than constructing a typology of such interactions. To investigate the effect of any specific dimension upon the way in which these interactions are formed would be the first step in constructing such a typology, and would consequently be inappropriate to this stage of the research process.

Therefore, in summary, we are operationally inquiring into the actual outcome of foreign exchange programs, one major aim of which is to increase contact between Americans and persons from other cultures. Do these really lead to cross-cultural professional ties and personal friendships? Do these ties persist down the years, and across spatial separation? Does their existence encourage the formation of other bonds between people of different culture? In short, we are concerned with a profoundly human and decidedly ideological question--is international friendship chronic and contagious?--as well as a set of basic theoretical-logical questions concerning general principles of human behavior.

## SECTION II

### METHODOLOGY

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## CHAPTER 6

### METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS: GROUNDED THEORY AND MULTIMETHOD APPROACHES

The primary contention of the methodological comments will be that theory construction and observations of the "real world" should be continuously reflexive (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Mills, 1957). By this we mean that if, in the process of testing part of an existing theory, we discover phenomena that do not "fit" the theory, then the theory (or its pertinent part) should be revised to coincide with the observations (Mullins, 1971:72). Conversely, the application of a theory as an explanation of a phenomenon may cause us to revise our perceptions of certain of the phenomenal elements--we may then define these elements and their interrelationships somewhat differently than before. This process may have adverse effects on the "neatness" of a theory, although ultimately improving its predictive/explanatory power.

Our second concern here will be for the appropriateness of the method of data collection chosen for the level of the theory and the empirical research situation with which the investigator is working. By "appropriate" we mean "producing the type of data logically capable of accomplishing the particular task of theory-construction being carried out," and "requiring field techniques that may reasonably be carried out in this empirical situation." It is

important to note that, although data of some types may be more useful for theory construction at a particular stage of refinement than data of other types, this does not imply that data of one type is inherently more refined than data of another type (Kaplan, 1964: 283-84). Since different field methods are simply the processes by which different data types are produced, the same caveat holds: no method of data collection is inherently more or less "refined" than another.

However, at different points in the theory construction process, different tasks are being performed. For each different task, different tools are particularly useful--in the case of theory construction, data are the tools; methods the means by which they are used. Data and method will therefore often differ when the research task differs--when theory is at different stages of construction. For example, at the first stage (exploratory, discussed below), the investigator is attempting to marshall all the existing facts, so that an attempt may be made to try to determine their possible relationship to each other; from these the researcher will try to construct, through classification, more general classes of relationships. However, to do this, the researcher first wishes to have available as many facts about the situation to be studied as possible.

There are, of course, many ways in which all the facts of such a situation can be gathered. The researcher may participate in the situation and observe it personally, or question other situation participants, past and present, about their observations. The

questions to others may be posed in a variety of ways--verbally, in writing; letting the interviewees supply the answers in terms of their own perceptions (open-ended questions) or in terms of only the alternatives known to the interviewer (closed-ended questions); etc.

Of these alternatives in data collection techniques, however, the researcher must ask which, on a practical basis, will best accomplish the task of acquiring the most complete set of initial facts in each research situation. Completeness, in turn, is a necessary primary logical consideration when the identity of the specific facts to be gathered are unknown to the investigator, as is true at the origin of every investigation.

Again, at another stage of theory construction (hypothesis testing, discussed below), the logical task to be accomplished is often the discovery of how frequently one type of fact is related to another in such situations, rather than what all the facts are. Appropriate to this task are very specific data, concerning only the two known fact types, whose identity and operational definitions are already known (these having been determined in the fact-gathering state described above). These data can also be collected by many methods; we will select among these on the basis of their practicality for use in the particular research situation.

In any case, the aim of the technique ultimately chosen is to allow the researcher to confine the investigative effort to one short task repeated many times: having an observer or participant(s) determine whether the two facts have occurred in conjunction or not. The multiple task performances may occur simultaneously. The data

gathered consist of a great deal of a particular kind of information about one fact, rather than small amounts of information about many facts. This is appropriate to accomplishing the task of determining "how frequently" something occurs in conjunction with something else.

In general, then, we should realize that the data, which will best aid in the accomplishment of a particular task in theory construction, may have a common logical component. However, their specific identity will vary from theory to theory, and from one substantive area of investigation to another; they may be collected using any of a variety of methods. It therefore follows that no particular method is logically bound to one specific step in theory construction.

We may, of course, discuss general patterns or frequently encountered research circumstances in which specific data and particular collection methods for these have previously been found to be useful in accomplishing a particular research task. The dictum to be borne in mind, however, is that for every investigation we must re-determine: the theory-construction tasks to be accomplished; then, the data which, under the existing research circumstances, will most efficiently accomplish these tasks; and finally, the methods by which these data may be most efficiently collected. In so doing, we must bear in mind that operationally, "efficiency" is also defined differently in every different research situation--in general terms, it refers to the most productive use of the available resources for the accomplishment of the research goals, whatever those may be.

Further, we should recognize that if there are a number of theory-construction tasks to be performed in the course of one

investigation, a number of different methods may be required to meet the conditions of appropriateness for each task. If theory and data are held constantly reflexive, as we previously suggested, we shall expect to see multiple theory-construction levels present in every investigation, and thus many different tasks to be accomplished. Following our prior logic, this may well imply that all investigations of "grounded" theory will be multimethod in nature, if the conditions of appropriateness as well as reflexivity are to be met.

Before examining how these twin concerns of theory-data reflexivity and method appropriateness apply to the present case, let us clarify what is meant by the "level of refinement" of a theory and briefly examine the inquiry as a whole. By "inquiry process" we mean "the process of scientific inquiry," or the particular logico-investigative method used by Western-educated researchers attempting to discover patterns of behavior (whether of atoms or persons). Methodologists of all persuasions (as well as philosophers of science) have explicated this in greater or lesser detail. However, there is also a prevailing tendency to concentrate on the section of the process which is most congenial with the researcher's other interests, and to slight the rest. } ✓

C. Wright Mills is primarily involved with the range and consistency of the logical operations involved (Mills, 1957:206), as are most of the philosophers; Blalock and Blalock (1968) and others of the "hard data" genre emphasize "hypothesis testing," concentrating on indicator construction and statistical methods of analyzing enumerative data, while social anthropologists often stop short after detailing

these initial processes alone (Boaz, 1920; White, 1955; Powdermaker, 1966).

Robert Merton has presented one of the most complete formulations available (Merton, 1955:85-102). As evidence of this, we may point out that he is also one of the few modern students of the inquiry process who is cited by practically all discussants of the topic who postdate him, of whatever methodological hue. Merton suggests that the inquiry process can be visualized as consisting of approximately eight basic steps. By the "level of refinement" of a theory, then, we will mean "step in the process at which the theory is located," or perhaps, "times the entire process has been performed," with regard to a particular theory.

In the first step, the investigator, using a series of experiences of his own and others, gets a "feel" for the general way in which the system to be observed operates, and attempts to discern those discrete factors which are crucial to this operation. These factors are expressed as general concepts. Merton calls this "general sociological orientation" (Merton, 1957: 86), saying that it "involves broad postulates which indicate the types of variables which are somehow to be taken into account, rather than specifying determinate relationships between particular variables."

Secondly, according to Merton (1957:89-91), these concepts are specified and clarified; that is, what is to be observed is defined, by making explicit the character of data to be subsumed under each concept. Presumably, these data sets should be mutually exclusive, but exhaustive of the data field. In practice, these

conditions are unfortunately more often honored in the breach than the observance.

The third step is proposition formation or the connection of these concepts on a one-to-one basis, in meaningful relationships. Statements of relationship between paired concepts will be called "propositions" in this paper. The terms "axiom" and "theorem" have also been used in this connection; Brodbeck (1959) uses them to distinguish between, respectively, relationships of concepts assumed to be true and relationships of concepts which are to be tested. Other authors, such as Homans (1964) and Camilleri (1962) seem to use them interchangeably. The important point here is that one relationship between two concepts is specified in a statement, and that no situational conditions are imposed on the relationship.

The fourth step is a continuation of the process started in the third; the concepts are imbedded in an interlocking set of relationships--that is, the one-to-one concept relationships are laid out as a mesh, rather than as a set of isolated instances. Merton says, "When propositions are logically interrelated, a theory has been instituted." I would qualify this by not certifying such a schema as a theory until the data points in the research field had been subsumed under one of the concepts which the propositions interrelated, and by inserting the word "all" before "propositions" in Merton's statement. Mullins (1971:85-86) highlights this distinction between the first set of interrelated concepts and the final product, developed after considerable testing and refinement, by terming the former a "prototheory."

The fifth step is the breakdown of the theory again into one-to-one relationships, but this time in the form of "If . . . then . . ." statements. These statements should parallel the propositions in terms of the concept pairs related, but the concepts should be expressed as specific events, rather than in a general form.

The sixth step is the generation of indicators for each concept; that is, the elaboration of what particular events and characteristics are specific cases of each general behavioral category, or "concept."

Seventh, the research "field" must be carefully observed, and the pattern of occurrence of the events and characteristics specified in the previous step are noted. In other words, the data are collected and assessed. This step is often termed "measurement."

Eighth, the hypotheses being "tested" are reformulated in light of their consistency with the findings; the process is called "empirical generalization," by Merton (1957:92).

Finally, the propositions and their interconnected form (the theory) are also reconstructed, and the process of hypothesis formulation and testing may begin again, on the basis of the new concepts and their new pattern of relationships. Strictly speaking, of course, these are the same processes as those described under "steps four and five." Thus, the entire cycle is repeated, differing only in the increasing refinement of the concepts and their relationships from which the propositions, and ultimately, the theory, are constructed.

It logically follows, therefore, that there are only two sorts of instances in which empirical observations may be made and a theory





set forth, in that order. The first instance occurs at the very beginning of the research process, when no theory is available, and concepts and their relationships are being "intuited" from the observations. The second instance in which this may be done with some degree of appropriateness, is when a theory has been well established, and its operations under certain known conditions thoroughly catalogued. When the purpose of the investigator is to explain particular on-going situations, he may first make general empirical observations to ascertain precisely what the existing conditions are, in this situation. The observed situation is then explained in terms of the known relationships of the concepts embedded in this theoretical context under these conditions. Merton suggests that this is the core of the clinical process, calling this sort of application of previously developed theories, "post-factum interpretations" (Merton, 1957:90).

If we adapt the foregoing scheme, we may visualize the whole process of research as a sort of wave function, with the explanation moving continuously between the parallel axes of field data and theory, as shown on page 66. The upsweep represents the inductive process, or "codification" (Lazarsfeld, 1957), while the downsweep is the deductive process. The three or four steps comprising the first upsweep will be of the most interest for the present study, inasmuch as it proceeds only to the proposition formulation/prototheory border.

As discussed earlier, for both logical and practical reasons, different field methods or investigative techniques will be appropriate to different steps in the inquiry process, under particular research

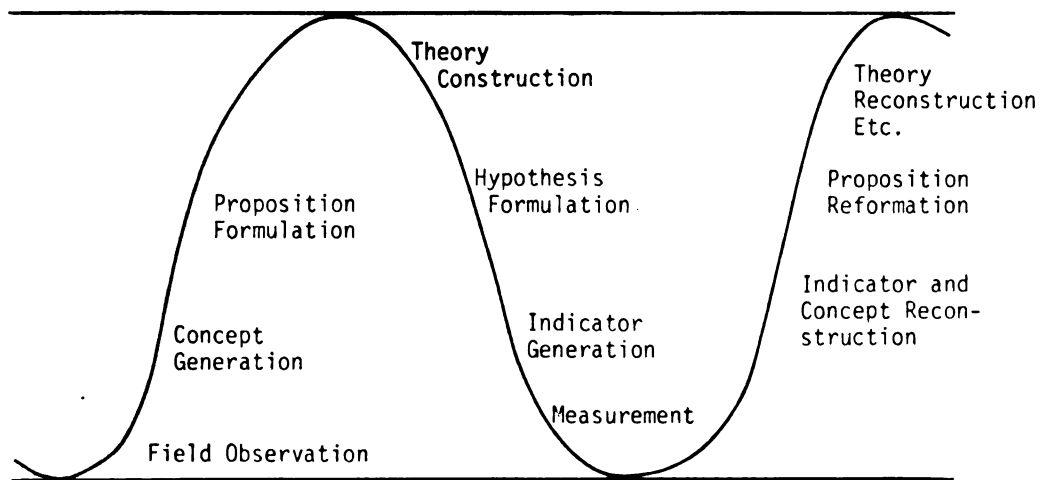


Figure 1.--Schematic of the Logical Processes of Theory Construction and Testing.

circumstances. In this case, it will not be productive to utilize methods producing highly quantitative data, since the majority of the concepts to be measured have not been well formulated in discrete dimensions. That is, it is uselessly time-consuming to count various observed phenomena before the precise phenomena to be counted are clearly delineated. Therefore, we must utilize techniques which allow us to observe the largest number of different phenomena possible, and then to convert our observations into a rough classification or preliminary conceptual framework.

Selltiz, Cook, Jahoda, and Deutsch (Selltiz et al., 1962:53) call this sort of study that allows for initial organization of experiences and observations, into a conceptual framework, "formulative or explanatory." They suggest that there are certain methods that are often likely to be especially fruitful in the search for important variables and meaningful hypotheses. These methods include (1) a review

of the related social science and other pertinent literature; (2) a survey of the people who have had practical experience with the problem to be studied; and (3) an analysis of "insight-stimulating" examples. [Or, as Mullins (1971:36) says, "The concepts in your problem area can come from three major sources: your own experience, the experiences of others as reported to you, and the various other social theories that have been done in the past."] Both Mullins and Selltitz emphasize that these research procedures must be regarded as flexible; that one must melt into another when the situation under observation calls for it, or presents the opportunity.

Sjoberg and Nett (1968:168-169) suggest that techniques for assessing a researcher's own experience, which they categorize as being of the "direct observation" type, are often particularly appropriate for the process of "scientific discovery." (This corresponds to the process we have outlined in steps one-four.) They emphasize that scientific observation depends upon the ability of the researcher to sequentially become involved in, and then disengaged from, the on-going social process under investigation. Powdermaker (1966) refers to this as "stepping in and stepping out" of the society being investigated. The flexibility to do this is not efficiently accomplished by the direct personal involvement of the researcher with the research field. The ways in which this is done, and the personal and intellectual problems posed by this process, have been vividly documented by Powdermaker and others. (For three particularly lucid accounts, see Powdermaker, 1966; Gans, 1962; and White, 1955.)

During the periods of disengagement, researchers must attempt to make the process in which they have been involved explicit to themselves and to discern recurrent patterns in their experience of this process. This "reflexive consciousness" is the basis for the initial process of conceptualization and proposition formulation (Sjoberg and Nett, 1968:172). Sjoberg also notes that researchers may need to combine some "indirect observation" field techniques, or those techniques aimed at assessing the experience of others, with the "direct," in order to gain access to parts of the social process which are defined by the particular culture in which the process occurs as "private."

Basically, we find that these parameters of method describe the classic ethnographic technique: intellectually fortified by the written and oral traditions of previous researchers in a particular area, or of a particular process, the investigator proceeds to the area or the geographic and social locus of the process, and becomes immersed in the on-going life of the people of the area. At frequent intervals, the researcher withdraws temporarily from the pattern of action to make a written record of recent experiences and observations. A practical problem often connected with this is finding a place to think and write, apart from the subjects of the research, when the researcher is caught up in their lives. Festinger's research team members, for example (Festinger et al., 1956) were reduced to making notes in the bathroom when doing participant observation of a doomsday group.

The researcher, of course, not only takes a direct part in the pattern of life, but utilizes a variety of indirect techniques, eliciting descriptions of this life from its ordinary carriers, as Sjöberg has suggested. The researcher uses informants, examines written records, formal and informal, takes life histories, etc. The precise methods vary, depending on the nature of the substantive field. The types of errors that can be committed are related to the types of techniques utilized.

The core of the classical ethnographic method is "participant observation"; involvement, followed by objective introspection. More recently have appeared those techniques which Powdermaker (1966:301) has termed ethnographic semantics or "New Ethnography"--the pure linguistic techniques (see Hymes, 1964) and the spin-offs from them, such as the General Inquirer studies (Stone, Dumphy, Smith, and Ogilvie, 1966). These methods are reminiscent of Zetterberg's version of exploration--a "search for primitive terms" (Zetterberg, 1965:57). Non-participant observation is, of course, also a possible ethnographic technique, although the line between participatory and non-participatory studies is a thin one.

By and large, however, all these methods are used by researchers who carry them out in conjunction with classic ethnography (Powdermaker, 1966:391). In some cases, they may function as participant-observation does, but without requiring the physical presence of the observer in the society in question. For example, researchers may immerse themselves in the folk tales of a culture and descriptive accounts by others of that culture, without actually traveling to the

geographic locale of the culture carriers. This is probably psychically possible and productive of valid results only for the seasoned ethnographer who has gone through the process of immersion in other cultures many times.

One of the major difficulties of the ethnographic technique, is that it is intensely personal. The researcher is the research instrument--personal style is therefore central and crucial. An analogy to the practice of the ethnographic technique might be playing a musical instrument; while there are general techniques which may be taught, and while performance is improved by the continued critical appraisal of others, it is primarily learned through apprenticeship and practice. In its final stages of accomplishment, the ethnography is highly reflective of the individual performer's style.

However, if we may carry the analogy a bit further still, it is as unfair to suggest that ethnographies are nonreplicable as it would be to say that a piece of music is not the same when it is performed by different musicians. Although the tonal quality and delivery of the performances may vary, their essential structure is dictated by the piece itself (or in the case of ethnography, by the particular socio-cultural entity studies). In sum, ethnographic techniques have often been found to be appropriate for providing the data useful in accomplishing the first few research tasks. Clearly, the necessity of performing these first steps cannot be negated--concepts must be generated, before they may be related to one another, and that relationship tested. This last statement supposes the very minimum input from observation; it presumes

that the relationships between the concepts may be suggested by "logic," or some other factor extraneous to the situation under investigation.

In practice, the relationships between the concepts are usually suggested by observation of the situation, although these relationships must form part of a logical schema--that is, contribute to theory-building as well. Thus, proposition formulation (step three) requires data collection, but the data is probably often of another sort than that used to generate concepts. This follows logically from the fact that the field has already been "sorted" into sets of observations, each of which is identified by a concept name. The determination of the conceptual set sets the tone of the study, and begins to suggest the type of theory that will be constructed. Theories have internal logics, and these must be taken into account in the formulation of the propositions. In sum, in the proposition construction process, the researcher must be dually sensitive--to the observations made in the past and present, and to the potential theory.

Selltiz et al (1962:65-66) suggest that a method often appropriate to the process of inquiry at this stage is the descriptive study. Studies of this sort exhibit considerable variety, but, according to these authors (Selltiz et al., 1962:66), "share certain important characteristics. The research questions presuppose much prior knowledge of the problem to be investigated, as contrasted with the questions that form the basis for exploratory studies. The investigator must be able to define clearly what is wanted, in order to

measure it, and must then find adequate methods for this measurement. In addition, the researcher must be able to specify who is to be included in the definition of a given community or a given population. In collecting evidence for a study of this sort, what is needed is not so much flexibility as a clear formulation of what and who is to be measured, and techniques for valid and reliable measurements."

Descriptive studies make use of interviews, questionnaires, systematic direct observation, analysis of written records, and participant observation, as well as any other technique, suggested by the peculiar nature of the substantive field, which facilitates the development of a complete prose "picture" of the area or subject of investigation. Often, more than one, and in some cases, all of these techniques are utilized. Again, we should note that the purpose of the research, at this stage of the inquiry process, is to discover relationships between concepts, rather than to test them.

The fourth step also involves discerning relationships, although between propositions rather than concepts. Basically, the same arguments for method may be advanced here, and for the identical reasons; the methodological process is the same. In practice, (a) this step and the preceding one are carried through simultaneously, or (b) theory formulation is ignored altogether.

Our purpose here is not to deplore the methodological shortcomings of social research--there are a number of reasons, practical and philosophical, why sociologists seem to find the process of proto-theory construction anathema. One unfortunate consequence, however, of the tendency to "skip" this step in the inquiry process, and to



proceed directly to test the propositions developed in the third step, by framing them as hypotheses, is that the theoretical parameters of the population for which the theory should hold are thus never constructed. If the population is unknown, a random sample, in which to test the hypotheses, cannot be drawn. Without a random sample as a basis, no statistical tests of the significance of the findings can legitimately be done.

Aside from the fact that it is current sociological practice to use tests of significance in conjunction with hypothesis testing, there are some excellent reasons for wishing to carry out such tests at this point in the research. Therefore, the development of proto-theory is a step which should not be ignored. If its routine construction requires the reorganization of the way in which social science research is carried out, then such a reorganization should and must take place, if sociology is to make good its claim to scientific status.

The next series of steps, which we have been conjointly denoting by the term "hypothesis-testing," are operational hypothesis formulation, indicator construction, and measurement. Many books can and have been written on the precise techniques by which these processes may be most efficiently carried out. However, since our primary purpose in this study will be to proceed to step five, we will not become embroiled with them in these pages. Suffice it to recognize their existence, and their relationship to the process of inquiry.

After it has been determined whether the particular relationships, posited to exist between certain types of events, are indeed regular and predictable phenomena, the researcher may reformulate the concepts, and thus the propositions and theory. It may also be necessary to return to the field itself at this point. It is crucial to be aware of what logical operation is taking place, and to recognize that any new concepts generated must undergo the same processes of integration into the proto-theory, and hypothesis-testing, that the previously generated concepts did.

Finally, this entire process may be repeated over and over again: formulating concepts from the most recently gathered data and findings, formulating propositions as a theory, deriving hypotheses from this theory, constructing indicators of the constituent variables of the hypotheses, and measuring and assessing the incidence and conditions of occurrence of these in various substantive fields, selected on the basis of the preceding theory. With every repetition of the process, the concepts should become increasingly clear, the indicators more precise, and the conditions of the relationship occurrence more specific.

In sum, the types of techniques used to gather and assess data should be logically and practically appropriate to the particular stage in the inquiry process which is in progress at the time the data are gathered. Method must be responsive to the logic, as well as to the substance, of inquiry, although the responsiveness may take other forms than those suggested here.

C. Wright Mills (1959:206) gives a particularly succinct description of the relation between theory, method, and data in the Appendix to his Sociological Imagination, "On Intellectual Craftsmanship":

Problematic situations have to be formulated with due attention to their theoretical and conceptual implications, and also to appropriate paradigms of empirical research and suitable models of verification. These paradigms and models, in turn, must be so constructed that they permit further theoretical and conceptual implications to be drawn from their employment. The theoretical and conceptual implications of problematic situations should first be fully explored. To do this requires the social scientist to specify each such implication and consider it in relation to every other one but also in such a way that it fits the paradigms of empirical research and models of verification.

The researcher should also be aware of the fact that the logical status of a particular investigation may move in either direction on the continuum as the investigation proceeds. That is, in the course of a particular inquiry process, a researcher may find during the hypothesis-testing stage that a certain segment of the data does not "fit" well with the theory as presently developed. This necessitates a return to the "concept formulation" stage to develop and name an explanatory notion (or concept) to account for the discrepant evidence.

Although conceptual reformulation during the research process keeps a theory alive and growing, a second frequent consequence of this on-going reformulation process is methodological hegemony, as we have earlier illustrated. However, again we must recognize that it is important not to equate variety of method with methodological chaos, or lack of rigor, although researchers trained in the style of the

natural-science "experimental" model may find this sort of situation disturbing. As long as the investigator clearly indicates the level of refinement to which a particular concept or proposition corresponds, the fact that the components of one theory are at many different levels, constitute different research tasks, and thus are most efficiently investigated by the simultaneous application of many different field techniques, need not detract from the essential logic of our approach.

Further, when a new concept is developed, and integrated into the theory (although this may apparently improve the explanatory power of the original theory), it is possible that the data whose assessment precipitated the development of the concept may be of such a nature that further refinement of the theory containing the new concept is not possible using this data. Although this may at first glance appear to be a setback in the research process when it occurs, as Bott (1957:5) noted in her classic study,

New ways of looking at the material arise only from the interplay of field experience and previous theoretical interests, and by the time a new formulation develops, it often happens that not all the facts necessary for precise comparative testing of it have been collected. The achievement of the research consists not so much in finding complete answers as in finding interesting questions to ask.

## CHAPTER 7

### APPLICATIONS

The preceding framework has been set forth in an attempt to provide a basis for understanding a rather complex research process, which has been in progress for over twenty years, and of which this study is a part. The process has, however, with some minor exceptions, adhered fairly closely to the ideal process-of-inquiry schema.

To date, none of this research has advanced beyond the stage of proto-theory; the component studies have been exploratory-descriptive. The methods used to gather the appropriate data have been, by and large, "direct observational," for similar reasons to those suggested by Sjoberg and Nett as obtaining for many studies at this level. Further, as we have noted, these research procedures are ordinarily explicitly personal processes, and they were so in the case of this study. Therefore, I propose, in the tradition of Boaz, White, and Powdermaker, to present the methods employed here, where appropriate, as a first-person chronology.

#### Previous Studies: The Field to Date

Prior research in this field has concentrated on the process of trans-societal contact, for the theoretical reasons suggested earlier. The substantive research context, however, has varied. The study which inspired this series, although not a part of it, was

primarily historiographic, and covered the whole sweep of historical time, as well as a world-wide set of diffusion-of-knowledge (and therefore, trans-societal contact-of-persons) routes, or loci (Kroeber, 1945). It was, to a large extent, library research, although founded on the lifetime field experience of an eminent social anthropologist.

The first field studies in this research area were based upon the experiences of two sociologists in the academic community of newly post-colonial India (Useem and Useem, 1953). These early researchers laid the groundwork for a set of concepts which over the course of the next ten years, were broadened and generalized to describe the set of events common to all continuing trans-societal contacts (Useem and Useem, 1963; Useem, Useem, and Donoghue, 1963). The concepts developed in these field studies were complemented by several others generated in library-research studies, inspired by the same study, and published at the same time or shortly thereafter (Hewes, 1965; McNeill, 1963).

The field studies were classic-ethnographic in type, involving whole-life immersion in the field setting, use of informants, and similar practices, while the library studies were historiographic. Both of these techniques are appropriate only in exploratory studies. Thus to this point, both in terms of the methods utilized (exploratory) and the findings produced (discrete concepts, rather than propositions), the inquiry process could be said to be in the initial two stages (observation and concept-formulation).

The primary concept developed by the library researchers had been "the oikoumene." This refers to a culture area with a shared general type of life pattern and mind set. Of most use to the on-going research effort was the description of the process by which the oikoumene was developed and spread--through the contacts of people with substantially different cultural antecedents, who develop new sets of understandings between them. These new sets of understandings were called "third culture" by the field researchers, who also used the notions of "binational group" and "scientific community," along with terms (such as "modernization" and "work role") borrowed from other frameworks.

All the studies by these field researchers were done in academic settings of various kinds. Under the conditions the general situation in which the phenomena described commonly occurred was blocked out, by both sets of researchers. (For instance, the trans-societal contact had to be face-to-face and must occur frequently.)

At this point, a need for more detail and precision in conceptualization, as well as a need to discern the ways in which the concepts developed up to now were regularly related, was felt by the field research group.\* In short, they began to generate specific questions they wanted to ask about the nature of trans-societal

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\*The field research group had something of a rotating membership, although its core was always Drs. John and Ruth Hill Useem. From time to time it included John Donoghue, Ann Baker Cottrell, Sal P. Restivo, Christopher Vanderpool, Jerry Judy, Howard Borck, Barabara Kirk, Kay Snyder, Rod Swonger, Pat Terry, and the author.

contact; the research moved to the stage of proposition formulation and the descriptive study.

In descriptive studies, as we have earlier noted, it is possible to utilize research techniques which, because of their greater structure, make it possible to gather a particular set of information more efficiently, although not allowing for the inclusion of a great many new types of information. In this case, these techniques took the form of printed open-ended questionnaires, largely for practical reasons.

Some of the reasons for this were: the addition of relatively inexperienced field researchers to the project group, and a correspondingly rapid expansion of the group, so that many different "personal styles" were present in the research group, and some controlling factor was necessary; a highly literate subject population--university scholars--who were accustomed to the pencil-and-paper interview technique, and assigned it some scientific "validity," hopefully enhancing their cooperative tendencies; and the need to collect a large amount of data in a short time--the campus is large, and many of the scholars were senior, so the probability of frequent informal contact with any or all of them was low. Thus, a formal interview situation had to be arranged, which was invariably of fairly short duration; the volume of questions and answers which had to be covered during this interview period demanded that they be written down rather than committed to memory.

Also for entirely practical reasons, amounting to high accessibility of the subject population, this stage of the research focused



on the interaction of foreign scholars with their American counterparts on American university campuses. The questionnaires were therefore designed to systematically uncover (1) the personal and social-environmental conditions under which contacts between American and foreign scholars were made, (2) the contents of the ensuing interactions, and (3) what the personal and social consequences of being involved in such interactions were.

Some attempt was also made to trace the types of groups these single interactions blended to become. It was implicitly assumed that, since a "culture" is generally the production of a social group, the interactants in question must create or join such an entity. Further, it had been explicitly posited that the formation of the bond between the American and foreign scholar was the primary means of induction into such a group. These groups were presumed to be pre-existing entities, and one or the other of the interactants was assumed to be a member, acting as a sponsor for the other. Several of the questions in the interview were thus designed to discover the exact nature of the recruiting groups, and the exact content of the "third culture" which they carried.

Two questionnaires were devised, one aimed at senior scholars (Restivo, 1966; Vanderpool, 1966) and the other at the American associates of foreign students (Judy, 1967; Borck, 1966). Both instruments proved to be the first of a series, moving from in-depth face-to-face interviews, involving highly open-ended questions, to the semi-closed-ended mail questionnaires. Although the findings from the first questionnaire in the senior-scholar series were jointly coded by

both interviewers, the findings from the second (Restivo, 1971; Vanderpool, 1971) and a closely related study (McCarthy, 1972) were not. Further, the second questionnaire in this series was wholly different from the first, not a revision of it. The instruments were bound together by their substantive focus, and their common authorship. This, in effect, means that this series of studies may provide interesting and useful background knowledge for the current research, but they do not represent a source of a highly integrated set of findings to which the data from the present study may be compared in detail.

#### Current Study

All three research procedures comprising the current study were conducted on the State U. campus and with reference to it.

#### Survey of American Student Associates of Foreign Students

The second of the two questionnaire series described above, and that upon which this study was based, was aimed at the American associates of foreign students and was considerably more internally consistent than the first. However, given the interview-schedule format of these sections of the study (a data-collection format often used in conjunction with later stages of theory construction), it seems appropriate here to reemphasize the exploratory nature of this research. The function of the exploratory survey is to obtain the maximum amount of information possible about a field, rather than to determine where, on a known set of dimensions and under closely

specified conditions, the members of a clearly delineated population fall, as it would be in the hypothesis-testing stage of research.

The exploratory survey instrument serves as a reminder to the interviewer of all the information he wishes to collect, rather than to "control" for extraneous factors by limiting the information taken in and standardizing the manner in which it is acquired. It offers a wide range of topics to discuss, with a great deal of leeway to follow up other topics suggested by the interviewees.

Under these circumstances, the set of interviewees is consciously chosen to represent as wide a spectrum of experience in the field as possible, rather than to be strictly representative of the majority experience. Although a technique similar to that used in "random-sampling" may be part of the selection process, this is usually done to obtain the most diverse set of respondents available, when the dimensions along which the experiences of the field participants may differ are largely unknown. It does not, and cannot, constitute a "random sample" for the purposes of applying statistical tests of significance, because the parameters of the sampling population are as yet unknown. This is, however, one technique for obtaining a set of informant/respondents who can provide the broadest overview feasible of the field, although perhaps, under these conditions, one of the least rigorous.

With these caveats in mind, then, let us turn to our discussion of the method of the survey section of the present investigation.

The Respondent Set.--The second questionnaire was administered to 179 American students who were named by 180 foreign students as the

American student that they "knew best." The foreign respondent set was composed of 6 sub-sets of 30 foreign students each, for 6 different areas--Western Europe, India/Pakistan, Nigeria, Latin America, Thailand, and Japan. The sample was interviewed during the period 1965-1968.

The decision to look at students was a clear methodological concomitant of our theoretical interest in "contacting" behavior, which required looking at individuals who did not have pre-existing personal-interaction networks in a situation where initial trans-national contacts might occur. Such individuals are most likely to be found in a younger group, for whom this might be the first overseas experience, in this case, students.

The areas of foreign student origin were chosen as those from which to draw the respondent sets on the basis of a number of criteria. First, these areas were those with enough representatives of that nationality or culture area on campus to comprise a population from which a sub-set of 30 might be drawn. Thirty was chosen as the sub-set size because (1) it constituted the maximum number of foreign-student respondents available in the first two studies and (2) it represented the largest number of the proposed interviews that could be conducted by one interviewer in the space of one academic term, a time period considered optimum for reasons outlined in the next section.

Secondly, we chose areas for which there was a functioning nationality or area club, or some other organization which compiled the names of the members of a nationality or area set. That is, we

selected foreign student populations for which an accessible list of the members existed, for the obvious pragmatic reason.

Third, we designated the sub-sets by their identity as perceived by most Americans who were in contact with them. These categories were suggested by the pre-survey ethnographic "pilot" investigation of the field, done by each field's prime investigator and the senior research directors. For example, at the time of the study, most American students, even those who regularly associated with foreign students, did not distinguish between Indians and Pakistanis--therefore, we simply used the representatives of the entire culture area as our population. This decision is perhaps made more comprehensible by the recollection that, at the time the study was begun, we had an implicit conception that the American associates of each sub-set of foreign students constituted a separable group. Thus, it was logical to assume that each American group of this sort surrounded, or was integrated with, what the group members perceived as one distinct set of foreign students. It followed that to tap one group of Americans, we should construct our sub-sets of foreign students to correspond with what the surrounding Americans perceived as one set.

Finally, these nations or areas were chosen because they were not, when they were selected, embroiled in any intra- or inter-national or area conflicts. Our reasoning was that involvement of a nation in an altercation might impair the ability of its nationals abroad to relate to members of other nationality contingents. Since our purpose here was explicitly to examine transnational interaction formation in

general, it seemed unwise to choose to investigate the relationships of a group for whom some or all transnational contact might be curtailed, or significantly altered.

Thus, the subpopulations from which the sub-sets were drawn were not randomly selected, but carefully chosen as those in which the memberships were largest, documented, and comprised of persons who were likely to be engaged in the process under investigation. Further, we deliberately chose populations whose members were clearly defined by their American associates as a coherent and separate set of individuals.

From these highly selective subpopulations the sub-sets were drawn, and the interviews of the named American associates conducted over a period of three academic years, from the fall of 1965 to the spring of 1968. The studies on the Indians and Pakistanis (Judy, 1967) and the Western Europeans (Borck, 1966) were done in 1965-1966, using the first version of the instrument. The studies on the Nigerians and the Latin Americans were done in 1966-1967, using a slightly revised version of the first interview schedule. (Reports of these studies were not written by the three investigators thereof.) The Thai study (Asch, 1968) and the Japanese study (Terry, 1969) were done in 1967-1968, using a major revision of the original schedule as the instrument, as discussed in the next section. Thus, all told, six separate sub-sets were drawn from six separate subpopulations, at three different periods in time, by seven different researchers.

All these studies were done under the supervision of the two senior researchers mentioned previously, Professors John and Ruth Hill

Useem. This was an important factor in the maintenance of the continuity and comparability in the sections of this multipartite research. This is entirely appropriate in exploratory research, where there are as yet few or no rigorously defining conditions, for, and dimensions of, the phenomena under consideration, the search for these being the concern of this stage of the research process. Therefore, one of the few possible sources of consistency in such research is the investigator; and this critical function was performed by the senior directing researchers, in this case.

Each different sub-set of the total sample was drawn as a proportionally stratified set from the campus population of foreign students from that area. In most cases, the "campus population" of a particular set of foreign students was determined by the membership list of the appropriate nationality organization. Every foreign student of that nationality, who was processed through the foreign student office, automatically belonged to the organization--and all foreign students were required by the university to go through this office. Ergo, the membership lists should have represented the total nationality subpopulation.

The dimensions of stratification were sex, graduate/undergraduate status, and off- versus on-campus residence. Although the sub-sets of foreign students were proportionally representative on these dimensions of the nationality or culture area subpopulations from which they were drawn, the same is not true of the subpopulations vis-à-vis the total population. Because each subpopulation differed in size from the others, while the sub-sets were numerically equal,

the nationality/culture area groups are disproportionally represented in the total respondent set. In point of fact, we should note that subpopulations themselves were not entirely conceptually equivalent, some being drawn from culture areas--Western Europe, Latin America, India/Pakistan--and others from single nations--Nigeria, Thailand, and Japan. Each sub-set, therefore, contributed somewhat differently to the whole.

These subpopulation units were originally chosen to provide individual subpopulations of at least 30 from which each sub-set of 30 could be drawn. They must, therefore, be understood as 6 generally comparable but distinct respondent sets. Their results may be conjointly examined, but their combination cannot be treated as a single independent random sample for statistical purposes in hypothesis testing. However, since this is intended as an exploratory tool, the combined results should be quite useful, in pointing up general behavioral and attitudinal trends that will serve as the bases for our first-order conceptualizations.

Even if this sub-set is not proportionally representative of, nor randomly drawn from, the entire population of foreign students on the State U. campus, the reported experiences are nevertheless those of a substantial proportion of the total foreign student population. Of the 1,253 foreign students present on the campus in the fall of 1968, one term after the last of the 6 sub-sets was drawn, the set of 180 foreign students would have represented over 14% of the total. The total foreign student population comprised only 3.1%



of the entire student body of 40,000 at that time (Institute of International Education, 1969:9).

This tiny subpopulation differed from the student body as a whole on a number of dimensions besides nationality/ethnicity: 83% were graduate students, while this was true of only 19.2% of the student body in general. They were, therefore, also older, more likely to be married, and further on in their professional careers than the majority of the State U. population. Further, 80% of the foreign students in the set named as associates of American students were male, while the total campus population was split 58.7% male, 41.3% females; however, the graduate student population was split 73.4% male, 26.6% female. In short, although the foreign students were generally dissimilar to American midwestern state university undergraduates, the foreign students were somewhat more similar to the graduate student population at State U.

Each of the foreign student respondents drawn from each of these distinctive subpopulations of foreign students was asked to name the five American students that he or she "knew best," and then to indicate if any of these were particularly "good friends." This question was ultimately posed on the telephone to each foreign student respondent, all of whom had previously received a letter detailing the purpose of the study, and stating the interviewer's intent to call the foreign student. The response rate for this was excellent; less than 8% of those contacted refused to give the interviewer this information.

From the total set of American names thus collected, a further sub-set was drawn ( $N = 30$ ) for each set of Americans named by one sub-set of foreign students. This American student sub-set was stratified as to sex, on- or off-campus residence, and graduate/undergraduate academic level. From these categories a proportional respondent set was drawn for each sub-set of foreign students, which contained as many "good friends" and roommates as possible. An attempt was made to choose at least one person from each foreign student's list, and to include all those persons who were mentioned by more than one foreign student. All others necessary to make up the correct proportions in each category were drawn from the remaining names in that category by a "randomizing" process.

The members of the American student sub-sets thus constructed were contacted by telephone by the prime investigator for that subpopulation, and asked if they would participate in the study. Again, the response rate was excellent, ranging from no refusals of the initial American sub-set members drawn from the Thai sub-set to three (10%) in the Western European American student associates' sub-set. A total of 30 American associates of each foreign student sub-sets, except the Nigerians, was eventually interviewed. The "American associates of Nigerians" sub-set had only 29 members. Therefore, the total respondent set of American student associates of foreign students contained 179 members.

One problem that arose here was that, although the American respondent set was obtained by asking a stratified set of foreign students to name their American student (same-sex) friends, the American was asked to respond in terms of his/her closest (same-sex) foreign student associate. Since confidentiality forbade our revealing the name of the foreign student to the named American, complete mutuality was not necessarily achieved, even as to area. For example, an American named as a "closest" associate by a Thai might, in turn, name a Japanese student as his/her "closest foreign student friend." Although the interviewers encouraged the American to answer with reference to a foreign student from the proper geographic area, even this was not always possible. The 179 foreign student associates actually named by the American students included 32 Japanese, 30 Europeans, 30 South Americans, 30 Indians, 29 Nigerians, and 28 Thais.

Time Frame of the Study.--Each set of 30 interviews of a particular American sub-set was conducted during the spring term of an academic year. This was intended to allow even newly arrived members of the foreign student sub-sets two prior academic terms to meet and relate to American students. This also largely confined the study to the American student associates of one particular group of foreign students, since the major turnover in the foreign student population occurs in the summer.

This latter factor was of interest because we were also concerned with the interconnections between the Americans. Since we assumed at this time that one coherent group of Americans might surround

each separate group of foreign students, it therefore behooved us to hold this latter group constant. This was especially true inasmuch as we were yet unsure of the longitudinal continuity between the group of American students surrounding a particular nationality group one year and the group of Americans surrounding the next year's group of that nationality. Therefore, we contained the group by conducting the interviews in one academic term; within these, the student population, American and foreign, tends to remain relatively stable.

However, the three successive springs when these interviews were conducted represented periods of turmoil on the State U. campus. This was midway through the time of massive civil protests on the American campus in general; that political epoch which started with the civil rights movement in the early sixties, and ended with the nation-wide campus student strike in the spring of 1970. Within its boundaries fell the Vietnam war and the peace movement, the Kennedy and King assassinations, the rise of the drug cults, the black power movement, and the classroom revolution, the latter coupled with the demand for "relevant" academics.

This period might be characterized as one of rebound from the political apathy and generalized acceptance of societal directions of the 1950s; the search for alternatives in values, attitudes, and lifestyles became valued in and off itself, for a substantial proportion of the university population (Roszak, 1968). Americans in particular became highly involved with the restructuring of their own society and were, therefore, less interested in other societal forms, except as these constituted potential alternative lifestyle models for

the Americans themselves. It was also a period of tremendous intra-societal anxiety and hostility, with which many societal members felt unequipped to cope (Toffler, 1970:305-326).

The full impact of this upon the research is a matter of surmise; but the tendency of Americans during this period to view strangers with hostility and distrust, and to actively conceal whole sets of their activities, did not enhance the open-ended research situation. We might also speculate that it had an effect upon the subject by affecting the ability of Americans to form transnational relationships.

The international scene during this period was also troubled. It included big-power involvement in southeast Asia, and the rise of Chinese Communism to a world power level, the Indian-Pakistani war and the situation in Bangladesh, the Nigerian-Biafran conflict, and the escalation of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Many of the "developing nations" came into their own economically and politically, and began to resent the intrusion of Western funds, Western educators and researchers, and the Western military establishment into their affairs. Although they were still in need of Western technological expertise, they did not desire to import Western cultures wholesale, in order to obtain it. All these events were reflected in the foreign student population and their relationships with Americans in a variety of ways.

First, and most unfortunate from the standpoint of our research, was the demise of the International Club in the winter of 1968-1969, as a result of the Indian-Pakistani conflict. This had been an organization which was composed of foreign students of all

nationalities, and included many interested Americans. It had sponsored a number of well attended functions, and had constituted an obvious site for transnational contact. In pragmatic terms, its disappearance meant that no formal structure marking a transnational "community" existed.

The breakdown of the organization was also undoubtedly contributed to by the fierce nationalism that had arisen in many of the "developing countries." Students representing these on the State U. campus no longer wished to be thought of simply as "foreign students," but as nationals of their specific countries--Brazilians, Thais, Kenyans.

A further consequence of this nationalism was a movement by these states to gain Western technological knowledge while retaining their own national culture(s) and identity. One means of accomplishing this was to send a significantly different sort of person overseas to study and these to study significantly different areas. The first "foreign students" from these nations had been the young sons (and sometimes daughters) of the traditional elite, or their direct replacements from the new urban-industrial bourgeoisie, as the structures of these societies changed. The liberal arts, usually undergraduate, education they sought was abstract and intended to enhance only the personal lifestyle of the student.

The new "foreign student" from these areas was an older professional with an established occupational identity, committed to, and with an investment in, the nation and its development, who was therefore interested in obtaining skills that would be of service in

practicing his profession. These students were interested in education, agriculture, engineering, business, and were more inclined to spend their time at the university, which was often very short in educational terms, acquiring the knowledge and skills which they intended to carry home. The formation of relationships with members of other nationality groups was strictly peripheral to their purpose, as was an understanding of the host nation's people and culture.

This new purpose for acquiring a western education was accompanied by a much larger influx of foreign students to the State U. campus. The number of students from the Far East in the U.S. went from approximately 9,000 in 1953 to 43,000 in 1968; for Latin Americans, during the same period, the increase was from 8,000 to 23,300; for Europeans, from 6,100 to 16,300; for students from the Near and Middle East, from 4,000 to 14,000; for North Americans, from 5,000 to 13,000; and for Africans, from 1,000 to 7,000. This increase was reflected on the State U. campus, which went from 375 foreign students in 1953 to 1,198 in 1968 (Institute for International Education, 1969).

Although this rise in the number of foreign students at State U. provided more potential transnational contactees, it also meant that sizable nationality contingents arose on the campus. These could provide sufficient internal opportunities for companionship for their members so as to insulate them from representatives of other nationality groups. This was functional for these nationality contingents, given the threat the "Brain Drain" phenomenon posed to the pool of educated manpower of these developing nations at this time. Further, these contingents could act as mutual encouragement societies, and in

some instances as watchdogs, to insure (1) that members of that nationality set on campus assiduously adhered to their main purpose--the acquisition of useful and transportable knowledge and skills, and (2) that their co-nationals did not become over-Americanized, particularly when such acculturation would make it difficult for that national to return to his or her homeland. Thus, the mass influx of foreign students to the State U. campus during the 15-year period preceding and inclusive of this study, may have acted to depress the opportunities for transnational contact between American students and foreign students.

The growth of the nationality contingents and the new-nation nationalism had several consequences for the conduct of the survey, particularly when these contingents were formalized as "nationality clubs." First, they provided ready-made lists of members of particular nationality groups. Since the clubs were registered with the foreign student office, the directories of member-names they compiled were available to us. Secondly, they formed a barrier to access to the individual members--for example, members of the Thai contingent would say they spoke no English and hang up when first contacted by phone. However, the officers of these clubs and contingent leaders were able to perform a legitimizing function for the researchers with the members, when their cooperation had been enlisted. In the case of the sub-set mentioned above, Thais who had abruptly refused to answer inquiries prior to this legitimation were entirely helpful, cooperative, and English-speaking at the next contact. Finally, the contingents sometimes attempted to perform a selective function, by



refusal to list names, or acknowledge the existence of co-nationals whose behaviors the contingent regarded as undesirable, and whom, therefore, they did not want represented in the study. In the Thai case, two brothers and their sister who had become very Americanized were ostracized by the contingent, and only discovered by accident through a Japanese contact.

In balance, it is difficult to say whether the development of new-nation nationalism and the separate nationality contingents during this historical period was an aid or a hindrance in the conduct of this research; but the total effect of these elements of the field cannot be denied. The fact that research was carried out at this particular time was reflected in the size and the nature of both the American student and the foreign student populations on campus. These population conditions affected both our substantive field (transnational contact situations) and our ability to approach it, particularly in terms of visibility, accessibility, and receptivity of the subjects who comprised it.

The Instrument.--The interview with the American associates of foreign students was conducted with the aid of a structured research instrument, composed of a schedule of 342 questions, largely open-ended in format. The final revised form, which was used in the Thai and Japanese studies, is reproduced as Appendix A. This was the third draft of the questionnaire, but constituted the single major revision of the original. This revision consisted only of additional questions, expansions of existing questions, or the construction of closed-ended questions from open-ended ones.

The latter procedure employed the answers given to a question in the first four studies as the basis for constructing a check-list of answers to the question, which were utilized in the last two studies. The questions chosen appeared to have high construct validity, and an open category for new answers was always included in the lists. This technique allowed respondents to code their own answers to the question, which considerably expedited later compilation of the data gathered in these final studies, and hopefully gained in accuracy of interpretation of answers what it lost in flexibility.

The reader should realize that this instrument was not constructed with the present study in mind, but was originally simply intended to gather as much information as possible about the interaction of American students and foreign students. For the purposes of the present investigation, we selected from the total set of questions comprising the instrument, a subset, the collective answers to which we proposed to examine. These subset questions were chosen for their potential usefulness as indicators of (a) the concepts, and (b) the relationships of these, as these were specified in our research questions.

The instrument was divided roughly into ten sections:

- (1) demographic characteristics of the American respondents (questions 1-9, 12a);
- (2) mobility characteristics of the American students (questions 12b-13, 87);
- (3) a review of the American students' foreign contacts and development of foreign interests (questions 10, 14-19, 88);
- (4) a description of the American students' relationship with foreign students in general (questions 20-23, 25-27, 89-90);

(5) feelings of the American student about associations of different types with foreign students, and their perceptions of others' reactions to these associations (questions 91-96, 28-32); (6) a description of the particular foreign student associate of the American student and how contacted (questions 33-35, 97); (7) a description of the relationship of the American student with the foreign student (questions 36-40, 44-55, 62); (8) the American's feelings about and perceptions of the relationship and the foreign student (questions 56-60, 68); (9) changes in the respondents' attitudes and future plans due to the interaction with the foreign student (questions 63-67, 69-70, 72-73); and (10) the respondent's description of his/her relationship to American society in general (question 65).

Before attempting to answer the research questions posed earlier, we first determined the demographic characteristics of the respondent pool and their foreign student associates. To do so we used the answers to questions 1-9 and 12a, which dealt with the respondents' sex, age, marital status, background similarity with the regular social partner of the opposite sex, academic level and major, father's occupation, mother's occupation, family ethnic background, and neighborhood and community types where the respondent grew up.

The answers to questions 33a-d, f-h, and j were used to characterize the foreign student. These dealt with country of origin, sex, age, marital status, academic rank and major, whether this major was the same as the American's, and the American student's perception of the foreign student's socioeconomic class. Of these characteristics, only the first was significantly predetermined by our research

technique, inasmuch as we purposely chose the American respondent set to be equally divided into 6 subsets of associates with 6 different foreign student nationality subsets. It was therefore asked only as a check on the accuracy of our respondent-selection technique.

We also characterized the respondents in terms of mobility, using questions 12b-13, and 87. These dealt with the number of homes *the* respondents had before entering college, the number after entering *college*, the respondents' perceptions of themselves as geographically *mobile* persons, travel outside the U.S., and the number and *identities* of the countries in which the respondents had lived, traveled *extensively*, or vacationed.

As well as having interest in who the contactants were, we *were* also concerned with discovering the circumstances in which the *contact* was effected. To tap this, we used the information from *question* 35, which dealt with the conditions under which the American *respondent* had met the foreign student they knew best from the appropriate sub-set area. It should be noted here that, as previously *stated*, we were interested in how particular individuals, and the *single* relationships between them, interacted to form social level *entities*. Therefore, we utilized exclusively the questions dealing with the relationship between the American respondent and one particular foreign student as our data-generating sources.

The method of choosing the respondents for this part of the study preselected, at least partially, for persons for whom the first research question should be answered in the affirmative. That is, for these respondents, the occurrence of the contacting → interacting

process was nearly a foregone conclusion. However, the other problem raised by the first research question dealt with the type of interaction established. Question 36 dealt with the quality of the relationship that had been formed, classifying foreign students as "best friends," "good friends," "academic friends," "acquaintance," or "disliked." Aside from the use of the answers to this as an assessment of the general distribution of relationship depth within the population, we also utilized these data as indicators of the quality of the contacting → interacting → networking process. We did this by correlating the interaction formed with the conditions leading to its occurrence. This seemed particularly appropriate, given that absolute occurrence was preselected for by the data-gathering techniques, so that occurrence/non-occurrence under preselected conditions could not, in effect, be investigated here.

The other dimension of the first research question concerned the substantive basis of the interaction, that of interest described generally in the research questions as "professional/intellectual" and/or "social." This was investigated by asking what the respondent and the foreign student did together in the company of others (questions 40a-p), did together alone (questions 39a-p), and talked about together (questions 49a-j).

The second research question connected the association of American students and foreign students in the present with the occurrence of similar associations in the past or present. This was measured from past to present (ex post facto longitudinally) by asking present correspondents of foreign students what their contacts with

"people and things foreign" had been in their pre-college days (questions 89a-g) and present associates of foreign students--the entire sample--what their most significant contact with foreign students had been prior to college (question 15). Non-longitudinally, this was measured by asking how many foreign students the respondents knew (question 17), how much free time was spent with them (question 27), and whether the respondent was introduced to foreign students or *the* particular foreign student associate by other Americans (questions 18d, 35).

The third research question concerned the link between these associations and/or this pattern of association, and the same or similar associations, or patterns of association, in the future. As indicators of this, we used the Americans' report of their plans to continue the relationship with the particular foreign student associate in the future, even in the presence of disadvantages (questions 67, 67a), after the foreign student returned home (question 59), and if relationships between the U.S. and the foreign students' country were strained (question 60). In addition, we considered the American's report of how this contact would be maintained (question 59a). As a final indicator, we used the Americans' reported desire to have had more contact with foreign students (question 72) and the reasons for their answer to this (question 73).

To tap the resemblance of the interactions, formed by the respondents with foreign students, to those formed by the respondents with other Americans, we simply asked directly how the respondents' behavior differed when with the foreign student (questions 44a-k) and

how the respondents' relationship with the foreign student differs from that with other Americans (question 56a).

Thus, from the master schedule, we used a subset of 111 questions, to investigate the research questions posed herein.

Procedure.--The interviews with the Americans took from one and a half to three hours; they were held in private offices and allowed for an uninterrupted space of time. The responses to the interview and a short evaluation of the researcher's overall impressions of the interview (the respondent, the situation, etc.) were written during or immediately after the interview itself.

While the final two sets of interviews, with the American student associates of the Thai and Japanese students were being conducted, a code book was written for the four sub-studies which had been done to this point. When the latter two sub-studies were completed, the code book was revised to allow for additional material contained in these and the data from all six studies were coded. The coded data were then punched onto Hollerith cards. Using two programs written by the Computer Institute for Social Science Research at Michigan State University, PERCOUNT and ACT II, percentage counts of all the variables were run, and contingency tables on American student-foreign student relationship types versus other factors selected for their ability to shed light on the research questions, as indicated above.

Multimethod Study of the Context  
of the Interaction

The second phase of the current investigation was designed as a multipart study which would fill in the background of the particular trans-societal contact situations discussed in the interviews, as well as fill in gaps in the information produced by the first three questionnaires. I proposed to do a brief ethnography of the American campus, a mail survey of the respondents to the previous questionnaires, and a series of semi-structured interviews with a selected and, hopefully, representative set of non-student associates of foreign students. I immediately launched the first project; eventually found the second impossible; and started, then reconstructed, the third. All these techniques are, of course, appropriate to the exploratory or descriptive stages of the inquiry process--that is, they served to formulate concepts and generate propositions connecting these.

An ethnographic method of some sort was the obvious choice for the first step of the research. The process of investigation was clearly at the initial exploratory stages. Although we knew a good deal about the internal content of a number of existing relationships, and the characteristics of the participants, we had a significantly less comprehensive grasp of the location, scope, and the basic outlines of the formative process of these American student-foreign student interactions in the context of the host society. We had no well demarcated population from which to draw a sample; no organization to chart; and no clear and discrete set of substantive markers to designate a possible site area of either. In short, we knew who



the interactants were in terms of traditional demographic measures, and in terms of their personal relationship with foreign students--but very little about who they were in terms of the American society immediately surrounding them. Further, the structure of this larger field was not well defined in and of itself.

Basically, it was therefore necessary at this time to observe *the* entire potential field as directly and from as broad a perspective *as possible*, in order to relocate the individual-individual contact-*interaction* process in a social system. Since the parameters of this *system* are not clearly conceptualized, the field method which best *meets* these criteria is ethnography of the direct-observation sort, *as set forth* in our discussion of the methods appropriate to the *first* two steps in the research process (see pages 66-71).

After this ethnography had been carried out, and the data from *the* set of structured interviews with the American associates of *foreign* students was assessed, several questions remained to be *answered*. We suspected that these gaps in our understanding were *present* because significant portions of American-foreign student *relationships* occurred with other Americans than students. Therefore, *we* drew up a semi-structured interview schedule to encompass these unclear areas; we proposed to administer this to a broadly selected set of non-student Americans with whom the foreign students were known to associate. This instrument was composed of open-ended questions which required the interviewees to describe and conceptualize their relationship with the foreign student in a series of situations and time frames.

This method is more circumscribed than ethnography in that it systematically focuses on the problem in every research unit, and does so in a regularized format. That is, it "controls" for, and presumably minimizes, a number of the unique characteristics of each interview situation. Further, it focuses down on particular aspects of the research problem, and does not provide ways to discern or examine other aspects thereof.

However, it is less circumscribed and more flexible than the structured interview schedule described prior to this, in that it did not suggest specific, or preconceptualized dimensions of the conditions of occurrence and the content of the relationship. Conversely, the data from one semi-structured interview are less comparable to those from another, than the data from one structured interview schedule to another.

In short, the purpose of such a technique, in this case, is to focus on particular relationships without conceptualizing these relationships along a predetermined set of dimensions.

The Ethnography.--An ethnography was done of the American campus because little was known of the nature of a third culture's correspondence to or divergence from the embedding "host culture"; this segment of the research was thus still at the concept-formulation stage.

In the course of this ethnography, I relied primarily on two techniques: participant observation and the use of informants.

Participant observation was partially a natural consequence of my own lifestyle; I had lived and worked on American

campuses for the past ten years. As a graduate student, instructor, pre-medical student, and a faculty wife for six years, I had access to several levels of campus life, and was able to do a good deal of participant observation by simply taking advantage of experiences available to me in my normal life-round. The subpopulations to which I had ready access in this way were: the faculty and students of a small "liberal arts college" sector of the university; several sectors of the academic "agricultural" community; the faculty and students of several graduate departments; and the occupants of the "married housing" complexes. I also had extensive opportunities to observe undergraduate and graduate classroom, library, study room, and laboratory situations.

I still felt the lack of information about many other sectors, including many of the undergraduate and single graduate students, however. Therefore, I determined to set about observing these subpopulations in a more structured way. I systematically spent periods of observation in a representative set of the areas in which single graduate students were found, including graduate study rooms in departmental buildings, laboratories, several local taverns, private residences, and the lobby, cafeteria, studies, lounges, and residence rooms of the Graduate Dormitory. In some of these, I was introduced by a "sponsor" as a friend (not an investigator); in others, I simply entered, seated myself in an unobtrusive spot, and observed. I took my field notes under the guise of studying from a book.

To determine the range of areas in which this population was found, I first utilized members of the population as informants.

I was also able to discuss my own observations and interpretations with several of these population members--this proved of invaluable aid in "checking" the accuracy and reasonableness of my findings.

The undergraduates posed different problems; first, the size of **th**is campus sector was very large, both in numbers and physical dispersion. Secondly, it was more difficult for me to participate or observe undergraduate-dominated situations unobtrusively, due to my age (mid-twenties) and the political tenor of the late 1960s, which led to suspicion of observant older strangers. Eventually, informants proved the most productive source of data on undergraduates. These were drawn from a variety of sources, although my students, in particular, provided a substantial number.

All the ethnographic field notes were kept in a folder, along with short summaries and notes on conceptual insights that arose from the field experience. The results of this phase of the study are presented in the section, Data Analysis and Findings, which follows.

The Mail Survey.--I had intended to do a follow-up mail survey of the respondents to the original questionnaire. The intent was to see whether the life patterns reported during the interviews had changed, and whether contact had been maintained with the foreign student associate. This latter proved impractical, for several reasons. First, a complete list of the original respondents did not exist; all but two of these had been destroyed after the original studies to preserve the respondents' anonymity. Second, current addresses for the individuals on the remaining lists were not always available; many of the sample members had left the university purview

several years ago, and had not advised the alumni office of their whereabouts. Of these, I assumed that only approximately two-thirds might be induced to respond, given the usual rate of return (about 60%) for mail surveys. This process of elimination reduced the sub-set of interest to five persons, while the survey still promised to be expensive and time-consuming. Therefore, this means of data-gathering was abandoned, and the information which it had been intended to gather was collected largely in the next phase of the study.

The Semi-Structured Interviews.--Finally, I attempted to interview a highly selected set of the non-student associates of foreign students, to "fill in" the picture of the bounded set of meaningful relationships, which we still assumed to be an internationally-oriented "group," in which the foreign student was imbedded. Thus, I assumed that the inquiry was at the latter stages of concept generation, and the early stages of proposition formulation. In other words, I felt that "third culture," "binational groups," and several related concepts adequately described the components of the situation, and was interested in generating a few new concepts to organize some unexplained fringes of the situation. Further, I wished to find the specific ways in which these previously--and newly--generated concepts related to one another.

Therefore, I designed a semi-structured interview, to focus on the relations of the concepts already set forth, while also providing enough leeway for the interviewer to explore new possibilities as they arose. (See Appendix B.) This consisted primarily of a set schedule of open-ended questions, laced with a large number of probes.

The questions themselves focused on the relationship between the interviewees and the foreign students with whom their positions brought them into contact. I restricted the interview time to an absolute maximum of two hours; in several cases, the interviewee and I met twice, in one-hour sessions.

For the interviewees, I selected two people from the administrative staff of the foreign student office, two from the non-administrative staff, two from the English language center, and four from different sectors of the community volunteer organization whose purpose is to orient and assist newly arrived foreign students. This community organization has official status with the University, occupying office space, and utilizing university services. I used the members of the set selected as a reference source for other possible types of associates of foreign students, ultimately approximately tripling the original number of interviewees, and adding ten other from exogenous sources.

This "snowballing" process was carried out by soliciting the names of other persons in the respondent's professional/social trans-societal networks and following up on a number of these, although at this point I made a conscious effort to find different "types" of people who were involved in trans-societal networking. In a quarter of the cases, this meant talking to people I discovered by pure happenstance in the course of my investigation, for periods of time varying from a half-hour to several evenings.

Altogether, I formally interviewed eleven persons for periods of two hours or more, conducted interviews of one-half to one hour

with nine more, and generated short, but highly focused interchanges with approximately another twenty--a total of some forty individual interviews. I wrote a full account of all formal interviews immediately upon returning from them, and kept field notes on the interviews conducted in more informal settings. The assessment of these findings will be presented in the section which follows the methodological summary.

#### Problems in the Research/ Interim Solutions

At several junctures in the investigative process, difficulties arose which significantly changed the course of the research. The first of these occurred during the coding of the results of the interviews conducted in the six studies of American (student) associates of foreign students, the first phase of the current study. It became clear that, although a very rich set of data had been generated, the type of interview responses and thus, the resultant data constructs, differed widely from interviewer to interviewer, as well as between schedule revisions. For example, one interviewer had a tendency to stimulate or record only simple dichotomies as responses, while other interviewers recorded highly qualified answers to the identical question. ("I might consider making friends with an Arab here on campus, but not in my home town," and "No" might both be typical answers to the same question, when posed by different interviewers.) These responses were, needless to say, extremely difficult to code under the same schema.

Another problem arose during the change-over in coding supervision; when the coders were temporarily bereft of a decision-maker, *they* would often solve coding dilemmas by constructing new coding *categories*. Often, these were not at the same level of abstraction *as the* other categories, nor arranged on the same theoretical dimensions; consequently, the N's for these categories were extremely *small*, and the categories themselves essentially uncollapsible, after *the fact*. Nor could the response categories be arranged on anything *approaching* a continuum, after this treatment.

Lack of a random sample, of course, and construction of codes from the data after its collection, should be a sufficient deterrent *to doing* a statistical analysis of variance of findings. Further, it *is always* inappropriate to run statistical tests dependent on randomness and independence of, respectively, the set of respondents and *the answers* to the questions on the interview schedule, during this *stage* of the inquiry process. Since the population of interest is *not* established until after the theory is formulated, a random sample *cannot* be drawn from it at this juncture. Also, since questions on a *schedule* are often designed to elicit a listing of specific behaviors *which* fit into one general category (that is, the substantive phenomena and occurrences to which a concept refers) they obviously cannot *be precoded*. Randomness of the answers is negated by ex post facto *data* construction processes (Hays, 1963:596-597). Finally, in this *case*, the realization that 80% of the cell N's were under five, and *that* none of the data could approximate interval order, convinced us *that* such a procedure would have been entirely unjustified.



At any rate, in studies at this stage of inquiry, the researcher is still trying to determine what the pattern of behavior is, and the conditions under which particular behaviors occur. He is **not** trying to test the likelihood that a particular behavior will occur under known conditions. The data gathered through interviews of **this** type can only be understood and treated, statistically and otherwise, at a descriptive level; they should not be mistaken for data of another kind.

A third problem, of a slightly different nature, became evident during the first few semi-structured interviews--those conducted with American non-student associates of foreign students, during the second phase of the current study.

Immediately upon beginning these interviews, it became abundantly clear that the informants were not forming the sort of close interpersonal relationships with foreign students which I had planned to study. In fact, the formation of such relationships was actively discouraged for university employees in the foreign student office (for professional reasons), and somewhat antithetical to the expressed purposes of the community organization. However, far from being useless, these interviews proved to be a very valuable source of information, in a manner different than originally anticipated.

To put it briefly, the interviewees were, indeed, members of trans-societal entities, but these entities did not include the foreign student advisees of the community and university personnel. Rather, the membership of these tended to be other Americans who had also had trans-societal experiences (as had most of the foreign



student office and community organization personnel) or senior foreign nationals who had been abroad to the same regions as the Americans.

*These* findings will be discussed in greater detail later--suffice it to say that I found that I was discovering a great deal about trans-societal interactions, while obtaining very little positive information about the interactions of foreign students on an American campus.

By this time, the analysis of the earlier interview data had been completed, and I was searching for a way of explaining it. It was quite clear that the American student associates of foreign students were not forming groups. It was also clear that the non-student associates of foreign students were behaving in a similar fashion, but that they did participate in a large number of trans-societally-oriented interactions. Logically, this meant that the concepts that had been generated needed to be re-examined, before propositions were formulated from them.

Again, fortuitously, I had used the term "networking" as a way of describing the way groups were formed, when designing this set of background studies. Having finished the data analysis, I was researching the literature on this topic, and began to realize that the term had connotations which made it vary substantially from my usage of it. In actuality, "networking" referred to the creation of a "network," which was a considerably different entity than a "group." (See the previous section, Networking, contained herein.)

The notion of "network" cast a great deal of light on the findings from the first set of questionnaires, and also made sensible the experience I had been having in the latest interviews. What had

been occurring was this: after trying fruitlessly to establish a picture of the relationship between the interviewees and one or more of their foreign student charges, and evoking only statements about proper formal procedures and educational philosophies, I had turned to investigating the other trans-societal contacts of my respondents. In trying to construct frameworks or patterns for these, I found that I was eliciting whole life-space chronologies of such contacts. Practically, this meant that I was taking abbreviated life-histories.

However, the immediate effect of this theoretical emphasis shift--or, to put it another way, the revision of the concept "bina-tional group"--was to shift my interviewing focus from the attempt to establish group parameters to an effort to discern the networking mechanism. I was no longer as concerned with whom the interviewees knew, as with how they had come to know them. At this point, having generated a more appropriate way of conceptualizing a puzzling part of the situation described, the study returned to the proposition-formulation stage, using the life-space interview, focused on a particular type of experience, as the descriptive-study field technique.

### Summary

The whole thrust of the discussion here has been to show the necessity for, and the practical possibility of, a constant interplay between theoretical development and methodological technique. In the process of making this case, one of the major complicating factors in the implementation of theory-method resonance has become apparent--continuous reciprocity of this kind sullies the pure lines of the

typical "scientific" research design. Instruments must be changed *while* in use, samples redrawn, etc., while the very state of the *inquiry* may appear to move backwards more quickly than it moves *ahead*.

However, our case in point is also a clear argument for the *necessity* of separating logical rigor from technical tidiness, since a *new* and useful conceptual approach, or explanation of behavior ("networking") would have most probably been ignored had we been *adamantly* committed to one instrument, one sample, or one theoretical *framework*. Therefore, I would argue that it is such logical clarity, *rather* than neatness of method, that constitutes science.

## SECTION III

### FINDINGS

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## INTRODUCTION

Three major bodies of data can be seen to have been generated, in the course of this study: primary ethnographic data on the university campus context, quantitative data from the structured interviews on the one-to-one relationships of American and foreign students, and secondary ethnographic data from the semi structured interviews on the relationships within the American-emanating sector of the "international academic network" on the campus. We will present them in the order listed, in an attempt to allow them to provide, respectively, a picture of the social ground within which the relationships studied occurred, the substantive content of these relationships, and, finally, the basis for the major reinterpretation of these relationships that occurred during the process of the investigation.

## CHAPTER 8

### PRIMARY ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA

#### The University Campus

The first impressions one had of this classic Midwestern "state university" campus in the mid-60s would have been somewhat conflicting: one would have been struck simultaneously by the tremendous diversity and the overwhelming homogeneity.

Probably the most obvious (and therefore, an easily ignored) source of this duality was the physical plant itself. Older buildings in the best College Gothic and Victorian gingerbread traditions clustered along winding, tree-lined drives on the "old section" of the campus. Residence halls (sex-segregated) were interspersed with playing fields, a picturesque belltower square, traditional classroom buildings, and the home of the university president.

This serene complex was separated by a wide street from the business section of the pleasant medium-sized town in which the university was (and is) located. The business section itself was then a sprawl of clothing, book and trinket shops, quick-stop food stores, restaurants, theatres, and service agencies, all catering to the presumably affluent university population. The town contained the fraternities, religious houses, co-ops, communes, and apartment buildings that housed a substantial portion of the student body. (Residence halls were, at that time, regarded as the least desirable form of



housing by many students.) Businessmen, independent professionals, and university faculty made up the vast majority of the non-student population of the town, with the exception of the residents of some decaying fringe areas that bordered the adjacent medium-sized industrial city.

Beyond the university town, away from the city, were newer residential suburbs, shopping centers, and the large chain discount-and-grocery stores, most of which had arisen in the early 60s and were 0-5 years old, at the time of the study. There was, in the mid- to late-60s, little or no public transportation to these areas--they were basically only accessible by car. The net effect of this was to make living off-campus in the town (without a car) expensive, and rather circumscribed in terms of consumer goods, albeit attractive for a variety of other reasons.

Returning to the campus, beyond the "old campus" was the new. Here, ivyless, buildings rose steeply from the flat green fields, the latter only recently claimed from the bordering experimental farms. The areas between the buildings were wide, and the streets long and straight, while the sapling trees which lined them were dwarfed by the high-rise brick-and-glass dormitories. Bicycle paths striped the well-mown grass between the massive new research facilities, the giant classroom-dormitory complexes, and the stadium-intramural area. This new campus was, in many ways, a monument to the post-Sputnik boom of the late 1960s in natural science, physical fitness, and mass education. It was the domain of agriculture, engineering education, the traditional "natural sciences" and mathematics.

The sparkling brick-and-glass International Center, no more than 10 years old, was at the campus hub; where the new and the old intersected. The equally new graduate residence hall stood at a peripheral nexus of the new campus, the old campus, and the town. These constituted two of the three major loci of American-foreign student, and foreign student-foreign student interaction. Both had cafeterias, lounge areas, and foreign student advisor offices. The graduate hall also included various recreation rooms, libraries, and similar facilities.

Both the sharp division between the "old" and the "new" campus, and the lack of venerability of the graduate hall and the International Center were indicators of another historical watershed. In the ten years following World War II, State U. underwent a radical change, from a provincial state agricultural and technical college to a major international multiversity, until, at the time of the study in the mid-60s, it was the largest undergraduate residential campus in the United States. Graduate programs were started or enlarged dramatically--hence the need for the graduate resident hall. Faculty numbers swelled with the student body, from a small community of scholars to a population of nearly 2,500, by 1968.

At the same time as its growth and change in academic-level focus, State U. became substantially less provincial. An aggressive recruiting program for outstanding undergraduate, out-of-state students began, and special advanced track programs were initiated to accommodate the new recruits. Simultaneously, research and extension stations, primarily with a predominantly agricultural focus, were set

up, or affiliated with, in a number of developing nations such as Pakistan and Nigeria. (At the time of the study, these were in some difficulty, for the reasons discussed under "Time Frame" in the preceding methodology section.) The International Center was constructed partially as a physical focus for these, and for the concomitantly expanding federal post-war exchange programs. These latter brought foreign students to the State U. en masse for the first time.

This growing internationalism was enhanced by the establishment of the English Language Center. This not only provided foreign students at State U. with basic English skills, but served as a receiving center every summer for foreign students arriving under the aegis of the State Department. Thus, State U. became nationally known as an international service center--a reputation that was furthered by the frequent use of the center for continuing education building for international conferences. This use was, again, reciprocally furthered by the reputation just mentioned, and by the exportability of U.S. agricultural and technical expertise to the newly developing nations of the world.

This post-war internationalism of State U. was characterized by its agricultural base. Although the university had an international reputation, the centers of cross-cultural interchange seemed to form a discrete physical-social set which was outside the salient environment and experiences of much of the university population. Thus, in spite of the influx of foreign students and the obviousness of the internationally oriented facilities, State U. had retained its state college-small town atmosphere, physically and socially.

At the opposite corner of the campus, squeezed between the "new campus" and the city, were several large spreads of low-rise apartments known as "Married Housing." In many ways, these complexes constituted not only a distinct physical environment, but a separate lifestyle for their inhabitants. Here the ubiquitous greensward was somewhat thin and trampled, and the usually immaculate landscaping a bit bedraggled by the continuous passage of children, bicycles, and soccer balls. The sense of commonality was high among the occupants of the thin-walled apartments, whose three to four rooms (and one bath) housed two to six individuals. Except for variance in room number, all of the apartments were precisely alike. The porches and sidewalks running the length of each apartment block served as major informal interaction sites, as did the central laundromats and playgrounds. This was the third major site of foreign student activity and interaction with Americans and each other.

A final physical factor that served to further the disparity between one sector of the university and another was the sheer size of the campus itself. In good weather, it took 20 minutes by bicycle, and over half an hour on foot, at a good pace, to get from one side of the campus to another; in the frequently occurring inclement weather, these times were extended. Buses were available, but their cost was relatively high, and their routes rather restricted, especially outside of peak class hours. The use of cars on campus by undergraduate students and most graduate and professional students was also strictly regulated; lack of parking facilities and the parking rules themselves tended to exclude cars as a feasible means of

transportation/communication on the campus proper. Thus, it was difficult for a student to get from one area to another and each area tended to represent a particular residential/occupational life style. Both the impetus and the means for integrating the differing sectors of university activity into one individual's experience were lacking. In short, the campus as a physical construction enhanced its social segmentalization.

On an individual-behavioral level, the campus diversity was observable in the many dress styles, recreation choices, career plans, living arrangements, socio-economic statuses, academic commitments and abilities, and geographic origins, of the student body. "Sets" of students could be delineated by the researcher through the observation of differences on one or more of these factors. This was fortunate inasmuch as the boundaries of the different campus sectors were not entirely clear cut, and there were many areas of overlap and mingling.

It is not possible to document all the lifestyles present at one time on the campus in these pages; such an undertaking would require a series of volumes. Nor would total documentation be fruitful, as many of the lifestyle patterns were quite ephemeral in nature, lasting for a year or less. In the interests of illustrating the diversity, without neglecting the specific details that make up particular realities, I have chosen to present a series of mini-ethnographies, which constituted a representative selection of the many sub-sectors of the "university community," at the time of the study.

### Three Campus Lifestyles

The first three lifestyle groups were those of the committed agriculture students, the Bohemian fringe, and the "average undergraduate." Short synopses of these are presented here together, inasmuch as few or no international associations were found among the members of these sectors. No attempt was made to cover or include all the sub-sectors of the campus.

The presence of the agriculture student or "aggie" was an identifying characteristic of the State U. campus. The "aggie" was an American student who had committed his or her life, vocationally and often avocationally, to the pursuit of agriculture; these students formed a coherent, identifiable and exclusionary group. The requirements for membership in this group were substantial experience with the rural American way of life, and dedication thereto, as exhibited in the proper dress, speech, and manner; the possession of certain practical skills was also an important criterion. Preferably, a candidate for membership should have owned a horse and lived in the surrounding countryside. "Machismo" of the proper (rural) sort was highly valued in men, as was strongly contrasting traditional "feminine" behavior and appearance in women. Despite this, the same dedication and agricultural competence was required of both women and men.

Physically, this group was found in its own areas of the campus and seldom outside. The Livestock Pavillion, the livestock and crop barns, and the agricultural disciplines' departmental offices and rooms were some of these. To many of these, admission was only granted

to persons who were members of the agricultural group. This was, however, a largely undergraduate phenomenon--graduate and professional students, as well as faculty, were affiliated primarily along formal disciplinary membership lines.

No foreign students were found in this group the difficulty they would have experienced in meeting the requirements for membership seem apparent. There were certainly foreign graduate students in agricultural disciplines, but as we shall later point out, all graduate/professional students shared some common lifestyle elements that served to differentiate them from all undergraduate modes.

The "Bohemian fringe," known colloquially at the time of the study as "hippies," lived largely off-campus in communal-style houses. This group was also primarily composed of undergraduates, although the transients who lodged in the public rooms of these houses, and the erstwhile faculty supporters of the causes of the "youth culture" may have been considerably older. The primary requirement for membership in this group was adherence to the current group social values and behavior, as set forth by the group leaders, and to the notion that the group and the introspective lifestyle had overriding importance with respect to all other commitments in life.

The group's social values were seldom comprehensible outside the context of modern American society; they were most typically conceived as its direct value and behavioral opposites. This was a counterculture with specific reference to mainstream American society, and to no other; that is to say, the salient value dimensions of both

the counterculture and the larger American society were the same, although their relative locations therein approached opposite poles.

This was, of course, not the case on all campuses--an international "youth culture" did exist in other places. However, with the exception of a very few group leaders, neither the American undergraduates nor the foreign students (graduate or undergraduate) were members thereof; State U. did not recruit from this population in the 1960s. Therefore, this group was undergraduate, physically separated from the campus proper, and profoundly American in nature. These factors combined to make it highly inaccessible and unreceptive to the foreign population at State U. and only one foreign student--an isolated, Westernized Iranian--was found in this sector.

The "average State U. student" was a graduate of a public high school in Michigan. These undergraduates made sense of the immensity of the University by maintaining their primary affiliations with persons and institutions in their communities of origin, to which they returned frequently. Like the "aggies" and the "hippies," they developed a local set of associates, haunts, and pastimes that constituted a smaller and more manageable environment in the hugeness of the multiversity. However, unlike the lifestyles constructed by other groups, the campus environment formed by the average students, and the relationships within it, were transient. Neither this environment nor these relationships engendered or demanded a high level of loyalty in the present or a continuing commitment in the past or future, although occasionally stable heterosexual relationships may have implied such commitment.





For these students, college was a hiatus between childhood and adulthood. During this period, they experimented with different behavior patterns and considered possible mates, in a tolerant atmosphere and with persons to whom they would not be accountable later in life. From this they exited, upon graduation, to take up their adult roles in the larger society.

Although it was possible for a foreign student to become part of an American student group of this sort, the relationships formed with the group members were, by definition, transient. The concomitant of this transiency was an unwillingness on the part of the Americans to spend time developing the bases for a relationship--they sought relationships that they might "step into" and "step out of" with ease and without rancor. Therefore, foreign students must have been able and willing to fit into these relationships strictly on American terms, or they would have remained isolated from the American students. Their choice was Americanization or no contact--both were made, but neither led to the formation of continuing transnational interactions.

Further, these groups were wholly undergraduate phenomena, which restricted access to them to a very small part of the foreign student population. In sum, only highly Americanized foreign undergraduates formed relationships with these American students, and these relationships were transient, and not transnational in the sense of being a bi-national construct.

This was the pattern found in many sectors of the State U. campus--they were undergraduate, often transient, and uncompromisingly

American; that is, modeled on an adult sector of American life with little or no generalizability to a sector of the foreign students' society. Not only did these represent inaccessible or unattainable patterns of behavior for most foreign students, they were also possibly unacceptable in the foreign students' terms. For all these reasons, these campus subsectors did not represent sites of transnational contact, much less interaction formation.

There were, however, some campus subsectors which were quite conducive to the formation of such interactions; or, at least, were not intrinsically inhibitory of them. These, therefore, are presented in more detail in the following pages.

#### The Formal Academic Setting

The meeting ground of many of the subpopulations that made up the university was the classroom. The introductory survey courses drew nearly the entire undergraduate population of the university, except those few students enrolled in alternative programs. There was a sharp differentiation between these and other courses intended primarily for undergraduates, and the courses offered in the graduate school. Many undergraduate classes were large, having from 50-800 students. Many classrooms were equally large; or students sitting in classrooms might be taught from a central point through the use of intra-university television. Instructors often wore microphones, and used overhead projectors for their "board-work." Books were ordered by the carton, and examinations graded by computer, while students were identified by a six-digit number on the classlists. The total

effect was one of overwhelming impersonality, an effect which was compounded by the massiveness of the other university facilities.

This atmosphere was not conducive to the formation of relationships between the participants. Although some cross-sex associations may have arisen, these were usually carried outside of the classroom for furtherance. They were based on one of the few shared goals of the single undergraduates from all subpopulations--the establishment of a steady relationship with a desirable member of the opposite sex. At any rate, for undergraduates the mass academic milieu was not the one in which most interaction-generative contacts were made.

Even in the early years of a students' career, of course, not all academic situations were of this type. There were laboratories, discussion groups, joint paper presentations; a variety of conditions under which students met and worked together. The physical setting of these contacts was so variable that it was difficult to generalize. One key factor in promoting relationship formation, however, was that the students involved were identified on an individual basis. Even a very small didactic lecture did not offer the chances for interaction that a large laboratory or discussion group might--and thus, offered fewer chances for individual relationships to arise.

A second factor that appeared to be critical as a basis for interaction formation in an academic situation was that the students shared some common interest or goal, preferably one embedded in the academic subject area itself. This need not be subject-related--for example, a camaraderie existed among preveterinary students who had to take the same subjects, even though their interest in the subject

itself may have been strictly confined to its contribution to their degree program.

Toward the end of the undergraduate years, when cohorts of disciplinary majors became identified, these individuals often came to know each other. This was particularly so if they were involved in the same course sequences, and if the class sizes in these courses were relatively small. However, for undergraduates, the general transiency of all campus-based relationships, and/or commitment to another set of relationships, militated against the formation of on-going, meaningful relationships based on academic commonalities.

Furthermore, at such a large university, the overlap of residential and academic acquaintances was largely happenstance, since living companions were usually chosen and residential arrangements set before academic affiliations were established. Nor was there the suggestion at the undergraduate level, with a few exceptions, that classmates would have a high probability of becoming life-long occupational peers. In short, the bonds between members of an undergraduate academic group, even when established, were likely to be unidimensional and unitemporal--and therefore, were not compelling bases for the establishment of a long-term same-sex relationship.

The exceptions to this were the three undergraduate thematic liberal arts "colleges" which housed and taught from 500-1,000 students each in one building. These had their own facilities, deans, and curricula. They represented a conscious attempt to counteract the impersonality of the larger university; by and large, they succeeded.

The final factor leading to the lessened importance of undergraduate academic encounters as relationship generators was their possible low salience in the students' scheme of priorities. Bachelor's degrees, particularly of the liberal arts variety, were often simply viewed as the credential necessary for obtaining a middle-class job. Alternatively, continued enrollment in the university may have been the necessary condition for continued parental financial support. Neither of these motivations for class enrollment and attendance were indicative of deep and continued interest in the academic subject with which the class might deal. Thus, the classroom situation may have had generally low salience to a sizable set of undergraduates, none of whom could have been expected to form bonds based on common academic interest.

In the graduate situation, and especially in those departments whose graduates were also preparing for an academic career, courses were very small. They were often run as small colloquies with equal credence given to each participant, although guided by senior discussant. The assumption was one of commitment to a common field of endeavor--individuals who did not fit this model fell away.

To the extent that a foreign student was linguistically or technically able to participate in these seminars he was potentially capable of being accepted as a full-fledged member thereof. Membership implied relationships with the other participants--the strength of the relationship probably dependent on length of association and extent of overlap of academic areas, as well as personal compatibility with particular participants.

The graduate department often reinforced these classroom experiences with common study rooms, joint parties, luncheon discussion-presentations, small specialized libraries and coffee funds, which stressed department solidarity. In this process, the foreign students and faculty, as well as the American, were caught up. Under these circumstances, present status in the discipline was relevant to the interaction-formation process, but not the interactants' previous backgrounds.

All these factors combined to produce a situation intrinsically receptive to the integration of foreigners and Americans into a new discipline-based solidarity set, and thereby, the promotion of individual transnational interactions.

#### The Married Students

During the late 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s, on the south side of the campus, sandwiched between experimental farms, intramural playing fields, and a satellite commercial area of the town, rose row upon row of low, flat-topped brick buildings, arranged in three major complexes. This was "Married Housing," the replacement for the older quonset huts which housed the World War II and Korean War veterans and their families. It was not particularly aesthetic; the architecture was 1950's elementary-school modern, and the maintenance was sporadic. It had been (not entirely facetiously) described as "a middle-class slum," by its residents. It would probably be accurate to say that "middle-class" referred to the attitudes of the occupants, while "slum" referred to the physical facilities. Nevertheless, this

represented one of the more desirable residence alternatives in the area for married students, particularly those with children.

Again, the physical environment played a large part in creating the social-interaction pattern. Each apartment block had two levels; six-foot concrete strips ran the length of the building, fronting both the upper and lower tiers. Each apartment had one outer door which opened onto this strip; the upper deck formed a roof over the lower, which was at ground level. Each apartment had an identical picture window, looking into (or out of, depending on your perspective) the living room into which the outer door also opened. The living room opened into the kitchen; the kitchen opened into either one or two bedrooms, and possibly into a bath. (Two-bedroom apartments were reserved exclusively for couples with children.) The two to three closets were closed with folding vinyl doors, and the floors were institutional tile. The rooms were small, and rather dark; this latter characteristic was enhanced by the fact that partially closing the blinds was the only way to obtain even a modicum of privacy from the public walkway directly in front of the window. The total impression, both inside and out, was that of overwhelming sameness, and of crowding.

The whole effect was compounded by an element of shabbiness, conferred by the grit from the open incinerators, the tangle of children's and adults' bicycles, hibachi grills, and storage boxes on the walkways, and the patches of bare earth showing through the struggling grass between the walkway and the streets. The complex having been built on farmland, the trees were a recent planting, and were still of sapling stature. In addition, the walls of a number of



apartments were metal--a sheet of ice formed on the inside of these in the winter, in the living room area, mildewing the surrounding structures. Even the heat was centrally regulated, rather than being controllable in individual apartments. Had this been located next to a factory, rather than a university, it could easily have passed muster as a "low-income housing project"; which, indeed, it was.

In contrast, the inhabitants of the apartments were middle-class in attitude, as well as in origin or immediate aspiration; for many, this represented only a temporary reduction in financial status, which was treated as a sort of a game. Oriental carpets and stereo record players filled the tiny living rooms; books lined the walls; camping, sailing, and skiing gear filled the storage boxes. In the "efficiency" kitchens, inexpensive chicken became coq au vin, cholesterol levels were carefully considered, and the children were plied with vitamins. Scanty funds were stretched to purchase life insurance policies and pediatric check-ups. In short, the lifestyle pattern was entirely middle-class in outlook; the behavior so in the present or anticipatorily. "Deferred gratification" was all but inscribed as a motto at the gate. Nevertheless, many residents utilized food stamps and public immunization programs. Children were dressed in hand-me-downs from more affluent cousins, and were often dependent on the generosity of grandparents for their toys. An evening out on payday was the Burger Chef and the drive-in movie; haircuts were given at home; winter coats were purchased at Sears or the Salvation Army stores. Dental work was an unaffordable luxury.

It was the experiencing of these contradictions that seemed to lead to the overriding sense of camaraderie that existed here. The impermanence of this type of poverty was undoubtedly a critical factor in creating the atmosphere of companionship-in-adversity. This was partially acted-out through a series of mutual-aid agreements and relationships--joint childcare arrangements were particularly common, as were car pooling, communal entertaining (pot-lucks, progressive suppers, BYOB's), and group purchasing of commodities in bulk.

Aside from the experience of this peculiar economic-attitudinal discrepancy, a second source of solidarity among the inhabitants was a common occupational goal-set: academic employment. There are several reasons why this was characteristic of the resident population. First, graduate assistants were given preference in assigning the housing-units; secondly, graduate students were more likely to be married (and were considerably more likely to have children); and third, graduate students, being older, were more likely to be married for their entire student careers. This latter factor meant that although undergraduate couples or families may have moved in for a year or so, it was graduate students who formed the stable core of the population, living there for two to three years or more. The major reason for pursuing graduate studies, particularly on a full-time basis, was to go into an academic field professionally. (Persons working full-time, taking graduate courses in business or a similar field, characteristically did not live in married housing--nor was their social reference set found on the university campus.)

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Further, graduate assistants, by definition, had at least a minimal income. This allowed wives of male graduates to stay home with their small children, thus forming a sub-set of persons who were proximal to each other for long periods of time, and acting to bind the families together in interaction sets. Families in which the wife was engaged in obtaining an education often used these other women as caretakers for their own small children, thus integrating their families into the set as well.

The typical work pattern of male graduate students,\* in this setting, further enhanced and enforced the solidarity of the residence-bound women. Many men left at 7:00 or 8:00 A.M., carried their lunch, came home at about 5:00 to 6:00 P.M., ate supper, and at 7:00 or 8:00 P.M. returned to campus to study until midnight. Thus, their wives had to look to each other for aid and companionship.

Another characteristic feature of this campus sector was a tacit agreement to ignore disparities in personal background, in favor of recognizing the commonalities in present and future state. This also often extended to ignore disciplinary differences in the present (which, at a multiversity of this sort, were many and varied). This also meant that place and style of residence became the salient dimensions of the relationships formed under these circumstances. This was

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\*The pattern for female graduate students, especially those with children, was somewhat different. They tended to eschew the social activities of the graduate rooms, and to return to their own homes for recreation and amusement. This was not true of many of the men who were absent from home from 8 A.M. to midnight (effectively). A great deal of their out-of-the-home activity involved informal interactions with other graduate students and faculty--and this was, quite probably, professionally useful.

particularly true for those family members (usually the wives caring for small children) who spent a great deal of their time in and about the residence--they were literally forced into social proximity with those to whom they were geographically near, and it was therefore highly functional for them to concentrate on those dimensions of their lives which were shared (such as place of residence, child care, etc.) rather than those which were not (such as previously lifestyles and own or spouse's disciplines). These latter became matters of conversational interest, but not relationship determinacy.

However, among graduate students, academic situations were often the major source of social contact; and since these situations, at the graduate level, were usually unidisciplinary, these ties of academic discipline were the most common cross-link between one set of neighbors and another in the married housing complexes (and out of them).

A particularly distinctive characteristic of these (and many other) groups of married couples was that they were bound together by the relationships between the women in the group, rather than the men (who were simply required to be reasonably congenial). The relationships were initiated either through physical proximity of residence, or same-sex disciplinary collegial relationships. [That is, a couple might initiate a relationship with another couple because (a) the men were academic colleagues, or (b) the women were academic colleagues, or (c) the couples were neighbors, and the contact was made by either member of the couples with the same-sex member of the other couple.] However, the relationship had invariably to be

carried through by the female partners, who were expected to take the initiative in planning the social life. The male members of the couples basically had what amounted to a veto power over relationships, rather than a power to actively maintain. The strongest bonds were, naturally, formed between couples for whom both same-sex relationships were highly congenial.

The children involved were usually so young that their relationships were of little or no importance, although a positive relationship between the children in two families could act as a "sweetener" for an established interaction. The same could be said for other factors which were often the basis of inter-family bonds, such as mutual participation in recreational, religious, or fraternal organizations.

The implicit common characteristic of married-student life, underlying those previously mentioned, was that it was intensely "social." This may have been partially due to its nearness in time (in the life-history of the participants) and in physical space to single undergraduate life, in which social activities and conviviality were extremely highly valued. Again, the existing value structure was reinforced by the physical environment; there was--and is--a sheer necessity for getting along well with neighbors under conditions of high crowding, as in university married housing. This was also a path to, and a result of, mutual-aiding behavior in handling critical life functions, especially in the absence of biologically-based extended families.

These value-characteristics, of solidarity and conviviality, had recently been formally embodied by the Married Students' Union, whose "activities building" served as a day-care center, meeting place, exchange center, and general office. The Union was basically an institutional recognition of the separateness of the social life of the married students in style and locale from the rest of the student body's.

The style of recreation chosen by most married students both resembled and differed from that of their single contemporaries. Aside from the favorite in-the-home-get-togethers for meals, games, slide shows, and general congeniality, a great many families camped, picnicked, golfed, played tennis, and generally engaged in outdoor activities together. The exhibition of culinary prowess, the playing of board games and charades, and the showing of slides seemed to be more typical of married student couples; singles were more inclined to either "heavy" conversations or to low lights and fast music. Although camping and large-scale picnicking are now universally popular, at the time of this study they were more characteristic of married couples, and particularly of families. Golf and tennis were popular with both married and unmarried students.

Eating out was a favorite activity; a number of small, quiet bars were frequented by "young marrieds," including both graduate students and young faculty, as well as more sedate graduate and faculty singles. As a family progressed in age and respectability, establishments such as Pancake Houses and Big Boys gained in popularity, although these latter were also frequented by undergraduate

singles. Most married students had a car, which allowed them greater access to many forms of entertainment than single students, who were less likely to have a vehicle.

The rules for admission to participation in this campus set were varied. The most salient characteristics appeared to be (1) married status--a problem in the case of the divorced, widowed, or separated parent; (2) residence, at some time, in the "married housing" complexes; (3) graduate student status of one or both spouses; and (4) relative poverty. However, these factors were important only inasmuch as they tended to produce the characteristic attitudes, and behavior, we have described; it was these latter which ultimately determined membership in the set. Clearly, not all "married students" who were participants in the set met all of these criteria--it was rather an interaction effect of a sub-set constellation of these factors which was critical in producing the appropriate attitudes and behaviors.

Maintenance of membership required even less--geographic proximity and continuation of social contact seemed to be sufficient. It is important to remember that this sector population was organized into many small groups; these groups might persist even as different members moved in and out. Further, they might be continued in time far past the graduate student stage, and far away from Married Housing, when life patterns of the members remained sufficiently attuned to each other. This was, of course, not a new phenomenon, but one characteristic of the "academic community" for, literally, centuries.



This was one of the few campus sectors into which foreign students might reasonably expect to immediately fit. Because of the emphasis on present circumstances and future aspirations, cultural differences could be treated as interesting "details," and were usually regarded as adding spice to an otherwise bland existence. Becoming romantically "involved" with a "foreigner" no longer was a salient problem in cross-sex interaction establishment. The Married Housing environment forced a certain homogeneity of lifestyle on everyone, and too-obvious difference was nearly impossible.

Within certain bounds, the ability to speak English and willingness to interact socially, given that the individuals in question were married graduate students (which foreign students in Married Housing were almost certain to be), were the only qualities required for acceptance in a group in this population. (Interestingly enough, conspicuous affluence was not "held against" foreign students, although it would have been among native Americans, perhaps because the foreign students were recognized as non-referents in the overall American social stratification system.)

There were, of course, some behavioral attitudinal deviations which, even here, were enough to put an individual or his family "beyond the pale." The foreign student (an Indian) who moved into his two-bedroom apartment with a family considerably larger than that of the other residents was not accepted well by his neighbors. Large (usually second-hand) American cars, piloted very poorly through the narrow streets by very small Asians, were known as "China clip-pers," and their owner/operators might be ostracized if they endangered

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the life and limb of the neighbors and their children. Very destructive or undesirable behavior (defecating in public, wantonly destroying property, incessant noise and trespassing, etc.) on the part of children of a family might bring neighborly disapproval and social withdrawal. (This would also have been true for an American family.)

Barring gross behavioral discrepancies of this sort--that is, those that actively discomforted one's neighbors--and an inability to speak English, few things stood in the way of full integration into a group in this population for foreign students. Further, these American-foreign student interactions were sometimes continued over a period of years, as was the case with American-American inter-family relationships. This may have been due partially to the common academic status of the participants; partially to the fact that married families were more "stable" socially and, therefore, were more likely to be able to maintain contacts over long periods of time; but was also partially due to the interaction participants' sense of having shared a common struggle--and won.

#### The Single Grad

The campus of State U., in the mid-1960s, was not designed with graduate students in mind, and the Graduate Dorm was a testimonial to this. It was a high-rise affair in the triangle made by the "old" campus, the "new" campus, and the town. Architecturally, its only redeeming features were the wide balconies opening off each lounge, and the high-windowed cafeteria. There were two residential wings, one for men, and one for women. Besides the cafeteria, and the residential areas, the building contained game and TV rooms, a small

library, meeting and study rooms, and a "front desk" which (sometimes) acted as a clearing-house for graduate activities. All of these facilities fronted on a large central lounge area or were located down one flight of stairs from it.

Upstairs (or up-elevator) the double or single rooms opened off a long, carpeted, L-shaped hallway; the section lounge was located at the right angle. The rooms were small, but cleverly arranged to contain a closet, small desk and book shelves, a studio bed, and a chair for each occupant, as well as the door to the bath shared with the next room, and a large picture window. Floor space was predictably minimal, as was storage space; the floor was tile and the walls painted (as they were throughout) innocuous neutral colors.

The furniture in the rooms, lounges, and cafeteria was dormitory-modern; a sort of sturdy combination of blonde wood, wrought iron, vinyl cushions, and the plasti-shapes that were unmistakably institutional. In fact, institutionality was the overwhelming impression generated by the whole structure and its contents. There were the usual rather fruitless attempts to enliven and soften the harshness of public areas with handpainted murals in bright colors--these somehow only accentuated the bleakness, perhaps by their obvious incongruity. The omnipresent P.A. system, the overhead lighting, the tray racks in the dining hall, the stamp machine in the lobby--all contributed to the feeling of largeness and impersonality.

The starkness of the physical facilities undoubtedly contributed to the general atmosphere of forced gaiety that pervaded social occasions held here. These were usually dance-like affairs concocted by

the resident staff, largely on an undergraduate model--although, again, most attempts to seem non-institutional were thwarted by the sheer size of the building and the population it housed. Other factors, such as having to buy food on a per-meal basis in the cafeteria, added the finishing touches to the hotel-like environment.

A further contributing factor to the impersonality of the atmosphere was the nature of the population that inhabited the dorm. First, it was highly disparate, perhaps more so than that found in any other campus setting. People of all ages, previous conditions, races, sexes, religions, and nationalities lived here. The habited nun getting her advanced degree in reading problems (and the unhabited nun trying valiantly to seem worldly as she worked on her degree in political science); the high school principal finishing his Ph.D. in education, ogling the younger girls all week and driving home every weekend to his wife and family; the chief's son from Borneo with the Oxbridge accent, here to study agricultural economics for his people; the short, thin, pimply boy from NYU, wearing inch-thick glasses and aging white shirts, writing slightly pornographic poetry (rather badly), carrying a brief case, and majoring in interdisciplinary something--the list was endless.

There were several large nationality-contingents who kept very much to themselves, or to the company of other foreign nationals. If questioned about this, they would often respond that they avoided Americans because they were loud and boorish, chauvinistic, and had questionable moral standards. The latter was a most important point in some cases--I know of at least one instance in which a deputation

of Thai men waited upon an American, suggesting, in strong terms, that he should not attempt to see his Thai girlfriend in the future--although the woman herself was quite willing. The Thais, however, felt that her reputation would be permanently besmirched--and since her brother was not present to defend his family's honor, they had taken it upon themselves to stand in his stead, and do so.

Secondly, since this group was, by and large, considerably older than the general campus population, more were married or permanently committed to a member of the opposite sex who was elsewhere. These people had a sharply reduced interest in on-campus social life, saving their free time to travel to, and be with, their spouse and family and/or the object of their affections. Those dormitory residents who were not yet coupled were often either at the stage of quiet desperation, distraught at finding themselves one in a society of twos; or were apparently settled comfortably in their singleness, with no desire to alter their state. The other contingent to be taken into consideration was that made up of foreign graduate students; not only did they often wish to avoid cross-sex social contact with Americans per se, but nationality groupings might have a vested interest in protecting their members against emotional entanglements with any "foreigner." In the standard American campus system of social activities, none of these types participated well. In sum, most of the residents of the Graduate Dormitory, for various reasons, were poor recruits for gala social occasions--or even quiet community gatherings.

A third reason for the social fragmentation and negative *communitas* of the Graduate Dorm was the general conflict of "social" activities with the avowed purpose of many residents--which was, perhaps, their single feature in common--pursuing graduate/professional studies. Many of the American students were absent from the building during most of the daylight and early evening hours; when they were physically present, they were asleep, bathing, or packing to go elsewhere. A self-selection process was also involved in this--particularly because of the Graduate Dorm's reputation, and partially because of its facilities, it had come to be a place to live for people who did not want anything in a residence beyond satisfactory physical provisions at a minimum of inconvenience to themselves. These were generally people who were either (1) very short of money (and, therefore, time); (2) completely committed to a community and life pattern located elsewhere, and basing only their academic pursuits at State U.; or (3) truly so dedicated to their work that they wanted no distractions--such as shopping for food, or paying the light bill--to stand in their way.

However, because other housing was available for graduate students in this University area, particularly if they owned a car, individuals who wanted to use their residences as a social/relaxation center, or who wanted to become involved in the community, could move out of the Graduate Dorm. Further, in 1968 off-campus housing generally had more privacy, was easier to decorate to one's own taste, usually provided cooking facilities, ordinarily had more room for storage and parking, and possessed a variety of other desirable

attributes, such as allowing for visitors or roommates of the opposite sex. On the other hand, an off-campus residence required time to travel to, time to clean and to cook food in, and had to be arranged for during periods of absence. Basically, off-campus housing required at least a semi-commitment to the town and the university as a home; and it was the individuals who had made this commitment who were more willing to become involved with "extracurricular" local social and political activities.

Individuals who moved off-campus also had to be secure enough to move from the dormitory to the larger community--another self-selection factor for the Graduate Dorm population. This was, of course, one of the reasons why large groups of foreign nationals, especially from nations which were culturally "distant" from the U.S., chose to remain in the Graduate Dorm, where many of the daily problems of maintaining a residence were solved for them. One major problem of this sort that was not solved was diet--many foreign nationals were used to foods significantly different than those found on the standard American menu served in the dorm cafeteria. Usually, however, this was solved by eating in their rooms, to the olfactory distress of the other dormitory residents.

It was clear to the observer that, unlike many of the Americans, the foreign nationals had not necessarily chosen the Graduate Dorm because of their disinclination or inability to participate in social/political activities. However, there were some excellent reasons why activities of this sort provided by the American university community were either regarded as inappropriate or uninteresting by these



nationals, who therefore sought these satisfactions among their own or closely allied (culturally) nationality groups. In the dormitory setting, this led to the collection in public areas of large nationality-based groups, talking in their own language, eating their own food, concerned with their own intranational and intragroup political and social affairs.

Of course, not all foreign nationals had a large contingent of their own with whom to share these activities; but rather than interacting with Americans, they were often inclined to gather together in international groups. These sometimes included a few Americans with extensive foreign experience, who were, in many ways, alienated from American culture themselves. At any rate, they also formed cliques which took over particular sections of public areas for their own purposes. This inhospitable atmosphere drove the excluded Americans away from these public areas, and further selected out the population of the residence hall.

Finally, the combination of all these factors acted to stigmatize the Graduate Dorm and its activities; Americans were somewhat ashamed to live there or to attend its functions. To do so was tantamount to admitting either social defeat or disaffection with the social/political round of the university and its affiliated community. This led to a rapidly revolving American population and a set of stable foreign nationality/cultural area groups; it thus became the central stronghold of the foreign students.

Another site of congregation and interaction for foreign students themselves was the International Center, which had several

lounges, a bookstore, a large cafeteria, the Foreign Student Office, the International Programs administrative offices, and the English Language Center. This was the first place that a foreign student came upon arrival at State U.; it also housed the only open cafeteria in the center of the campus--which meant that it was the luncheon spot for literally thousands of graduate students, faculty, and staff. It did not appear to be a major site of initial contacts, transnational or otherwise, except through the purposeful agency of third parties; casual conversations between strangers did not arise in the ordinary course of events.

For the foreign student population, however, the International Center constituted a sort of cross-cultural student union. Its lounges were a place where a foreign student might come and expect to meet his or her friends and perhaps other people--usually other foreign students--through them. This was, thus, the third spot on campus where large groups of foreign students might be found, at this point in the university's history, the first two being the graduate dorm and married housing. It was not the place where on-going, same-sex relationships were initially formed; it was, however, a spot where already acquainted married and single foreign students and American transnationals might meet each other for food and conversation. It was particularly popular with both American and foreign non-undergraduate members of the University community, and appeared to be an important locus of interaction maintenance behavior for these.

This maintenance-of-interaction function assumes more importance when we realize that not all single graduate students lived in the

Graduate Dorm with one another. Many Americans and some foreign students lived off-campus, with friends, pets, and paraphernalia. This was generally in an apartment or a set of rooms--the style running the gamut from Victorian garrett to plush ultra-modern, depending on financial circumstances and personal preference. The only characteristics that were generally shared by all of these was that they were entirely private, had some provisions for food preparation, and allowed persons of both sexes to live together. Further, the one item of decor that was usually shared was a plenitude of shelved books. Otherwise, there were as many styles as there were life-patterns on the campus.\*

The world of the graduate student, American or foreign, did, indeed, tend to be more circumscribed than that of the undergraduate. Disciplinary affiliations were most important in establishing social contact (which may explain the "social" air of many professional conventions, in later years). Graduate students from the same or allied departments tended to eat, drink, party, and travel together; the more purely "academic" or research-oriented the discipline, the more this was the case. (This may have been due to the fact that many of the more "practically"-oriented fields, such as education, home economics, or accounting attracted large numbers of

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\*The line between graduate and undergraduate, however, was a fairly sharply demarcated one. Graduate students ordinarily were not members of the separate lifestyle groups of the undergraduates, perhaps because they had to devote so much of their time to their studies that it was difficult for them to participate fully in any.

"commuters" and students whose basic loyalty was not to the discipline but to some organization in which it would be useful.)

University departments were (relatively) quite small, a reasonably large one having 50 faculty and 100+ graduate students--this meant that the relationships which developed were inclined to be rather intense. These were also probably built more around the adult friendship prototype than that of the child; they were enduring and stable, based on mutuality of interests and complementarity of personal styles. Relationships formed outside the shelter of the discipline had to have considerable content, or they could not be competitive for time in the busy life-round of these students. (Here, of course, the student-faculty line was thin, since, in the mid-60s, many senior graduate students also served in junior faculty positions; and the development of social relationships between faculty and graduate students was often regarded as part of the necessary socialization process for the latter. By and large, then, the pool of possible relationships was large enough to allow most graduate students to have a reasonable number of contacts without leaving the department.)

The same circumstances also characterized academic work--a graduate student might have a career of 5-10 years, without ever studying a subject taught outside his major department. He or she could easily go from residence to one classroom building, and back, stopping at a few selected stores along the way, and perhaps occasionally going to the main library or computer center. Many departments had their own libraries, data processing machinery, and even computer terminals within their own building or buildings. A factor

that particularly acted to enhance disciplinary separation, and solidify intra-disciplinary relationships at the graduate level, was the provision of common studyrooms for graduate students, and the existence of departmental lounges and libraries. Many graduate students spent the vast majority of their waking hours in these, particularly early in their careers. They were thus thrown into almost exclusive interaction with members of their own disciplines--if they had attended undergraduate school elsewhere, they might, literally, never meet anyone outside their field at State U. This was, in some ways, quite functional, in that it allowed a student from another campus to have a ready-made set of significant others with whom to interact, so that he did not need to take time from his studies to search these out. Yet again, we find the formation of a smaller, more manageable world within the larger, more overwhelming bureaucratic society.

This separation, socially, physically, and intellectually, of individuals into small, inward-looking groups based on academic disciplinary affiliation persisted into later professional life. Much graduate training, early-on was designed to illustrate the immensity of the material to be mastered, even in one discipline. This caused individuals to psychologically close themselves off from other disciplines, realizing that becoming reasonably competent even in one's own field was an incredible task. Contemplation of the probability that equally enormous bodies of fact, opinion, and observation--all to be sifted through, refined, integrated--exist in ten, or twenty, or hundreds of other fields, is like counting stars--the mind boggles.

Small wonder that people retreated to their own disciplines and closed the intellectual doors--one field is ordinarily more than enough for one mind. (Fields may, in some instance, overlap formal disciplinary boundaries, hence the continued existence of intercommunication between closely allied disciplines.)

Practically, this meant that scholars went to their own conventions, stayed in their own sections of the library, attended their own institutes, communicated professionally only with others in their field, had their offices next to one another, had their own achievement/status hierarchies--and were largely blind to others. Small wonder that these were also the people who found it mutually easy to ask each other over for a drink, who went to football games together, who had coffee together, walked to classes together, and who, in general, did together all the multitude of little things which constitute a "social life." For the single graduate student, this was particularly true, since they had no contemporary family members to make contacts outside their discipline--nor did they generally have faculty clubs, houses, general community obligations, all-university committees, or other activities of like nature that would have acted to bring them into contact with members of other disciplinary communities.

Perhaps the only activity that regularly pulled the single graduate student out of the academic in-group was dating. Although many of the residents of the Graduate Dormitory were not skilled at establishing and maintaining this type of interactional process, many other graduate students moved off-campus specifically to

facilitate social activities of this nature. Dating, often by preference crossed disciplinary lines, drawing people into other-disciplinary groups.

From a number of these inter-disciplinary linkages, multi-disciplinary enclaves sometimes developed, at least for social purposes. Very occasionally, attempts were made to expand these social alliances into intellectual-academic exchanges, but these were usually short-lived experiments. By and large, these interchanges were for social purposes only, although they may have persisted in this form for extended periods.

Even this, of course, was an exceptional pattern; usually, the partners simply attended each other's group's functions, although the couple might be known in both groups. It was also not unusual for the female partner to be an undergraduate, and/or to belong only to ephemeral social-associational groups (groups of girls who dispersed when the majority had married, moved, etc.) so that she simply moved in the male partner's academic social group for the duration of the relationship. Male partners might also do this, but it was somewhat less common.

In sum, then, there were no coherent groups or communities composed entirely of single graduate students. Those groups based on foreign nationality or disciplinary affiliation also included significant numbers of persons other than "single grads." Although there was a physical center for the single graduate contingent of the campus population (the Grad Dorm), this had not evolved into the social focus of this set per se. It had, however, become the social and

physical center for a rather different sector, the foreign graduate students (many of whom are married, but unaccompanied by their families). Neither was this set (single graduate students) distinguished by dress, manner, or similar marker--they were simply thrown together by circumstances and default, and held together in small collectivities by disciplinary bonds, cross-linked to some extent by interdisciplinary heterosexual relationships. Similar circumstances (poverty, work load and pattern, the limited variety of residential and recreational facilities on the campus and its environs) acted to create similar sorts of life-patterns for this campus population sector, and thus to make them appear as a discrete social entity, in the context of a set of social entities (the university), and from the standpoint of those about them. Within this sector were actually many separate and disparate lifestyles, each representative of a relatively small sub-set of the whole; but all, in a loose sense, fitting their participants into the common definitive experience of being a "single grad."

#### Summary

In these five short ethnographic vignettes, I have attempted to represent the heterogeneity of the modalities that make the campus population, especially that portion of the population with which association might be possible for foreign students. I have left out myriads of other campus sectors--the BMOC's, the black-collectivities, the several faculty factions, the athletes, etc. Again, however, I did not intend a complete description of the campus population, but rather, to illustrate its diversity.



The other points to be noted are, first, the internal consistency and homogeneity of each modality, and second, the fact that all of these modalities were founded upon the American basic personality structure; further, all subscribed to the norms and values of a particular adult modality in American society. This reveals yet another characteristic of these campus sub-sets--they were (no matter how old, in chronological time, the participants) essentially "children's" or at best, apprenticeship sets. The members of each sector were practicing to become full-fledged members of some specific part of the adult society.

In systems terms, the "university community" was, in reality, a set of sets--a hegemony of internally homogenous collectivities, loosely woven together by a physical plant and overlapping individual relationships and role sets. A bohemian who was interested in horses; a single "middle-American" undergraduate who became a married student; a black student who dated a "hippie"; or a single grad and a faculty member who struck up a friendship; the relationships inexorably crept across boundaries and between groups and sets, inextricably knitting together the university fabric, with thousands of Lilliputian strands. Rather than joining together to achieve a great common goal, the members of the university were held together by a myriad of small purposes, obligations, and rituals within one material system and daily round.

As indicated earlier, this type of method (ethnographic) is not ordinarily used to gather data appropriate for hypothesis testing, nor have we done so in this case. However, such data is precisely

the type from which (concepts → theories →) hypotheses are often originally generated. We may, therefore, use it to suggest whether a given hypothesis, generated from another set of data of this type, is a reasonable formulation. Similarly, we may ask whether these ethnographic findings give credence to the concepts and their connection expressed in our "research questions," or proto-hypotheses.

First, do these data suggest that if members of an American academic community and foreign students are brought into contact, this will lead to continuing professional-intellectual and/or "social" associations between a number of the Americans and the foreign students? The answer to this was probably a resounding "sometimes." For a person to engage regularly in interaction with another, it appeared to be necessary for them both to belong to one "set," such as one of those described herein. Foreign students could and did belong to certain of these sets. However, in many cases, a foreign student was simply unqualified, by reason of his background, to become a member of a set. Further, unless (a) he wished to become an American or (b) the sector of his society which he planned to enter, or was already a member of, was exceptionally similar to the corresponding sector in American society, he had no reason to participate in an American socialization group. Thus, the lack of integration of foreign students into much of the student body, and the tendency of foreign students, in most cases, to form their own groups or sectors, was comprehensible in the context of the campus as a whole system, and the interaction patterns characteristic thereof.

Again, this was clearly not the case in every instance--of the five sets we have considered, the "single graduate students" and the "married students" were open to foreign students. In the case of the "single grads," this probably meant becoming a member of an academic disciplinary group, a feat which was possible for foreign students sufficiently proficient in English, at least in some disciplines. It also required breaking away, to some extent, from the ethnicity-group located in the graduate dormitory; this constituted a task more socially and psychologically strenuous than joining the predominantly American departmental group. The married student and his family did not face this problem to the same degree; they were highly likely to establish continuing social relationships with Americans.

It should here be noted that all the Americans whose circumstances of association with foreign students have been explored, were students. Conclusions, based on the assumption that American students are necessarily the host-national peer group of the foreign students, are only valid to the same extent as this assumption. At any rate, it would appear, on the basis of these exploratory findings, that contact between foreign students and American students does lead to continuing professional-intellectual and "social" associations, when that contact is made between certain types of American students and foreign students, and under the proper circumstances.

Secondly, we wanted to ask, if a member of an American academic community came to associate with a foreign student in that context, would he also come to associate with (a) other Americans who associated with foreign students and/or (b) other foreign students? Our

ethnographic findings suggest that American student campus associational sets were founded upon commonalities in values and attitudes of high salience to the persons involved, usually because they were the designated markers of a particular existing American life-pattern; and on commonalities in professional presentation of the self probably for the same reasons. If association with foreign students generally either required a unique value-attitude complex of high salience to the individuals involved, one uncommon among American students, or if they were caused to acquire such a complex, then the association of an American student with one foreign student might have led to (or have been based on) contact of that individual with other American students who were also involved in such associations.

However, these ethnographic observations suggest that most American students came into contact with foreign students largely by coincidence, and that the interactions were based on commonalities between the American students and foreign students, but also that these commonalities were quite representative of substantial sectors of the larger American society. That is, the foreign students, in most of these cases, simply happened to fit the existing American pattern; association with them was facilitated by particular value-attitude complexes, but these value-attitude complexes were not held uniquely by American students who associated with foreign students. They were also held by many other Americans.

Therefore, if the American students who associated with foreign students were seeking other associates, they would not have had to look solely to other American associates of foreign students,

nor to foreign students themselves. Nor was there any special reason, on a university campus in the American Midwest, that association with foreign students should have been highly salient to the American students themselves, as such. By and large their motivation for entering this institutional setting, and remaining in it, was unrelated to associations with "foreigners."

Rather the reverse might have been expected to have been true of the foreign students--having committed themselves to spending a substantial period of time in an alien environment, thousands of miles from home, family, and friends, the way in which they related to the natives of the new place must necessarily have been something of which they were acutely aware. This does not mean that they were always dedicated to the formation of close associations with these natives; although the formation of such associations is, as we have noted, an avowed purpose of many exchange programs. However, persons who were recruited for such exchange programs might have been expected to have some intrinsic interest in other people and places, some reason for applying to be the subject of such an exchange.

This would seem to have been borne out in our observations. Foreign students from different countries actively sought each other out, even though a large number of their fellow-countrymen were available for interaction. This seemed to be particularly so in the graduate dorm. Upon questioning, they often expressed "international" or "cross-cultural" interests, and made statements of commitment to establishing personal channels of aid and communication across cultural and national boundary lines. These feelings and interests often

seem to have been directed towards other "foreigners" in this university setting, however, rather than the native group (the American students).

The third question, as to whether an American who associated with foreign students would continue to do so in this and other settings, with these and other foreign students, is not answerable in the light of these observations. Given that the majority of American students did not associate with foreign students (although largely through lack of overlap of life-patterns, not through avoidance) and that those Americans who did associate with foreign students did so because the foreign student fitted a pre-existing American pattern, the proper prediction would again appear to be "sometimes." That is, these Americans might be expected to associate with foreign students at some other time if these foreign students also fitted into an American pattern with which the American under consideration was involved. This would not be, however, because these individuals were foreign students, but rather in spite of it. These latter statements are, of course, extrapolation from the observations, rather than a report of the observations themselves, since this ethnographic portion of the study was not longitudinal, in any sense.

Thus, as a synopsis, it might be said that these ethnographic data do suggest that American students did join with foreign students in (continuing) professional/intellectual and "social" associations, but not because their cointeractants were foreign students; whereas the motivation of the foreign students themselves to the relationship

may have hinged, at least in part, directly upon the "foreignness" of the Americans.

Further, this clearly happened only with certain Americans under a particular set (or particular sets) of conditions; the general dimensions of character and environment appertaining thereto were not plainly delineated or thoroughly catalogued. One such set of conditions we discovered in these observations was an attitude-value complex emphasizing present living conditions, and academic-intellectual interests, as the prime methods of assessing and evaluating others. When this was combined either with a physical or academic-intellectual environment (married housing or a graduate department) so overwhelming and/or all-engrossing that other aspects of the individual's life faded into insignificance, American student-foreign student interaction was greatly facilitated.

A point that should be made in this regard is that although we knew at the time that the ethnography was done, that a discernible set of persons did form continuing transnational interpersonal associations, we were not sure of their exact identity; nor did this identity become clearer in the course of the exploratory ethnographic investigation. Therefore, I have presented here what would have been the logical conclusions drawn only from this section of the study. Again, these did not suggest a separable segment of transnational associates, but rather a sort of group attitudinal-value and physical-intellectual environment in which transnational associations were liable to arise. Thus, our ethnographic study (although intended in this case primarily as a context, or backdrop, against which to gauge the findings of our

quantitative investigation) has served its logically proper purpose of outlining the research questions to be asked at the next level of refinement: namely, what sorts of Americans, under what conditions, will develop continuing transnational associations when put in contact with the foreign students? Will these Americans continue these relationships and develop still others of like nature? And, finally, if these relationships are continued and/or like relationships developed, under what conditions will these events transpire?



## CHAPTER 9

### QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS: THE "AMERICAN STUDENT ASSOCIATES OF FOREIGN STUDENTS" STUDY

It should be recalled that the set of respondents from which these data were generated was composed entirely of American students who were named as the "closest American student associate" of a foreign student, by that foreign student. Therefore, by definition, the Americans had made contact with a foreign student; our first question, then, concerned their identity. Who were the American students whom foreign students named as their closest (American student) friends?

First, 75% were male. (Since over 80% of the foreign students who gave us the names of their friends were male--reflecting the sex distribution among foreign students in general--and since we asked for friends of the same sex, where possible, this is not surprising.) Second, almost 90% of the American respondents were under 30 years of age; less than 3% were under 20. Their foreign student associates were slightly older, the age range being slanted more toward the mid-20s (24-26) rather than the early 20s, as it was for the Americans. Nevertheless, 78% of the foreign students were under 30.

Third, about 30% of the Americans were married, while 27% were in another stable heterosexual relationship of some kind (engaged, pinned, etc.). Less than 20% of the American respondents reported

significant differences in background between themselves and their co-participants in the stable heterosexual relationships; of these differences, one-third were based on rural versus urban origins. The other two-thirds (14% of the whole respondent set) reported differences in background based on a wide variety of factors, including nationality, religion, education, socio-economic status, and combinations of these. Of the foreign students for whom there was information (about two-thirds of the total set) about 72% were reported by the Americans to be single; no information was available on the disparities between the participants in their heterosexual relationships.

About 65% of the American respondents were graduate students; only 11% were underclassmen (freshmen and sophomores). Of the 72% of the foreign students for whom information was given by the Americans, over 80% (over 60% of the total set of foreign students in the study) were reported as graduate students.

Thus, we have the picture of a set of associations between single, young, male graduate students. From these results, it would be difficult to argue that it was possession of this particular set of characteristics that led to association with foreign students, although this was, of course, possible. It would seem rather more plausible to suggest that such associations tended to be formed between persons who resembled each other on such dimensions.

From our ethnographic data, we could suggest a rationale for this that would support the notion that the sheer fact of proximity or "contact" led to association. Single male graduate students were simply more likely to be physically housed together--usually in the

graduate dormitory, although this probably held true for the off-campus housing, as well, given that sex, marital status, and academic level were the usual criteria for selecting a room- (or apartment-) mate in the mid-60s. Although our respondent set was purposely composed of same-sex associates, our ethnographic data further suggested that heterosexual relationships between foreign students and Americans were actually frowned upon by many of the foreign members of the "single graduate student" campus sector. This might have been supposed to have led to fewer such relationships between members of this sector, thus enhancing the likelihood that transnational interpersonal relationships in this sector would have been between same-sex associates. Academically, the American students were in diverse fields; slightly over 20% were in the natural and physical sciences, slightly over 17% in education, 15.5% in social science, and slightly over 14% in business. Languages, humanities, and agriculture were represented by approximately 10%, 9%, and 8%, respectively, while engineering had only 4%. The academic distribution of the foreign students with whom they associated was reported by the Americans as being quite similar, with 25% in business, 19% in natural and physical sciences, 17% in social sciences, and the rest distributed among the other fields mentioned.

Over half of the American students (53%) said that the foreign student who was their closest associate\* was not in the same general

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\*The distinction is here made between the naming and the named foreign student. These two individuals may or may not be one and the same. The former is the original namer of the American, while the latter is the foreign student named by the American, and is the person to whom the data refers.

TABLE 1.--A Comparison of the % Distributions, by Academic Field, of the American Student Respondents and Their Closest Foreign Student Associates (As Reported by the American Students).\*

Academic Field	Respondents	
	American Student Associates of Foreign Students N = 179	Foreign Students (Named by American Associates) N = 179
Natural and Physical Sciences	20% (36)	19% (34)
Business	14% (26)	25% (45)
Social Sciences	16% (28)	17% (31)
Education	17% (31)	8% (14)
Language	10% (18)	5% (9)
Humanities	9% (16)	4% (7)
Agriculture	8% (14)	11% (20)
Engineering	4% (7)	8% (14)
Unknown	2% (3)	3% (5)
TOTAL	100%	100%

\*The questions asked to elicit these data were: (5) "What is your major?" and (33) "How would you describe this person?" (e.g., "Academic major").

academic area as themselves; however, about 40% of the Americans did meet their closest foreign student associate through "academic activities." Indeed, this was the most common way for American student and foreign student associates to meet, followed by "residence and proximity" (15%), being introduced by other Americans (11%), and meeting the foreign student as a roommate (9%). Even if "residence and proximity" and "meeting as roommates" were collapsed into one category, this would still have been the primary situs of contact for only 24%, considerably less than the 40% who met under academic circumstances. Therefore, it is clear that shared academic interests were an important mechanism in generating situations in which American students and foreign students made contacts which developed into on-going associations.

Of the foreign students who were met through "academic activities," 56% were designated by their American student associates, at the time of study, as "best" or "good" friends. Further, of the 24% of the American respondents who met their foreign student associate through residential proximity--the same room, same dormitory, same apartment building, etc.--73% designated the foreign student as a "good" or "best" friend. However, it is still clear that not only were shared academic interests important in generating on-going relationships, but relationships generated in this way were capable of becoming quite close, although other types of contact may have been more likely to generate very close relationships, as presented graphically in Table 2.

TABLE 2.--Type of Relationship Formed Between American Students and Foreign Students, for Each Condition of Initial Meeting\* (N = 179).

Type of Acquaintance	Conditions Under Which American Student and Foreign Student Associate Met					All Conditions
	Academic	Residential Proximity	Introduced Through an American or Foreign Friend	All Other	No Response	
Best or good friend	40 (56%)	33 (73%)	22 (71%)	16 (67%)	6 (86%)	117 (65%)
Acquaintance	12 (17%)	9 (20%)	5 (16%)	4 (17%)	1 (15%)	31 (17%)
Primarily academic	16 (22%)	1 (2%)	1 (3%)	1 (4%)	0 (0%)	19 (11%)
Dislike	4 (5%)	0 (0%)	2 (6%)	3 (1%)	0 (0%)	9 (5%)
No response	0 (0%)	2 (4%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (2%)
TOTALS	72 (100%)	45 (100%)	31 (100%)	24 (100%)	7 (100%)	179 (100%)

\*The questions asked to elicit these data were: (35) "How is it that you happen to know this person?" and (36) "How close do you feel towards this person?"

The American students seem to have been largely middle-class in origin; nearly 75% of their fathers were white-collar workers of some type. To refine this further, of the Americans' fathers, a third were in technical-professional fields, while nearly a quarter were managers, proprietors, or public officials, and about 8% were sales workers. Craftsmen and foremen, who were not classed as white-collar workers, comprised 11% of the fathers; these upper-level blue-collar workers might also have reasonably been called middle-class, particularly in income.

For the mothers of the Americans, no occupational information was available for approximately a third of the respondent set; another one-third reported that their mothers had never been employed for "any appreciable period of time." The other third of the mothers reported on had been employed in a wide variety of fields, ranging from professional to skilled labor, with a nearly even distribution over the range.

The SES of the American student respondents was slightly lower than that reported by the American students for the foreign students in their society of origin. In 43% of the cases, American students were unaware of the SES of their foreign student associates. It is interesting that nearly 60% of the reporting Americans designated their foreign student associate as "upper class," while 40% designated the foreign student associate as "middle class." Two factors which may make the socio-economic status of the foreign students and the Americans difficult to compare in an experiential sense are: (a) the class of the foreign student was directly indicated

by the report of the Americans, while the SES of the Americans was extrapolated from their father's occupation, and (b) the relative status of a particular occupation (i.e., college professor) may vary widely from country to country--thus, foreign and American students with very similar backgrounds in terms of other components of life-style may differ greatly in class experience.

Class discrepancies may be salient to association patterns in some instances; during the Thai-American association study, Thais frequently manifested a reluctance to associate with Americans at State U. because the Americans were perceived by the Thais as being of lower social status than the Thais themselves. In fact, their cooperation in the study was only finally secured when the researcher managed to convince the leaders of the Thai community that their backgrounds were in some way compatible.

There was no persuasive evidence to indicate that the foreign students of their American student associates were primarily moving into this association from a pre-existing group of comparable ethnicity. About 73% of the American students came purely from backgrounds\* of the "white Anglo-Saxon" genre (the dominant "native" modality in the United States in the 1960s) while nearly 95% of the American students were of general European extraction. Further, of those responding to the next question (about half of the sample), over two-thirds said that they had grown up in white "all-American" neighborhoods.

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\*By "background," in this instance, we mean whatever ethnicity the American students perceived themselves to have. The interviewees were pressed to name a country or area of "origin" of their family; the actual immigration may have taken place as long as several hundred years ago.



However, of those designating the foreign student as a "best friend," a slightly smaller proportion --69%--was of a single white Anglo-Saxon stock. Seventeen percent of the foreign student associates of Americans from this background were called "best friends" by the Americans; "best friends" represented 30% of the foreign student associates of Americans of Eastern European extraction, and all of the Japanese-Americans' (N = 3) foreign student associates. Americans of southern European extraction designated no foreign student "best friends," while those of mixed-nationality backgrounds named only 13% of their foreign student associates as "best friends."

There appears to be a slightly positive relationship between the importance of the American's own ethnicity and the depth of the relationship with the foreign student, which was manifested at the relationship-type poles. Those describing foreign students as "best friends" were more likely to feel that their own ethnicity had been of some importance to them than those who were good friends, acquaintances, or "academic friends" with their foreign student associate. These, in turn, felt that they had been more influenced by their own ethnic background than those who disliked their closest foreign student associate. (See Table 3.)

In sum, the American associates of foreign students were almost entirely of European extraction, and were not particularly concerned with their own ethnicity. For those American students of Eastern European extraction, the relationship was somewhat more likely to be a close one. Also, for those whose foreign student associates

TABLE 3.--The Importance of Own Ethnicity in Developing Interest in That Ethnic Area, to American Participants in Each Type of American-Foreign Student Relationship (by Percent\* of Each Relationship Type)\*\* (N = 179).

Type of Relationship With Foreign Student	Importance of Own Ethnicity to Developing Interest in Own Ethnic Area/Background			Total
	Important	No Influence	Rejects Background	
Best friend	34% (11)	59% (19)	6% (2)	100% (32)
Good friend	22% (18)	75% (64)	3% (2)	100% (85)
Academic friend	26% (5)	74% (14)	0% (0)	100% (19)
Acquaintance	23% (7)	77% (24)	0% (0)	100% (31)
Dislikes	11% (1)	89% (8)	0% (0)	100% (9)

\*Percents may not total to 100, due to rounding.

\*\*The questions asked to elicit these data were: (36) "How close do you feel towards this person?" and (10) "In what ways has this experience had an effect on your interest in different peoples?" [Experience = ethnic background of family: refers to question (9).]

were "best friends" own ethnicity was of somewhat more importance, but not overwhelmingly so.

Over a quarter of the respondents (27%) spent the majority of their growing-up years in a rural or small-town atmosphere, while 18% came from small cities. Thus, a total of 45% of the American students came from non-metropolitan backgrounds. About 22% came from suburbs, 23% from "large cities" and the remaining 10% came either from a wide variety of places or gave no information.

Further, of the 66% of the American students who responded to the question (12b; see Appendix A), nearly 60% (39% of the whole respondent set) had lived in only one or two homes before entering college--less than 11% of those responding had lived in 5 or more homes. Of those 68% responding to the next question (12c; see Appendix A), nearly 80% had changed residences 2 times or less since entering college, including their "move" away from their parental home.

Almost three-quarters of the American respondents (73%) had never lived outside the United States--23% had lived in one country other than the United States, and slightly under 5% in more than one. There was no relationship between strength or nature of the relationship with the foreign student and the number of countries in which the American respondents had lived--between 70% and 75% of participants in all types of relationships had never lived outside the United States, and the other quarter was unlikely to have lived in more than one country.

Travel outside the United States followed a similar pattern-- over 80% had not traveled extensively outside the United States, although over half the Americans had "vacationed" extranationally. However, only 13% of the respondents had been to more than one country for travel-vacation purposes, and only slightly over 2% in 3 countries or more.

Both travel and residence abroad had been spread over a variety of geographic areas, as summarized in Table 4. Several things are worth noting in this regard: first, that the preponderance of the extranational "vacationing" had been in Canada and Mexico, the nations bordering the U.S. Further, since State U. is located in a state considerably nearer the Canadian than the Mexican border, we should not be surprised to see that three times as many of the respondents had vacationed in the former than in the latter. Secondly, of the quarter of the respondent set who had lived abroad, nearly 40% (10% of the whole set) had lived in Asia (east of Iran, excluding India). In general, the proportion of the "American associates" who had lived in the areas from which the foreign student sub-sets were drawn was higher than the proportion of those who had lived in other areas. The sole exception to this was India, where only 1% of the American respondents had lived, and none had traveled extensively or vacationed.

If the Americans who had lived in particular areas overseas were those who formed relationships with foreign students from these areas, we might then speculate that these American students were more receptive to relationship formation with a member of a

TABLE 4.--Travel and Residency of the American Associates of Foreign Students in Areas Outside the United States (Also Includes Hawaii) in % by Area/Country\* (N = 179).

Area	Type of Extranational Experience									
	No Experience		Short Vacation		Extensive Travel		Residence		Total	
<u>North America</u>										
Canada	(100)	56%	(67)	37%	(9)	5%	(3)	2%	(179)	100%
Mexico	(148)	83%	(22)	12%	(3)	2%	(6)	3%	(179)	100%
<u>South America</u>										
Latin America	(169)	94%	(2)	1%	(1)	1%	(7)	4%	(179)	100%
English-speaking Caribbean	(171)	96%	(6)	3%	(1)	1%	(1)	1%	(179)	100%
<u>Middle East</u>	(174)	97%	(2)	1%	(1)	1%	(2)	1%	(179)	100%
<u>Africa</u>										
Nigeria	(174)	97%	--		(1)	1%	(4)	2%	(179)	100%
Sub-Sahara	(177)	99%	--		(1)	1%	(1)	1%	(179)	100%
<u>Asia</u>										
Asia	(156)	87%	(2)	1%	(3)	2%	(18)	10%	(179)	100%
India-Pakistan**	(177)	99%	--		--		(2)	1%	(179)	100%
<u>Oceania</u>										
Hawaii, Australia	(174)	97%	(1)	1%	(1)	1%	(3)	2%	(179)	100%
Other	(177)	99%	--		(1)	1%	(1)	1%	(179)	100%
<u>Europe</u>										
Spain	(171)	96%	(1)	1%	(4)	2%	(3)	2%	(179)	100%
Other	(145)	81%	(7)	4%	(15)	8%	(12)	7%	(179)	100%
<u>Outside U.S.<sup>†</sup></u>										
One country only			(67)	37%	(24)	13%	(37)	22%		
Two or more countries			(27)	15%	(13)	7%	(8)	5%		

\*These data were elicited by question (13): "Have you been outside of the Continental U.S.? If yes, where, for how long, and for what purpose?"

\*\*India and Pakistan are listed together, because at the time of the study many Americans could not differentiate between these two areas of origin for their foreign associates (Judy, 1966).

<sup>†</sup>This table row (Residence/Travel Outside U.S.) was constructed from three separate coding categories, one concerning each of the mobility categories; "no experience" was not separately tapped in this way. Therefore, these are not mutually exclusive categories, and cannot be totaled.

NOTE: Results are presented as % of row totals.

nationality-grouping with whom they had previous in-depth experience. Even if this is the case, we cannot be certain whether this was due (a) to a generalized fondness for persons representing a previous positive life-experience (such as an overseas sojourn), or (b) to knowledge of how to form relationships with persons whose expectations for these relationships were of a particular sort, determined by a cultural setting with which these Americans were familiar, or (c) to previous acquaintance with the foreign students or with associates of the foreign students, by whom the latter were recommended, or to a combination of these and/or any of a number of other possible reasons. It is, however, plainly a fruitful area for future inquiry.

The possibility that this was particularly true for Americans who had lived in Asia might bear special scrutiny. Could this be due to the wideness of the "cultural distance" between the Asian and American cultures which, once bridged, constitutes a positive attraction for those persons who have made the leap? Are there some cultural gaps whose bridging sufficiently alters the transversers so that, in the future, they find relationships across this gap peculiarly compatible with their personal style? Or do Americans who have lived in certain areas abroad simply form all transnational relationships more easily? A number of interesting questions are raised by the direction of this finding, graphically represented in Table 4.

A final and implicit sub-question, lying within the first operational research question, involves the type of association(s) that arose between the foreign and American students--were they professional/intellectual, social, or both? The answer is probably

the last--over 66% of the American respondents reported engaging in "general discussions" as their major activity with the foreign student when they were alone together. About 54% reported that they engaged in "general discussions" with the foreign student and others. When then asked what they talked about with foreign students, 64% replied, "Academics"; 67%, "The foreign student's country and culture"; 54%, "U.S.--country and culture"; and 40%, "Daily activities." Less than a quarter of the sample discussed any other specific topic. It is therefore clear that, although academics are particularly important in verbal interaction, they are not its only basis. The bases of the relationships themselves may reasonably be supposed to be similarly multipartite.

In further support of this, we found that about a third of the Americans engaged in "social activities" with the foreign student alone, and 60% did this in the company of others, while 36% reported engaging in "academic activities" or "studying together," alone, and about 39% reported doing these with the foreign student and others together. Further, 11% of the American respondents said that they went drinking with the foreign student alone, while 18% said they were included in the same drinking group; presumably, this would be classed as another "social" activity. Less than 7% of the Americans reported engaging in, respectively, dating or double-dating, work, religious activities, family activities, travel, sports, tutoring, or "personal give-and-take activities," with their closest foreign student associate.

In sum, the relationships would indeed clearly appear to have been professional/intellectual and/or social, and, incidentally, to have relied heavily on verbal interchange between same-sex associates, particularly when these individuals were ~~were~~ interacting as a dyad, rather than as members of a group. It is also clear that, in these verbal interactions, topics generated by the participants' difference in nationality/ethnicity had a prominent place. We can therefore be sure that these differed from relationships between same-nationality pairs on at least one significant dimension.

Summary: The Typical American Student-  
Foreign Student Dyad

The typical American-foreign student relationship at State U., then, was formed by young men: by an American in his early twenties and a foreign student slightly older. The American was married or involved in a relatively stable "romantic" relationship with an American woman much like himself, in terms of region and class of origin, race, education, religion, and nationality/ethnicity. The foreign student was unmarried and ~~uninvolved~~.

The American was from a city or a suburb--however, he had lived in only 1-2 places in his life, before entering college, and probably had not moved more than once or twice after entering school. His only extranational experience had been a short vacation--and that was, more than likely to Canada. In short, he was not an exceptionally mobile person, in a physical sense, but really something of a homebody.



Both the American and the foreign student were graduate students, probably in the sciences (natural/physical or social) or in business, although the American may have been in education. The associates were not necessarily in the same academic field but a substantial chance existed that they had met in an academic situation. However, if they were "good" or "best" friends, they were more likely to have met through living proximity--in the same room or apartment, or "next door" in a dorm or apartment.

They had formed a fairly close relationship, and the American described the foreign student as a "good" or "best" friend. This was a venture across ethnic/national, but not class, gender, professional/occupational, age, or marital status lines.

In short, this may have been a form of reaching out for things beyond the experience of the participants in the associational set; but cautiously, along only the interaction dimension of cultural differences. Otherwise, the parameters of this relationship were similar to those which defined the participants' relationships with members of their own nationality groupings--commonality of sex, age, class, and academic interests or residence (and, possibly, both). In other words, the American students who are the closest associates of foreign students were, basically, the demographic counterparts of those students along every major dimension but one--nationality/ethnicity. (This latter was, in any case, a factor apparently of more hindrance to the development and maintenance of same-sex relationships.) The American student described, then, was the sort of person at this particular time and place for whom contact could lead

to continuing professional/intellectual and social association, especially when these associations had a high verbal component.

This set of data clearly also answers the first research question: If members of an American academic community and foreign students are brought into contact, will this lead to continuing professional/intellectual and/or "social" associations between a number of the Americans and the foreign students? Using the data presented above, we could say that, at least with respect to student members of the American academic community, this was indeed the case.

Secondly, we want to ask, if a (student) member of an American academic community comes to associate with a foreign student in that context, will he also come to associate with (a) other Americans (students) who associate with foreign students, and/or (b) other foreign students? This question may be behaviorally measured in two ways in a monotemporal study: (a) Ex post facto longitudinally (are people who have been in contact with foreign students in the past now in contact with them? or with Americans who are?) and (b) by tapping simultaneous behaviors at the time of the study. (Are the people currently named as the associates of one foreign student also in contact with other foreign students, and/or Americans who are in touch with them?)

To answer from a longitudinal standpoint, we asked Americans who were current associates of foreign students about (1) their most significant contact with foreign students before coming to college, and (2) whether these American associates of foreign students were currently corresponding with other foreign students than their named

closest associate, and if so, how they had met the latter, or "struck up" the relationship. The intent of the latter question was actually to find the background of a relationship with a foreign student extant simultaneously with the one under primary scrutiny. [This thus might have been classed under (b), except that the correspondent relationship clearly must have begun in the past.]

Over a fifth of the respondents cited "contact with people from other countries who were in the U.S." as the most important contact they had before coming to college. Another fifth gave the "mass media" as their most important pre-college contact source; 12% had "no contact" or "mixed sources"--all other contacts were mentioned by under 10% of the respondent set, including school- and family-based contacts at about 8% each. Thus, it would seem that contacts with people from other countries, rather than family members who had been overseas, or other (non-kin) Americans who talked about foreign experiences, were the most significant early "foreign" contact for the members of the American respondent set. It also seems that the "mass media" had been quite an important early influence on the respondents' interest in foreign people and places--a not entirely surprising finding in a set of middle-class, college-age Americans in the mid-1960s.

However, when these findings are broken down by the type of relationships that were currently in effect between the Americans and their closest foreign student associates, a slightly different trend emerges. Of the Americans describing their foreign student associates as "best friends," only 10% said that their most important early contact

with foreign students had been through the mass media, as opposed to 23% of the Americans whose foreign student associates were "good friends," and the 28% whose foreign student associates were "only acquaintances." The same directional trend was present for responses relating to "personal contacts with people from other countries who were in the U.S.": 23% of those with "good" foreign student friends, and 31% of those whose foreign student associates were "only acquaintances," found this factor their most significant early contact with foreign students. The trend is reversed in the case of the importance of the discussion of overseas experiences by family members--only 4% of those Americans whose foreign student associations were "acquaintances," 8% of those for whom the foreign students were "good friends," and 17% of the Americans with foreign student "best friends," had found this their most significant early foreign contact. This is represented graphically in Figure 2.

While this relationship is hardly overwhelming, it is interesting, in that family overseas experiences were significantly important only to those who had later developed very close relationships with foreign students, while exactly the converse was true for mass media early contacts. This might suggest that early "foreign" contacts may have set a pattern, at least for the relationship type that later developed, as opposed to having led to the relationship's occurrence.

Slightly over 20% of the respondents said that their most important contact with foreign people or places, before entering college, was personal contact with foreign students. No other single

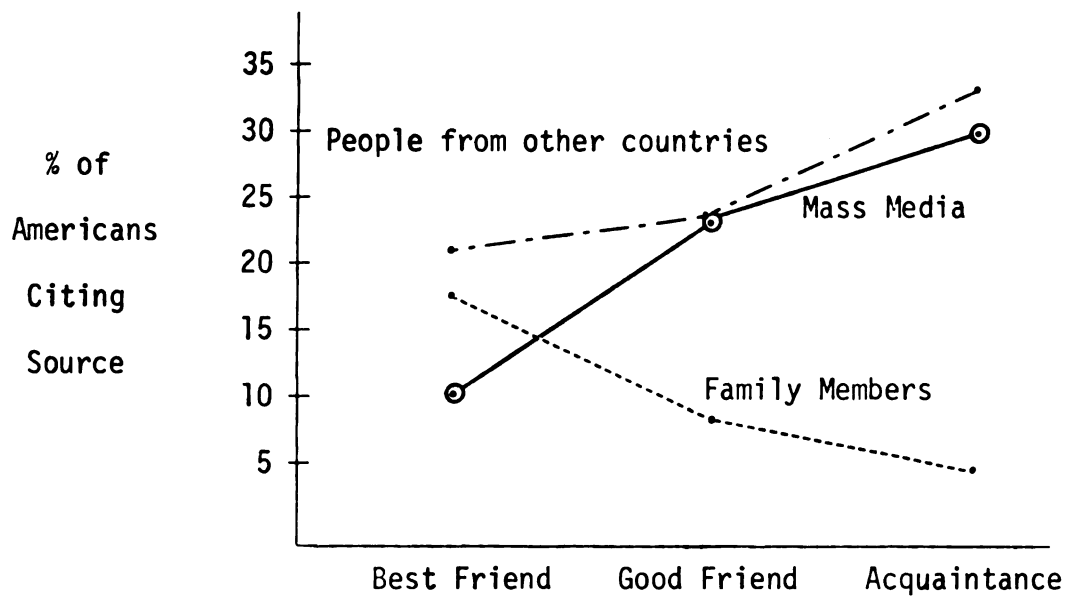


Figure 2.--American's Description of Relationship with Foreign Student\*: Most Important Early Sources of Foreign Contact (by % of Americans Citing Source) versus Depth of Current American-Foreign Student Relationship.\*\*

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\*Please note that I have placed this nominal variable type on an interval scale, purely for the purpose of concomitantly displaying three simultaneous relationships. While this is, in my belief, an approximately nominal scale of "closeness of relationship," no quantification of this should be implied.

\*\*The questions asked to elicit these data were (36) "How close do you feel towards this person?" and (14, 15, 16) "I am going to give you a listing of some other [than travel abroad] possible direct or indirect contacts which you may have had with foreign countries or people from them before coming to college. Would you please rate these by the degree of influence they may have had in making you interested in or aware of foreign countries?"

reason was given as frequently as this, although this could only be taken to be moderately suggestive of a trend. However, we must remember that we are dealing here with people's own perceptions of what was most important. It is entirely possible that the respondents' may not have recognized the salience of particular sorts of early experiences to the way in which they later experienced the world and acted upon these composite experiences. In the case of the early experiences with "things foreign" that have just been discussed, a goodly number of the Americans had had all or several of these types of contact, although they differed in their feelings about which had influenced them most, or been most important. It is, therefore, hard to posit a single causal sequence.

That is, nearly 75% of the American students had encountered foreign students in the mass media; over 70% had been in contact with adult (non-kin) foreigners who were in the U.S.; over 50% had had contact with Americans outside their own families who had talked about their foreign experiences; and slightly under 50% remembered having heard about the overseas experiences of family members; about the same number had come into contact with foreign students through school work; under 33% had come into contact with foreign students through church-related activities. Less than 20% had lived abroad before coming to college, and about the same proportion of the respondents had had direct personal contact with foreign students through work-related activities. The only reasonable conclusion that could be drawn here, was that current American associates of foreign students had had a broad range of "foreign-contact" experiences

before college. The trends in the perceived significance of these by the respondents are of considerable interest, but these trends did not constitute conclusive evidence.

The second indicator of "past relationships with foreign students continued in the present" was "current correspondence of the American student with a foreign student other than the naming associate." The data here were not highly suggestive--the largest proportions of the respondent set corresponding with a general group were the 9% corresponding with Europeans, the 7% corresponding with Asians, and the 6% corresponding with Latin Americans. Of these, a quarter of the first, about a third of the second, and nearly half of the third met in the foreign student's country while the American was living or traveling there. This was the only factor mentioned by a substantial number of the respondents (one-third of the responses were to this effect). Again, this was not an overwhelming piece of evidence, although it was clear that Americans who were sufficiently involved with a foreigner to correspond with him/her may also have formed another association with a different foreign student at the same time.

In general, it appeared that American students who were associates of foreign students at the time of the study had had prior direct and indirect contacts with foreign students and foreign adults and/or Americans with overseas experience, or perhaps even overseas experience of their own in the past. However, no one of these factors stood out as the primary cause or, at least, the uniform preceding factor, of the current relationship with the foreign

student. Further, only a few of these "preceding factors" were classifiable as previous personal relationships with a foreigner of any age or condition. The evidence was still not strongly indicative of the development of a characteristic contact → interaction → interaction-pattern sequence in the formation of transnational academic communities.

The problem was also attacked from a present-time standpoint: there were several possible non-longitudinal indicators of the correspondence between one association with a foreign student and the formation of others. First, we simply ascertained how many foreign students the American students in the sample knew, without asking which relationship arose first. Then, we asked about the degree of involvement the American had with these others--one simple method of tapping this was to task how much time the American spent with foreign students. Finally, to answer the second part of this question--had the American associates of foreign students come to interact with other Americans who knew foreign students--we inquired as to whether the Americans in our respondent set were introduced to their foreign student associate(s) by another American.

The answer to the first question, presented graphically in Figure 3, was that the majority (about 32% of the entire set) of the respondents to the question (which was under two-thirds of the entire set) knew 3 to 10 foreign students (or said that they knew "a few," "several," or "quite a few"). Eighteen percent of the American students knew 11 to 50 foreign students; less than 4% knew more than 50 foreign students, and the same proportion knew less than 3. This



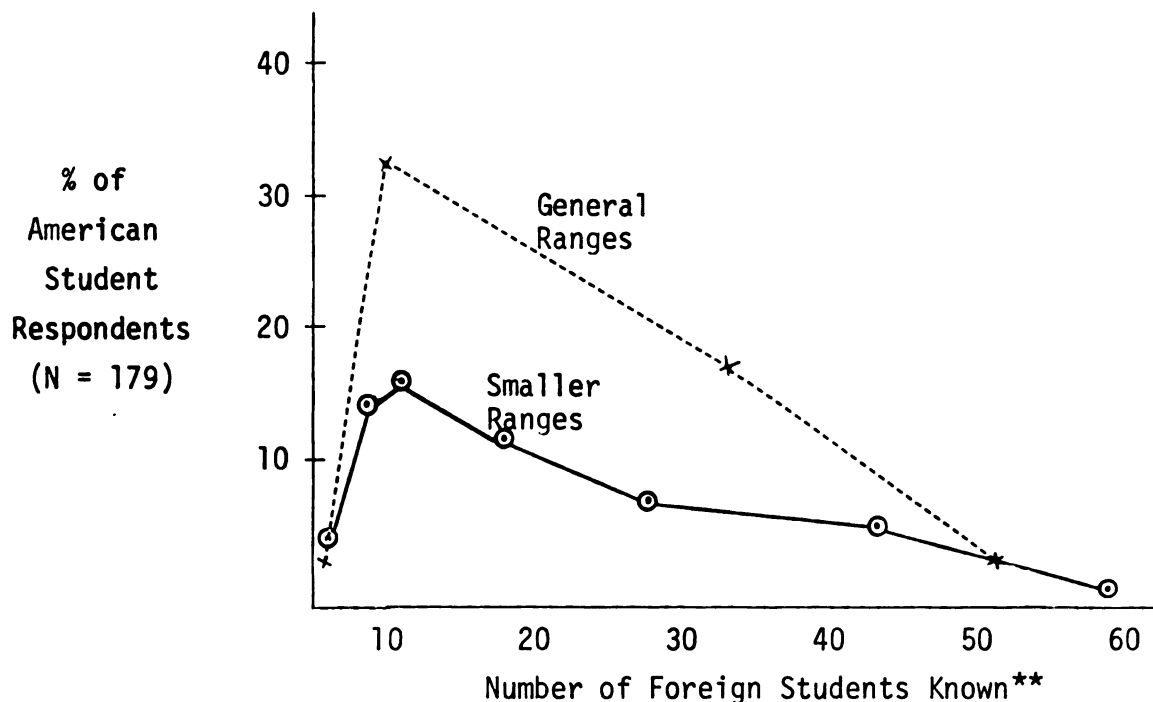


Figure 3.--Number of Foreign Students Known by the Closest American Student Associates of Foreign Students.\*

can be further broken down into even smaller ranges: 4.5% of the American students in the respondent set knew 1-2 foreign students, 14% knew 3-5 (or "a few"), 15.6% knew 6-10 (or "several" and "quite a few"), 12.3% knew 11-20, 7.8% knew 21-30, 7.3% knew 31-50, 2.8% knew 51-60, and 35.8% gave no information.

There was no significant difference between the number of foreign students known by American students who cited foreign students as "best" friends and the number known by the Americans calling the

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\*These data were elicited by question (17), "How many foreign students do you know?"

\*\*Note that the "number of foreign students known" has been plotted as the midpoint of each range (0-2, 3-10, 11-50, 50+) except for the highest range, whose lower limit is plotted.

foreign student associates "good friends" or "acquaintances." Some small, but interesting, differences occurred at both ends of the range--there were no American students whose foreign student associates were "best friends" who said they knew only 1-2 foreign students, while 6% of those Americans whose foreign associates were only acquaintances, and 2.4% of the Americans whose foreign associate was a "good friend" said they knew only this many. Thus, small but provocative differences continue to be suggested between the participants in the different depths or types of associations.

The next indicator of the extent to which one association with a foreign student implied others was the amount of free time the American claimed to spend with foreign students in general, including the named associate. Ten percent of the sample spent no time with foreign students, or were unable to estimate the amount. Fifty-five percent (55%) of the sample spent 1%-20% of their free time with foreign students, 25% spent 20%-70% of their free time, and 10% spent 70%-100% of their free time with foreign students. Thus the vast majority --80%--of the studied American associates of foreign students spent some, but certainly not all, of their time with foreign students. The shape of this distribution, it might be pointed out, is similar to that for the number of foreign students known by given proportions of American students. There may, perhaps, be a correlation between these two factors, but further research into relationship types is needed to factor out the effects of depth of primary association on time spent in all associations, before the effect of number of associations can be clearly demonstrated.

It was clear from these figures, however, that American students who were associates of one foreign student were usually associated with several others. Furthermore, the association implied spending time with the associate; that is, the association was not merely a contact, but an on-going interaction, at least with the named associate and quite probably with others. This conclusion was not only supported by our findings on number of associates and time spent, but by the data on the types of activity\* engaged in by the American student and the foreign student associate, which also suggested a fairly extensive and developed relationship. Nevertheless, by and large, the Americans were apparently not completely enveloped in a transnational associational set--a good deal of the Americans' free time was spent elsewhere; they were actually associated with relatively small numbers of foreign students, and the relationships with the foreign students were almost all acted-out entirely in on-campus academic and social settings. In other words, transnational associations were apparently a significant part of these American students' total set, but they in no way constituted the entirety of these sets, with a very few possible exceptions.

The other part of this question concerned the American student associates of foreign students' interaction with other American student associates of foreign students--not only did we want to know if such interactions arose, but if the interactants' common characteristic of foreign student association was also a recognized common

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\*The reader will recall that the American and the foreign students' most popular joint activity, as a pair, was "general discussion" (p. 179).

bond. We tapped this by asking the American respondents whether they had been introduced to their foreign student associates by an American friend. We found that 11% of the American student respondents had been introduced to their closest foreign student associate by another American--but that there was little or no relationship between being introduced by an American and the depth/type of the ensuing association. Again, and to capsulize our findings to this point, this datum (in conjunction with our previous findings) also suggested that the American student-foreign student association did not exist in isolation, but was part of an on-going interaction set. However, our attempts to find the definitive parameters of this set had not been, so far, rewarded. We also suspected that there were differences in relationship types, but again, the specifications for these had not become clear.

In short, our answers to the second research question were "yes" on both counts, but were a very qualified "yes" to the second part. That is, Americans who came to associate with foreign students in an academic context, clearly also associated with other foreign students in that context. That they also associated with other American associates of foreign students, under some circumstances is clear; but precisely what these circumstances were is not.

Our third research question asked whether these associations, and the pattern of transnational association, would be carried on in the future. Since this portion of the study was not behaviorally longitudinal, we had to depend on attitudinal data for this answer.

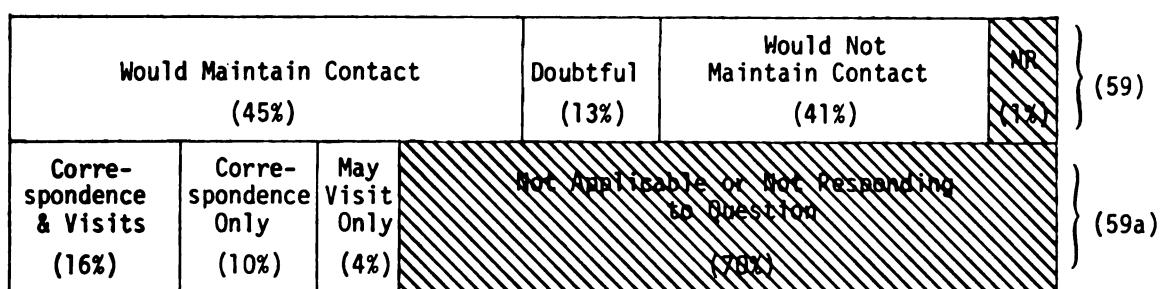
That is, we tapped this variable set by asking our respondents to project behavior into the future.

First, we asked the American student associates whether they intended to continue the relationship with their closest foreign student associates, even if there were disadvantages to this. Of the Americans, 84% replied that there were no disadvantages, and that this did not apply, clearly implying their intention to continue the relationship. Another 15% said that the advantages outweighed the disadvantages and that they, therefore, also planned to continue the relationship. Only 1% of the respondents said they felt that the disadvantages of the relationship outweighed the advantages, but that they intended to continue it because they "had no choice"! Thus, as a set, the named American students intended to continue their relationships with their closest foreign student associate.

Second, anticipating that the foreign student associates' time in the U.S. was finite, and that they would soon return to their own countries, we asked the American students (a) whether they intended to maintain contact with the foreign students after they returned home; (b) if so, how this would be done; and (c) whether these associations would be maintained if relations between the U.S. and the countries of the foreign students became strained.

Forty-five percent (45%) of the respondents said that they would maintain contact with the foreign students after they returned home; 13% were doubtful; while 41% said that they did not expect to maintain contact. Of the 45% for whom (b) was applicable, only two-thirds responded to the question (30% of the whole sample). Of this

30%, over half (16% of the whole respondent set) said that contact would be maintained through correspondence and (possibly) visits. Another near-third of those responding (10% of all the respondents) said that contact would be maintained through correspondence. The remainder (4% of the respondents) said that they "might visit," but would not correspond otherwise. This information is presented graphically in Figure 4.



NOTE: %'s refer to total respondent set.

Figure 4.--American Students' Plans for Future Contact with Their Closest Foreign Student Associate.\*

Of the American students, 89% said that they would maintain the association even if relations between the U.S. and the countries of the foreign students became strained. Of the remaining 11%, only 3% (of all respondents) said they definitely would not maintain the association--but all of these added that they did not like the foreign student as a person. The other 8% were unsure what their actions would be, vis-à-vis their associations with the foreign students, in the case of serious international tension between the U.S. and the

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\*These data were elicited by question (59), "Do you expect to maintain contact with this person after he goes home?" and question (59a), "How do you expect to do this?" Question (59a) was not included in the last set of questionnaires as reproduced in Appendix A.

foreign students' countries. Of the 89% who said they would maintain the association under these conditions, all but 7% (of all the respondents) stated that friendship took precedence over national allegiance, or words to that effect. This other 7% said that their relationship with the foreign student would give them a better understanding of the conflict, and that they would, therefore, maintain it.

Finally, we asked whether the American students would have liked to have had more contact with foreign students at the time of the study, and in the past; our feeling was that such a desire had the potential for being a reinforcement of their tendency to associate with foreign students, and a stimulant to behavioral change (increased contact) in the future. In fact, 72% of the respondents said that they would have liked to have had more contact with foreign students in general; only 24% would not have wanted more. Further, only 3% of the respondents indicated a real distaste for involvement with foreign students--the rest of those who did not want more contact cited "lack of time" as their reason.

Thus, an affirmative to the third research question [as to whether Americans (students) who were or had been associating with foreign students would continue to associate with foreign students and foreign student associates in the future] is suggested, but not strongly indicated by our quantitative data. It appeared that the Americans fully intended to continue this relationship, despite disadvantages or political unpopularity, as long as the criteria of nearness in time and space were met. A good number intended to continue it even across considerable spatial separation, at least through written

correspondence. Further, nearly three-quarters of the American student associates of foreign students felt that they would have liked more relationships of this type. Again, then, to the extent that current intentions and desires were predictive of future actions, the answer to the last research question was positive; and conversely.

To sum up, the answers which have, and have not, been provided to the research questions are:

(1) If (student) members of an American academic community and foreign students were brought into contact, this led to continuing professional/intellectual and "social" associations between a number of the Americans and the foreign students, when the American (students) and the foreign students were matched on a number of demographic dimensions,\* and when the contact was either in an academic/professional setting or was due to residential proximity.

(2) If (student) members of an American academic community came to associate with foreign students in that context, they also came to associate with

(a) other Americans who associated with foreign students (in some instances, although the criteria for these instances were not always entirely clear); and

(b) other foreign students--or came to associate with an entire set of foreign students at once.

That is, we do know that Americans who associated with one foreign student also associated with others, but we do not know whether

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\*Age, sex, SES, education, occupation (and to some extent, specific academic field), but not nationality/ethnicity.



these relationships arose all together, or sequentially. We know that some American associates of foreign students had been introduced to them by other Americans, and were therefore obviously associating with "other American associates of foreign students." However, this represented quite a small proportion of the total respondent set (11%). We do not know if there were other American associates of foreign students who were also the other responding Americans' associates, but who did not perform the original introduction to a foreign student; in short, we do know that such associations arose, but we do not know what their extent was. Furthermore, we do not know the circumstances under which these additional associations arose.

(3) If (student) members of a given American academic community came to associate at one time with one foreign student, and possibly other foreign students and foreign student associates, they probably would continue to associate with these and other foreign students and foreign student associates in this university and/or in other university settings. At least, the intention and inclination to do so were apparently present in those who had experienced these associations.

In other words, to answer the larger question which underlies these, American students who came into contact with foreign students (under the appropriate circumstances) often became involved in on-going sets of interpersonal associations with people of other nationalities. However, from these data did not emerge an answer to the question of what distinguished this set of associations with foreign students and their American associates from other associational sets with other Americans.

At first, or even succeeding glances, it appeared that these relationships were very similar, or even identical to, those which characterized many other sectors of the American campus. Affiliations were based on similarity of age, sex, current SES, and marital status, and commonality of general academic interests, or residential arrangements, just as they were in all-American sets. These were particularly characteristic of the relationships among single and married American graduate students, which were precisely the sets to which most of the foreign students were proximate, spatially and socially.

Further, most of the American students perceived these relationships as being similar, or identical, to their relationships with other Americans. When asked how their behavior differed when they were with the foreign student (as opposed to with another American), the only items mentioned frequently by the respondents dealt with explaining American language idiom (37%) or American customs (26%) or other language related factors, such as being more conscious of, or careful in, their speech (48%) or being "more polite" (31%). In short, the only difference in behavior perceived was involved with working out the one demographic difference between the interactants-- language/ethnicity. When the Americans were asked what difference having had this relationship would make to their future behavior, the only significant alteration reported was a change in future travel plans. When asked how their relationship with the foreign student differed from their relationship with other Americans, over half the respondents felt there was no difference; slightly under a fifth felt they were "closer" to the foreign student than to many other

Americans; and the rest cited a wide variety of other reasons, with none claiming more than 4% of the respondent set.

In short, the bulk of the behavior and relationships of the American students with the foreign students did not seem to differ radically from those of the American students with other American students--rather, these relationships seemed to fit neatly into various on-going American sets. However, concluding from these data that a transnational set of associations with its own unique set of characteristics did not exist would have been entirely unjustified. This was so for two reasons: one methodological and one substantive.

The methodological reason concerned the nature of the data with respect to the state of the theory. Had we been engaged in hypothesis testing, we would have been concerned with how the major central tendency of the respondent set on one variable coincided with that on another. But, given that this was exploratory research, we are just as concerned with explaining the ends of the range, the deviations from the central tendencies, and the minor modalities. Since we had no theoretically-defined population, we were, in essence, searching for its loci (that is, its parameters). One set of respondents might include parts of several populations--our task was to discern what these were and/or track down the defining characteristics of the one we supposed to be of interest.

In this case, it appeared that we had a substantial sector of an American student population whose relationships with foreign students were similar, or identical, to their relationships with other Americans. However, it also appears that the remainder of the

respondent set selected did not distribute itself randomly and diffusely along a multitude of dimensions on many variables, but formed smaller, discrete clusters. Further, it appeared that the clusters formed represented a significantly different pattern for American student-foreign student relationships. For example, 10% of the American students spent 70-100% of their time with their closest foreign student associate; about 17% cited the foreign student as a "best friend"; and 20% of the sample had lived abroad prior to college.

Although this distribution--a 90/10 to 80/20 split of the population--seemed to occur along a number of dimensions, the outlines of the actual subpopulations forming these and some similar distributions were not clear, because the members of the smaller and larger clusters were not always mutually exclusive, and, indeed, often overlapped. Nevertheless, the implication that other, significantly different, patterns of behavior between American students and foreign students existed, was clear--even though the population whose behavior differed along these lines, and thus the precise parameters of the differing behaviors, was not.

The second reason for not concluding that a distinct transnational associational set did not exist was substantive: both our own observations, made during the ethnographic work, and those of preceding investigators (Kroeber, 1954; Useem and Useem, 1953, 1963, 1967; J. Useem, 1971; and Hewes, 1965; to name a few), had strongly suggested the presence of a clearly identifiable transnational associational set, with an established and easily discernible characteristic pattern of association, in the American, and other, "academic

communities." A more reasonable overall conclusion to draw from this data seemed to be this: although contact between American students and foreign students, under properly facilitating conditions, may have led to continuing interactions which blended into continuing interactional sets, not all (if any) of these became transnational sets.

This conclusion raised a number of questions. Basically, our problem was this: we knew from our own and previous ethnographic studies that a set of persons existed, on this and other university campuses, who had formed and maintained transnational relationships. It was also clear that American students and foreign students on the campus of State U. were forming on-going professional/intellectual and social relationships. However, one clear pattern of relationship characteristics was not shared by all foreign students and their American student associates, nor did a single pattern of personal characteristics and/or life experiences for these associates emerge. Further, no constellation of factors seemed to identify any sub-set of these relationships, nor to be significantly associated with any single indicator of the formation of on-going relationships.

It became readily apparent that, even if such a constellation of factors were to be isolated, we could not have surely identified this as being characteristic of the transnational relationship set or the transnationals themselves. The underlying problem was that we did not have sufficient general understanding of the internal content and workings of transnational relationships.

We had assumed that relationships formed between persons of different nationalities would, by definition, be "transnational." (That is, we assumed that the relationship content would be outside the national-cultural experience of either participant.) Was this, indeed, universally the case? If so, why had there been no entirely common denominator to the relationships studied? Had we failed to ask the appropriate questions to elicit these definitive parameters? Had we forced people to confabulate or to over-report the content of relationships, by our means of drawing our respondent set and the extent of our interview schedule?

If all cross-nationality relationships were not transnational, then what constituted transnationality in an observable, behavioral sense? Had we chosen a set of persons to interview who had not formed transnational relationships? What, then, were the necessary and sufficient conditions for becoming a transnational? Was cross-national contact the initiating step only under special circumstances? If so, what were these?

The next questions to be posed, then, appeared to be: what contacts (if any) between Americans and non-Americans would eventually become transnational interaction sets? And, were the discrepant modalities among the American associates of foreign students explicable in these terms?

To answer these questions, it was clear that we needed a fresh perspective on the foreign students and their relationships with Americans; therefore, we returned to the field, to query a yet-untapped campus set--the American non-student associates of foreign students--for the reasons set forth below.

## CHAPTER 10

### SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS: THE "BEEN-TOS"

The set of respondents with whom the semi-structured interviews were conducted was composed of non-student American associates of foreign students--advisors, community hostesses, professors, office and dormitory staff. Our rationale for conducting these interviews was threefold in nature: first, we simply intended to provide more background information against which to set forth the American student-foreign student relationship, by describing the persons and routine which comprised the foreign students' first contact with American society. Second, we hoped that these respondents would be a source of additional information about foreign student-American student relationships, because they were in a unique position to observe these relationships forming and operating.

Third, as we were completing the compilation of results from the American-student associates of foreign students' interviews, we began to suspect that the relationships we had been investigating were not the central ones in the lives of their participants, as discussed above. We then remembered how insistent a number of the foreign students had been about naming one or another of these non-students as their "closest American associate," even when asked repeatedly to name their closest student associate. We began to wonder whether these non-student Americans were indeed the persons with whom the foreign

students formed their central core of relationships, with co-student relationships comprising the periphery of their associational fields. Therefore, we designed an open-ended questionnaire (Appendix B) to investigate these foreign student-American non-student associations, from the standpoint of the American.

We then selected a set of 10 Americans who, in capacities of varying officiality, were those with whom the foreign students had first contact upon their arrival at State U. Three of these were, by design, the Americans who had been most often mentioned by the foreign students when asked to name their "closest American (student) friend," although they were not students.

We describe the interviews carried out with them as semi-structured, because we started the interviewing sequence with a certain predetermined set of information which we wished to get. However, it quickly became clear that we were getting a paucity of information on the relationships of these American non-students and their foreign student associates (even those who had named them) but a wealth of data on transnational associations in general. The foreign students remembered these Americans well--probably because these Americans were among the first they encountered, and because, as administrators and related personnel, these Americans had a good deal to do with the administration of rules, regulations and laws impinging on the lives of these foreign students, such as those concerning student visas, re-entry permits, and immigration papers. They also performed a wide variety of informal functions that facilitated the foreign students' adjustment to the United States. Some, for example, aided foreign students in securing



warm clothing, dishes, and furniture, or instructed foreign student wives in the art of shopping in American supermarkets.

The Americans themselves did not feel they knew their "clientele" personally. They did not remember the foreign students by name, nor report developing on-going relationships with them, outside of the professional-service role in which they originally dealt with the foreign student. The only exceptions to this occurred when the foreign students were already members of on-going transnational sets with which the Americans were also involved.

Therefore, rather than insisting on concentrating on relationships between the American non-students and their foreign student clientele in the interview, we simply used the predevised schedule as a stimulating device. We then recorded and prompted the interviewees' own accounts of their transnational experiences and associations, as they emerged in the course of the discussion. In fact, the net result was much like a series of limited life-histories. The interview often ended with the subject suggesting another person to whom the interviewer should speak about transnational associations--and quite often it was possible to follow up these suggestions, through several referrals; a total of 40 interviews was finally collected.

It thus became clear, quite early in this process, that the American non-student associates of foreign students were indeed members of some transnational interactional set; but this set did not include the foreign students upon whom we were focusing, unless they had entered this set previously, at some other time or place. Rather, the American non-student associates were ordinarily older, and

involved in a long-term family relationship; they were therefore members of what might be described as "small groups" (but probably more accurately as "clusters") of other families with transnational interests and experiences.

These Americans told remarkably similar stories about the ways in which they had become involved in these transnational sets. A particularly interesting feature that characterized the statements made by many members of this set was that each person felt that he (or she) had had absolutely unique experiences which no one else could ever be expected to duplicate. Almost to a person, they began their stories with a disclaimer to the effect: "I don't think this will be much help, because our experiences are kind of unusual," or "I don't suppose this happens to most people--we just happened to meet with an odd combination of circumstances," etc., etc. This conviction on the part of the respondents, that there was a complete non-identity of their own past and present and the life experiences of any one else, was practically a hallmark of this set.

Another interesting characteristic of the members of this set was their common feeling that they did not belong to any group, but simply had "a few people whom they saw and got along with." These referents were not necessarily all mutually acquainted. Our American respondents frequently seemed to feel a bit left out of society in general--somewhat as though, for one reason or another, they did not quite "belong" to the community, or any particular group within it. They offered various rationales for this: "All our friends have retired, or are on sabbatical"; "We're gone so much, we don't get to

know anybody"; "We're not very social," etc. This feeling was usually in considerable contrast to their own report of their schedule, which often contained an incredible number of social and professional events and obligations; not at all the quiet, semi-isolated existence of the American associates' own perceptions.

The variety of experience represented in this set of respondents was remarkable; nevertheless, there was a common theme which ran throughout the life/career histories collected from them. First, their point of entry into the set of transnationally-oriented persons was their own first overseas-residential experience. The quality of this experience was perceived by the respondents to be extremely important--without exception, the respondents mentioned that they were not one of those Americans who "shut themselves up in an American enclave."

Instead, this set unanimously reported that they "lived off the land," meaning, usually, that they lived in the same areas and under the same conditions as the local intelligentsia or upper-middle class. They ate the same food, lived in the same housing, hired similar servants, shopped in the same stores and bazaars. However, this was not the crux of their experience--this was a means of integrating themselves into the local society and getting to know the "local people." This, of course, usually meant the professionals and other society members of comparable status to their own, but of the host nationality.

This set also clearly distinguished itself from the type of American who "went native." This usually referred to adopting the

patterns of behavior and lifestyle of those sectors outside the realm of transnational contact; these were often those traditional sectors which had retained more of the indigenous pre-industrial ethnicity. (Transnational sectors are likely to be either Western, as in Latin America or Iran; or Westernized, as in India, Tanzania, and Japan.) The transnationals remained just that--members of one nationality group interacting on a daily basis with members of others, rather than attempting to totally become host nationals in cognition, affect, and overt behavior.

An interesting feature of this first overseas experience is that it was characterized by a conscious attempt to meet the host nationals, as opposed to transnationals of other nationalities than the hosts' and their own. Further, the respondents had usually succeeded in this attempt, and often, in the process, had conceived a special affection for this particular nation and its people and culture. (For the rest of his career, regardless of the number of other places he was stationed, a man might refer to himself as an "India man.") Often, throughout the transnationals' careers, the proportion of these first host nationals to the total number of their other foreign contacts was high, and transnationals remained in contact with their first foreign friends over long periods of time.

There were a few exceptions to this pattern. For first generation transnationals, if the first overseas experience occurred before the individual's professional identity was fully established (in a high school exchange program, for example), the contacts made during this first visit may not have been maintained. Nor were these

contacts as readily reclaimable through yet other contacts, as those made during the adult professional years. One reason for this may have been that professions and disciplines ordinarily had institutionalized means (such as conferences, seminars, journals, and newsletters) of maintaining contact between members. This served to enhance the continuity of professionally-based relationships. Further, a shared professional identity served as yet another reason for maintaining contact, as well as a means.

Another exception to the "first timer" pattern of contact was found during "vacationing." Many individuals may have traveled for recreational purposes before they became established as members of transnational networks; which ordinarily requires residence, in the initial stages. Contacts made during these journeys were usually also transient, and not maintained.

After this first experience in living abroad, the neophyte transnational set member usually returned to the U.S. Typically, this was when the transnationals first discovered that they were "been-tos"--people whose daily experience had included a totally different way of life; that is, of thinking, feeling, behaving. They found that they were drawn to other people with similar experiences, with whom they could let down the barriers. With other transnationally-minded people, they could speak freely without shocking their audience and could, in turn, listen without being subjected to a barrage of provincialism.

Close friendships with other "been-tos" were often formed at this time. One of the central experiences which these transnationals

shared was that of having to carve out a completely new set of social agreements with persons of other cultural backgrounds with whom they originally shared no expectations for behavior. The tolerance for other behavioral formats, which this "third culturing" apparently engendered in the individuals who participated in the process, was a characteristic of transnational sets. However, this continuing process of construction of new sets of behavioral understandings among transnationals may have partially explained the importance of professional commonalities in establishing their linkages, since these may have been the only salient cognitions initially shared.

The new transnationals may have also associated with members of the nationality group from "their" overseas area--however, they were likely to do so separately, apart from other Americans, if a large cluster of foreign nationals existed in their locale. If there were only one or two individuals or a couple from that area with whom the transnationals were friendly, American and foreign transnational sets were seen together socially.

The other process that began to engage the returnee attention, nearly immediately, was the formulation of plans to "go out" again.

On their second and subsequent ventures abroad, the transnationals were less concerned with integrating themselves solely into the host national community. As one interviewee, an old hand on the transnational circuit, put it, "People typically go through two stages. The first is the 'we must get to know the natives' period; the second comes with the recognition that all people are basically alike. Now we look at the scenery--not the people." However, the neophytes were

then "old hands" themselves; they had probably come to this position overseas at the behest of, or by the good offices of, other transnationals, who were either on hand themselves, or who had contacts at this site. Therefore, the new arrivals often found that they had ready-made sets of relationships waiting for them, that required nothing but their presence to be fully activated.

This set of transnationals usually included people from a variety of different nations, rather than exclusively Americans and host nationals. In fact, in some areas, there were no host nationals of appropriate status, and the set of transnationals became entirely composed of extranational persons. The host nationals who were involved in such transnational sets were ordinarily "been-tos" themselves. This was largely for the same reasons that American "been-tos" joined such sets in their own country, although there were often a few persons that had become members of these transnational sets without having had extranational experiences themselves. These transnational sets were usually task- or goal-oriented, in that the entire memberships' usual reason and support for being in this setting was to perform professional or technical functions of some sort, directed towards accomplishing a particular task or a set of interconnected ones.

In situations where this set was not extensive and confined by locale, class, and background (this might have occurred, for example, in smaller provincial centers of one sort or another, such as Nyeri, Upper Dharmasala, or Atlanta), it very often became a much "tighter" organization and resembled a group. By this we mean that the membership was mutually acquainted, it was possible to differentiate

between members and non-members, and there was a common core of beliefs, values, and goals subscribed to by all the members. Under these circumstances, very close relationships among the members often developed, and these contacts were often the ones that were the most faithfully maintained over the years. For example, the original members of one of the earliest State U. projects, which was in a developing Asian nation, formed a cohort between whose members the bonds had remained strong, despite the ensuing dual separations of time and distance.

Another commonality in the transnationals' life-pattern was that, prior to their first adult/professional overseas experience, they had been exposed--usually through a family contact--to some sort of "foreign" experience, or had had an overseas experience of their own. This appeared to have been quite salient to them, even if they had not maintained contact with the other individuals involved, if these relationships had been outside the transnationals' ordinary range of relationships. In some sense, these early experiences seem to have acted as "primers," that stimulated the individuals to seek out their long-term adult extranational experiences. Note that this paralleled to some extent the pattern found among those American students whose foreign student associates were felt to be "best friend." (See pp. 183-188.)

Finally, the transnationals again returned to the U.S., and the pattern was repeated. This pointed up yet another characteristic of many members of these transnational sets: high mobility. Again, this high mobility was not characteristic of all transnationals--some



remained overseas, some returned to the U.S. more or less permanently. This mobility, however, should be understood to have been psychic as well as physical--when the transnationals moved from place to place, they also shifted from one set of significant others to another. With each set they shared a different collection of attitudes and beliefs, goals and behaviors, although always sharing the ability to make these attitudinal/behavioral shifts between sets and to tolerate differences in these shared collections. This ability may well be the essence of transnationality.

Mobility was closely related to still another transnationality characteristic--most members of these sets were bonded to people, rather than to places. Perhaps it was their abiding affection for the site of their initial experience that led to their extraordinary degree of involvement with the host nationals during that stage of their career. At any rate, these bonds to people were of a peculiar sort; they ordinarily survived long gaps of time and space, but they existed in a latent or dormant state unless the participants in the relationship were physically proximate.

Typically, there was a small amount of written contact, usually in the form of winter-holiday greeting cards, but even this was not always the case; many areas in which the transnationals found themselves had poor-to-nonexistent mail service, and the custom of maintaining contact by writing had been depressed. Further, when relationships were based primarily upon the sharing of immediate occupational goals and the performance of daily tasks needed to achieve them, there was a tendency for these relationships to lose content

when the daily rounds were disparate. At least, what was shared was difficult to transfer to paper, unless it involved professional interests or tasks that could be shared by mail--such tasks, however, were rare. Therefore, transnationals depended on physical proximity to activate their interrelationships.

The feature that was remarkable in these bonds, however, was their ability to retain their potency even during long separations. When the relationship was reactivated by the participants' physical meeting, it was reactivated at its original strength and degree of familiarity. As more than one respondent said, "We pick up the conversation right where we left off, as though we had never been apart." This was reported even after separations of 10 and 20 years.

The two most important bases of these bonds between transnationals were professional interests and familial ties, although bonds did develop, less frequently, between persons involved in strictly social-recreational associations, or more likely, between persons who were bonded to a third by different bond types.\* Both professional interests and family ties, however, were bonds which could be maintained well over time and distance--possibly because the life-patterns of people bonded in these ways tended to run in similar channels, even when the bonded individuals were spatially and

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\*Example: The Singhs know the De la Vegas because they were both at the Tropical Diseases Center in London at the same time, 15 years ago. When the De la Vegas' son, Juan, came to study at Emory University in Atlanta, he was given aid and hospitality by the Singhs, who happened to be at the Communicable Diseases Center at the time. The Singhs became very fond of Juan, and have maintained contact with him, over the years.

temporally separated. Also, both represented reasons--that is, situations in which mutual benefits accrued--for people to remain in contact and to seek each other out at future times. This constituted at least a partial explanation of an apparent prerequisite for transnational relationship formation: participants had to be adults with established professional/occupational identities. People in the pre-professional period apparently did not have a continuing set of interests upon which to maintain such long-term contacts. Additional family bonds were also usually difficult to construct for younger persons.

The importance of the familial and surrogate-familial bond was of interest for several reasons. First, it has been severely downplayed as an important bond in the modern world. As people in certain societal sectors became more mobile, family bonds in those sectors were no longer synonymous with occupational or social-recreational links, although the nuclear family remained as a financial-residential-procreational unit. A number of sociologists have predicted the imminent demise of the family as a social institution, at least in its extended, and perhaps in its nuclear, form. However, in the yet-more mobile post-modern world, other forms of social support, such as the neighborhood, the religious institutions, and the voluntary organization, have also been stripped away from the individual. This has bared the immutable fact of blood relationship, and often left it as the only surety in a totally fluid set of relationships; the family has thus taken on a new importance.

In keeping with this, family ties were particularly important for the transnationals who had no geographic roots. Further, this may have been the only set of relationships that was continuously active for transnationals--the one constant set of associations and values, upon which they could rely to provide a framework for their lives. Long standing professional relationships may have provided others, but these were voluntary (or "achieved") and had at least the potential of being canceled. Interestingly enough, and fitting with this logic, when transnationals became the senior generation, they usually acquired a physical "home base" of some sort, to which they and their children could return. There were often colonies of these homes in academic areas. However, it was the family which provided the ultimate set of bonds, upon which the transnationals could always depend. In fact, one might describe the typical relationship between transnationals as having been a surrogate-family one; a relationship not dulled or lessened by separations of time and distance. Another familial characteristic of these relationships was that they were sometimes extended to persons who were actually strangers to each other, if they had been mutually vouched for by other members of the set. In the same way that extended family members will welcome and aid a cousin whom they have never met before, transnationals offered hospitality and assistance to stranger transnationals recommended to them by other members of the set.

It was also true, of course, that when an identifiable cohort of transnationals developed, more than one type of common bond tended to link the participants--professional, social, and family bonds all

came into being and overlapped during periods of close association. Usually, however, in a setting with a large number of transnationals, it was difficult-to-impossible to clearly identify, in a mutually exclusive and inclusive way, the members of the set as a whole. It was also very difficult to discern discrete subsets within--in short, the transnationals refused to behave like a community, or as a boundable collection of smaller groups. Nevertheless, the individuals involved continued to behave as though there were such an entity, and were able to recognize, as one informant remarked, another "one of the clan."

Before attempting a fuller explanation of this particular substantive phenomenon, let us again turn to our research questions, to supplement our previous answers with the information garnered from our final data set.

First, we queried: if members of an American academic community and foreign students were brought into contact, would this lead to continuing professional-intellectual and/or "social" associations between a number of Americans and the foreign students? In response, these data suggested even more strongly than before that such associations would only arise if the foreign students and the Americans were matched on a number of salient dimensions. In this case, if the foreign student was a member of the larger set of "been-tos," or was a member of the non-American nationality contingent with which a member of the American transnational set had contact, a relationship might form. It was also important that the foreign student and the American in question were roughly matched in age-grade, or were close

associates of own-nationality age-grade peers of the other. For example, a student of a friend/colleague, usually of the student's nationality, might be welcomed and associated with.

However, this was not particularly likely on the American campus, as mentioned previously. Although these Americans did indeed have many contacts with "foreigners," these were not foreign students that they met in the U.S. unless these were nationals of the areas in which the Americans had been resident overseas. In this case, the foreign students were most probably recommended to the Americans by colleagues from the overseas area. These colleagues were also transnationals, met either abroad or in the U.S., through the American's transnational set here. Therefore, although the indicated answer to the first question was still "Yes--if the proper facilitating conditions are present," again we note that, for the American transnationals, these conditions were rarely present with the foreign students, who were largely nonpeers.

Secondly, we asked: if members of an American academic community came to associate with one foreign student in that context, would they also come to associate with other Americans who associated with foreign students and/or other foreign students? Again, this data set indicated indicated a positive response to this query--recognizing, however, that the first condition was rarely met. When it was, the usual reason was the foreign students' involvement in an on-going transnational set, in which the American was also involved. A few other Americans were also ordinarily involved in such sets--it might be these or other "foreign" members that the American in question

knew. If it was the former and if the relationship between the American and the foreign student was fairly fully developed, the American might well come to know the foreign students' other American friends, who were by definition also transnationals. The same was true for the Americans' association with "other foreign students." Both of these statements are based on the observation that transnationals, here and abroad, came to know many members of a transnational set, when they had become acquainted with one member thereof.

In short, when the first associational condition was met, this set of data suggested strongly that the further associational pattern here outlined was a likely sequel.

Finally, we asked, if a member of a given American academic community came to associate at one time with a foreign student, and possibly other foreign students and foreign student associates, would this American continue to associate with these and other foreign student associates and foreign students in this university and/or in other university settings? The answer suggested by this sub-set of data was that the pattern of associating with foreigners that were peers might well have been developed by experiences which included, as a major contributing factor, associating with foreign student(s) in the U.S. or abroad (for an American). However, if the specific relationships first developed were between persons of preprofessional status, such as students, these particular associations were quite likely not to have been maintained. In short, student-level relationships may have developed transnationals, but not on-going transnational relationships.

To sum up, these data have indicated that the research questions may continue to be answered with a qualified "yes"--the qualification being that the appropriately receptive and similar participants would have to be co-available in situations conducive to the development of the relationships outlined in these questions. Such conducive situations, of course, represent only a subsection of the campus panorama.



## SECTION IV

### ANALYSIS OF DATA AND CONCLUSIONS

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## CHAPTER 11

### OVERVIEW OF PROBLEMS POSED AND FINDINGS

We began this investigatory process with three problems: two theoretical, and one substantive. Our theoretical problems, further, represented two levels of abstraction. The highest level, or most abstract, problem involved devising a conceptual framework to describe the process by which social level entities were constructed from individual level entities. We proposed to use the set of notions surrounding the concept of "network" to descriptively organize the findings from the investigation of a particular substantive problem, to see whether this conceptual set had the potential for performing a theory-integrating function of this sort.

The second theoretical problem was at a "middle-range" level; presuming that such a thing as a "network" existed, we wanted to discover the general outlines of the process by which it was formed. To phrase it as a research question, we asked: what were the necessary and sufficient conditions for network formation? We posited a contacting → interacting → networking process, based on the sequence of events implied in the exchange-of-persons literature. Again, we proposed to explore the reasonableness of this postulation in the context of a substantive problem, drawn from the exchange-of-persons context. Encompassed within this latter problem was our interest in investigating the new sets of shared understandings that comprise the

cognitive-normative components of the relationships that together make up a network. In the exchange-of-persons literature this component and its behavioral resultants has been known as "third culture," and refers to a de novo construct that arises between interactants from different cultural backgrounds.

Thus, theoretically, we wanted to investigate the place of "network" and its related set of concepts in the context of social theory as a whole; simultaneously, we were interested in the theory of networks--most particularly, in contributing to the theoretical understanding of network formation.

In tandem with these theoretical concerns was a substantive one--how effective are exchange-of-persons programs in promoting the formation of enduring relationships between people of different national/cultural origins? This problem clearly involved relationship formation, with the possibility that these single relationships would, in turn, come together to form larger entities. Thus, it seemed to offer a good potential field for the investigation of our theoretical concerns; one which would allow substance and theory to interplay, and the research of each to enhance our understanding of the other.

To accomplish this purpose, we posed three research questions:

1. If members of an American academic community and foreign students are brought into contact, will this lead to continuing professional-intellectual and/or "social" associations between a number of the Americans and the foreign students?
2. If a member of an American academic community comes to associate with a foreign student in that context, will he/she also come to associate with
  - (a) other Americans who associate with foreign students, and/or,

(b) other foreign students?  
(And will they come to associate with him/her?)

3. If a member of a given American academic community comes to associate at one time with a foreign student, and possibly other foreign students and foreign student associates, will he/she continue to associate with these and other foreign student associates and foreign students in this university and/or in other university settings?

To answer these, we used several different methods; this was in an attempt to be as rigorous as the state of knowledge, at various chronological stages of the research process, allowed. We also built upon the knowledge gained by previous researchers using various methods.

Initially, we knew that foreign students and American students are (and have been) brought into contact on the American college campus. We also knew that long-term relationships are formed between persons of different nationalities. Further, we knew that previous researchers had described an entity called a "network," and developed a set of related concepts which characterized its structure, location, content, and conditions of formation.

Our first step, then, in our data collection process, was to do an ethnography of the American campus, with an especial emphasis on the situations in which Americans and foreign students came into contact. The object of this was to determine (a) how Americans formed and continued relationships with other Americans, and the nature of these relationships in each context, and (b) whether, and how, Americans formed and continued relationships with foreign students in these same contexts; and to some extent, the nature of these. In terms of this latter problem, we were particularly interested in whether the

relationships (if formed) between the Americans and the foreign students differed from those formed between the Americans themselves.

Starting with some informants who were known to serve as spokesmen for foreign student populations (officers of nationality clubs, highly Americanized foreigners who served as informal "interpreters," and the like), we approached each campus sector which was known to be a contact site for Americans and foreign students. We also investigated several other sub-sectors of the campus which were representative of major student lifestyles--the Bohemian fringe, the "average State U. student," and the agricultural set.

We found that initial contacts between American students and foreign students did develop into on-going relationships when they occurred in several settings: married housing, the graduate dorm, and in the graduate academic setting. It has been suggested that value emphasis on commonality of present activity concomitant with lessened importance of background, higher chronological and career age of participants, and high physical identifiability of the interaction setting, were important common characteristics shared by these campus sub-sectors. The relationships formed between the Americans and the foreign students in these contexts appeared to be very much like those developed between pairs of Americans in the same context.

However, in all these settings, and particularly in the graduate dormitory setting, there was a strong tendency for foreign students to form their own collectivities. These might be uni- or multi-national, but included few, if any, Americans. In the context of the campus as a whole, this was entirely comprehensible, inasmuch

as we found that most Americans also band together in life-style groups, building smaller and more manageable "worlds" amid the vastness and complexity of the multiversity.

We summed this up by noting that each of the American student lifestyle modalities represented a prevailing pattern in the larger "adult" society; American students associated with foreign students if they happened to fit into one of these patterns. There were some patterns which, because of their own intrinsic characteristics, were much more open and accessible to foreign students, and it was within these settings that American students and foreign students met and formed continuing associations. In other words, under the proper conditions, transnational contacting did, indeed, lead to interacting.

Having established that the contacting → interacting sequence did occur, we then proposed to block out the dimensions of the interaction itself, using more rigorous methods. We were now able to use the foreign students as the population, and draw a bounded respondent set; from this set of respondents we drew a second--those American students named by the foreign students as their "closest American friend." Knowing that a continuing interaction did occur between these Americans and foreign students, we were then able to devise an instrument which broke the interactions down into general components, and attempted to determine the specific content of each.

From this, it appeared that Americans and foreign students who were demographically matched on age, sex, SES, academic level, and to some extent, specific academic field, were inclined to form associations, if they were residentially or academically proximate. Most

of the Americans felt that their relationship with the foreign student was similar, or identical to, their relationships with other Americans, except that they explained American language or customs to the foreign student. The evidence that the Americans meant to continue the relationship when they and the foreign student were no longer proximate was not overwhelming, which also seemed to parallel their intentions towards other Americans.

In short, it appeared that the Americans formed relationships with persons somewhat like themselves, and that under the appropriate circumstances, "foreignness" was not seen as a salient difference. Neither was there anything peculiar to these relationships in terms of strength, basis, or durability, although Americans did tend to associate with more than one foreign student at once. However, there were secondary modalities in the American student-foreign student relationship patterns that differed significantly from the American-American pattern; unfortunately, these did not seem to have a high degree of overlap in personnel.

In light of the fact that the previous research had suggested that a rather distinctive lifestyle pattern developed among transnational associates, while the present research pointed to formation of interactions characteristic of the host (American) culture, the interpretation of the cumulative data was not clear. Therefore, we again returned to the field, this time to another population--the non-student Americans who associated with foreign students.

We had expected to simply document this sets' relationship with the foreign students, in an even more focused manner than that used

with the American student associates of foreign students. We selected particular dimensions from the first instrument; those which seemed to constitute the nexus of the differential description of the transnational relationship. During the interviews it became clear that the relationships between these Americans and the foreign students in question were strictly professional-client.

The Americans were, however, in contact with other foreigners, usually those in their own field. We adapted to this by focusing the interviews on the careers as transnationals of these Americans, investigating the relationships formed therein along the dimensions delineated in the earlier phases of the study. Thus, this approached a "panel of experts" method, a technique useful in research situations where the general areas of concern have been set forth, but specific concepts and their relationships, necessary for proposition formation (→ theory formation ) → hypothesis testing are not yet clear. This method is an attempt to tap the conceptualizations that individuals with greater experiential knowledge of the research field have formed, thus lying in both flexibility and preciseness of conceptual focus somewhere between ethnography and a set-format, short-answer, interview schedule.

This set of respondents gave us to understand that transnationality was a distinctive feature of one's lifestyle, but not a complete, coherent, identifiable lifestyle in and of itself. They described a pattern of events by which transnationals were created, involving a "foreign awareness"-generating event in the preprofessional years, an initial adult/professional overseas experience in which the association with the host nationals was high; a "returnee" experience,



during which they began to recognize their own transnationality and associate with other American and foreign transnationals; and a continuing series of trips out and returns to the States, during which there was a continually higher tendency to associate with other transnationals of all nationalities, rather than host nationals or Americans, respectively, who were non-transnationals. These relationships between transnationals were, however, formed only when some other significant factor existed for the association--usually, shared occupational/professional interests and goals.

Familial ties were another possible bond base for transnational relationships. Transnational friends of parents or children (or, conversely, children of transnational friends) were often accorded immediate status as friends themselves by transnationals. This transferability of relationships sometimes extended to siblings as well; a transnational might prevail upon a brother or sister to host another transnational. The tendency for relationships with other transnationals to be transferred from one sibling to another, or to the transnationals' parents, seemed to increase as the transnationality of the siblings or parents themselves increased.

These transnational Americans did not report the existence of one coherently delimited group or community of transnationals but, rather, small sets of associates with one or several of which they were themselves connected. These sets did not appear to have a high degree of overlap with one another. Further, all of these Americans described their own relationships and experiences as utterly unique--all seemed to have given their pattern of behavior some thought--

and transmitted a not-inconsiderable feeling of loneliness apropos of this uniqueness.

The Americans reported yet another factor that may have contributed to this feeling of loneliness: relationships between transnationals had great durability, but typically lay dormant unless the parties to it were in physical proximity to one another. Thus, of a great many relationships which the transnational American may have had with others, only a very few may have been operable at one time. Further, given the high mobility of transnationals, it was often difficult or nonproductive to form relationships with non-transnationals. Thus, the milieu of the transnationals was perennially thin, and they were dependent for peer support on a few significant others at any one time and place. This experience is, of course, characteristic of network participation in general.

With regard to both the preceding and following remarks on transnationals and network formation, we should note that our findings have a highly specific locus in time and institutional setting. We are, in this study, referring to processes observed in the time period following World War II, and occurring within an academic and a closely related institutional structure. Therefore, although we speak of transnationality in a general sense, the applicability of this beyond the substantive field described herein remains a problem for investigation.

This temporal and social/spatial locale had a number of characteristics which made it somewhat distinctive. First, the age distribution of the participant population was strongly skewed towards

the second and third life-decades; secondly, the institutional participants had, by definition, relatively high SES with respect to the societies in which the institutions were lodged; third, both residence and work-place of the participants were often located within the physical confines of the institution; fourth, occupational socialization was one of the explicit purposes of this institution; fifth, verbal and written communication skills, as well as knowledge seeking, were highly prized by the institutional participants; and sixth, this was a large-scale institution in a Midwestern-American cultural setting.

Also, at this time, for participants in this academic institutional milieu in the U.S., mobility between specific institutions was the norm; at this point in the world's history, most physical locales were reasonably accessible to travel and communications from nearly any other point in the world. Major technical/physical transportation and communication barriers, by and large, did not exist between members of the academic sectors of different societies. Many of the institutional tasks were readily transferable across national boundaries--the improvement of agricultural techniques, the development of new mathematical formulae, or the discovery of logical principles underlying teaching-learning, were not problems inherently bounded by nation or culture. Political barriers, however, still sometimes constituted an important impediment to the transnational flow of personnel and knowledge.

At any rate, persons participating in this institution had the financial and technical means, the personal ability, and the basis of

common interest for mobility and communication across national/cultural lines. Being young, they were readily mobile, lacking many of the physical and social impedimenta accumulated during later adult life. The institutional settings often provided for multiple life-contingencies, for academic personnel from other national-cultural loci, containing not only comparable occupational positions but often also making available residential arrangements and social support of peers. These institutions were generally geared to the assimilation and orientation of new participants, in nearly all national/cultural settings, which constituted an additional facilitating condition for the mobility of the participants between these institutions.

In short, the academic milieu was, at this time, one which facilitated and even promoted mobility and communication between different specific institutional settings, even across national-cultural boundaries. The participants were young, literate, relatively well-to-do and professional committed to the discovery of new knowledge, the satisfaction of curiosity, and the acquiring of professional competencies. It is entirely possible that some or all of these factors are necessary conditions for the development of transnationality, as described herein. At any rate, these facts necessarily impart particular contours to our description of transnationality; and these should be borne in mind when interpreting and applying any of the findings of this study.

## CHAPTER 12

### ANALYSIS OF DATA

#### Theoretical Analysis: Networking as an Explanatory Tool

How, then, are we to make sense of this life-pattern, which was apparently a comprehensible and intuitively definable entity for its participants, but which refused (a) to yield up its boundary characteristics and (b) to be attached to an observable and boundable set of persons? This is where the concept of network may prove serviceable; it is designed to describe a series of sets of persons involved in an entity with central characteristics defining each of its nexi, but without "limit" characteristics enclosing it. Networks themselves were described as interlocking, transitional, or radial; linkages were described in terms of their multistrandedness and density; and elements (persons) in terms of homogeneity. The situations in which networks were observed were described as social "arenas," containing "action-sets," or positions of networks bound in one arena; that is, a set of networked persons sharing a social situation or institution. Finally, interlocking networks (networks with high density and multistrandedness) required high "immediacy" for their formation--this meant proximity in time and space of a set of homogeneous elements.

This sort of phenomenon is precisely what we would appear to have been dealing with here; first, although we could define

"clusters" of persons, we were at a loss to see where they stopped. For example, a set of American "been-tos" may have shared a great many common experiences, attitudes, and goals, and have been related professionally, socially, and even by familial bonds, somato-genetic or surrogate--but each member may have also been linked to other sets, such as a set of foreign nationals or a non-"been-to" set of Americans in the same professional area, by any of or all of these bonds to their members. Therefore, we observe that each set is linked to others in precisely the same ways; and, thus, a sector or the whole of a society becomes a "set of sets." We must, of course, always continue to bear in mind that we are generalizing from observations of the process within one type of institutional milieu--the U.S. academic setting.

Interpreted as a network, it is easy to see that the "clusters" were interlocking networks, containing multistranded linkages of high density; that is, the members were highly interlinked to one another, and interlinked along a number of dimensions. They were linked to other "clusters" or interlocking networks by transitional network linkages--often multistranded but not of high density. For example, this was the American transnational set, in which each member was linked to a single-nationality foreign transnational set, but no American was linked to the same foreign national set. Within each foreign national set, of course, the linkages were again high in density.

This also makes it somewhat easier to understand why many transnational persons who were apparently highly involved with a

large number of people, felt peripheral, "lonely" or slightly isolated from the community that they supposed existed about them. Each person, by definition, was on the "edge" of every interlocking network to which he belonged. It was true, of course, that some individuals may have had a greater density of linkages--that is, they were linked to more people in a particular interlocking network than some of the other members. However, to any person raised in a Gemeinschaft locality-based community, any network may have seemed like a non-structure. Its lack, both of boundaries and a central value structure, may have provoked general disorientation on the part of these participants, to the extent that this absence of limits was a violation of their expectations.

Another explicable phenomenon, in this theoretical context, was the locality-based "community" which seemed to develop wherever a set of semi-isolated transnationals was found--but which nevertheless seemed to allow members to leave without forfeiting the strength and quality of their relationships with the members who stayed. If we see this as an example of Adrian Mayer's "quasi-groups"--an interlocking network coinciding with a self-contained or isolated social arena--we recognize that members may have remained in the network even when moving from the locale. Common locale, in this case, was one basis --one of the strands--that linked an individual to others in high density, multistranded relationship sets, remembering that temporal and spatial proximity are requirements for participation in an interlocking network. If this bond of common locale was broke, the others remained, although the individual was separated from any other

individuals with whom this was the only link. This was also true for other locality-bound links with network members such as the ability to share a daily athletic activity. However, the individual might have become part of a transitional network, in which the linkages were neither so dense nor possessed of the same multitude of strands; but would still be "networked" to the members of the locality cluster in many ways.

If interlocking networks were experienced by the participants as "communities," and if this was a reassuring experience for many individuals who were raised in the locality-based *Gemeinschaft* communities mentioned earlier, such as the stable residential-perhaps-ethnic-neighborhood, or the small town, then we would have expected these individuals to seek out situations in which they could again be involved in this type of network. As mentioned before, these interlocking networks were often formed where there were sets of transnationals in relatively isolated situations, which were frequently found in developing areas with very small sectors of own-national professionals and intelligentsia. That is, this may have partially explained the "been-tos" eagerness to return to an overseas situation; and also why this meant seeking a professional post abroad, rather than simply traveling to an area as a private individual. In a certain sense, then, for the experienced transnational, going abroad was going home, in Wolfe's sense (Wolfe, 1940).

It is interesting that the family group, which we earlier noted as the pre-industrial social "model" for the network, albeit in a more extended form, should have played an important part in the post-modern



transnational network. Aside from its affective and logistical benefits, it was therefore also an entity intrinsically well adapted to this social systemic form (i.e., the network). This simultaneity of form may have been an important factor in determining the importance of the family in maintaining transnational networks.

Another concept which is particularly well adapted to the notion of "networks," used in a transnational context, is that of "third culture." This has been utilized to express that set of understandings\* which arises between persons of different cultural backgrounds when they arrange their daily round, professional/occupational activities, or other life patterns conjointly for a period of time. Some question has arisen concerning whether there is a third culture or many third cultures. If the former, then what is its common context? If the latter, how is it possible to differentiate between one and another?

If, however, we explain "third-culturing" as the process of creating understandings within a network, then we may talk about the third culture as the set of understandings so created. Because of

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\*By "understandings" we mean that part of a self-other relationship composed of self's thoughts about what he (self) should do (in his own terms); self's thoughts about what other feels he (self) should do (in other's terms), what self plans to do; and what he (self) thinks that other will feel about what he does. It is, in short, what goes into making up a relationship participant's "plan of action"; his assessment of his own and others' expectations for and reactions thereto. His co-participant(s) in a relationship, particularly one for which no prototype exists, may have totally differing plans/assessments in the same situation; thus, a relationship may be partially composed of two sets of conflicting understandings. (In this framework, "actions" are the other compositional element in such self-other relationships.)

the nature of the network links, we do not expect to find a common context in this understanding set; however, it is the product of one process, and therefore, one theoretical entity. That is, third culture is a type of social entity, not one substantive case. Like the network, within which it occurs, it has no boundaries--we may talk about the particular third-cultural experience of a given ego and a set of alters on a substantive level, but not about the definitive and self-limited content of the third culture, any more than we may speak in these terms of a network. In a sense, there are as many variations in the content of "third cultures" as there are pairs of individuals involved in transnational networking; but nevertheless, there is only one "third culture" when defined as a process, or the type of product thereof. To attempt to provide boundary conditions for a process that is an integral part of the construction of a network is a contradiction in terms.

A final substantive problem that was made clear by both our explication of the process of becoming of a transnational, and our understanding of this process in network terms, was the pattern of association between American and foreign students on the State U. campus. The point here is that the foreign students, in this situation, were the individuals who were the most clearly involved in the transnationalization process, given that they were the ones currently involved in an "overseas experience." However, we must remember that these foreign students were, comparatively, quite young, and that they were, of necessity, and at most, early-on in their professional careers.

In fact, for a goodly number of the foreign students, if the pattern paralleled that for American transnationals, this might have been most accurately described as their preprofessional "primer" experience. Although they may have felt that they had come to know a number of Americans fairly well, neither they nor the Americans would have been expected to maintain long-term contact, after they were no longer physically proximate to one another. This may well have explained the prediction by over half the Americans that contact would not be maintained, after the foreign students' return home.

For a second set of foreign students, this may have been the first overseas experience during their adult professional lives--if we interpret this as the equivalent of the "first time out" for the American transnationals, we might have expected them to be attempting to get to know the Americans, and to strike up in-depth, long-term relationships with them. This might, of course, have required Americans who had been "primed" to accept and/or desire transnational associations--but a confluence of the two might have been the foundations of the "best friend" relationships that were formed.

Another sub-set of the foreign students may have been "old hands," or may have found no Americans who were at a place in their own transnationalization process that rendered them acceptable for, and accepting of, participation in a transnational relationship. These foreign students may have kept to the company of members of the multinational (and largely non-American) transnational sets found in and around the university population. We might have expected that relationships formed between this set of foreign students and American

student associates would have been typically transnational in character--participated in by people who felt they knew each other fairly well, but with the primary bases of their common bonds being either congruent occupational-professional interests or the sheer fact of mutual transnationality. This set of American and foreign students may have been the base population in which "acquaintance" relationships, or even "good friend" relationships were found.

Finally, there may well have been sets of foreign students who kept entirely to their own nationality groups, tried to duplicate their home environment as much as possible in their living arrangements here, and regarded the U.S. and its natives as a curiosity to be observed from a safe and respectable distance. On the opposite extreme, there were foreign students who "went native," and adopted American dress and manners as completely as possible. Neither of these sub-sets related to Americans in the ways typical of transnational patterns of association.

In short, if we recognize that transnationalization is a long-term process, we must realize that the foreign students, as well as the Americans, may have been at different stages within this. Therefore, the types of American student-foreign student relationships varied greatly, depending on the relative point in transnationalization reached by both participants. The difficulties involved in such a process were also compounded, in this instance, by the fact that all the participants were at early stages of their lives and careers, and therefore had differential capabilities for involvement in

long-term relationships based primarily, though not entirely, on commonality of professional-occupational interests and goals.

For these reasons, it was not surprising that we did not find overwhelming evidence of adult/professional-type transnationality in the set of American student-foreign student relationships which we examined. A number of indicators suggest that these relationships were, or were similar to, the expected precursors of later transnational associations, such as those found among the American non-student associates of foreign students. Thus, these findings should not be interpreted as meaning that foreign students and American students did not become involved in transnational associations, but can quite reasonably be taken as support for our position that transnationalization of an individual is a long and complicated process, in which the first steps are crucial, although deceptively casual in appearance.

At this juncture, several theoretical points vis-à-vis networks are perhaps worth remarking in substantive terms--for one, we have consistently been speaking of "transnational" networks; this would seem to suggest a bounding condition for at least one network, but this is not our intended use of the term. Rather, we are referring to that part of the total network of social relationships in which the links were between transnationally-minded persons, who were usually--but not necessarily--also transnationally experienced. This transnationality may not, of course, have been the major recognized source of commonality between the relationship participants. Further, these transnational persons themselves were linked to many other non-transnationally-minded persons by links as strong, fulsome, and durable (or more so) as those to other transnationals.

Therefore, we cannot, and are not attempting to, set a margin or a border on these "transnational networks." We are simply identifying one dimension which network participants may have shared, recognizing at the same time that there will have been other salient dimensions of these participants' relationships with others that will not have been shared by all transnationals. This sharing of salient relationship dimensions by overlapping, but not congruent, sets of individuals, was, indeed, conceived as the essence of networking.

A closely related point is that, although we continually spoke of the nature of the links between individual participants, we did not discuss these in terms of specific applications to particular persons. Rather, we portrayed linking patterns as having been characteristic of a class of individuals--in this case, transnationals. It should also be apparent from our descriptive discussion of the data that the formation of each link was predicated upon the previous experiences of the relationship participants, particularly experiences in forming links with similar individuals. Again, by "similar" we primarily mean an individual with whom the same set of salient dimensions has been shared and/or recognized.

At any rate, the point is this: networks are social-level entities--they are much more than the simple sum of their parts. In fact, since the network links are, by definition, cooperative constructions of the linkage participants, and since networks are made up of elements (members) and their links, they must, then, compositionally be bi-analytical-level constructs. Involving both "individual"

and "interaction" levels of social reality, networks become thereby a third level of analysis of social reality, through the process of the interaction of the interactions--that is, the effect of one network link upon another.\* The network, or set of links and elements, is therefore a social level construct in the same way, and for essentially the same reasons, that a "group" or a "community" is.

Substantive Analysis I: Exchange Programs  
as Foundations of Transnationality

Substantively, then, what conclusions can be drawn? Returning to our basic substantive question (page 55) which was: "How useful are exchange programs" [for promoting international communication and understanding], we find that it can be answered in both ways, depending on our interpretation of its meaning. If we intend to promote the immediate development of life-long friendships that will help prevent international strife, our expectations are unrealistic. As we have seen, at this time in an individual's career, the development of such relationships was rare.

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\*To make this point substantively clear, let us use an example garnered from an interview with one of the (transnational) American non-student associates of foreign students. The American had an Indian colleague in his field, public administration. When visiting with the colleague at his home near Delhi the American met the Indian administrator's sister, an English instructor at Lady Doak, whom he eventually married. The formation of this link with the Indian girl, in the American's network, affected the nature of his linkage with her brother, who then became his brother-in-law as well as his colleague. Changes in the relationship with either sister or brother necessarily colored the quality and content of the relationship with the other. This (although this is a somewhat extreme example) serves to make the point that the links in a network are very much affected by one another, and should be understood as products of their mutual interaction.

However, this is really an oversimplistic and reductionistic approach to the process of transnationalization, from the standpoint of the process we have just described. Early "primer" experiences were crucial to the process of the later formation of transnational relationships, and exchange programs clearly provided these. Of course, for the "first timers" occupying adult/professional positions, close friendship may have been a direct result of this experience, but this was relatively rare at this stage.

For individuals at different points in the transnationalization process, this represented yet another setting in which transnational networks might form, thus promoting transnationality in general. Although a large number of Americans may not have been participants in this particular set, they represented a substantial contingent in transnational sets in general. Every environment in which transnational associations might flourish was an expansion of the general collection of opportunities for transnational associations to form. Thus, in a broader sense, Americans were very much the benefactors of the multi-national-transnational association patterns which developed in U.S. academic settings in the mid-1960s, although this result may not have been immediately obvious at any one time and place.

In fact, if we grant that transnationalization was a long-term process for each individual, and that transnational sets were usually in network form and therefore physically disparate, we would not have expected to see a large, discrete set of individuals with a coherent and easily identifiable set of "transnational attitudes" in any given socio-physical locale, or in any one temporal segment. This was



largely due to our methods, however, and should not alarm us into denying the existence of the transnationals themselves, or to think that transnationalization was not occurring under conditions of contact between individuals from different national/cultural areas.

It is, however, clear that the development of the pattern of transnational association required multiple opportunities for a given individual to associate with other transnationals. Having observed this, we might recommend that exchange programs, as a class, should include opportunities for individuals at a number of different career points, and for individuals with a number of different personal-demographic characteristics. Further, there should be multiple opportunities for any one individual.

Secondly, planners should be aware of the importance of residential and academic settings in the formation of transnational relationships. Most American student associates of foreign students, and most of the non-student American transnationals, reported meeting and forming relationships with their foreign associates in one or both of these two contexts. By "academic settings" we mean not only the classroom and the laboratory, but graduate department offices and lounges, research institutes and laboratories, departmental and technical libraries, small colloquia, and study rooms; the spectrum of formal and informal situations which make up the world of the scholar.

Concomitant with this consideration is another, which may also be of some significance to planners. It appears that continuing transnational relationships are largely formed by people who have made, or

are in the process of making, other adult-level interpersonal and professional commitments. The residential and academic settings mentioned above are the situations in which these more mature foreign and American scholars are most likely to have continuing contact with one another, which may partially explain the higher incidence of relationship formation in these contexts. Next, we may warn planners of exchange programs that they should be wary of any one measure of a program's success, given that the nature of transnationalization, as a long, diverse process, and transnational sets, as the network format of association, lead to very different manifestations of transnationalism at different times and places.

Further, the planners of exchange programs should not be disturbed at the lack of host nationals in the transnational sets formed by their program participants, particularly if these sets are otherwise transnational. However, the planners should be sure to include some opportunities for host nationals to become transnationals, through overseas experiences of their own, so that the host nationals may also participate fully in transnational networks in general. In short, planners should bear in mind that individuals are not "been-tos" until they have, indeed, "been-to."

Finally, the reader should remember that all of these observations refer only to exchange-of-persons in an American academic institutional setting in the mid-1960s. Although the possibility for their generalizability exists, the establishment of this extensibility must be dependent on further research.

Substantive Analysis II:  
Implications for Theory

Having used "network" and its related concepts as the theoretical construct with which we interpreted our findings, we should then, according to our methodological schema, ask what the implications of these findings are for the further refinement of these constructs themselves.

Initially, it has become clear that networks are a continuum of types not only in a theoretical-definitional sense, but operationally, for the persons involved. The conditions surrounding and within the linkages of which networks are comprised may change, and even though these linkages may remain, their relationship to other linkages in terms of density may be altered, as may their intrinsic multistrandedness--thus, elements that have been involved in an interlocking network together, may come to be joined in a transnational or radial network. That is to say, the network--the set of elements and linkages--may remain, but its form may change.

Thus, not only are there different types of networks, but one network, or network sector, may take on the form of different types at different times. Another way of putting this is to say that networks are more accurately viewed as processes, rather than structures, inasmuch as structures have at least an overtone of immutability of form connected with retention of their identity. An individual involved in a network, serving as an element therein, is therefore involved in an on-going social-level process.

This statement of the processual nature of networks bears the need for reiteration--we are not suggesting, at this point, that there

is a structure (the network) which is run or maintained or created by a process (such as networking). We are saying that a network is a social process, whereby individuals relate to other individuals in various ways, which ways are then reflected in the ways these others relate to still other individuals.

If we accept this processual nature of networks, we can also see that network is at least a preliminary description of how individuals build themselves into on-going social level entities. That is, networks may be said to be entities of the second social-level. "Interactions" we have defined as the first-level product of the confluent actions of two separate individuals--a product which represents more than the sum of the actions of the two individuals. A "network" is, then, the product, as we have pointed out before, of the interaction of the interactions. Thus, a network has a separate and identifiable reality of its own, although this reality may appear to differ slightly from each successive vantage point. Given that a network is defined by its central dimensions, as the center--or element location from which the network is viewed--is shifted, the defining dimensions may also shift.

This latter aspect of its nature does not negate its claim to a separate analytical level; it does, however, bring out a seeming contradiction in the way that we have defined "network." We have apparently called it both elements and their linkages, and the process produced by the interaction of these linkages. These are not, however, necessarily antithetical definitions. The former can be seen to be the component parts necessary for the production of the latter,

in the same way that individuals and roles are understood to be the component parts of a society, although the "society" is a separate entity of a higher analytical level. Therefore, although the network may be the process produced by the elements and their linkages, these producing components are still understood to be integral parts of the whole. We have emphasized the processual nature of this concept by the use of the term "networking."

In short, then, the theoretical implication of our substantive findings is that "network" or "networking" is a processual concept of the middle range; one that implies, and provides a mechanism for describing, the continuity from the past to the present and future of (a) individuals, (b) their interactions, and (c) the still-larger entities which are the latter's products.

### Methodological Implications

The methodological problems encountered in this study, other than those constituting the minor mishaps and major irritants endemic to the research process, may be summarized in one statement. Traditional sociological methods have been developed to look at groups and other bounded entities, while we are dealing here with a non-bounded entity--a network. Therefore, we do not have a demarcated population from which we can draw a "representative" sample. In fact, without such a bounded population, the notion of a random sample is meaningless. (A sample must be a sample of something.) Further, there is no one set of characteristics which we would want such a sample to be representative of, other than the one dimension shared by all the network members in which we are interested--transnationality, in

this case. In short, the "sample group" method is not practicably used here.

The difficulty caused by the use of group techniques in a network was illustrated best in our study of the American student associates of foreign students. Because we at first excluded non-students in an attempt to define the population, we lost the very people who could explain, through their own understanding and actions, what was occurring between the American and foreign students. If we had used "snowballing" originally, we would have met these informants immediately, and found our quantitative results much less confusing. The method used in the semi-structured interviews probably constitutes a rough outline of the necessary technique; this resembles classical sociometry, but on a macro-level. In brief, we selected persons who shared a high location on the theoretically interesting dimension, transnationality. We made this first-selected set as demographically disparate as possible, on age, sex, academic rank, previous education and present professional interests, and foreign area of interest. We then asked this set of persons for referrals to others. After we had been through the referral process several times, we could begin to chart areas of overlap, where the sets of elements and linkages emanating from one individual began to be the same as those emanating from others. The degree of overlap, and the number of linkages separating individuals, allowed us to construct a picture in the form of the network at that point in time. We were also able to describe the central dimensions of the network, from the viewpoint of each of the original contactants; the overlap of those was then also observable.

From these sets of information, and others collected in the same way, we were able to ask and answer the questions that we would have posed to the members of a "random" sample.

At this point in the development of network theory, practical guidelines for the field, better known as "rules of thumb" are not present--for example, how many linkages should be gone through to determine the extent of network overlap or interlocking in a set of people sharing one characteristic? In this case, we simply stopped when the pattern of the relationships in which we were interested, and the process by which they were created and maintained, became clear--but what if it had not? When only one defining characteristic, for the members of the group to be studied is used, rather than a set of characteristics bounding a discrete population, how central to and obviously manifested within each individual's lifestyle must that characteristic be to define that individual as a member of the subject set? These and endless other questions of actual method need to be answered, as well as some basic methodological questions concerning such things as the ways in which such methods can be used for hypothesis testing. In sum, the investigation of sets of persons involved in networks poses some critical questions for methodology and method, and requires the construction of new field techniques and guidelines.

#### The Current Study: A Reappraisal

We do not intend to undertake this entire task of methodological reconstruction here. However, it would seem logical, at this juncture, to ask how this study might be more efficiently redone, in the light

of our present knowledge increment, if we wished to extend our investigation of transnationality to other settings and persons. Our first major alteration, of course, would be to utilize "networking" and its associated concepts as our explanatory model from the outset. In terms of new dimensions, a restudy should include some basis for assessing the relative impact of the institutional setting on the form, content, and operation of networks. In practical terms, this may mean that a number of different comparative studies could be designed within the framework of the networking model, in varying institutional settings.

Included in these should be examinations of the extent, and effect on linkage strength of this extent, of multi- versus unistranded linkages in a network within one defining arena (such as transnationality). This might be done by comparing several instances of person-centered networking within one arena, and correlating the multistrandedness or unistrandedness of these with measures of affiliation to the arena and the networking within this. Chrisman (1970) and Lauman (1972) have both spoken to this problem. Chrisman suggests some measures of affiliation and strandedness which may have some transferability to other situations.

Simultaneously, we need to develop a coherent terminology that distinguishes between the individual-level person-centered networking, and social-level networking. The latter is either "macro" networking, produced by many units, and bound together by many different linkage types, or arena-contained networking, produced by units bound together by one type of linkage, but linked to other



arena-contained networking processes through the other linkage types of its participants. Methodologically speaking, the clarity of the distinction between these is most important; our theoretical terminology should therefore allow this distinction to be easily made.

Our other proposed major changes are primarily the methodological consequences of the shift to a networking conceptualization, the first being that having eliminated the "group" as the focal construct, we could not utilize methods of subject selection that involved (a) defining a discrete population by a set of boundary conditions (group characteristics) and (b) drawing a set of subjects representative of these characteristics therefrom. Instead, in this case we would need to utilize a serializing technique of subject discovering, popularly called "snowballing." This involves asking each subject to name one or more others to whom he or she is socially linked; to then interview these named individuals, asking them for another referral; and so on, through as many linkages and interviewees as the researcher desires, or until the chain of referral begins to be duplicative.

This technique allows us to concentrate on the relationships between the subjects, a process of theoretical relevance, inasmuch as it is the linking between the individual units, as well as the actions of the unit individuals themselves, which constitutes networking. Using such a technique, however, immediately poses three problems: (1) How do we select the original set of subjects? (2) Along what dimension(s) of relationship do we ask these subjects to identify the next set? and (3) When do we stop the subject-gathering process--

that is, through how many linkages will we trace the chain of relationships?

The first of these questions may be answered on a practical/substantive basis. The topic of the study will dictate at least the specific institutional settings from which the respondents will be drawn; the desired size of the respondent pool will be partially dependent on the length of time data-collection from each informant will take, the time-and-money resources of the researcher, and the estimated size of the accessible portion of the proposed respondent pool. From this knowledge of the desired number of respondents, and the approximate number of "linkages" the researcher proposes to go through (that is, how many times the researcher will ask to be "referred" by one set of respondents to another set) we may calculate the necessary size of the initial set of respondents.

We propose here that the initial set of respondents be purposely chosen, on the basis of a preliminary survey of the research field, to be the most disparate set possible within that institutional setting, while still meeting the criteria of interest for the study. What constitutes disparateness, at least at this point in the development of this method, must remain a purely empirical question. In the academic setting, discipline, nationality of origin, age and stage of career, sex and marital status appear to be important differentiating points between transnationals. We would attempt to select an initial set of respondents who differed on these points, and trace out their networking, if our purpose was still to demonstrate and describe the patterns of transnational networking in an academic setting.

Substantively, we might concentrate more heavily on foreign scholars, who are particularly likely to be involved in the transnationalization process, or in existing transnational relationships, in this setting.

The question concerning the dimension along which the networking participants are asked to designate other participants in their networking processes must also be answered on a substantive basis. We would ask the respondent to designate a contact to whom he or she was related along the lines of interest to the study--in this case, transnationality.

The third question concerning "when to stop" might also be answered on an empirical basis. First, we would set the maximum number of linkages we intended to go through. We would, however, stop our investigation of a particular relationship chain, when the theoretically defining reason for that chains' investigation, including the specified institutional settings, became non-salient or non-applicable to the particular relationships scrutinized. (We would then start investigating another chain, or continue another productive one, in order to meet the numeric requirements for the respondent sets.)

A final problem is again, sheerly practical--what sort of instrument would be recommended for such a study? Interpersonal in-depth interviewing is probably the only feasible way to trace networking through, given that respondents may well be unwilling to list their contacts, on paper, for a researcher they have not met. Such techniques also provide maximum flexibility, and thus allow for

the inclusion in the investigation of both the networking processes of which the researcher is originally aware and those which only become apparent during the investigatory process. Further, given the necessity of eliciting a response from each of the named individuals if we are to investigate "chains" of relationships, increased personalization may be useful in generating the requisite high response rates.

This instrument should be open-ended in nature. Each separate networking experience appears to differ slightly, and the questions to be asked should not mask the possible variety of networking forms, by over-standardization of potential responses or by the assumption that one form will parallel another. However, the questions can well be confined to the transnationalization process, rather than covering whole life-histories of the participants. Our knowledge of the transnationalization sequence would then allow us to pose a set of questions concerning each stage of the process: "priming," "first overseas sojourn," "first return," and later "trips out" with their "returns," all progressing to the current situation.

In short, if this study is to be redone, it must focus down on transnational networking as the theoretical construct, with the methodological sequelae this conceptual framework implies; however, it should still retain its exploratory nature, particularly in an empirical sense. Further, since much of the current knowledge in the area is at a very empirical level, future studies would be well advised to select similar settings, or settings readily comparable to that of the current study. This might then allow the utilization

of the findings presented here to design productive respondent sets and to discern the major field loci of the processes under investigation, hopefully thereby avoiding many of the pitfalls and "blind alleys" already described for this research context.

## CHAPTER 13

### CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

#### Summary

In summary, then, what have we found? First, in answer to our research questions, we uncovered evidence that strongly suggested that, under the proper facilitating conditions of homogeneity of the co-contactants and temporal-spatial proximity, contact between American students and foreign students in an American academic setting led to on-going professional and social associations. However, these associations would not be continued unless both parties were at an appropriate place in their own careers and the transnationalization process.

While these associations themselves might not be continued, it further appeared that they did lead to the development of a pattern of transnational association that eventually--again, under the proper conditions--were extended to both other American and other foreign transnationals. The proper conditions, for such continuation of transnational association patterns, were usually composed of the availability of individuals involved in transnationalism, which itself ordinarily required overseas experience after the individuals had reached the adult/professional stages in their careers. In essence, then, transnational friendship is "chronic and contagious."

In the process of uncovering the phenomena described above, we were required to follow and outline the sequence by which individuals

became members of transnational sets. We dubbed this sequence the "transnationalization process." It appeared to involve a number of diverse steps, and a good deal of time. Further, we discovered that these transnational sets were exceptionally well described using a "network," rather than a "group" model of this as an entity.

The substantive implications of these findings, as outlined here, were that exchange programs are probably accomplishing at least part of their goals, establishing on-going relationships between individual people from different nations. However, they do not, and are not likely to, show these results to the casual observer at one point in time, because the process is a long one, and this is an early step in it; or in one place, because such networks are often physically disparate. In light of this understanding and these caveats, we made specific suggestions for obtaining the maximum of the proposed benefits from such exchange programs.

Finally, "networking" itself emerged as a longitudinal process, theoretically a construct at the second social level of analysis, twice removed from the single individual. While providing the needed middle-range concept to explain the process by which individuals integrate themselves into social entities, it also requires special methods of research. It is clear that a "practical sociology" surrounding the field investigation of networking has not yet arisen.

In sum, we herein applied the notions of network proto-theory to the problem of the usefulness of foreign student exchange programs and the more basic question of how transnational networks--or, indeed, any networks--are formed. In doing so, we attempted to use the method

appropriate to the level of the pertinent theory that had been developed surrounding each problem; and conversely. We also attempted to constantly move back and forth between theory and data, to better refine and interpret them, respectively--we believe that this process of reciprocity was a fruitful one for both.

#### Implications for Further Research

Although we have confined our research to transnational networks, it would be instructive to discover whether networks, as opposed to groups, might be the predominant format in many areas of the post-modern society. The conditions appear somewhat similar--large sets of individuals from vastly differing societal segments, if not from different societies, are thrown together in a daily round. They must continually work out mutual understandings of how their joint tasks are to be accomplished, since no shared agreements on this exist. Because of the disparity of the individuals in any setting, an individual relates to every other individual along slightly different dimensions, rather than having one set with all of whom he shares the same important characteristics and concerns. Individuals in general feel rootless, lonely, and left out of the community. All this suggests that the "third culture" is a phenomena that may have progressed far beyond its original locus in a relatively few cross-cultural relationships. At any rate, an investigation of this might well be in order.

Returning to the problem of transnational relationships, it is clear that the process of transnationalization needs further



investigation, using the more appropriate field methods for networks, and locating the process further on in the transnational's career sequence.

Another factor which may be of importance in the establishment of transnationalizing patterns is the original nationality of the participants. Differentiation in relationship types by nationality was not reported by the transnationals in our sample, but we must bear in mind that the majority of these transnationals were Americans. It is nevertheless possible that the type of nation, defined in such terms as level of industrialization or world political dominance, from which the interactants come, may affect their relationship. It might also be true that political, racial, or religious differences between nations may prevent the formation of associations between the members of those nationalities, or even between other nationals who are known associates of those conflicting nationalities. Conversely, relationship formation between members of other nationalities may be enhanced by complementarity of such factors, both enhancement and inhibition thus affecting the shaping of transnational networks. Ergo, the effects of nationality upon transnationality would seem to merit further investigation.

In general, this study has not focused upon constructing a typology of transnational relationship types; and indeed, this is a problem which may necessitate a bi-analytical-level approach. Substantively, we may attempt to discover the component(s) upon which such a typology might be based. Theoretically, we might inquire as

to the usefulness of the notion of the classic linear continuum, or polar, typology in the context of network theory.

In sum, we have here begun to conceptualize at a level conducive to proposition formulation and even to tentatively propose a few general propositions. Nevertheless, further conceptualization, with a continuing eye to the implications for eventual theory-formation, remains to be done, and additional propositions set forth. Then, and only then, may we begin to assemble a real "network theory," specifiable on the substantive level as a model of transnationality.

## APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

## APPENDIX A

### INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

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

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

1. Sex: Male\_\_\_\_ Female\_\_\_\_

2. In what year were you born?

3. Are you married? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_

If no: Dating steadily? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_

Pinned? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_

Engaged? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_

4. What is your academic level? Ph.D.\_\_\_\_ Master's\_\_\_\_ Sr.\_\_\_\_

Jr.\_\_\_\_ Soph.\_\_\_\_ Other\_\_\_\_ 5th Yr. Vet. Med.\_\_\_\_

5. What is your major?\_\_\_\_\_

7. What is your father's occupation?\_\_\_\_\_

8. What is your mother's occupation?\_\_\_\_\_

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

\_\_\_\_\_

10. In what ways has this experience had an effect on your interest in different peoples? Important\_\_\_\_ No appreciable influence\_\_\_\_  
Rejection of background\_\_\_\_

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

rural \_\_\_\_\_ small town (up to 50,000) \_\_\_\_\_

suburb \_\_\_\_\_ small city (50,000 to 249,000) \_\_\_\_\_

large city (over 250,000) \_\_\_\_\_

military bases in U.S. & overseas \_\_\_\_\_

rural and small city \_\_\_\_\_

small town and large city \_\_\_\_\_

small city and large city \_\_\_\_\_

12. b. Number of homes until 18 or entered college \_\_\_\_\_

Number of homes after 18 or entered college \_\_\_\_\_

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

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

GIVE CARD #14/15/16.

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

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

17. How many foreign students do you know?

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

18. How did you get to know foreign students?

- a. Academic interests \_\_\_\_\_  
(1) classroom, class project, in same department, academic  
clubs \_\_\_\_\_  
(2) share office or study room \_\_\_\_\_

- b. Social activities\_\_\_\_\_
  - (1) dorm activities\_\_\_\_\_
  - (2) church activities\_\_\_\_\_
  - (3) fraternity\_\_\_\_\_
  - (4) campus clubs and meetings\_\_\_\_\_
  - (5) sports\_\_\_\_\_
  - (6) campus clubs and sports\_\_\_\_\_
- c. Proximity\_\_\_\_\_
  - (1) roommate or suitemate\_\_\_\_\_
  - (2) dorm, apartment, married housing\_\_\_\_\_
- d. Miscellaneous
  - (1) self initiative\_\_\_\_\_
  - (2) work\_\_\_\_\_
  - (3) foreign spouse\_\_\_\_\_
  - (4) met in country of foreign student\_\_\_\_\_
  - (5) through American friends\_\_\_\_\_
  - (6) through foreign student friends\_\_\_\_\_

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

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

GIVE CARD #23.

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

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

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

GIVE CARD #23.

25. b. Why would you prefer to associate with the people from these countries? (Use letters from responses to 24.)
26. a. Which nationality groups would you least like to associate with?

GIVE CARD #23.

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

☐ not applicable  
☐ culture; don't like and don't understand  
☐ undesirable personality attributes  
☐ race  
☐ anti-American attitude of foreign student, cliquishness  
☐ of foreign students, unwillingness to learn about America  
☐ political reasons, dislike for that country's internal or  
☐ external politics, ideological distaste  
☐ parental attitude toward area  
☐ those students from area that become perpetual students  
☐ communication problem  
☐ unfavorable image from movies or hearsay  
☐ aggressiveness in boy-girl relationships  
☐ different academic norms--not doing lab work, borrowing  
☐ notes and not returning them, cheating, expect special  
☐ treatment because they are foreign  
☐ physically uncomfortable  
☐ personal cleanliness  
☐ other. Specify \_\_\_\_\_

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

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

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

☐ favorable  
☐ indifferent  
☐ unfavorable



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

     favorable  
     indifferent  
     unfavorable

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

GIVE CARD #29b.

- c. Why?

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

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

Favorable      Unfavorable      Indifferent     

- b. Are there exceptions to this?

GIVE CARD #29b.

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

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

Just dating		Romantically
<u>    </u> Favorable	<u>    </u>	
<u>    </u> Indifferent	<u>    </u>	
<u>    </u> Unfavorable	<u>    </u>	

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

GIVE CARD #29b.

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

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

Just dating		Romantically
<u>    </u> Favorable	<u>    </u>	
<u>    </u> Indifferent	<u>    </u>	
<u>    </u> Unfavorable	<u>    </u>	

32. b. Would you personally consider marriage to someone of another culture? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
- c. Would there be any countries which would be an exception to this?

GIVE CARD #29b.

- d. Why?
77. How would you define a "friend"? (Probe question.) That is,
- a. How should or shouldn't you act towards him?
- b. How should or shouldn't he act towards you?
78. Have there been times when you feel you have not done all you should to be a good friend to your present American friends?
- In what ways? Probe.
79. Have there been times when you feel that your American friends have not done all they should to be good friends to you?
- In what ways? (Probe.)
55. Here is a list of responsibilities which some American students  
22. feel towards students from other countries.
44. a. Could you tell me which of these you would feel with foreign students?
21. c.

GIVE CARD A.

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

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

GIVE CARD A.

81. In what ways do you feel that you do not always meet your responsibilities to foreign students?
82. What are the responsibilities that foreign students have to you? (Probe question.) That is, how should and shouldn't they behave towards you?

83. People often feel that others are not holding up their end of a relationship or not living up to their responsibilities in some other way. In what ways do you feel that foreign students do not always live up to their responsibilities to you?
84. Here is a list of activities that some people might do with others.
- a. Would you please put a "plus" (+) by every activity that you would really like to do with your American friends, a "zero" (0) by every one which you may have done or might do on occasion, and a "minus" (-) by every one that you prefer to avoid?

GIVE CARD B.

85. What do you do with your American friends most often?
86. Are you ever in types of situations with your American friends which make you feel angry, embarrassed, or uncomfortable? What are they?
87. Would you do the same with this list for your foreign student friends? (Mark as in 84.)

GIVE CARD B.

88. What do you do most often with your foreign student friends?
89. Have there been occasions when you have been in situations with your foreign student friends in which either or both of you felt angry, uncomfortable, or embarrassed? What were they?
90. Here is a list of things which some people might talk about with others. Would you please put a "plus" by everything that you would like to talk about with your American friends, a "zero" by things which you may have or might talk about on occasion, and a "minus" by every one you would prefer to avoid talking about?

GIVE CARD C.

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

92. Have you ever felt embarrassed, angry, or uncomfortable when talking to an American about something? What was it?
93. Would you do the same for this list for your foreign student friends?

GIVE CARD C.

94. Which of these do you talk about frequently?
95. What have you talked about with foreign students that made either or both of you feel angry or embarrassed or uncomfortable?

C. Personal Interaction with One Foreign Student

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

33. How would you describe this person?

Unknown

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

34. How long have you known this person?

- ☐ 2 - 5 months
- ☐ 6 - 9 months
- ☐ 1 - 1-1/2 years
- ☐ 2 years
- ☐ 3 - 3-1/2 years
- ☐ 4 years
- ☐ 5 years

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

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

36. How close do you feel toward this person?

GIVE CARD #36.

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

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

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

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

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

GIVE CARD A.

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

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

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

98. Of these responsibilities that he has to you, which has he sometimes not met?
99. For this particular person, please mark these activities: "plus"--would like to do; "zero"--might do or occasionally do; "minus"--would prefer not to do.

GIVE CARD B.

39. What are the things you do most often with him apart from others?
40. What are the things you do most often along with others?
- 50.) Please mark this list of things you might talk about with your  
51.) foreign student friend as you have marked the others: (+ = like  
52.) to talk about, 0 = might talk about, - = prefer not to talk  
about).

GIVE CARD C.

49. What do you talk about most often with him?
- 45.) Have you ever been in a situation or talked about anything with  
53.) this person when you quarrelled or either or both of you felt  
54.) uncomfortable, embarrassed, or angry? What did this concern?  
48.)
57. How well do you think this person knows you?  
(Probe: How do you think this person would describe who you are  
and what you are like?)
58. Do you think this person is fairly typical of Thailand?  
Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_ Sometimes \_\_\_\_
59. Do you expect to maintain contact with this person after he goes  
home?  
Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_ Possibly \_\_\_\_
60. Would you like to keep this person's friendship even if relations  
became strained between your two countries?  
Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_ Possibly \_\_\_\_

Why? Personal reasons \_\_\_\_\_

Impersonal reasons \_\_\_\_\_

#### D. Changes

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

63. Have you changed your outlook in any way about the countries represented by the foreign students that you know here at MSU? In what ways? (Probe for specific areas of the world.)
  
64. Can you see any difference in your world view?
  - a. For example, do you look on the world as more of a community of men from interacting with foreign students?  
Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_ (Probe.)
  
  - b. Or do you see a bigger gap between peoples of different countries? Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_ (Probe.)
  
65. How do you feel about American society?  
Probe for:
  - a. integrated--differentiate between values and activities
  - b. fringe or marginal
  - c. deviant
  - d. isolated

Has your attitude towards American society been affected in any way by your contact with foreign students?  
If so, how?
  
66. Do you feel you have gained anything from your interaction with foreign students? If yes, what?
  
67. Do you feel there have been any disadvantages from your association with foreign students?  
If there have been some, why do you continue to associate?
  
69. Here is a list of some aspects of American life. Could you tell me if you have changed your attitudes on any of these because of meeting students from other countries? (Probe for each.)

GIVE CARD #69.

70. Has this interaction affected your plans for the future in any of the following ways? Probe for how, why.
- a. travel
  - b. study abroad
  - c. living abroad
  - d. Peace Corps
  - e. courses
  - f. foreign language study
  - g. vocation
  - h. other
71. Do you feel there have been any other changes in your outlook due to interaction with students from other countries?
72. Looking back over your years at MSU, do you feel you would like to have had more contact with students from other countries?  
 Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
 Probe reasons for not wanting more contact, reasons for not having had more contact.
73. Are there any countries which would be exceptions to this?
76. Is there anything else you would like to tell me that we haven't covered?

#### Optional Activities

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



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

CARD #14, 15, 16

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

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

CARD #23

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

CARD #29b

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

CARD A

55

22

44

21. c.

79.

95.

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

CARD B

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

CARD C

83.  
85.  
86.  
97.  
98.

- a. \_\_\_ academics and related topics, strictly business
- b. \_\_\_ (his country) places he's been, customers internal affairs of other countries (his, if foreign)

- c. \_\_\_\_\_ America, his likes and dislikes, thoughts about America
- d. \_\_\_\_\_ comparisons of (his) other country and America, intercultural views, differences in educational systems
- e. \_\_\_\_\_ international affairs and policy, politics
- f. \_\_\_\_\_ his life, his family, his home life, our 2 families, my home life
- g. \_\_\_\_\_ dating, dating practices, American girls/boys, women/men, marriage, sex
- h. \_\_\_\_\_ small talk, the theater, art, movies, books, music and songs, campus events, sports, trips we have taken, other peoples (his)
- i. \_\_\_\_\_ racial issues, civil rights, the American Negro
- j. \_\_\_\_\_ personal things, future plans, our mutual past (substitute type of relationship), schooling and money situations, job interviews, bad breath
- k. \_\_\_\_\_ deeper things (than with most Americans), our beliefs, religion, philosophy
- l. \_\_\_\_\_ not much
- m. \_\_\_\_\_ everything, anything
- n. \_\_\_\_\_ private feelings, the more intimate aspects of your own life, your feelings about other close relationships

CARD #36

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

CARD #69

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



## APPENDIX B

### FORMAT FOR FACE-TO-FACE INTERVIEW WITH INFORMANTS IN FORMAL NETWORK

## APPENDIX B

### FORMAT FOR FACE-TO-FACE INTERVIEW WITH INFORMANTS IN FORMAL NETWORK

#### Introductory Statement:

I am one of a group of sociologists who are interested in friendship between people from different societies and cultures. I am particularly interested in the relationships formed by foreign students with other members of the University community during their stay on an American University campus. To understand these, I need to have a picture of the whole environment into which a foreign student moves when he comes to the university for the first time. I understand that your department/organization is very much involved in this environment, and I would like to enlist your aid in finding out precisely how, since I believe that your position makes it possible for you to have an especially clear picture.

First, we'd like to know some things about you personally--your answers will, of course, be held in complete confidence--and then try to get some understanding of the organization/department/center of which/whose staff you are a member.

- (1) a. Have you ever been overseas?
- b. Where?

- c. When
  - d. Under what circumstances? (If needed)
- (2)
- a. Did you get to know anyone well while you were abroad?
  - b. Where were they from?
  - c. How long did you know them?
  - d. How did you meet them?
  - e. Are you still in contact? If so, how?
  - f. If not, might you be? How?
- If "yes" to 1a:
- (3)
- a. What sort of effect do you think this overseas experience had on you?
  - b. Do you think it would have this effect on everyone?
  - c. Why or why not?
- (4)
- a. Do you meet a lot of people from abroad here in the States?
  - b. How do you usually meet them?
  - c. Do you meet more people from one country or area more often than you meet people from others?
- (5)
- a. Do you have any good friends or close professional acquaintances at the present time who are from abroad?
  - b. Where are they from?
  - c. How long have you known them?
  - d. How did you meet each other in the first place?
- (6)
- a. Have you had friends or colleagues from abroad in the past?
  - b. Where were they from?
  - c. How long did you know them?



- d. How did you meet them?
  - e. Are you still in contact with them at all? How is the contact maintained?
  - f. Do you anticipate being in contact with them again, at any time? (Probe for circumstances.)
- (7) a. How did you happen to get to know each other well?
- b. What do you usually do when you get together?
- (8) a. Do you usually get together alone, or with other people?
- b. Have they gotten to know any of your other friends or colleagues fairly well? (Probe for way contact made--"How did they get acquainted?")
- c. Have you gotten to know any of their friends or colleagues? (Probe for way contact made--"How did you get acquainted?")
- (9) a. Do you think you'll still be in touch, ten years from now, with any of these foreign friends/colleagues?
- b. Why, or why not?
- (If "no" to 9a:)
- c. Suppose you had an important reason for contacting them at time (10 years from now)--how would you do it?

Let's turn to (the organization/department/center) with which you are involved.

(10) About how long have you worked for/been involved in the/this [organization/department/center]?

(11) What do you do?

(12) How did you happen to get into this position?

(13) a. How well do you think the people within this organization/department/center know each other?

- b. Do you ever get together with other people from your organization/department/center for anything other than organization/department/center business?
  - c. If so, how often (approximately)? (Probe for interaction frequency.)
  - d. What do you usually do together?
  - e. Do you usually get together alone, or with other people? (Probe to see if department/organization/center constitutes a focus for a social network.)
- (14) Exactly what does your organization/department/center do? (Probe for a. goals, ideals, and b. specific ways of attempting to attain these.)
- (14a) If I were a new FS, what would happen--what would I do--when I got here to MSU? (Probe for orientation-initiation pattern.)
- (15) Why does your organization/department/center attempt to do these things? (Probe: Why does organization/department/center have this purpose? What do they hope to achieve?)
- (16) What do you feel is the most important feature of the foreign student program here at MSU? How do you think it could be improved?



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