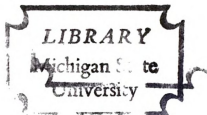THE CHIEF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATOR
IN SELECTED OVERSEAS
AMERICAN-SPONSORED SCHOOLS:
A STUDY IN CRISIS MANAGEMENT

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
CARLTON L. BENTZ
1972

This is to certify that the

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THE CHIEF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATOR
IN SELECTED OVERSEAS AMERICAN-SPONSORED SCHOOLS:
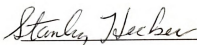A STUDY IN CRISIS MANAGEMENT

presented by

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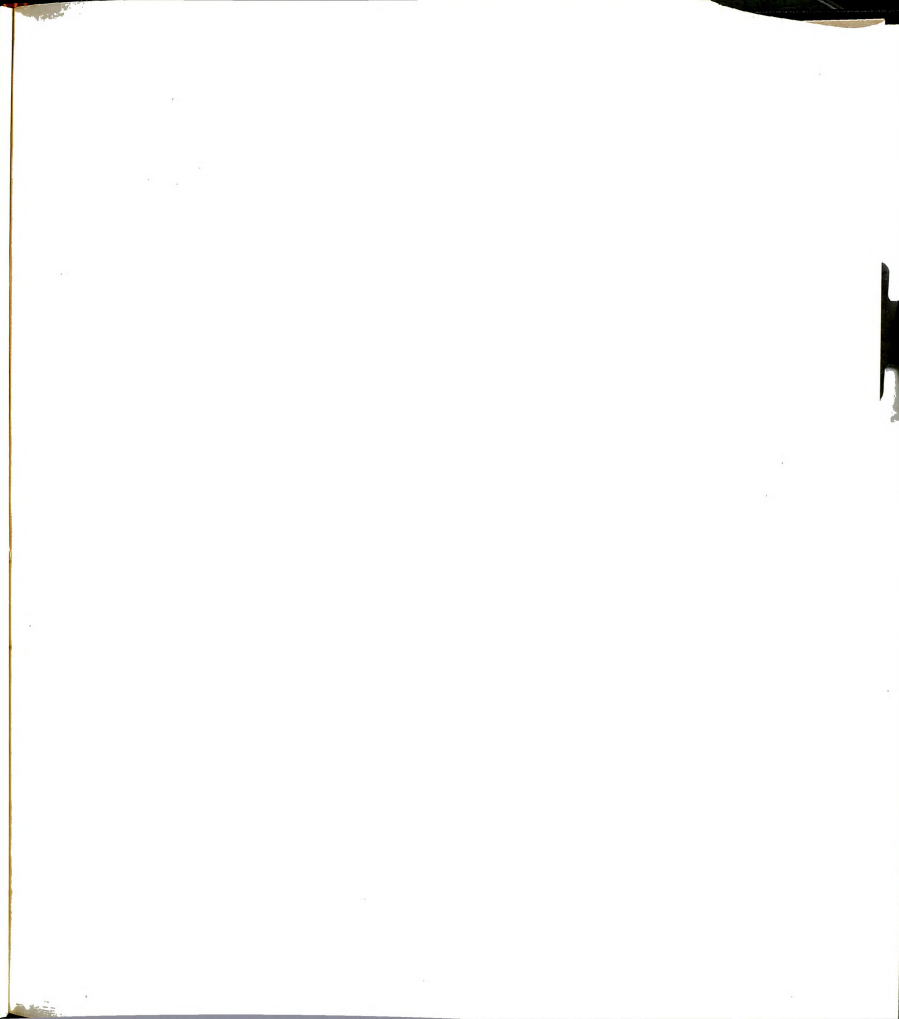Administration

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ABSTRACT

THE CHIEF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATOR IN SELECTED
OVERSEAS AMERICAN-SPONSORED SCHOOLS:
A STUDY IN CRISIS MANAGEMENT

By

Carlton L. Bentz

This study explores the patterns of behavior of
twenty-two individuals who had occupied the position of chief
school administrator in selected American-sponsored schools
located in the American Republics during the period 1965-1970.
It focused on the individuals' perceptions of the world of
work within the infrastructure of the work organization and
within the systemic linkage that each school developed and
maintained with social institutions in the wider community.

The chief school administrator, in managing the
administrative and educational affairs of the school, was
required to interact with four major social groups within the
school's infrastructure. These groups were:

1. The Binational Community. In interacting with this
    group, the administrator's behavior patterns were
    influenced by the size and composition of the bina-
    tional community, the mobile nature of the various
    segments, and the different cultural notions each

segment held about the means for educating children and youth.

2. The Board of Governance. The administrator's behavior patterns were influenced by the size and composition of the board, the tenure of its members, the role expectation as perceived by the administrator and the board members, and the nature of the financial affairs of the school.

3. The Professional Staff. The managing of the professional staff was complex and difficult. Not only was the administrator involved in the recruitment of the staff members but in addition, he was responsible for integrating into a cooperative work organization teachers from two or more societies, who brought with them not only culturally determined notions concerning the appropriate attributes and modes of behaviors of those designated to teach, but diverse professional training as well.

4. The Student Body. Meeting the schooling needs for highly mobile children and youth from diverse educational and sociocultural backgrounds was a challenge for most administrators. The administrators' dominant concerns revolved around the student's academic adjustment to the bilingual, bicultural educational program and the social adjustment to the dual value norm systems within the cross-cultural environs.

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The chief school administrators were also required to maintain a cluster of relationships with one or more social institutions within the local, national, and international community. All the chief administrators felt that the institutions in the systemic linkage system formed a hierarchy that impinged differentially upon each school and administrator. Specifically, a typology of institutions was suggested:

Type I - High Influence Institutions. The host government and the U.S. government were perceived as dominating forces in the schools. The school depended upon the host government for its legal and educational legitimacy and upon the U.S. government for financial aid as well as its identity as an American institution.

Type II - Medium Influence Institutions. U.S.-based or U.S.-oriented educational organizations were perceived as exerting a medium influence upon the schools. These organizations were perceived as providing the school with a legitimacy as an American education institution and as providing a network that linked the overseas school and the administrator to the U.S. professional community.

Type III - Low Influence Institutions. The administrators viewed as low influence those institutions

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that were economic, philanthropic, and religious in nature.

The role of the chief school administrator in these schools involved not only being the educational and administrative leader of the school but also being the mediator to resolve conflicts and crises between social groups and formal organizations. This role was stressful, yet challenging, but was one that frequently required the administrator to adopt new behavioral patterns and/or modify old behavioral patterns in order to cope with the complex issues and maintain an organizational balance in the overseas American-sponsored school.

THE CHIEF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATOR IN SELECTED

OVERSEAS AMERICAN-SPONSORED SCHOOLS:

A STUDY IN CRISIS MANAGEMENT

By

Carlton L. Bentz

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Administration and Higher Education
College of Education

1972

To Linda Jean Bentz

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Here, at the beginning of this document and the end of the study, I wish to thank individuals representing several specific groups of memorable persons.

First, to my mother, Margaret Bentz, who has encouraged me in my pursuit of knowledge; to my wife, Jean, for her constant encouragement, understanding, loving faith and editorial assistance; and our two surviving children, Margrita and Douglas, for their enthusiastic support.

I wish also to acknowledge the abundant personal and professional guidance extended to me by each member of my Advisory Committee: Dr. Stanley Hecker, Chairman; Dr. Cole S. Brembeck; Dr. Richard Featherstone; Dr. Ruth Hill Useem; and Dr. Fred Vescolani. Throughout my doctoral studies, each generated respect and enthusiasm that led to the completion of this study. Special acknowledgment must be given to Dr. Ruth Hill Useem, whose patience, insight-producing questions, and always available counsel contributed significantly to the completion of this thesis. Recognition must also be given to Dr. Fred Vescolani for his friendship and encouragement throughout the course of this study.

To Mr. Richard Niehoff, International Programs, Michigan State University, for his general assistance during

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study explores the similarities and differences
in the patterns of behavior of the individuals who occupy the
position of chief school administrator in selected American-
sponsored elementary and secondary schools located outside
of the United States. It focuses on the individual's per-
ceptions of the world of work through an analysis of the
infrastructure of the work organization; the systemic
linkages that each school develops and maintains with social
institutions in the wider community; and the personal and
professional lives of the individuals who occupy the unique
role of chief school administrator.

With respect to the infrastructure of the school,
the major concerns are how the administrator perceives the
major social groups with which he relates, his behavior
patterns as he relates to each, and the role he performs. In
regard to the systemic linkage with other social institutions,
the principal concerns are the individual's perceptions of
the major social institutions that influence the development
and the administrative processes of these schools; his be-
havior patterns as he relates to each; and the role he plays.

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Moreover, the problems, frustrations, rewards, and challenges that confront the individuals in their professional and private lives are explored as these individuals carry out the unique role of chief school administrator of the overseas American-sponsored school.

Background

At this time in our nation's history, large numbers of U.S. dependents are receiving a portion or all of their elementary and secondary schooling in institutions located outside the United States. In the year 1968 the total was nearly a quarter of a million. The largest portion, 171,398, of these children were associated with the U.S. military overseas operation and attended service-operated schools located in twenty-seven different countries.[1] Another portion of American dependents overseas attended proprietary, company-run, or missionary and indigenous schools throughout the world. A significant number, 33,677, of American school-age dependents, whose parents were for the most part associated with nonmilitary govermental, business, commerical, or religious enterprises overseas, attended yet another type of school generally referred to as American-sponsored schools, which number 128 and are located in seventy-seven different countries.[2] It is this latter type of institution, the American-sponsored school, that is the object of analysis in this study.

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The Growth of the Overseas
Schooling Enterprise

Historically, American citizens have resided abroad since the formation of the Republic. However, it was only after World War II that large numbers of American citizens traveled overseas for extended periods of time as family units with school-age dependents.

The matter of providing schooling for the overseas American dependents was a private responsibility assumed by the overseas American parents. Providing formal schooling was resolved, frequently, through the establishment of an "American School," independent of U.S. goverment sponsorship. One such school was established as early as 1888 in the Western Hemisphere.[3]

The education of overseas American dependents first became a public concern when the United States Department of State in 1943 contracted with the Inter-American Council on Education to aid in establishing and maintaining a handful of privately run American schools in the Western Hemisphere. This group of schools subsequently became the institutional antecedents of the schools which the Department of Defense established for dependents of military personnel overseas beginning in 1945.[4]

In the two decades following World War II the involvement of both the public and private sectors of the American society in international activities, i.e. economic,

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military, as well as social, scientific and technical de-
velopment of other nations, increased dramatically. A
corresponding increase also occurred in the number of the
American dependents overseas who required schooling. Thus,
in 1964, the Executive Branch of the federal government,
with the authority of the U.S. Congress, assumed a greater
responsibility for the schooling needs of the overseas
American dependent and created the Office of Overseas
Schools within the U.S. Department of State.[5] This office
was charged with the responsibility to assist the then
loosely formulated and widely scattered group of educational
institutions that had become known as "American-sponsored
schools," and to help establish schools where none had
previously existed. By 1968, there existed throughout the
world, 128 American-sponsored schools: twenty-one in
Western Europe; seven in Eastern Europe; seventeen in Africa;
twenty-four in the Near East and South Asia; thirteen in
East Asia; and forty-six, the largest number, in Latin
America.

The American-sponsored schools not only have
assumed the task of instructing as of 1968 some 33,677
American children and overseas youth, but also have assumed
the task of providing schooling for some 18,241 children
and youth of the nations in which the schools are located,
as well as the 8,489 children and youth of other foreign
nations. Stated another way, these schools became engaged

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in a schooling function for children stemming from a minimum
of two disparate cultures within the same institution. As
such, this institutional arrangement constituted a relatively
new type of social phenomenon.

Theoretical Orientation

The American schools have developed in social time
and space as a function of the new interdependent relation-
ships among governmental, commercial, industrial and
scientific world communities. The interaction of the
collectivities of people in the world committee has created
new cultural patterns referred to by Useem as the "modern
co-ordinate (binational) third culture."

> . . . The "first culture" indicates the patterns
> imbedded in our host national society which are
> manifest among those segments of (host nationals)
> who regularly interact with Americans. The
> "second culture" refers to corresponding patterns
> of American society which are incorporated in the
> segments of that society who live and work in the
> (host nation). By the "third culture" is meant
> the patterns which are created, shared, and learned
> by men of the two different societies who are
> personally engaged in the process of linking their
> societies, or sections thereof, to each other
> . . . .[6]

The overseas American schools are in a real sense
one of the distinct social patterns that has evolved through
the interaction of those people engaged in work roles from
different societies overseas. The schools constitute
institutional arrangements that are shared by adults, chil-
dren, and youths of segments of the host national, American,
and third country representatives in the overseas community.

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This study is limited to an analysis of thirteen of these schools.

By virtue of the school's designation as an institution where the young of two or more national groups receive formal schooling, the thirteen American schools which are the subject of this study are imbedded in two or more social systems. This fact places the schools, in terms of their social space, in an interstitial zone, since the schools, conceptually, reside between two or more disparate social groups represented in the adult and student users of the schools.

The fact that the users of the thirteen American schools emanate from two or more different cultural back-grounds inherently means that a highly complex set of social cultural variables directly impinges on the educational and administrative processes in the schools. Moreover, the interaction of these variables--often in paradoxical fashion--sometimes facilitate, but often restricts the institution building process. Generic to this process are insidious stresses and strains, the causes of which are not easily or simply identified nor are the means for their amelioration easily available. It is the chief school administrator and the administrative process in this cross-cultural milieu that are considered in this study.

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A New Professional Role

Corollary to the development of the overseas
American-sponsored school was the development of a new and
different kind of professional work role. Within each of
the 128 schools, an administrative office variously
identified as director or directress, principal, superin-
tendent, headmaster or headmistress, or director general
has evolved to direct and manage the school. If we are to
understand the nature of the administrative process
associated with the overseas American school, we need to
analyze the characteristics and the nature of the organiza-
tion in which the chief school administrator performs his
work role.

Domidion, in her descriptive study of the overseas
schools, identified a series of operative level problems
that confront the overseas practitioner and emphasized the
conflict and stress that prevail between the school and the
"community."[7] The stress and strain of coupling human and
financial resources to establish and maintain the American
school overseas and the institution's unique aspects--
binational and multi-national student body, teachers,
clientele, ect.--have been variously described by Bean,[8]
King,[9] Orr,[10] Seaquist,[11] Fitzgerald,[12] and Mannino.[13]

Patterson and Kardatzke focused their attention on
factors associated with teaching and the learning process
in overseas schools in Latin America; and each, although

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from a different perspective, underscored the complexities, the problem areas, and stresses in the American school overseas.[14,15] Patterson, in a study of Mexican and American high school students, concluded that cultural influences differentially affect the social adjustment and the academic achievement of the students. Kardatzke, in his study of the social studies program and instruction in the American schools in Latin America, concluded that although the social studies programs in the U.S. and overseas were fundamentally the same, teaching this program in the midst of two dominant cultural strains called forth stresses and necessitated modification in social studies teaching in these schools.

Vaughn's study described the contribution that an American school made to a host nation's educational development.[16] Although Vaughn's study highlighted the accomplishments of an overseas American school in its educational function, a more pervasive theme in Young's study and in studies collectively was that the schools held a "potential" both in performing an educational function and as a mediating vehicle across cultures to "better Inter-American relations."[17]

Administrators in all organizations, according to Lazarsfeld, are confronted with a common set of tasks, which incorporate the "fulfillment of goals". . . "utilization of other people in fulfilling them [goals]". . ."facing humanitarian aspects of his job" and "trying to build into the organization, provision for innovation, for change, and

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development."[18] The administrators of the overseas American schools, in working with members of two or more disparate cultural groupings, fill a position that has proved to be, according to Orr, "infinitely more complex and apparently more demanding and difficult than it is in urban schools in the U.S. or elsewhere."[19]

Collectively, these studies, although limited, serve to outline the complex and multiple problems involved in the operation and administration of the overseas school.

The chief school administrator in the overseas American school is expected to resolve professional problems which require performance and communicative skills not usually part of the traditional American school administrator's job. Often the individual must actually perform a set of tasks which grow out of an and in a real sense fill an operational vacuum. For example, he may be required to start a school for a handful of students or he may be faced with reorganizing a large, complex educational enterprise involving thousands of students and hundreds of teachers. The overseas administrator, in a real sense, is engaged in what has broadly been conceived as the "institution-building" process.

Furthermore, the chief school administrator in managing the overseas schools is required to communicate

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skills, values, attitudes, or patterns of behavior to the people of two or more cultures and societies; he is a "man-in-the-middle."[20] He mediates between two or more societies not only personally as an individual, but also in a role as a representative of the American society in general and of the American educational community in particular.

In the capacity of chief school administrator in an overseas American school, it is evident that multiple roles are required to manage the overseas educational enterprise. In the cross-cultural setting, according to Byrnes, an administrator may see himself in combined social and work roles[21] that may include:

1. Representation of the educational profession

2. Administrator: Executive, leader

3. An instrument of foreign policy

4. Innovator: "demonstrating U.S. educational ideas"

5. Adviser: consultant, teachers

6. Father, husband

7. Humanitarian: a "doer of good deeds"

8. An intermediary

9. Member of the overseas American community

Carrying these roles to their logical fulfillment in an institution that has differentially developed in social space and time and that has been subject to the influences of a myriad of sociocultural variables, requires that the

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chief school administrator possess what Cleveland, Mangone
and Adams identified as a "belief in mission," "cultural
empathy," and a "sense of politics."[22]

The Focus of the Study

The purpose of this study is to analyze data rele-
vant to the work role of the chief school administrator
within thirteen American schools overseas located in the
Republic of Mexico, hereafter referred to as Region I, and
the Republic of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras,
and Nicaragua, hereafter referred to as Region II in this
study. Areas which are explored include (1) the administra-
tor's role within the work organization; (2) his relation-
ships with the parents, the board of governance, the profes-
sional staff and students; (3) his role relationships with
various institutions and individuals outside the organization;
and (4) his personal and professional background and his
adjustment to the work role and living overseas.

The Population and the Sample

This study is restricted to the exploration of the
work role of the individuals who occupy the position of
chief school administrator in thirteen selected American
schools overseas during the five year period from 1965-
1970. These thirteen schools located in six nations were
chosen because (1) there existed within this group of
schools a broad spectrum of institutionalization in terms

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of the length of time the institutions existed and the
organizational structure, (2) all schools were exposed
to similar sociocultural milieu, (3) all these schools
had met the criterion of the Office of Overseas Schools
for financial assistance during the school years from
1965-1970, (Appendix A), and (4) all these schools were con-
sidered well-defined formal and informal relationships
with the U.S. educational community. Furthermore, the
researcher had experiential association with these schools
both as a teacher and as a chief school administrator.

A total of twenty-three individuals had served as
chief school administrators in the thirteen schools between
1965-1970. The actual sample includes twenty-two administra-
tors, thirteen incumbent administrators and nine former
chief school administrators.

At the time of this study, a segment of the sample
of former chief school administrators were employed both in
the U.S. and abroad: three were employed in public and
private education systems in the U.S., one as a teacher,
two as administrators, and two were employed in key adminis-
trative posts, but not as chief school administrators in
other overseas American schools. Two former chief school
administrators had retired and were living in the U.S.
and two others were full-time students pursuing graduate
studies in the U.S.

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<u>Profile of the Sample</u>

The general characteristics of the chief school administrators who participated in this study are described in the following paragraphs.

Age

The administrators ranged in age from thirty-two to sixty-five years, and the median age was forty-four. The distribution was: thirty to thirty-nine years, ten; forty to forty-nine years, three; fifty to fifty-nine years, four; and sixty and over, five.

Gender

Two were females and twenty were males.

Marital Status

Twenty-one respondents were married when they assumed the position of chief school administrator and were accompanied overseas by their spouses. One married while overseas.

Dependents

Seventeen chief school administrators were ac-companied by minor dependents overseas, and seven had children born abroad while serving in the position. Three had children who were either in college or had married and started their own families. A total of fifty dependents lived abroad with their parents.

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Level of Education

Twenty chief school administrators had received degrees from U.S. institutions of higher learning and two held academic degrees from foreign universities. Three held baccalaureate degrees; sixteen held Masters degrees; one held a six year certificate, and two held doctoral level degrees (Doctor of Philosophy and Doctor of Education).

Language

The chief school administrator's knowledge of the Spanish language presented a bimodal pattern: either they were highly competent in Spanish or they did not know Spanish, and very few were scattered between these two poles. Thirteen administrators spoke Spanish with a high degree of competency. Of this group, one had spent his youth in a Spanish-speaking country, three learned Spanish as a child in the U.S., nine learned Spanish as adults. Two of the individuals had studied and received academic degrees at the graduate level from institutions of higher education in Spanish-speaking countries.

Tenure as Chief School Administrator

The length of tenure in the position of chief school administrator ranged from five months to twenty-three years, and the median period of employment was three years. Three administrators were employed less than two years; eleven, two to five years; two, six to ten years;

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two, eleven to fifteen years; two, sixteen to twenty
years; and two over twenty years.

Salary

The salary of the chief school administrator ranged
from $5,000 to over $20,000, and the median salary was
$12,000. The salary distribution scale was $5,000 - $10,000,
nine; $10,100 - $15,000, nine; $15,100 - $20,000, one; and
over $20,000, two. One chief school administrator did not
accept a salary; the services of this individual were con-
tributed to the school, out of a sense of mission.

Overseas Experience

Fourteen chief school administrators had no previous
overseas experience prior to assuming the position of chief
school administrator. Eight had prior overseas experience
in work roles associated with other American schools.

How the Data Were Collected

The principal data for the study were secured through
personal interviews with the chief school administrators.
It was decided that the chief school administrator, whenever
possible, would be interviewed and observed both at work and
in his home. Thus, the researcher traveled overseas and
interviewed fifteen administrators. Seven administrators
were located and interviewed in the U.S.

Additional data were provided by informants associated
with the school--other administrative personnel, teachers,

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board members, spouses of the chief school administrators, students, and parents. School documents, publications, memos, newsletters, prepared agendas, statistical and financial reports were gathered in the field and provided yet another information source.

Prior to performing the field research, statistical data on each of the schools utilized in the study were compiled and analyzed. These basic data were secured from the Office of Overseas Schools, U.S. Department of State.

At no time throughout this study, were the data utilized for the purpose of evaluating the school, its effectiveness, its educational program, or its personnel.

The Interview

Prior to performing the field study in the thirteen American schools, the researcher personally met eight of the administrators and briefly discussed the study with them; each expressed his willingness to participate in the study. Four administrators were contacted by phone and also expressed a willingness to participate. One administrator could not be reached personally or by phone prior to the interview, so a letter and telegram soliciting his cooperation were sent prior to the actual visit. Follow-up letters were sent to all the administrators establishing a schedule for the visits to the respective schools. The actual visits were three to four days in duration.

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Eight chief school administrators living in the U.S. were contacted by telephone, while one was contacted in person. All expressed their willingness to participate in the study, and appointments were set up for the interview sessions.

At the beginning of each interview, the purpose of the research and the anonymous nature of the interview were explained. Any questions concerning the nature of the research were answered before the actual interview began. The interviewer identified himself as a graduate student, and as a former overseas American schoolteacher and school administrator. In most instances this proved sufficient as an introduction to establish rapport as one who had been in the "battle" and by inference understood their problems.

The interviews with the chief school administrators were conducted generally in two or three sessions over a two or three day period, and each session was generally two to three hours in length. Most interviews lasted from six to eight hours; the minimum was four, the maximum was nine.

The interviews with the administrators overseas most frequently were conducted in their offices, although ten sessions were conducted in their places of residence. The chief school administrators living in the States were interviewed in their homes or at their present place of employment. The interview data, along with other observations,

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were recorded in the presence of the interviewee, and
in four instances, the interviews were recorded electroni-
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The Questionnaire

The questionnaire utilized for the interviews was
compiled by the researcher based on his research experience
in the American schools in the region where the field study
was to occur. (See Appendix B) The questionnaire, prior
to the field interviews, was pre-tested through exploratory
interviews with individuals who had served in the capacity
of chief school administrator in overseas schools.

The questionnaire was divided into three sections.
The first section focused on the general characteristics
of the school, the internal aspects of the work organiza-
tion, and the work role performed by the chief school
administrator in working with parents, board, teachers,
and students. It provided the contextual perspective of
the milieu in which the individual worked. The respondents
were eager to explain, often in great detail, about the
intricacies of working with these groups.

The second section of the questionnaire was
centered on the external linkage patterns that the overseas
American school maintained with other social institutions.
The nature of the school's relationship with these organiza-
tions and the role the chief school administrator played
in maintaining the relationship were explored.

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Most of the men seemed eager to talk about their work and the general sentiment of the majority of the respondents was vocalized by one, "This is the first time anyone has been interested in what I am doing." A limited few, however, were reticent to talk about what they considered "sensitive areas," i.e. actual financial status of school, or recent problems which the respondents thought might reflect upon their professional status. But as rapport with the interviewer was established over the several sessions, these areas were openly discussed. Generally by the conclusion of the interview, the researcher had had an opportunity to observe the individual both in work and social situations.

The third portion of the questionnaire concerned the individual's personal and professional background.

It was observed that frequently the respondents with brief tenure as chief school administrator had difficulty in expressing various aspects of their tasks, what they actually did, and why. In contrast, the administrators with long-term tenure (three or more years) in most instances, had formulated a more defined concept of their job and frequently responded to some of the questions in rote-like style. It was as though they had repeated the information many times before. In some instances, the long-term chief school administrators were more "open" and receptive to probings concerning the operation of the school as well as aspects of their privatized lives.

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How the Data Are Organized

The principal points utilized in organizing the data are these. First, an attempt is made to describe the evolution of the overseas American schools and the characteristics and purposes of the thirteen American schools as they existed at the time of the study. This is recorded in Chapter II. Second, an attempt is made to describe the four principal social groups with whom the chief school administrator related -- the parents, the board, the professional staff, and the students. These four social groups, in effect, helped to define the organizational structure of the school and are described in Chapters III through VI. Third, an attempt is made to describe the formal institutions which influenced the school and the administrative process. The governmental, educational, and economic institutions are described in Chapters VII through IX. The summary and conclusions of the study are included in Chapter X.

Definition of Terms Used in This Study

The term, "third culture school," as used in this study, is the educational institution where behavioral patterns are created, shared, and learned by children and youths of two or more different societies, whose parents are personally engaged in the process of linking their societies or sections thereof to each other.

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The term, chief school administrator, as used in this study, is the individual whose designated position denotes the ultimate responsibility for the administrative matters within the American school.

The term, the American-sponsored school, as used in this study, is that overseas American school which received assistance from the U.S. Department of State through the consolidated school program.

The term, host national, as used in this study, is that individual who is a citizen of the host nation in which the American school is located.

The term, U.S. national or American, as used in this study, is that individual who is a citizen of the United States.

The term, third country national, as used in this study, is the individual who is a citizen neither of the country in which the school is located nor of the United States.

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FOOTNOTES, CHAPTER I

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[5]The Office of Overseas Schools, administratively, is a part of the Bureau of Administration of the Department of State. The Office of Overseas Schools operates under the policy direction of the Overseas Schools Policy Committee which is composed of the Deputy Undersecretary of State for Administration, the Assistant Secretary of State for Education and Cultural Affairs, and the Assistant Administrator for the Administration of the Agency for International Development. The executive secretary of the Overseas Schools Policy Committee serves as the Director of the Office of Overseas Schools, which is the executive agency of this committee. The Overseas Policy Committee is "responsible for achieving the mutual objectives of: providing adequately for the educational needs of dependents of American citizens carrying out programs of the U.S. Government abroad, assisting the American-sponsored schools abroad which demonstrate American methods and practices in education and contributing to friendly relations between the United States and other countries." (Uniform State/Aid Regulations, Foreign Affairs Manual Volume 2 - General, 600--Overseas Schools Program, February 27, 1970 613.2-1.) The Legislative authorities under which the Office of Overseas Schools provides assistance to the overseas schools are: (1) The Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended (title X). (2) The Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, as amended (Section 102), and (3) The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, [sections 636 (c) and 636 (d)]. (Uniform State/Aid Regulations, Foreign Affairs Manual Volume 2 - General, 600 -- Overseas Schools Program, February 27, 1970 611.)

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CHAPTER II

INSTITUTIONAL PATTERNS OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL

The organizational characteristics of the American schools in the overseas setting are of significant importance in determining the nature of the work patterns of the chief school administrator. An overview of the thirteen schools is presented in this chapter and includes their historical development, their present institutional pattern, and their mission as perceived by the chief school administrators.

Establishment and Proliferation

The historical roots of the thirteen American schools in Mexico and Central America span more than three-quarters of a century. As a social institution, the overseas American school derived its organizational characteristics from the broader, sociocultural contour patterns of the host and American societies as they interacted.

The Nature of the Nation-State Relationship

The Western Hemisphere from the Columbian to the modern era is characterized by a seriatum of changing nation-state relationships. From the late fifteenth to eighteenth century, the dominant colonial powers in the Western Hemisphere

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were England, Spain, and Portugal. Two distinct socio-cultural patterns within the Hemisphere emerged, the Anglo-Saxon and the Hispanic. As the newly formed, independent nations in the Western Hemisphere emerged and the European powers withdrew, the United States, a then emerging nation-state, formulated and pronounced a policy statement in the form of the Monroe Doctrine. This Doctrine, variously interpreted, has served, in effect, to mediate and define the nation-state relationships within the Western Hemisphere and broader world community.

The specific effects of this proclamation were reflected in the status and form of the nation-state relationships between the United States and the Latin American nations. The nature of these relationships has vacillated from periods of strife to cooperation. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the relationships were characterized by a superordinate, subordinate orientation. The era of "manifest destiny" with its battleship diplomacy dominated the policy decisions that permitted the intervention of the U.S. Marines in Mexico, Nicaragua, and Honduras as late as 1933. The terms, "gringo" "Yankee" were and remain the stereotype rhetoric used by the common person during this period to identify the implementors of this policy.

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The Development of the First
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It was during the later part of the nineteenth and early twentieth century that small but significant numbers of Americans with school-age dependents ventured into Mexico and the Central American countries to engage in work roles associated with business, government, and religious enterprises. Once overseas these families were confronted with the exigent condition of providing satisfactory schooling for their children. Certain options were available to them, namely: (1) to utilize the host national educational facilities which, in large measure, consisted of nonpublic, Catholic schools that were noncoeducational and utilized Spanish as the medium of instruction; (2) to send the children back to the States; or (3) to provide some form of schooling locally.

The initial schooling crisis was generally resolved within the basic social unit, the family, and the modal pattern was the establishment of a "living room" or "kitchen table" school under the tutelage of the mother. The overseas American mother conducted classes for her own children, utilizing her native language--English--and materials which were frequently, although not always, brought from "home" for this purpose; and in essence, she served as the first "overseas school administrator." Hence for the present the "family-established-and-run" school resolved

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However, as the overseas American population increased and the number of school-age dependents increased, the means of providing schooling for the children shifted from the single,"family-run" school to a collective effort among several American families. Frequently, one mother from the group assumed the role of "volunteer-teacher" for the younger school-age children, and the "one-room-type" school operated more on a convenience basis than on any predetermined schedule. The duration of this informal organization often was dependent upon the availability of the "volunteer-mother-teacher," and her organizational ability in administering the school. In addition, there were contingencies such as the size and the manageability of the group of children and the nature, frequency, and severity of crises, which took the form of materials not arriving from the States, health hazards of epidemic proportions, and even revolutions and wars between nations.

The "limited-family" or "close-friend," informal educational enterprise was superseded by a cooperative community undertaking, the establishment of some type of formally organized or "real" school. Initially the "real" school was a loosely formulated, voluntary-type association of the overseas American parents whose immediate concern

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was the schooling of their dependents. The organization style was usually in the form of informal "get-togethers," of those interested in providing schooling for their dependents. The modal pattern of the school included the following elements: established age-gradient levels usually limited to elementary grades; regularly scheduled classes; a fixed location, usually a private residence rented for this purpose; and employment of a "full-time" teacher or teachers, often local residents, whose services were paid for by the collection of tuition fees from the users of the school. The day-to-day administrative tasks were assumed by the position designated as "head-teacher."

However, as the enrollment and the multiplicity of grade levels in the "real" school increased, the informal arrangement proved ineffective in handling the complex problems associated with the governance of the school. Efforts by the overseas American citizens, independent of governmental or corporate sponsorship, were undertaken to formulate a more highly differentiated organizational structure and a corporate-type organization was established. The school assumed a legal personality which established it as a private, nonprofit institution. The organizational infrastructure incorporated: (1) a "Board of Founders," a governing body whose membership was limited to those American citizens who had children in the school; (2) the position of administrator (whose authority was delegated

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by the Board of Founders), whose duties were the school's overall management, and whose office was variously designated as superintendent or principal; and (3) the teachers, who were responsible to the chief school administrator. The early school was financed by the payment of tuition fees.

This first generation of American schools reflected the set of culturally determined concepts relative to formal schooling, that the American parent carried with him to the overseas setting.

Concepts specifically identifiable in the school were coeducation, nonsectarianism, the notion of local control in educational matters, and the organization of the education program, as exemplified in the title, American Grammar School. Furthermore, the school was in large measure, a single purpose institution designed "primarily for education in the English language of children of the U.S. citizens for matriculation into colleges, universities, and institutions of higher learning in the U.S."[1] and the clientele of the school was a select group limited to "English-speaking" children.

Two of the thirteen American schools in this study were members of this first genre of American schools. All were located within Region I.

One school was established in the national capital in 1888, and the second was founded in a provincial capital in 1928. Both locations were urban areas and were major industrial, commercial, and cultural centers.

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In summary, the need for providing schooling for American youths overseas precipitated the establishment of these American schools. The superordinate, subordinate social pattern that characterized the relationship between the U.S. and host national societies of the period was reflected in the organizational pattern of the schools.

The Second Genre of American Schools

The early genre of American schools remained few in number and were marginal institutions in the cross-cultural setting in the sense that they served only handfuls of American patrons and were only nominally associated with the national community in which they were located. However, World War II transformed the existing American schools from an historical footnote to headline status, when for the first time in our national life, the schooling of American dependents overseas became a national consideration.

During World War II, the relationship between the U.S. and the nation-states of the Western Hemisphere became more interdependent and more cooperative both economically and politically. Hence the superordinate, subordinate orientation changed to a more coordinate orientation and a more tempered and cordial atmosphere prevailed. Efforts to unite the nations of North and South America crystallized in the formation of the "sister-state" concept and the continuation of "good-neighbor" policy.

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It was during this war-time period, that increasing numbers of Americans with school-age dependents became engaged in private as well as public enterprises throughout the Western Hemisphere and especially in the two major regions of this study, Mexico and the Central American Republics. With this influx of American school-age dependents, the need for providing for their schooling overseas was underscored, and concurrently another need arose in the political arena.

It was during World War II that the Neo-Nazi party attempted to expand its influence in the Latin American sector of the Western Hemisphere. One of the vehicles of penetration was the establishment and utilization of the private German schools throughout Latin America as instruments for the diffusion of pro-Nazi propaganda. A strategy to counter this Nazi influence was sought by the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, U.S. Cultural Affairs, U.S. Department of State that would utilize a corollary-type institution and that would be in keeping with the concept of presence--a principle of the foreign policy during this period.[2,3,4]

It was at this time that a concept emerged which was to possess symbolic and educational significance. The American school concept was broadened to an institutional arrangement that would provide schooling for host national children as well as for the dependents of Americans and

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other English-speaking foreigners. It was conceived
that this "new" social arrangement could combine within
the same structural framework not only the U.S. educational
goals and political concerns, but also the educational
goals of a segment of the host society as well. Hence,
the concept of the "binational" school emerged.

The school would be attended jointly by dependents
of American and host nationals, would have a binational
professional teaching staff, would have an educational
program that included a fusion of U.S. and host national
concepts of education, and would utilize both English and
Spanish as media of instruction.

Organizationally, the binational school was con-
ceived as an institution established and controlled by rep-
resentative from both the overseas American community and
the host national community. The local "collegial" authority
would hold explicit and implicit powers to establish the
internal regulations of the school, to regulate the operation
and the maintenance of the school, and to finance the school--
mainly from tuitions derived from the users of the school.
Implicit in this organizational arrangement was the element
of cooperation between the Americans and host nationals to
effect a schooling experience for their dependents.

In keeping with this concept, the American Council
on Education, a nongovernmental agency, was requested to
strengthen and improve the existing American schools and

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to provide assistance to other American schools in Latin
America as they came into being. Subsequently, the Council
set up the Inter-American Schools Service in 1944, as a
private contractual agency to counteract the pro-Nazi, anti-
American movement in Latin America. The Inter-American
Schools Service, in the capacity of a coordinating organiza-
tion or clearing house, served to channel funds in the form
of direct grants-in-aid to the schools, to assist in securing
professional staff to serve overseas.[3] This agency provided
what can be identified as the first formally organized element
of a systemic linkage with the U.S. society.

Subsequent to the creation of the Inter-American
Schools Service, a new genre of overseas American schools
emerged. Within a three-year period, seven of the thirteen
schools in this study came into existence: two in Mexico,
designated Region I, and five in the Central American
countries, designated as Region II in this study. Those
in Region I were located in provincial capitals; those
in Region II were located in national capitals.

The exigencies of the moment related to the U.S.-
host nation relationship in terms of political, economic,
and military cooperation were evinced in the respective
host society's attitude toward the establishment of American
schools in their midst. A favorable attitude was described
by a chief school administrator who established a school
during this period.

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> The government was anxious for us to open the
> school and actually was of significant help.
> The governor of the state took a personal interest
> in the school here in _____. We had an
> opening ceremony that included a military drum
> corps. . . and the governor even attended the
> opening event.

Although the other institutions established during this

period were more frequently inaugurated humbly and incon-

spicuously, the host societies generally accepted them

without antagonism.

Despite the fact that the economic-political inter-

change between the Latin American nations and the U.S.

diminished somewhat in intensity following the termination

of World War II, between 1950-1960 there was an increase

in the number of Americans with school-age dependents flowing

into these countries to perform public and private work roles

associated with socioeconomic and technical development

for business, government, and religious undertakings. Sub-

sequently, not only did growth and expansion occur in the

existing overseas American schools, but a seriatim of

schooling crises occurred in other locations where new con-

centrations of Americans with school-age dependents gathered.

Between 1950-1956, four schools in this study

came into existence. These schools were established in

smaller, less highly developed, industrial centers. In

Region I, two schools were established in provincial capitals;

in Region II, one school was established in a municipal seat

which was rapidly undergoing industrialization.

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This new genre of overseas American schools developed as institutions with a new modal organizational pattern. These schools were established by the joint efforts of host national citizens and overseas Americans and were organized as a binational enterprise, based on a coordinate schema. These schools received informal assistance in the form of "helpful advice" from persons with experience in other American schools and limited financial and professional assistance from the Inter-American Schools Services.

In general these schools developed progressively from an informal-type organization--"kitchen table" or "garage or bungalow"--to a more formalized institution, but the duration within these stages was much shorter than for the earlier type of schools. Formal organization was culminated with the legal incorporation of the institutions under the laws of the host nations. All the schools in this genre were established as legal institutions known as Associación Civil, which legally define the schools as private, nonprofit, nonsectarian institutions; established to perform an educational or cultural task; and subject to the legal codes, both civil and educational, of the respective countries. However, in the absence of any legal provision for providing education for U.S. dependents overseas, these schools were established and remained outside the legal jurisdiction of the U.S. educational law.

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The official titles of this genre of schools re-
flected a binational identity, regionalism, as well as a
host national educational orientation, e.g. Colegio
Americano de (Name of City) (the American College of _____).
Other titles were more comprehensive in scope, signified in
the term, international, e.g. Escuela Internacional _____.

The position of chief school administrator during
the early period of development of the binational schools
was a feminine role in most instances and was performed by
women who had children of their own who were in need of
schooling. As the school's organizational metamorphosis
from the "kitchen table" school to a more formal one occurred,
the feminine role shifted to a masculine one. The institu-
tionalization of the role generally progressed from "head
teacher," to a position designated "teaching principal,"
which combined teaching and administrative duties, to a
position designated "director" that carried full-time
administrative duties.

The position of chief school administrator was
established in the early years of these schools' existence.

In most instances in the initial organizational
stages, a condition of receiving aid from the Inter-American
Schools Service specified that the aid be used to pay the
school directors' salaries. It is significant to note,
as a result, that in most instances the position of chief
school administrator was occupied by an American citizen,

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the reason being that the Inter-American Schools Service grant stipulated that the money could only be used to pay for the services of an American citizen.

Summary

The information presented in this section concerning the thirteen American schools support the notion that there were two distinct genres of schools. The first genre of schools was established primarily by American citizens to educate their American dependents for eventual return to the U.S. education system. The second genre of school was established during and after World War II and was a con-sociate venture, established by representatives from both the host national and American communities for the broad purpose of educating the dependents of two or more nationali-ties for eventual entrance into either U.S. or host national institutions of higher learning. During the post-war period, the first genre of schools adapted varying degrees of the consociate of binational organizational pattern, specifically the admission of host nationals to its student body and an educational program that included aspects of the host culture. Thus the consociate characteristic has emerged as a dominant and identifiable institutional pattern in the thirteen American schools.

Institutional Characteristics

By the 1969-1970 school year, the thirteen American schools had developed multimodal institutional patterns.

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Data describing these patterns are presented in the following section in terms of: institutional life span, size of school, national origin of the students, grade levels, instructional programs, and accreditation.

Institutional Life Span

By the school year 1969-1970, the schools had experienced an institutional life span that ranged from fourteen to eighty-two years. The median age of the institution was twenty-five years. (See Table 2.1)

Size of School

In the 1969-1970 school year, there were 11,322 students enrolled in the thirteen American schools. The student bodies ranged in size from 211 to 2,115 students and the median size was 842. Three size categories of schools were observable: those with less than 500 students, those with 500 to 1,000 students, and those with 1,000 or more students. (See Table 2.2)

Table 2.1. Institutional life span.

Age	Region I	Region II	Total
Less than 10 years (1961-1970)	-	-	-
10-12 years (1951-1960)	2	1	3
20-29 years (1941-1950)	3	5	8
30-39 years (1931-1940)	-	-	-
40-49 years (1921-1930)	1	-	1
Over 50 years (1888-1920)	1	-	1
Total			13

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Number of Students
Less than 500
500 to 1,000
1,000 to 1,50
1,500 to 2,00
Over 2,000

These three categories serve as the basis for a typology which will be used throughout the remainder of this study, namely those with less than 500 students will be designated small; those with 500 to 1,000 students, medium; and those with 1,000 or more students, large.

Distribution of Students by National Origin

The students enrolled in the thirteen American schools represented two or more national groupings. Utilizing national origin as the criterion, it was established that eleven of the thirteen schools had multinational student bodies and two were binational. Within this study, three distinct national groupings are used: host national, U.S. national, and third country national. Host national is defined as the student whose parents stated upon enrolling the student that the child was a citizen of the country in which the school was located. U.S. national is defined as the student whose parents stated that the child was a citizen of the United States. Third country national is defined as the student who is a citizen neither of the host nation nor of the United States.

Table 2.2. Size of school by student enrollment.

Number of Students	Region I	Region II	Total Number of Schools
Less than 500	2	1	3 (23.1%)
500 to 1,000	3	3	6 (46.2%)
1,000 to 1,500	1	2	3 (23.1%)
1,500 to 2,000	–	–	–
Over 2,000	1	–	1 (7.6%)

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In Region I, 67.4 percent of the students enrolled
were host nationals, 29.3 percent were U.S. nationals, and
3.3 percent were third country nations. In Region II, 69.0
percent were host nationals, 22.4 percent were U.S. nationals,
and 8.5 percent were third country nationals. It was noted
that in Region II, there was a higher portion of third
country nationals than in Region I. (See Figure 2.1)

Grade Levels

Collectively, the instructional programs which were
offered to the children and youths enrolled within these
schools contained three categories, namely: Preschool
(Nursery and Kindergarten); Elementary (Grades 1-6); and
Secondary, either complete (Grades 7-12) or partial
(Grades 7-9). (See Table 2.3)

Table 2.3. Range of instructional programs by grade level.

	Region I			Region II			Total Number Schools
	S	M	L	S	M	L	
K, 1-9	1	-	-	1	-	-	2
N,K, 1-9	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
K, 1-12	-	2	1	-	2	2	7
N,K, 1-12	-	1	1	-	1	-	3
Total	2	3	2	1	3	2	13
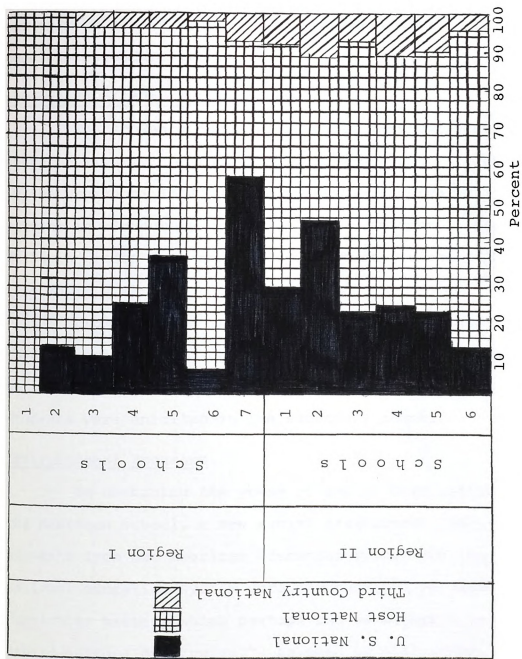
Figure 2.1. Composition of the student body by nationality (expressed in percent of total enrollment).

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From Table 2.3 it is observed that all the small schools provided preschool, elementary and "partial secondary" programs. The medium and large schools all conducted one or more levels of preschool programs, elementary, and complete secondary programs.

Student Enrollment by Grade Level

The students enrolled in these American schools numbered 11,322. Of this total, 12.2 percent were enrolled in the preschool level (Nursery School-Kindergarten); 26.4 percent in elementary grades 1-3; 23.9 percent in grades 4-6; 20.5% in grades 7-9, and 17.0 percent in grades 10-12. (See Table 2.4)

From the data in Table 2.4, it is concluded that in this collectivity of schools, four in every eight students were enrolled in elementary grades and three in every eight students were enrolled in the secondary school.

Instructional Programs

In combining the young of two or more cultures in the American school, a new social arrangement, selected elements from the American education system and the host national education system were incorporated to form a new curricular pattern which perhaps can be referred to as a "third culture curriculum." As used in this study, "third culture curriculum" means a curricular pattern that incorporates elements from the education systems of culture one (host nation) and culture two (U.S.) and that are utilized

TABLE 2.4. Student enrollment by grade level.

	Region I	Region II	Total (%)

TABLE 2.4. Student enrollment by grade level.

	Region I			Region II			Total (%)
	S	M	L	S	M	L	
Pre-School	79	307	545	19	231	209	1,390 (12.2%)
Grades 1-3	194	535	857	112	631	628	2,977 (26.4%)
Grades 4-6	147	483	849	85	625	512	2,701 (23.9%)
Grades 7-9	99	477	686	39	507	520	2,328 (20.5%)
Grades 10-12	56	447	649	-	389	385	1,926 (17.0%)
							11,322

Source of data: Office of Overseas Schools.

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by those schools which enroll children and youths of two
or more societies.

Within these thirteen schools, the curricular patterns
varied in scope and scale in terms of their substantive and
structural aspects as well as the portion of time devoted
to the respective curricula and the language of instruction.
Orr categorized these as follows:

1. A basic Latin American program
2. A basic U.S. program
3. Dual curricula (characterized by the teaching
   of the same subject in two languages)
4. The blended or integrated curriculum which in-
   cludes requirements of Latin American and U.S.
   programs but does not duplicate subject matter
   instruction in two languages.[6]

Generally included in the curricular patterns in these
schools were aspects of the host national education system
such as host national geography, civics, history, and Spanish
and elements from the U.S. curriculum such as U.S. history,
geography, and English.

The languages utilized as the instructional media
were English and Spanish. Various patterns of the portion
of time devoted to instruction in each language existed and
the basic patterns are identified in the following models:[7]

English
Spanish

Model I - A program where instruction is equally
divided between English and Spanish. Typically,
a school operating under this program will have
one session, either morning or afternoon, offered
in one language and the other session offered in
the second. Sometimes, the instruction given in
one language is duplicated in the other. In other
instances, the instruction is extended in the second
language.

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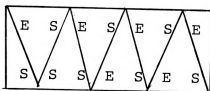
Model II - A program in which instruction is offered
in both languages, giving each one approximately the
same amount of time, but any time-block may contain
the two languages used in an integrated or blended
manner. Typically, but not necessarily, team teaching
is a technique used in this type of program.
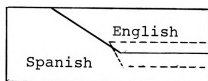
Model III - Instruction begins totally in Spanish
and as the student gains mastery of English, less
and less time is devoted to instruction in Spanish
until all instruction is offered in English. In
the final phase Spanish may be studied as another
subject in the curriculum. Model III is typically
designed to make the student completely fluent in
English.
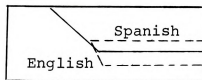
Model IV - Model IV is the reverse of Model III.
At the beginning all the instruction is offered
in English, and as the student progresses, more
and more time is devoted to instruction in Spanish
until all, or almost all of the instruction is
offered in Spanish. English is studied as another
subject in the curriculum.

Model V - In
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Chapter VII

English
Spanish

Model V - In this model the program is offered predominantly in English, but Spanish is also taught either as another subject or as the language in which other subjects may be taught.

Spanish
English

Model VI- The reverse of Model V is depicted in Model VI. Instruction is offered in Spanish, while English is also offered either as another subject or as the language in which other subjects are taught.[5]

Accreditation

The educational programs in these American schools were reported to be accredited by one or more accrediting agencies. Within the host national education system, the academic programs were either wholly or partially recognized as accredited or "approved" programs of study by the responsible accrediting agency of the provincial or federal host national education authorities. In addition, some of the schools were accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, a U.S. regional accrediting agency. (The matter of accreditation will be discussed more fully in Chapter VIII.)

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Summary

The modal institutional pattern of the American
schools at the time of this study included:

1. A life span of twenty-five years.

2. A student enrollment from between 500 to 1,000.

3. A multinational student body.

4. Preschool elementary and secondary schooling.

5. A third culture curriculum with English and
   Spanish utilized as media of instruction.

6. Academic accreditation by host national and
   U.S. education authorities.

Institutional Goals and Objectives

Since these American schools had developed at different
times and in their development had undergone modifications,
a major objective of the study was to determine the existing
institutional goals and objectives. The chief school ad-
ministrators were asked, "How would you describe the American
School of _____?"

No two respondents, regardless of tenure, size, or
location of the school, described the school with which
they were associated in exacting or exactly the same terms.
Frequently, it was observed that the respondents had diffi-
culty in articulating an answer. Those individuals who had
the most difficulty generally were administrators in the
small or medium school, who possessed short periods of
tenure--less than two years. In contrast, the administrators

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years or more, articulated a well-formulated descriptive
statement almost in rote style.

The chief school administrators' descriptions of
the schools contained broad and diverse clusters of func-
tional themes which were highly interwoven in terms of their
particular emphasis. However, from these descriptions,
there emerged a bimodal functional pattern which might be
categorized as educational and public service.

Educational Function

The respondents described the institution's educa-
tional functions as "preparation for higher education in
the United States," "preparation for higher education in
(the host nation), "preparation for terminal training pro-
grams, such as "bilingual secretarial course," "to teach
English" both to youths and adults, and to provide "bicultural,
bilingual education here in the overseas setting."

The scope, scale, and emphasis placed on each of the
educational functions were not generally equalized within
or between these schools; rather each school possessed a
particularistic functional pattern. The following descrip-
tions exemplify the range of these patterns:

> The school was designed for American and (host
> national) citizens; it is bilingual and binational
> and is based on the seven cardinal principles of
> education.

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> To prepare American and other national boys and
> girls of elementary and secondary school age
> for institutions of higher learning in the United
> States.

> It is a (national) institution that undertakes
> Kindergarten through Preparatoria to serve
> (national) higher education and to teach English
> as a second language along with some notions of
> American culture.

> Primarily an institution for teaching English as
> a foreign language. We have an adult education
> program and afternoon programs for high school
> students.

> In addition to our regular program, we have a
> bilingual secretarial training course.

There was a tendency for the administrators in the
large schools to conceptualize the school's educational
function in terms of its role in preparing students for
institutions of higher learning, while in the small and
medium school, the educational function was perceived in
a somewhat more limited perspective, that is providing a
terminal education function.

Public Service Function

The school's service orientation was often expressed
by the respondents in idealistic and nonspecific terms,
and the themes were blurred and overlapping in terms of
their educational, social, and political significance.
The descriptive statements contained phrases such as "to
promote better understanding," "to serve as a showcase
school," "a model of excellence," or "to demonstrate U.S.
educational methods."

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Frequent reference was made to the bicultural and binational aspect of the school and in this capacity, the school was perceived in symbolic terms as representing U.S. culture in the overseas setting. Within this context, the respondents expressed the school's mission as "to blend American and host national points of view," "to secure understanding that develops as kids and teachers interact," and "to help the two nations coexist and live together in a more responsible type of foreign relationship."

Three respondents expressed their school's service orientation in ideological terms within an East-West conflict nexus and perceived its function as "to *fight* Communism."

These public service functions, in effect, served as nonoperational goals, that is, goals that are abstract and difficult to identify in practice. *Moreover, because of their abstract quality, they provided few clues as to what the schools should do to implement them.*

Summary

The administrators perceived the American schools as an organization committed to providing schooling for dependents of a minimum of two nationalities. *Their descriptions revealed a consensus that the school's mission was open-ended and "broad-aimed" within both an educational*

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and a public service nexus. Furthermore, the respondents perceived the schools as possessing dual and/or partial functional goals which were thought to transcend the insititution and to be binational in nature. As such, the school's goals constituted a coalition of goals which often were in conflict and were dysfunctional in terms of maintaining a semblance of organizational stability.

The Chief School Administrator at Work

To fulfill the American school's broad-aimed cluster of interlocking educational and service goals, a high proportion of the chief school administrators were recruited from the American education profession and were delegated the responsibility for the overall management of the schools. These individuals perceived managing the overseas American school as one of articulating the dual functions of the American school in the cross-cultural setting. They furthermore saw the job as being highly complex and one that required a great deal of effort, as the following comments illustrate:

. . . Administering this school is like running a three ring circus . . .

. . . I guess you could compare running the school to putting a puzzle together without ever seeing the box top.

Being the administrator of the school meant wearing all kinds of hats and doing all kinds of things.

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In response to the question, "What is one of the hardest parts of your task as chief school administrator?" the administrators, regardless of the school's size and its location, indicated that the nature of the problem was "keeping the purpose of the school clearly in the minds of the general assembly and board members," "trying to interpret the school to the community," and "establishing the reasons 'why' the school existed." They stressed that "human" and "public relations" functions were required in the "constant efforts" to secure the cooperation needed to give the school a semblance of direction and organizational balance.

The nature of the requirement of keeping "the purpose of the school in the minds" of the community varied and was envisioned by the chief school administrators as a function of size, location, and the degree of the school's institutionalization both in terms of the work organization and in the wider community. Institutionalization as a concept is thought to be a function of acceptance by a segment of society to sustain or legitimize an idea or institution. The broader the acceptance, the greater the degree of establishment.

The Nature of the Task in the Small and Medium School

Within the small and medium school, the nature of the task was frequently contingent upon the high turnover rate of the chief school administrator. Within the three

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small schools over the five year period, there had been

eight administrators; two schools had three administrators

while one school had two. In the six medium schools over

the five year period, there had been eleven different

administrators: three schools had three administrators;

one school had two; while two schools had no turnover.

Within the schools, each successive individual who

assumed the leadership role reported that he was confronted

with the task of redefining the school and was confronted

with a series of crises that required much attention to be

devoted to establishing and maintaining the institution's

"integrity" against pressures that were considered as weakening

and distracting.

One respondent, who was employed as an elementary

principal and assumed the position of chief school administra-

tor on a "trial basis" when the incumbent resigned after the

first month of school, reported that:

> Pulling everything together here is hell . . . .
> There are no policy guidelines . . . .
> Organization here is null and void . . . . The
> records that exist are incomplete . . . . I don't
> even have a curriculum guide . . . . Believe me,
> I only want to get things to a point where they
> are workable.

This event transpired in an institution that had been

in existence for a quarter of a century, but during the period

from 1965-1970, the position of chief school administrator

had been filled by three individuals. The institution was

what can be identified as being in a state of organizational

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limbo and evinced a "just-getting-organized" syndrome. The institution had a continual although not stable pattern of existence.

Ten respondents indicated that they had no conception of an overseas American school prior to assuming the position. Subsequently, not only were the administrators redefining the institutional orientation and organization from a point in time expressed in the phrase, "Since I got here . . .," but they were formulating a concept of an overseas American school based primarily on the exigencies of the moment and the educational enterprise with which they were last associated back home.

Moreover, at the management level in the small and medium school, the school's combined educational and public service functions provided little to the administrator in terms of a guide for action. Stress was placed on the immediate concerns associated with administrative tasks, and immediacy sometimes broadened into making arbitrary decisions to give the school another direction.

Respondents frequently stressed difficulty in articulating the institutional goals related to commitments made prior to their assuming the position. The administrators perceived the school's problems and issues as being the kind that can be solved rationally through educational methodology, and they expressed this in such terms as sufficient readers for teaching English, the proper texts for modern math,

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The Nature of the Task
in the Large School

In the large school, a more stable organizational

condition was observed. The position of chief school

administrator was more likely to be occupied by one in-

dividual for a longer period of time--two respondents

had served for over twenty years, two for ten to fifteen

years, while only one had served as little as four years.

There was a greater tendency for the goal structure of

these transnational enterprises to be recorded, for a

formally established education law or policy statement

to be in existence, and for a broad-based legitimation

established in the wider binational local community and

the larger binational network.

The individuals in these schools expressed their

association with the school in terms, "I grew up with the

school," "I came here when," and "those days." The

individual defined the problems confronting the school in

a somewhat broader context, as being interrelated with the

broader social network. One long-term administrator stated:

> I can change things here in _____
> only if my community is ready to go
> along with me. It is my job to keep
> them informed and to be sensitive to
> the range of how far I can push. I
> must gain their support before I can
> move.

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The need for maintaining "public relations" and sensitivity to the various segments of the supporting clientele was stressed. Furthermore, the decision—making process in these schools tended to be less arbitrary: problems were more likely to be solved through rational means of study and discussion.

The large schools had dynamic qualities that were related to the dual functional goals. The school's problems and issues were viewed from a professional perspective and innovative organizational solutions were more likely to be formulated and implemented. Each of three respondents reported that his respective school was currently involved in major program improvement activities at both the elementary and secondary levels. The public service dimension was much broader in these schools: one school was involved in basic research for the host nation in the area of child growth and development and in a testing program for designing admission tests; three schools were involved in formulating an institution of higher education designed along American education lines.

In the large schools, the lengthy tenure pattern of the chief school administrator seemingly enhanced the institutionalization of the school's functions in terms of general direction and in scope and scale of the consociate venture. In a sense, these individuals provided the institution with a past, present, and in most instances a future

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perspective that was institutionalized to a great extent
in the wider community in varying forms. These schools
were embedded in distinct, well-formulated, social groups:
one school was affiliated with a private, host national
philanthropic foundation; one school's broad base was
in one of the largest overseas American community; another
school was legally established as a laboratory school by
the host national government; while one school was more
dependent upon a highly protean binational community.

Summary

The chief school administrator perceived his role of
articulating the school's educational and public service
orientation as difficult and highly complex. The difficulty
was compounded by the degree of institutionalization of the
American school. Low institutionalization appeared to be
related to the absence of a recorded history with prescribed
goals, recorded policy procedures, and tenure continuity.
In other words, the mode was an absence of an institutional
heritage with any well-defined institutional boundary
maintenance system. Consequently, conditions of stress
surrounded the administrator in performing his role.

Summary

The data in this chapter outlined the events
associated with the establishment and proliferation of the
thirteen American schools within various periods of social
time and space and described the broadly defined, educational

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and public service function nexi which were perceived
by the chief school administrators as giving the schools
direction. In addition, the administrators described briefly
the work role in the American schools.

The form of social organization which these thirteen
schools utilized was a corporate-like organizational struc-
ture that was both private and binational. The generic
institutional pattern that evolved in each school was dif-
ferentiated and highly complex in both its structure and
function, since each school was located in its particularistic
social setting. In reality, these schools were described
as social institutions that have assumed as their raison d'etre
the responsibility for the formal schooling of children of
segments of two or more societies--one indigenous to the
physical location of the school and the other "foreign."
It is in this capacity that these schools serve as
educational institutions embedded in the third culture.

[1]The America

chool Foundation,

[2]Kenneth J.

merica," The Eleme

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[3]Dean T. Fit

n Latin America,"

Education, VLXII, D

[4]Roy T. Davi

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[5]American As

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[6]Orr, "Bina

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FOOTNOTES, CHAPTER II

[1]The American School Foundation, "The American School Foundation, A.C. 75 Years of Service," p.8.

[2]Kenneth J. Relage, "American Schools in Latin America," The Elementary School Journal, LV, Nov. 1954, p. 128.

[3]Dean T. Fitzgerald, "Role of American Schools in Latin America," The School Review, Journal of Secondary Education, VLXII, December 1955, pp. 290-297.

[4]Roy T. Davis, "American Private Schools in Latin America," The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, Vol. XXIX, May 1945, p. 319.

[5]American Association of School Administrators, "The Mission Called O/OS," Washington D.C.: American Association of School Administrators, 1966, p. 35.

[6]Orr, "Binational Schools in Latin America," p. 122.

[7]Southeastern Education Laboratory, "Razon de Ser of the Bilingual School," Mexico City: Lito-Reforma, pp. 1-4.

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CHAPTER III

WORK—RELATED INTERACTION WITH
THE BINATIONAL COMMUNITY

Introduction

The thirteen American schools were located in
principal urban centers which contained the outlines of
what John and Ruth Useem and Donoghue identified as a modern
binational community with its concomitant third culture.[1]
These binational communities contained aggregate popula-
tions that embodied members of the host society, the over-
seas American, and members of various other societies.

To attain a degree of understanding about the nature
of the segments within the binational community that
utilized the schools, the administrators were asked ques-
tions such as, "What is the national composition of the
binational community that supports the school? What are
the dominant occupational affiliations of those who support
the school? How do segments of these collectivities
interact with each other? and with the school?" and "How
does each affect the administrative process?" The answers
to these questions constitute the data for the following
section.

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<u>The Size and Nation</u>
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The Characteristics of the Binational Community

The Size and National Composition of the Constituency Within the Binational Communities that Support the American Schools

Using the student enrollment and student national origin as the basis for determining the scope and scale of the constituencies within the local binational communities which support the schools, it is evident that these support- ing segments varied from locality to locality in terms of size and national origin.   (See Table 3.1)

The host national constituency in these schools ranged in size from 164 to 1,378 members and comprised be- tween 37 and 97 percent of the student population of these schools.   The American attendants ranged between six and 1,185 members and constituted between 3 and 56 percent of the total student population.   The third country constitu- ency ranged from zero to 143 members and comprised from 0 to 12 percent of the total student population.

Although no exact means was available to determine the number of family units within the binational community that supported the school, utilizing two children per family it could be inferred that there were some 5,700 family units using the school's services.   From Table 3.1 it is evident that the number of children from the host national segment was frequently greater; more precisely, there would be some 3,850 host national families, 1,500 U.S. families, and 315 third country families.

Table 3.1. The size and national origin of the American school's constituency.

	Region I			Region II		
	S	M	L	S	M	L

Table 3.1. The size and national origin of the American school's constituency.

	Region I							Region II					
	S			M		L		S			M		L
	1	2	3	4	5	5	7	1	2	3	4	5	6
Host National (7,706)	205 97%	323 88%	480 87%	514 61%	628 73%	1,378 93%	787 37%	164 65%	263 43%	586 72%	653 67%	764 68%	961 83%
U.S. National (2,986)	6 3%	44 12%	52 10%	306 36%	205 24%	86 6%	1,185 56%	70 27%	269 45%	174 21%	218 22%	214 22%	157 13%
Third Country National (630)	–	–	15 3%	22 3%	24 3%	7 1%	143 7%	21 8%	72 12%	58 7%	110 11%	103 10%	55 4%
Total	211	367	547	842	857	1,471	2,115	255	604	818	981	1,081	1,173

Source of data: Office of Overseas Schools.

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The Host National Collectivity

The host nationals emanated from a small scale society in terms of the size of population, ethnic homogeneity, and territorial size. Moreover, the society was considered underdeveloped in terms of its economic and technological development. The majoritiy of the chief school administrators described the host national parents as representatives of a small scale social group in which the majority of the participants had regularized interpersonal relations with members of their own respective social group in the wider host national community. The chief school administrator in the small school described the social interaction of the host national constituency as being built around the social network that "includes everyone, and everyone knows everyone else." In contrast, in the large and medium schools which were located in larger urban localities, the chief school administrators described the host national social network as one that was more differentiated.

The majority of the chief school administrators generally described the host national parent as coming from the upper and upper middle class; they were "good families" who were socially and economically prominent in the community. Only four administrators indicated that they felt elements from the whole socioeconomic range within the host national community were represented in the student body.

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An analysis of the work roles of the host nationals who sent their dependents to the American school further identifies the parameters of the host national community which supports the school. (See Table 3.2)

From Table 3.2, it is evident that the host national students were most frequently dependents of host nationals whose work affiliations were classified in the "other" work category (3,848); that is, they were private or self-employed work roles. Within Region I, 44.4 percent and in Region II, seventy-five percent were in this category.

The second most frequent parental work affiliation was business, either corporate or private (2,012). Within Region I, 48.3 percent and in Region II, 17.5 percent of host national parents had business work affiliations.

The third most frequent parental work affiliation was government (440). Seven percent of the host national parents in Region I and 6.9 percent in Region II were engaged in work roles associated with the host national government. No host national parents were reportedly working for the U.S. government.

Host national parental work affiliations with the United Nations, international organizations, and religious organizations were reported to be minimal (twenty-eight). In both Region I and II, less than 1 percent of the host national parents were affiliated with the United Nations or other international organizations. Moreover, less than

Table ... Regional work affiliations of host national students:

	Region I							Region II						
	S		M		L		T		S		M		L	T
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		1	2	3	4	5	6	T

Governments:

Table 3.2 Parental work affiliations of host national students.

	Region I								Region II						
	S			M		L		T	S			M	L		T
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		1	2	3	4	5	6	T
Governments:															
U.S.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Host	34	34	17	32	13	NA	75	205 (7.0)	5	49	106	–	45	30	235
T.C.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
UN & International Agencies							4	4 (0.1)					1	18	19 (0.6)
Business															
Corporate, U.S. & U.S.-Affiliated	12	–	8	13	32	–	162	227 (7.7)	15	15	33	–	9	32	104 (3.1)
Other Business, Local & Private	30	204	116	75	406	–	361	1,192 (40.6)	78	60	118	221	12	–	489 (14.4)
Religious	–	–	1	2	–	–	2	5 (0.2)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Others (Doctors, Lawyers, Dentists, Farmers, Ranchers, Engineers, etc.	129	85	338	392	177	NA	183	1,304 (44.4)	66	139	329	432	697	881	2,544 (75.0)
Total	205	323	480	514	628	NA	787	2,937	164	263	586	653	764	961	3,391

Source of data: Office of Overseas Schools.

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1 percent of the host national parents in Region I held
work affiliations with religious organizations while in
Region II, no host nationals were employed in this work
category.

In summary, six out of ten host national students
were dependents of host nationals, who had a work affiliation
classified as "other"; three out of ten had a business work
affiliation; and seven out of one hundred had a governmental
work affiliation.

The host national collectivities associated with the
American schools were described by the administrators as
holding positions of authority and power within the wider
society, positions which were both ascribed and achieved
by traditional and modern standards. The chief school
administrators described the host national parents as "pro-
fessionals," "businessmen," or "upper level government
officials," who were recognized leaders within their respec-
tive vocations--the "best doctor in town," the "president
of the bank," "noted lawyers," "senators," and "governors."
The host national parent was further described as represent-
ing a segment of the business, professional, and govern-
mental elites in the locality and in the respective nation,
and as such they were members of the power structure of the
community.

From the chief school administrators' descriptions
of the host national parents who had children in the school,
a modal pattern emerged: these parents were highly educated,

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frequently one or both parents spoke or understood English or another foreign language, they shared a modern orientation in terms of their life style and world view, and these parents' choice of the American school as the source of schooling for their dependents exemplified this modern orientation. The host national parents shared significant elements of the host culture, yet in a real sense they represented a subculture of the broader host society from which they stemmed.

The American Collectivity

The overseas American collectivity emanated from a large scale society, not only in terms of population, ethnic heterogeneity, and territorial size, but in technological development as well. However, the overseas American community generally was more in the form of a "loose net-work" rather than a stable community with well-defined social boundaries, and it, too, represented a subculture of the American society in the overseas setting.

Only those communities where there were large concentrations of Americans had any visible outlines of a boundary maintenance system, and these included social clubs such as the American Society, the American Legion, the American Chamber of Commerce, and international organ-izations such as Kiwanis, Rotary, Lions, etc. The social leadership for the local American community was frequently occupied by a high-ranking U.S. government official. In

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other locations, where the schools had a small number of
American students, the outlines of the local American
community were blurred and diffused. There were few
American institutions aside from the American school.
Leadership for the American community was usually ascribed
to the U.S. resident with the longest tenure overseas, and
generally the American community was more likely to be
composed of long-term residents.

An analysis of the work roles of the Americans who
sent their dependents to the American schools further
identifies the parameters of the American community which
supports the school. (See Table 3.3)

From the data presented in the Table 3.3, it is
evident that the U.S. students were most frequently depen-
dents of parents whose work affiliations were business,
either corporate or private (1,546). Within Region I, 62
percent and in Region II, 22.1 percent were in this category.

The second most frequent parental work affiliation
was the "other" category; that is they were private or self-
employed work roles (676). Within Region I, 22.9 percent
and in Region II, 22.1 percent were in this category.

The third most frequent parental work affiliation
was government (553). If the schools were located in cities
in which there were U.S. Embassies or Consulates, there were
U.S. students whose parents had work roles associated with
the U.S. government. Within Region I, only 8.1 percent of

Table 3.3. Personal work affiliation of U.S. students.

	Region I								Region II				
	S		M		L		Total		S		M		L		Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		1	2	3	4	5	6

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Table 3.3. Parental work affiliation of U.S. students.

	Region I								Region II						
	S			M		L			S			M		L	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
U.S. Government															
Dept. of State															
Dept. of Defense, Peace Corps, etc.	-	-	-	26	15	-	111	152 (8.1%)	3	91	89	25	97	55	360 (32.7%)
Governments															
Host and Third Country National	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	11	9	2	-	41 (3.7%)
UN & International Agencies	-	-	-	-	2	-	5	7 (0.3%)	1	-	-	-	6	1	8 (0.7%)
Corporate Business															
U.S.-Owned or Affiliated	-	5	5	38	60	42	686	836 (44.4%)	21	66	33	52	58	46	276 (25.0%)
Business															
Local & Private Owned	-	16	4	98	3	17	195	333 (17.7%)	21	24	20	25	11	-	101 (9.2%)
Religious	-	7	19	24	19	27	28	124 (6.6%)	12	21	6	20	3	10	72 (6.5%)
Other															
Teachers, Farmers, Ranchers, Miners, Salesmen, etc.	6	16	24	19	207	-	160	432 (22.9%)	12	48	15	87	37	45	244 (22.1%)
Total	6	44	52	205	306	86	1,185	1,884	70	269	174	218	214	157	1,102

Source of data: Office of Overseas Schools.

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the dependents came from this sector, whereas in Region II,
it was substantially higher or 32.7 percent. In Region II,
3.7 percent had work affiliations with governments other
that the U.S. government.

Religious work affiliations were the next most fre-
quent parental work affiliation (196). In Region I, 6.6
percent and in Region II, 65. percent were in this category.

Parental work affiliations with the United Nations
or other international organizations were minimal (15).
Less than 1 percent in both Regions I and II reported
this type of work affiliation.

In summary, five out of ten U.S. students were
dependents of U.S. nationals who had business work affilia-
tions; two out of ten had governmental work affiliations;
seven out of one hundred had religious affiliations and two
in ten had "other" work roles.

The work patterns of the overseas American seeming-
ly was a function of the economic and social development
of the immediate locale. In the large industrial and
commercial centers, where the large and medium schools were
located, large proportions of the American community were
engaged in business or government work roles. In contrast,
in more underdeveloped localities, where the small schools
were located, members of the American community were more
likely to be involved in religious, agricultural, or
mining enterprises and few if any were associated with the
U.S. government.

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Implicit in these work patterns was the fact that some members of the overseas American communities were overseas by choice, while others were sent overseas by virtue of their work role. Frequently, for the up-and-coming executive in a large American organization, learning the foreign operation was described as a necessity and a stepping stone to future promotions back in the States. Collectively, these men performed a representative role for the respective U.S. vocational community--business, government, or professional-- within the host society and in this role they held a guest status. In a sense, they represented overseas the American economic, educational, and political elites.

Moreover, implicit in the American's presence overseas was his role as a representative of a foreign nation. The chief school administrators perceived this role as being significant to the Americans overseas and frequently referred to the idealized American image which the American parents tried to portray:

> The American parents try to give the best image of the U.S.
> We are in a foreign country and we don't want the image of the U.S. to suffer.

The representative roles, both in terms of the larger national collectivity of which they were a member and in terms of the business organization with which the American was affiliated, provided the individual American overseas

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with his social status within the local community. Typical comments made by chief school administrators were:

> Here in _____, the parents who are employed by the government (U.S.) are very socially prominent individuals.
> We have the children of the head of (U.S. firm) in our school. He is well known here.

From the chief school administrators' descriptions of the American collectivity within the binational community, a modal pattern emerged: The parents were highly educated; their life style overseas was similar to the host national who had children in the schools; they were involved in various social activities--for the women there were teas, PTA, canasta; for men, golf and hunting--not only in the overseas American community but also in varying degrees with the host national community, especially if they possessed a knowledge of the host national language. A principle focus for the American overseas was the American School and its activities.

The Third Country Collectivity

The third country parents came from some forty-five countries of the world. The regions represented were Europe (234), Mexico and Central America (165), South America (95), North America excluding the U.S. (58), East Asia (55), and the Near East (26). Although the third country national collectivity represented the smallest

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segment of the binational community which supported the school, this collectivity was almost three times larger in Region II than in Region I.

The third country students enrolled in these American schools were dependents of third country nationals who were engaged in various work roles in the wider community. (See Table 3.4)

The most frequent parental work affiliation of the third country student was the "other" category (253). In Region I, 25.1 percent, and in Region II, 48.5 percent were in this category.

The second most frequent parental work affiliation was business (242). Within Region I, 53.5 percent, and in Region II, 31.3 percent were involved in this type of occupational affiliation.

The third most frequent parental work affiliation was government (91). In Region I, 14.2 percent, and in Region II, 14.9 percent of the third country parents had work roles associated with government. There were, however, no reported work affiliations with the U.S. government in either region.

The United Nations work affiliation was the next most frequent work affiliation for the parent of the third country student. In Region I, 5.7 percent and in Region II, 5.1 percent were engaged in work roles in this category. It is significant to note that more third country parents were

Table 3.4. Parental work affiliation of third country students.

	Region I								Region II						
	S			M		L		Total	S			M	L		Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		1	2	3	4	5	6	
Government															
U.S.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Host or Third Country National	–	–	–	–	–	–	30	30 (14.2)	2	13	12	14	10	10	61 (14.8)
UN and International Agencies	–	–	–	–	6	–	6	12 (5.7)	–	5	–	–	7	9	21 (5.1)
Business															
U.S. Owned and Affiliated	–	–	–	–	10	3	51	64 (30.3)	3	6	9	13	13	12	56 (13.6)
Other Business Local and Private Firms	–	–	3	–	–	1	45	49 (23.2)	13	32	9	–	19	–	73 (17.7)
Religious	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	3 (1.4)	–	1	–	–	–	–	1 (0.2)
Other	–	–	12	24	6	–	11	53 (25.1)	3	15	28	83	54	17	200 (48.5)
Total	–	–	15	24	22	7	143	211	21	72	58	110	103	48	412

Source of data: Office of Overseas Schools.

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The least mentioned work affiliation for the third country parent was a religious work affiliation. In Region I, 1.4 percent and in Region II, only 0.2 percent were engaged in this type of work role.

In summary, four out of ten third country parents had work roles associated with business; four out of ten also had nonorganizational work affiliations; three out of twenty, a governmental work affiliation; and one out of twenty, an occupational affiliation associated with the United Nations.

Since the third country nationals in these schools represented 12 percent or less of the total student body, generally this collectivity went unnoticed by the majority of the chief school administrators. If noted, this collectivity was most frequently described as being "like the American community." It could be inferred that this implied that they were generally from the Western World with Anglo-Saxon origins since the predominant geographic region from which they came was Europe.

In summary, the binational community which supported these American-sponsored schools varied from locality to locality in terms of size, national composition, and the occupational affiliation of the parents who enrolled their children in the school. Generally, the host national

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constituency had the largest representation and the third country national constituency the least. Collectively, one out of ten parents had a governmental work affiliation; four out of ten, a business affiliation; five out of ten, a self-employed work role; one out of fifty, a religious occupational affiliation; and one out of one hundred thirty-nine, a United Nations or international organization occupational affiliation.

The members of these binational communities were engaged in transacting business associated with the economic, governmental, social, and cultural affairs in the wider international community. These binational communities were in large measure organized around plans, programs, and policies associated with the surge toward modernization of the host national societies. Moreover, the social contours in terms of size and composition of each binational community were a function of the degree and kind of interaction patterns of the wider societies which they represented.

Mobility, a Commonality of the Binational Community

One dominant characteristic shared by the binational communities in which the schools were embedded was the high degree of mobility among the membership. This mobility occurred as economic and political agreements changed, old contracts were terminated and new ones consummated, new

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plants were established, or changes in political administration or policy transpired.

The chief school administrators identified critical events in the locality that precipitated fluctuation in the binational community and its constituent parts. The administrators commented:

An alteration in the agricultural market here in _____ and a decrease in U.S. investments, as well as the departure of American cotton classifiers, brought about a decrease in the number of American families and school age dependents in the community almost overnight.
The nationalization of the light and telephone industry, the mining industry, and accompanying major technological changes mediated a decrease in the number of English-speaking dependents in the school. We now have an entirely new Spanish-speaking clientele.

In a provincial capital where governmental changes had recently occurred, another administrator commented:

We just had an influx of host national families here from _____. They accompanied the new governor.

In two localities that were undergoing industrialization, the chief school administrators commented:

We just had a new plant open, and we now have eight new American families with school-age children moving here from the States.
A new technical school is being built and staffed by the West German government. This means we will shortly be receiving some new German children.

The mobility of the binational community provided the schools with a consituency that was in perpetual motion and provided a social structure that the chief school administrators described in terms of two distinct generations: the "newcomers" and the "permanent colony."

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A Generation of "Newcomers"

This generation within the binational community was composed of those parents who recently enrolled their dependents in these transnational schools.

American.--The American "newcomers" were described by the administrator as those "who just came from the U.S." One man described the general pattern:

> The pattern seems to be that the father is transferred down here to work with an American or host national organization for a given period. Here in _____ , this appears to be for three or four years.

Most American "newcomers" enter their relationship with the school soon after arriving overseas. One administrator commented: "The first stop for these families once they arrive here in _____ seems to be the school." He continued: "These families seem to me to be quite naive about overseas life in general but in particular about the workings of the American school."

Host National.--There were two types of host national "newcomers" according to the chief school administrators. One type of "newcomer" was the host national who immigrated to this community to assume work roles and who enrolled their dependents in the school upon his arrival in the community. The

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second type of "newcomer" was described as the permanent resident of the community who recently became a member of the binational community by virtue of having enrolled his dependents in the school. Since the collectivity of host national "newcomers" has increased over the years as the number of host national students has increased, it can be inferred that the modern segment of the host national communities has broadened in scale and that the local American school is being viewed as an educational alternative for the dependents of host nationals. Moreover, the collectivity of host national "newcomers" was frequently described by the administrators as being "enthusiastic about the schools."

The Generation of "Old-Timers"

This generation was composed of those Americans and host nationals who had been associated with the overseas American school for long periods and in some instances, were actively involved in the initial establishment of the school. The school for the "old-timers," both American and host national alike, possessed a symbolic meaning that transcended them and was expressed with a legacy in the youth of the two groups. They possessed a more positive attitude toward the school and frequently expressed it in rather possessive terms, "our school." The chief school administrator's perception of this group was that "they feel that what we are doing is satisfactory, but of course,

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they have a framework from which to judge the progress of the school." Moreover, these "old-timers" frequently retained formal and informal affiliations with the school even after their children had graduated from the school.

The use of the title, "old-timer" and the length of time that the "old-timer" had been in the binational community, varied from locality to locality. In one location, "long-timers" were identified as those Americans who had been there seventeen plus years and who had been socialized into the binational community in an earlier period of social history. Also included in this category were those Americans who had lived abroad for many years even though they were new to the particular location; most frequently these individuals were government people, who one administrator noted, "appreciate our school, since most of them know what we are trying to do." In contrast, however, in some localities, five or more years qualified the individual for this "long-timer" title.

The host national constituency composed the largest proportion of the "long-timers" in the binational community. They generally had a more permanent standing in the community and their children remained in the school for longer periods of time.

In summary, it can be stated that the binational community which supported the American schools contained a highly mobile segment. The degree of mobility of the

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constituency within the binational community varied signifi-
cantly among the schools and produced a highly differential
pattern in terms of the mix and match of "newcomers" and
"old-timers." In general, the host national constituency
constituted the greater proportion of the "old-timers," while
the American constituency constituted the greater proportion
of the "newcomers." The interaction of these various com-
ponents within the binational community with the school and
the chief school administrator will be discussed in the
subsequent section.

The Relationship Between Segments of the Binational Community and the School

These thirteen institutions received their social
legitimacy from the parents within the binational community
whose children attended these schools. Sociologically, this
meant that the institutions were not embedded in any one
particularistic group but in a minimum of two or more social
groups. The conjugation of the schooling needs of two or
more disparate sociocultural communities within a binational,
"voluntary-like" organizational framework formulated a unique
and highly complex social arrangement, not peculiarly American
nor peculiarly representative of the host nation, but what
can be "considered as a new even advanced method" of schooling
classified by John Useem as a form of the "third culture."[2]

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This organizational arrangement that these American schools embodied presumed cooperation and reciprocity and the principle of coordinate type status with its implicit equalitarian relationships. The men interviewed in this study perceived their organizations as embodying these concepts. However, Useem has pointed out,

> . . . that they [the social system] are not [coordinate or equal] in actual practice in no way detracts from the statement of the ideal, it merely localizes and delineates where conflicts can and do occur and where appraisals and adaptations are made.[3]

As each new generation of Americans, host national, or third country parents established relationships with the school, the school's organization and program was subjected to analysis by each group based on the respective socio-cultural values of the wider society from which they stemmed. This in effect created a cyclic pattern of questioning which subsequently allowed sensitive issues to be repeatedly raised as the parents ebbed and flowed. In a sense, the institution had no adequate way to pass on the institutional history from one generation to another.

The Relationship of the American Parents

There was a consensus among the chief school administrators that the American parents constituted the most vocal, critical, and agressive group within the binational community with which they were required to relate.

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The American parent carried with him overseas definite attitudes and behavior concerning education. Among these were traditional ideals that are reflected in the American culture, namely: that education is a public concern, that education is valued to the degree that the community imposes self-taxation, and, that education is perceived as a cooperative venture with parents participating both in decision-making process in determing school policy and in voluntary type organizations such as PTA, homeroom mothers, booster clubs, etc.

However, in the overseas American schools, where two competing education systems were incorporated in the organizational structure and where the institutional integration was contingent primarily upon the consensus of the two disparate social groups, these traditional ideals and reality frequently seemed in conflict for the parent and dysfunctional for the chief school administrators. The chief school administrators pointed out that the American parents had difficulty in adjusting to the school:

> They all think this is an American school like those their children attended back in the U.S. They fail to realize we are operating this school in a foreign country.

Moreover, the overseas American parent was removed from the social order in which public education generally was conceived as a birthright. Although he voluntarily enrolled his dependent in the American school, this decision was not so much a matter of choice as it was determined by

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the circumstances of being overseas. This was made explicit

by one administrator:

> Here in _____ there are no other American schools
> so it is an either/or situation. Either their children
> attend this school or they have to be sent home. It
> means we have a percentage of people who will not be
> satisfied with our school.

The chief school administrators noted that the con-

flicts with the American parent frequently focused on such

matters as the use of the Spanish language in the classroom,

homework, the inclusion or exclusion of U.S. or host

national curricular elements. One administrator commented:

> The kids are adaptable. The parents cause most of
> the problems. We have to educate the parents that all
> of the nine grades have to take Spanish. It takes some
> doing.

However, conflicts also arose over such matters as a Fourth

of July picnic or as one chief school administrator related:

"They [the American community] take a dim view of the school

since we do not take part in the U.S. colony's activities."

The criticism of the American parents was perceived

by two administrators as manifestation of "deep guilt feel-

ings about having their children educated out of the U.S."

It seems as though they "somehow feel the children are

missing something," and they become disenchanted and "highly

critical" of the school and its program.

The administrators identified various pressure groups

within the American community and labelled them "the govern-

ment people," the "missionaries," "the business community,"

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and the "permanent residents." The efforts of one group to maintain or another group to initiate changes in the school's organization were described by the men as exerting considerable stresses and strains between segments of the American community, which not infrequently resulted in confrontations with the chief school administrator as the man-in-the-middle. The administrator's relationship with these groups was described as that of a mediator who was involved in efforts to secure some type of group consensus. An experienced administrator commented on such a position:

> You don't play one group against the other. It can lead to a very unpleasant social experience. You try to show need and convince them.

However, the administrators with little experience in working with consociate enterprises frequently found it difficult to "read and work through the power structure" and to effect a satisfactory solution to the problem.

One chief school administrator in a large school where there were few American students expressed his frustrations concerning his relationship with the local American community.

> I am at my wits end as to what to do for these people. They don't see the type of problem we are faced with. They somehow give the impression that we don't measure up.

These professional frustrations in turn affected him personally:

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Both groups say, "I know this is not your fault,"
but it upsets me emotionally . . . . It is also
upsetting because the few Americans here are a social
force on our family and social life. The children's
friends seem to change as the children come and go.
This affects all of us.

The administrators asserted that when a satisfactory

solution could not be reached between or among the various

segments of the American community, a schism often resulted

and other solutions were sought. These solutions took the

form of opening another "American school," the replacement

of a teacher, and not infrequently the voluntary or involun-

tary resignation of the chief school administrator. In all

instances, the men asserted a residue of feelings of

"injured merit"; that is, feelings of hurt were experienced

by those who urged change and also by those individuals

whose efforts had in a sense "built the school."

In contrast, however, the administrators did indi-

cate that there were segments of the American community

who were in a sense "satisfied" with the schooling arrange-

ment in the American school. They commented:

There are some who are indifferent here in _____.
We're taken for granted as long as we remain solvent.
There's a segment that feels we're doing the best
we can under the circumstances.
The permanent community is more possessive and the
temporary community is more critical of and frustrated
about the school.

In summary, the conflicts which the chief school

administrators encountered with the U.S. parents generally

centered upon the U.S. parents' perceived discrepancies

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The Relationship of the
Host National Parents

There was a consensus among the chief school adminis-
trators that these American schools as social institutions
were accepted and favorably legitimated by the host national
parents whose dependents attended the school. Typical com-
ments of the administrators' perceptions of the host national
parents' acceptance were:

> There is a good feeling here towards our school.
> They think the school is a good school in terms of our
> plant, our educational program, and our administration.
> If we took a poll among our host national community,
> I am certain we would be considered the best school.

Two-thirds of the administrators imparted meaning to
the public act on the part of the host national parent in
sending their children to the school. This act to the
administrators reflected the host national parents' posi-
tive acceptance of the school, especially since other means
of schooling were available for their children.

The chief school administrators indicated that they
felt the principal reason that the host parents selected the
American school as the source of formal schooling for their
dependents was because it provided instruction in the English
language. A typical response follows: "Here in _____ we

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are known as the 'best school' where the host national parent
can send their children to learn English."

Moreover, attendance at these private schools, the
chief school administrators asserted, carried with it an
ascribed status of prestige for the parents in the local
community.

> There was kind of a social status that is attached
> to attending the American school.
> It is a status symbol. It is expensive. It has a
> reputation of being bilingual.

The administrators further defined this prestige image in
terms of the socioeconomic and political position of the
host national parents whose dependents attend these schools.
"We have the governor's children attending this school."
In addition, the institutional prestige was also defined by
the men in terms of the identity that the school had with
the larger American society. "To the people here in _____,
we represent the U.S."

Although the majority of the chief school administra-
tors felt the school's relationship with the host national
community was cordial and characterized by mutual respect,
three men felt that within the host community there was a
negative connotation associated with being an "American
school" in a foreign country. One man described this nega-
tive aspect:

> There was a feeling that this school was an American
> agency of this rich country from the North and the thing
> to do was to tear it down in every conceivable way.

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In the administrators' descriptions of their relationship with the host national segment of the binational community, a bimodal pattern emerged: those men with lengthy tenure described one type and the "short termers" another.

Five men who had lengthy experience in their schools commented: "They [the host nationals] want to see me, the jefe [chief], to see if something can be done about their problem." One man continued.

> As you perhaps know, the Latin American political process is somewhat different than we gringos are accustomed to and it takes some getting used to. . . . After I recognized that this was a game people played, I had to learn to live with it. Some parents, usually those who feel they should be given special treatment about one thing or another come in here spouting off steam, but since I know how they think, I let them get it out of their system so to speak. I can play the game, too, especially since I speak Spanish and this usually takes some of the sting out of their visit.

Another commented:

> They come to discuss problems about placement. They seem to accept my views and authority as director of the school. You see we spend a great deal of time talking to people. . . .

An administrator who felt acceptance and approval from the host national community commented:

> They [host nationals] see me as a member of their group . . . thus making my position different than the director who exercises exclusive authority.

The authority that the long-term chief school administrators held was primarily contingent upon the wider host national community's "acceptance" of the administrator and

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upon his social-personal identity in the local community that
"growing up with the institution" had provided. In contrast,
the new chief school administrator was in the process of
establishing some type of identity since his social and pro-
fessional credentials were as yet unknown to the host
community and he had not received their acceptance. One
short-term administrator commented:

> As a rule they [the host nationals] view the
> Director as a person who was not understanding of their
> problems--especially when it came to making exceptions
> to the rule.

The new chief school administrators described their
relationship with the host national segment of the binational
community as one accompanied by stress. Fifty percent of
the men mentioned that upon assuming the position, they
inadvertently utilized administrative techniques which were
perceived by the host nationals as a violation of propriety
and subsequently aroused hostility on the part of the host
national.

Ten men mentioned critical incidents in connection
with the collection of tuitions, the schools' principal source
of revenue. One administrator described a newly institu-
tionalized approach to the collection of tuitions:

> This year we started a new system. If the parents
> don't pay the tuition by the first of the month we send
> a reminder stating the amount due. Later in the month,
> we send a second reminder; and if by the later part of
> the month the tuition has not been paid we suspend the
> child from school.

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He continued by describing some of the conflicts which trans-

spired with the host parents:

> When I sent the first letter, you should have heard
> the crying. I received phone calls and letters. One
> parent called me and informed me he was going to take
> his kids out of school. Another person wrote a letter
> informing us he no longer was interested in handling
> school—or personal—related legal matters.

Another new administrator commented: "I sent a large number

of children home because the tuition had not been paid."

When these new administrators were asked how they

felt about handling these tuition-related problems, they

commented:

> In this job, you are not always liked by all the
> segments of the community.
> I didn't have any other recourse. I felt badly
> about it at first, but I later came to realize that
> this tendency for nonpayment of bills was culturally
> determined. It certainly was an anxiety-laden experi-
> ence and I hated to repeatedly face this situation.
> After a while you learn that a certain percentage and
> a certain few are always going to be in the "no payment"
> category. They learn to live with it, so I have to,
> too.

It should be noted that examples of Americans becoming

indignant about tuition-related problems were also reported,

but that the administrators did not perceive their complaints

in the same light. They asserted that they could at least

talk with the Americans and come to some type of understanding.

The short-term administrators reported other con-

flicts over student-related problems which resulted as a

violation of culturally determined norms with the host

national segment of the binational community. Seven

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mentioned problems about grades--it was customary not to
fail any student whose grades would reflect upon or challenge
his parents' social standing. Five mentioned problems con-
cerning admission of students; and four mentioned problems
concerning grade placement of students (these will be dis-
cussed in detail in the student section). Three recounted
problems concerning granting permission for absences not
related to illness--it was customary for parents to permit
students to be absent preceding the examination period, for
shopping trips to large cities, or to extend a vacation
period for personal convenience.

It should be noted that a small portion of the
administrators, usually those in large schools, had minimal
direct contact with the host national parents because the
responsibility had been delegated to a subordinate. Eight
men within this category characterized themselves as "non-
Spanish speakers" and thus they were dependent upon someone
in the organization to translate their personal and public
communication, which often caused great frustration for the
men, as this comment notes:

> I would try my hardest to get Miss X to make a
> literal translation for me, but at a certain point in
> the conversation, she would take over the conversation,
> elaborating, and interpreting my own and her ideas.
> This type experience was exceedingly frustrating because
> I could not confirm what message was transmitted.
> However, my limited knowledge of the host language
> also had its advantages because I received only a
> limited number of complaints directly from the national
> parents; only the more severe cases reached my attention
> as they had been screened and interpreted by the time I
> got them.

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The use of an interpreter was not perceived by some administrators to be problematic. One administrator made this view explicit: "The effects of having a host national 'telling' a host national often helped to resolve sensitive matters." Another administrator perceived the interpreter as acting like a psychological and sociological "buffer" between them.

The individual in the position of chief school administrator in these schools was ascribed a relatively high status within the wider host national community as well as the wider social system. All these chief school administrators described a social affiliation with prominent host national citizens and described how some of these individuals served as a systemic linkage mechanism in solving some of their administrative problems. The nature of these informal relations was variously described.

> Since we have Mr. _____'s daughter in our school, I have developed a personal relationship with him and when I need some help on certain matters that relate to _____, I call him and he usually helps me.
> We wanted to plant some shade trees at the school. Mr. _____ who had two children in the school was in charge of the State tree nursery, and we went to see him. He supplied us with the trees and in addition sent over a horticulturist to advise us on the planting of them.

Another administrator commented that a "chance remark" at a social reception provided the key to solving a long-standing school-community problem.

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These examples support Chester I. Bernard's notion that "informal organizations are necessary to the operation of formal organizations."[4] To these transnational schools which lack administrative support systems, these relationships were cited as being vital to maintaining organizational balance and, in some instances, the survival of the institution.

The Relationship of the Third Country National Parents

The majority of the chief school administrators were not usually fully aware of the extent and nature of the relationship of the third country parent with the school. Often they paused before they could identify and even relate any information about this group. A possible explanation is that this collectivity was numerically insignificant in the individual school. Possibly another reason for this group escaping their attention is implicit in the comment of one man: "The third country parents here in _____ were more like the American." Thus for the men, this group was indistinguishable in terms of their relationship to the school and the administrator.

Summary

The men responsible for the administration of these schools were confronted with the task of defining in a meaningful and satisfactory manner the school's role within

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and between the disparate segments of the highly protean local and international binational community. This task of maintaining the institution in a semblance of organizational balance between the sociocultural influences was frequently perceived by the men as "the hardest part of the job" and an artful task which they labelled personally as profession- ally "challenging" and "exciting" but one of the most difficult tasks they had ever encountered, especially in recognition of the absence of any international legal agree- ments associated with the educating of the young of two cultures. These schools in a real sense were social institu- tions posited in social space characterized as institutions in limbo.

These American schools as complex organizations held no power with which to organizationally integrate themselves. Rather, they were dependent upon the consensus among segments of the binational community as a means of integration. The conditions of what constituted a consensus varied in part with the scope, scale, and complexity of the wider social milieu and what constituted a consensus at that point in time.

It can be established that the parents of the students who attended these thirteen American schools shared a set of common values and expectations which in turn provided the institutions with a form of social consensus if not complete agreement on what constituted a satisfactory means of formal schooling. The modal pattern of the elements which the

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binational community shared included: (1) attendance in the
school by children and youths of both genders, (2) the
absence of any formal religious teaching, (3) the utilization
of both English and Spanish languages as media of instruc-
tion, (4) the incorporation of curricular elements from both
host and U.S. educational systems in varying quantities and
forms within the educational program, and (5) the incorpora-
tion of cultural symbols of both the host and foreign culture
into the institution. Collectively, these formulated the
ideals and behavior which constitute the elements of the
third culture and the social legitimacy of these trans-
national institutions.

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FOOTNOTES, CHAPTER III

[1] John Useem, Ruth Hill Useem, and John Donoghue, "Men in the Middle of the Third Culture: The Roles of American and Non-Western People in Cross-Cultural Administration," Papers in International & World Affairs, Michigan State University, Series #3, 1967, pp. 169-179.

[2] John Useem, "Work Patterns of Americans in India," The Annuals, Vol. 368, November 1966, p. 148.

[3] John Useem, Ruth Hill Useem, and John Donoghue, "Men in the Middle of the Third Culture: The Roles of American and Non-Western People in Cross-Cultural Administration," Papers in International & World Affairs, Michigan State University, Series #3, 1967, p. 6.

[4] Chester I. Bernard, The Function of the Executive (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1938), p. 123.

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CHAPTER IV

WORK-RELATED INTERACTION WITH

THE BOARDS OF GOVERNANCE

Introduction

The American schools in this study received their

social legitimation from the social collectivity discussed

in the previous chapter, namely the binational community.

However, for these American schools to carry out their

schooling function a form of social arrangement was required

that would provide the school with a work organization which

would contain elements of "specialization, a hierarchy of

authority, a system of rules, and impersonality."[1] Toward

this end each school sought to devise a formal corporate

organizational structure and this structure was effected

through the mechanism of the host nation's legal system.

The organizational patterns that emerged in these

third culture institutions were highly differentiated between

and among the schools. This diversity in patterns not

only supports Cleveland's premise that, "bureaucracy is

indigenous to its own culture,"[2] but supports Eisenstadt's

assertion that a development of a highly specialized

bureaucratic pattern within the organization in the

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cross-cultural setting is dependent upon "conditions" and the organizational structure develops not by chance but through interaction between the organization and its environment.[3]

Although the organization patterns were diverse, nevertheless there emerged a dominant unit within each organization that was responsible for the actual operation of the school, namely the Board of Governance. It is the parameters of this group as it functioned within the infrastructure of the school and the chief school administrator's interaction with this group that will be the focus of this chapter.

The Legal Structure

The thirteen overseas American schools were organized around two corporate arrangements. They were incorporated under the legal code of the host country in which they were located as private foundations designated as civil associations (Associación Civil) or solely as civil associations (Associación Civil). The civil association (Associación Civil) throughout Latin America is an organizational structure which resembles the legal form of corporation practiced in the United States; however, its

> . . . powers and liabilities of its members and representatives are more nearly related to those of a partnership from which they differ in that they have no delectus personarum, and in the fact that authority as to the public is in its officers and not in the general members.[4]

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Each of these corporate arrangements was established under a written incorporation agreement known as a "constitution" or "Articles of the Association." The legally determined purpose of these institutions was purported to have an educational or cultural end. Although the schools were legally incorporated and were designated as non-sectarian and nonprofit institutions, rarely were they granted a tax-exempt status by the host country.

This corporate form of organization, in large measure, determined the nature of governance of the school and helped to determine the characteristics of the work organization itself and the relationship that these institutions maintained in the wider cross-cultural setting. To get some notion about the nature of the inner workings of the transnational civil association organization, the administrators were asked to describe its structure.

Association Membership

The respondents cited two basic patterns of membership within the civil association: "open" membership and "restricted" membership.

Open Association Membership

This pattern was reported by five chief school administrators in describing the respective school's association. Association membership was described as "open" in

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the sense that participating membership in the association was automatically conferred upon all the parents or guardians of the children enrolled in the school. In addition, one school granted participating membership privileges in the association to individuals who had graduated from the school. This collectivity of individuals comprised a voting constituency within the general membership of the civil association, and it was from this electorate constituency that individuals were chosen to serve on the school's governing unit, the Board of Directors. The election of members for this governing board occurred annually, in most instances, at the general meeting of the association.

Although some of these transnational associations by practice or legal designation prescribed that membership on the governing board be in a fixed ratio of national representation, some reported that there were no provisions of this nature.

It should be noted that the practice of electing representatives from the constituency served by the educational institution to serve as the major administrative body of an educational institution is characteristic of and peculiar to U.S. education law and custom. In contrast, in Latin America, control of education is centralized in the provincial and federal government's Department of Education rather than in local boards of control.

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Restricted Association Membership

The second organizational pattern reported by eight chief school administrators was a restricted membership arrangement.

Association membership was restricted in the sense that the associations utilized clusters of criteria for membership into the corporate group, in combination with or exclusive of the criterion of having a dependent enrolled in the school as practiced by the open association membership schools. Some of the criteria for participating membership were nationality, purchase of corporation shares or bonds, or payment of association dues.

Under this association membership arrangement, the association functioned as the "trustee" or sponsoring organization of the school, and this group, in turn, "elected or selected" the individuals who would serve as members of the governing board of the school. Board members were either elected or selected from the membership of the association or foundation.

The high degree of differentiation in association membership patterns was manifested both implicitly and explicitly in the responses to the question, How are members of the governing board chosen?

In one school, where purchase of shares was a criterion and the individual or corporation who purchased the

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shares selected the individual who would represent him or it within the association, one chief school administrator reported:

> The "Board of Founders" was until recently limited to American citizens or representatives from American industrial firms located here in _____. However, as the American firms became nationalized, the school board shares purchased by the firms enabled them to designate who will represent them. We now have a few host nationals on the Board.

Implicit in this example was the effect that increasing industrialization in the host nation as well as nationalization of foreign firms had on the membership structure of the school's civil association.

One administrator who had been in the position for twenty-four years recounted not only how the members were selected, but also how the association had altered its structure.

> Our Board members are chosen from the association, and those same five men have been on the Board since I became the Director. We had the share idea here in _____. It was a way of creating an identity between the school and the shareholder, but it implied that money bought the voting privilege. We have done away with the share requirement.

Another administrator indicated that the school endeavored to have representation from the U.S. government:

> We always try to keep someone from the U.S. Embassy on our Board. It helps us maintain a liaison with the government people.

In two schools where association and Board membership were on an invitation basis, the administrators

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indicated that they participated in the selection process by

"suggesting names to the Board." They commented:

> I chose them [for nomination] because they think
> like I do [by inference this reduced conflict].
> I suggest to the Board names of persons who I feel
> would strengthen the Board. They [the Board members]
> suggest names; and then they [the Board members] select
> the individual who will do the best job.

In one school which had experienced an organizational

crisis, the school's foundation was undergoing a major policy

reorganization and was being governed by an Administrative

Council composed of local, socially and economically promi-

nent U.S. and host national citizens who had been appointed

to the office by the sponsoring foundation of the school.

In summary, the civil associations as a means of

organization, the association membership criteria, and the

selection methods utilized to determine the governing body

of the schools collectively have served as functional mech-

anisms that have influenced the organizational patterns of

these transnational schools.

The criteria for membership within the restricted

association produced a Board of Directors composed of

"select" individuals. However, those schools practicing

open membership had a group of "select" Board members as

well. In those schools, where membership into the associa-

tion was available to those who had children enrolled in the

school, by the very fact that the schools were private

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ants of membership into the association.

The Nature of the Governing Boards

The governing boards in these thirteen American
schools possessed varying modalities in terms of size,
national composition of its membership, occupational affilia-
tion, and length of service of its members.

Size of the Governing Boards

A total of 115 individuals--108 men, 7 women--
comprised the population of the governing boards. These
boards varied in size from five to fifteen members; the
median size was nine members. (See Table 4.1) The large
size of the governing board was deemed essential by one
director:

> We have a large board because if we didn't it would
> be hard to get a quorum to conduct business. Many of
> the men travel nationally and internationally a great
> deal.

It should be noted that there were only seven women
board members, who served within three schools in Region I.
One woman was appointed to fill the unexpired term of her
husband, while the other women were selected seemingly
because the local binational community felt that a woman's
presence on the board aided in deliberations on educational
matters.

Table 4.1. Size

	1	2	3	
Male	4	9	9	
Female	1	-	-	
Total	5	9	9	

Source of Data:

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Table 4.1. Size of governing boards.

	Region I							Region II						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	T
Male	4	9	9	12	6	10	11	8	7	7	10	10	5	108
Female	1	–	–	2	–	–	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	7
Total	5	9	9	14	6	10	15	8	7	7	10	10	5	115

Source of Data: Office of Overseas Schools.

National Composition

The composition of these thirteen governing boards
varied in terms of the nationality of its members. One
governing board was composed entirely of U.S. citizens, ten
boards were binational, and two boards were multinational.
(See Table 4.2)

The distribution profile of the board members by
nationality establishes the fact that host country nationals
comprised half or more than half of the total board member-
ship in ten schools. U.S. citizens comprised a majority in
only three schools: one board was comprised entirely of
Americans and in two other schools, U.S. citizens comprised
over half the membership.

Table 4.2. National composition of governing boards.

Region I   Region II

Table 4.2. National composition of governing boards.

	Region I							Region II						
	S		M			L		S			M		L	T
Country of Origin	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	T
United States	1	4	2	9	3	2	15	3	4	3	5	4	2	57
Host Country	4	5	7	5	3	8	–	5	3	4	5	5	2	56
Third Country (Britain, France)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	2
Total Membership	5	9	9	14	6	10	15	8	7	7	10	10	5	115

Source of Data: Office of Overseas Schools.

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Occupational Affiliations

The governing bodies of these transnational schools were host national, American, and third country citizens, who were either engaged in or dependents of those engaged in private and public work roles in the respective overseas communities. These board members in the 1969-1970 school year maintained occupational affiliations that were categorized into government, business, and other. (See Table 4.3)

The categories of occupational affiliation in Table 4.3, when arranged in a hierarchical scale according to frequency, present a profile of the board members in these schools. The majority of the board members or seventy individuals had an occupational affiliation associated with business. This business designation included U.S., host national, and third country corporate and privately owned, industrial and commercial enterprises. Eleven schools had three or more individuals who had this type of occupational affiliation.

The second largest category was that designated "other." Twenty-seven individuals were engaged in private work roles which included physicians, dentists, ranchers, accountants, educators, as well as two who were associated with religious-affiliated work roles. An additional three were dependents of individuals so employed. Twelve schools had one or more members in this "other" category.

Table 4.1. Occupational affiliation, members of the governing boards.

	Region I			Region II		
	S	M	L	S	M	L

Table 4.3. Occupational affiliation, members of the governing boards.

	Region I							Region II						
	S		M			L		S		M		L		T
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Government														
U.S.	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	3	-	1	-	6
Host	5	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	9
Third	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Business	-	3	4	12	5	5	12	7	5	-	7	6	4	70
Other	-	5	4	2	1	5	2	1	1	3	3	2	1	30
TOTAL	5	9	9	14	6	10	15	8	7	7	10	10	5	115

Source of Data: Office of Overseas Schools.

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Government was the third largest category of occupational affiliation of board members, and five schools had board members in this category. Five male board members and the husband of one female board member were employed in nationalized industries. Four members were associated with high level operating units in the host government--Ministry of International Economy and International Commerce. Four schools had individuals on their respective boards who were U.S. government employees. In no instance were board members third country government employees.

Length of Service as Board Members

The membership pattern of the governing boards in these schools, in most instances, provided that the term of office on the Board be two to three years, and in an effort to give the organization a measure of continuity, these terms were staggered in eleven schools. However, in two schools, the entire governing boards were selected or appointed on an annual basis.

Although the length of the "official" term of office for the board members was reported to be two to three years, individual members were permitted to succeed themselves. Under this type arrangement, the same members were nominated and re-elected to office. One administrator indicated that some individuals had served on his governing board for

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"twenty or more years," and in four schools, "founding members were still serving on the board."

Turnover Patterns

To obtain some notion of the turnover pattern of the individual board members, the memberships of the governing boards serving for the school year 1968-1969 and 1969-1970 were compared. This comparison revealed that the turnover rate of board members ranged from none to complete turnover. In Region I, the rate of individual turnover ranged from 0 to 100 percent. Collectively, the median board membership turnover was 33 percent. It is significant that only one institution experienced a complete turnover of all governing board members, while two schools experienced no change in membership.

In the schools where board membership did change, the rate of change was less than half of the total number of members. Or stated another way, a total of twenty-two U.S. board members, nine host national board members, and one third country national board member terminated their membership on the governing board. These individuals were replaced on the boards by nineteen U.S. and twelve host national members. In addition, three U.S. and three host national members were added to the governing boards. A general pattern was observable; that is that when membership was held on the board by an American he was replaced by

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another American or when a host national board member termi-
nated his services on the board, he was replaced by another
host national. While it appeared that there was no differ-
ence in replacement as far as nationality was concerned, the
turnover rate for the American members on the board during
this period was 40 percent, while for the host national
the rate of change was 18 percent.

Frequently, the chief school administrators described
the board member turnover in terms of the social, political,
or economic events in the wider community.

> Last year we lost Mr. _____. He was a real
> driving force on the Board. He was transferred back
> to the States.
> The man [host national] who has been the treasurer
> of this school for years and years just got notifica-
> tion that he is being transferred in a few months. I
> don't know who will take over that thankless job.
> Our association and board used to have more American
> representation than it presently does. Years ago
> Americans occupied the top and middle managerial posts
> here in _____. Then the government [host nation]
> required that _____ [host nationals] be employed in
> as many middle and upper managerial positions as pos-
> sible. This has affected the turnover and the composi-
> tion of our board and the student body as well.
> We had a man on our Board from AID. The contract
> on which he was working terminated and was not renewed
> by the host government. Unfortunately he had to leave
> before the end of the term.
> Our Board once had a member on it who worked for
> the U.S.-owned electric company. However, once the
> company was nationalized, he no longer was needed and
> the school lost an effective Board member.
> As you know last year we had a crisis here in
> _____ and an entire new board was elected. This took
> place in the wake of the war between _____ and _____.
> Here it is months later and they still are "going to
> elect a President and select someone to fill the vacancy
> on the Board." It makes it hard for me as director to
> get anything done.

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The transfer of individuals from employment in one location to another was frequently accompanied by the transfer from one American school to another. One administrator reported that one of his board members had been a board member in another American school.

The mobility patterns of the board members in large measure influenced the nature of the governing boards in these schools and produced generational patterns within and between board members in each American school. There were two basic categories: (1) those individuals, both U.S. and host nationals, who had established social and economic roots in the respective overseas community and who had served for lengthy periods on the governing boards; and (2) those individuals, frequently Americans and to a lesser degree host nationals, who were on limited assignments in that location and who served on the boards for short periods of time.

The individual board members of first or earlier generation served to pass on their experience in the administration of these schools to the new members since governing boards in most instances had few or no written policies and/or history. Since this transiency was greater among the American board members, frequently the host national board members evolved as the "experienced members of the board" and possessed the greater knowledge of the intricacies of the schools.

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The transient nature of the board members who per-
ceived by the administrators as affecting the work organi-
zation as well as the structure of the board. Fifteen chief
school administrators felt that the new board members
assumed their role with no knowledge about the intricacies
of the administrative matters of the school and the role
of board member. One long-term chief school administrator
described it in the following manner:

> Sometimes, these men get on the Board because they
> have an ax to grind and somehow they think we are not
> doing a good job. But after they get on the Board and
> find out what it is all about then they get scared.
> They find out running the school is not an easy job.
> It is my job to help orient these men to what we have
> been doing. In most instances, they have come around
> to our perspective and have in general turned out to
> be assets to the school.

Implicit in this statement, is the fact that these new
board members after having served on the board changed their
perspective of the school and administrator and that their
changed views became more congruent with the experienced
board members and the chief school administrators.

However, one chief school administrator with short
tenure in the position described the confusion and conflict
that evolved with change in membership on the governing
board in the school:

> Once we had some Americans appointed to the Board
> and I had quite a confrontation at the first board
> meeting that they attended. I happened to mention
> that Mr. _____'s kids had missed a lot of school.
> That did it. The whole matter was carried to extremes.
> . . . It set the tenor of our relationship for the

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remainder of his term of office. [The board member finally resigned from office prior to the expiration of his term.]

Although board turnover was generally viewed as problematic, in those schools where there had been no turnover of board members, this "no turnover" was viewed conversely both favorably and unfavorably. One long-term chief school administrator in a large school perceived the positive aspects:

> The men on this board have been members for many years, and we work well together. This long association has given them a history.

Yet, a chief school administrator with limited tenure in a small school commented on the negative aspects of no turnover.

> As you know, the entire school board here in _____ is composed of members of the _____ company and they have been on the board for ages. They no longer have children in the school. I have problems communicating with them. I can't get them to see the real needs that I have. . . . This is the situation that I inherited.

Summary

From the data presented, it can be concluded that the members of the governing boards are multinational and modern oriented; that is they are highly educated and highly mobile. Moreover, they are a highly select group of individuals who represent varying segments of the overseas binational community. One chief school administrator

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characterized his board: "As a group, they are keen thinkers. They are progressive."

However, the governing board member frequently assumed his official role on the board with limited knowledge of past events associated with the development of the school. This condition frequently led to conflict within the board and with the chief school administrator.

The Governing Boards at Work

The governing boards of these schools served as the principal administrative body in these transnational institutions and were responsible for determining the internal matters of the school, particularly its financial solvency and its overall management. To obtain some notion about the nature of this administrative unit as it functioned within the school and the chief school administrator's role in this administrative unit, the administrators were asked a series of questions concerning the board's organizational structure, the administrative process, and the relationship that the administrator had with the board and its members. The responses provided the data for the ensuing discussion.

The Organizational Structure

The organizational structure of the governing board, which the chief school administrators described, followed various patterns. In general the organizational structure

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was contingent upon the size of the institution and the degree of institutionalization of the school.

In the larger schools, the board organizational structure tended to be highly differentiated with definite divisions of labor. One large school board had a president, a first vice-president, a second vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and ten members who were each on one of the five standing committees of the governing board. Nine schools had governing board organizations which included president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer. However, a more diffuse board organization pattern prevailed in three schools; each contained only two offices, specifically the president and secretary-treasurer.

The chief school administrators reported five of the governing boards contained office designations that reflected the Hispanic culture. Three boards contained the office of vocál; in one school this office functioned as the form of an ombudsman between the PTA and other organizations which did not have representation on the board. In another school, the vocál designation was used to identify alternate members of the boards. One governing body contained the office of commissary (comisario), which was the designation given to an individual who was appointed to represent an employer's interests. Moreover, in another school where a close relationship between the host national government and the school was maintained, the board contained

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the office of <u>syndic</u>. This office was occupied by an individual who was an official representative of the host national government.

In comparing the nationality of the board member and the office within the governing board, no dominant pattern emerged. The office of president of the board was held by eight U.S. citizens, one of whom was a woman, and five host national citizens. (See Table 4.4)

Table 4.4. Gender and nationality of president of the board of directors in the schools.

	Region I							Region II						
	S		M		L			S	M		L			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	T
U.S.	–	–	–	M	M	M	F	M	M	–	M	–	M	8
Host National	M	M	M	–	–	–	–	–	–	M	–	M	–	5
														13

Source of Data: Office of Overseas Schools.

The governing boards of these American schools selected and employed the chief school administrators in this study to serve as the executive officer of the transnational school. These administrators were to "run the school" and were employed on the assumption that the

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individual's training and experience were transferable to this cross-cultural setting. The occupants of the office of chief school administrator were required to work in conjunction with the governing boards and together they formed the dominant administrative unit of the school.

Factors Associated with the Administrative Process

The manner in which the governing boards transacted the individual school's business varied among the schools and ranged from a highly formal or structured form to a very informal one. The board meetings in the larger schools were reported to be regularly scheduled events and highly formalized. The president of the board presided over the meeting and a quorum of members was required to officially transact business. The board's internal organization was functionally oriented in the sense that the business of the school was transacted through a series of standing committees. Moreover, the board had established policy guidelines and worked within these guidelines when transacting its business. The chief school administrators who worked with boards that had this type work organization perceived their role within the board meetings as that of an advisor and executive. The comments of one administrator illustrate this perception:

> I present my report at the meeting and help other board members prepare theirs if they don't have time. It really doesn't matter who gets the credit if the

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and give my professional advice.

It should be noted that at the time of this study,
there were only three schools in which the governing board
had written and classified policy and procedural guidelines
out of which the administrative units--board and administra-
tor--operated. Shortly after this study a fourth school
compiled its formalized set of policy guidelines. Where
the board had defined its procedures and its policies, the
administrators had a definite role to play, as indicated by
one administrator: "They [the board] make the policy, I am
the one to carry it out."

In contrast, the mode of transacting business within
the board in the small and medium-sized schools tended to
be less structured and more informal. Meetings were more
likely to be convened to solve a crisis that confronted the
school rather than on a regularly scheduled basis. This
pattern was explicitly described by one chief school admin-
istrator:

> I was on the job for six months and tried to get
> the board to meet on a monthly basis to talk about the
> school's problems, but I could only get them to meet
> once during this period. . . . However, when I told
> them I was resigning, we had four meetings in a short
> period of time as we tried to find someone to replace
> me.

Since the degree of institutionalization was less,
and policy guidelines were minimal or nonexistent in many
schools, the administrators when confronted with this

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situation defined their role within the administrative

structure as one of simply "keeping things moving," some-

times on a day-to-day basis. One administrator described

the mechanism he employed to "keep things moving" in his

school:

> When I first got on the job, I made the mistake of
> informing them [the board] in good democratic fashion
> that we needed money for _____. We spent the whole
> night discussing this, in terms of whether the school
> needed this. Next time, I made the decision and then
> told the board we needed money to cover the debt. This
> method brought results in decision making.

Language

Since the governing boards were a binational or multi-

national group, the administrators were asked what language

was used in conducting the school business. Only two boards

were reported to utilize only English. The dominant pattern

was that both English and Spanish were utilized in the com-

munication process and that the specific language used

depended upon the conditions that occurred in the meetings.

These comments illustrate the conditions:

> When I see frowns on their faces, I switch languages,
> but most of the time we understand each other.
> We had one American on the Board who did not speak
> Spanish despite his lengthy tenure in Latin America.
> So we had to stop every once in a while to make sure
> he understood.
> If we have a mixed group and Spanish speakers are
> present, we usually use Spanish since this facilitates
> the business proceedings.

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The criterion for the language used in the communicative process seemed to be "understanding," and at times both languages were utilized. One administrator explained:

> When we get mad at board meetings, we switch back and forth. . . . If we want to make a point at the meeting we use the language that seems to give the best meaning.

He further described how language complicated the administrative process: "On occasion we do get all tangled up in translation problems and it takes hours to conduct the meeting."

These comments serve to illustrate that language influenced in varying degrees the deliberation process of the governing board and not infrequently caused confusion and stress for the boards as they conducted the business affairs of the school.

Influences on Decision Making

The mode of transacting business within the governing boards varied from school to school. Those boards which had established policy and procedural guidelines utilized these in the decision-making process. However, where no policy or procedural guidelines existed, the administrators identified the host country's legal codes under which the school must operate and the dictates of social custom as serving as the basic mechanisms utilized in the decision-making process.

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In some instances, legal precedent resolved the issue, but the same issue in another school might be resolved by social custom. Hence in actual practice there was a vacillating between these two mechanisms or a combining of the two. For example, in resolving issues concerning the language to be utilized as the medium of instruction--a problem mentioned by fifteen administrators--education law dictated that host national history, geography, and civics be taught in Spanish, yet social custom dictated that the children should also learn English. Hence incorporated in the decision-making process was the accommodation of the priority demands made by host national, American, or a segment of both groups.

The chief school administrators implied that when the boards were transacting the school's business there was no competition among the individuals or groups within the board to impose its sociocultural demands and inferred no conflicts occurred in the board meetings. One administrator even asserted,"We are above that." Nevertheless, conflicts did occur. One director indicated how his board tried to avoid conflict in the formal board meetings: "We try to stay away from touchy issues." Three other administrators, who perceived the decision-making process within the board as not being firmly institutionalized, indicated that conflicts within the board had caused schism in the board, sometimes along nationality lines.

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The majority of the chief school administrators asserted that disagreements in the board meetings were resolved "through discussion," but hastened to point out that this meant temporary delay or postponement until "full agreement" was reached. One administrator's description of this process reflected the feeling of the majority of respondents:

> I suppose we try to solve problems the same way as in any democratic organization, voting for and against. On the other hand, there was always a rather thorough discussion of matters and I think in this experience more than in my previous experience at _____, there would be more unresolved questions. . . . We will think on this and see what comes of it.

It should be noted that the temporary delay or postponement in decision making on issues in general but more specifically where controversy is apt to prevail was congruent with both American and host national cultural norms. For the American, the filibustering technique was an accepted way of delaying resolution, while for the host nationals postponement until a later day was an appropriate technique in conflict situations. This delay technique in problem resolution was perceived by the chief school administrator as being employed if the conditions for problem resolution were not thought to be "just right" in terms of the contingencies of the moment.

It should be noted that this delay in problem resolution placed these schools in a state of perpetual limbo and receiving crises. It also imposed stress and uncertainty

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The issues which the administrators described as frequently evolving as sources of conflict centered on what Useem identified as "critical personal issues" for the members of the board.[4] Five administrators mentioned issues related to the alternation of the school lunch hour from the traditional mid-day break (the host national custom) to a shortened lunch period (more in accord with U.S. custom). Thirteen mentioned issues related to the language utilized as the medium of instruction. Six mentioned issues related to the inclusion of or exclusion of certain curricular elements. Two mentioned issues related to the daily opening and closing of school. Two mentioned issues related to the wearing of a student uniform and one mentioned issues related to conducting religious classes in the school. Four mentioned issues related to busing. The resolution of these problems was seen as frustrating and stress-laden, yet the resolution of such issues was vital to the organizational balance and even the survival of the institution itself.

A possible explanation of the governing board's reticence in making decisions was made explicit in the conversation with one American board member. He stated:

> I am here on a permanent basis: my family lives here and my business is here. Everytime something happens in the school, I hear about it in my business and social contacts. When the school is not administered well, it affects me because the education of my

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kids is at stake and my business as well. I can not afford to have trouble. I have enough trouble keeping things running at the plant.

Since the lives of the board members--American, host national, and third country alike--were imbedded in the wider binational community, the policy decisions, the general image of the school, and the overall management of the school, it can be conjectured, affected the socioeconomic relationships of these individuals and frequently served to inhibit or advance the decision-making process in the school.

Securing the Financial Resources

Although the chief school administrators recounted numerous problems which the boards had to resolve, the dominant problematic area mentioned dealt with the financial solvency of the school. It is this area that will be discussed to show the complexities of the problems confronting the board and the administrator.

The American schools in this study were all private schools and in each, the board was responsible for the school's financial resources and held the ultimate power and authority in terms of the school's fiscal policy. Even though the financial structure and status of the schools were reported to be highly complex and highly differentiated among the schools, all the administrators reported that the schools were dependent upon three sources for their financial

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resources: tuition, grants-in-aid from the U.S. government, and donations. (See Table 4.5)

From Table 4.5, it is evident that tuitions constituted the largest portion of the school's financial income (58-89.5%), while donations constituted the smallest portion (0-9.4%).

Tuitions

The tuitions charged in these schools varied significantly (see Table 4.6) and were continuously being reviewed by the school board as it tried to maintain the school's financial solvency while simultaneously trying to provide the students with educational services.

The administrators felt segments of the board and of the binational community held differential notions of what constituted "legitimate" sums of money for tuition for educational services. What was considered "legitimate" by one group was not considered "legitimate" by another group. The aggregate influence of one segment of the binational community upon the tuition was explained by one adminstrator in a large school which was supported by a binational community that was about evenly divided between U.S. and host nationals.

Here in _____ we are known as the most expensive
school. We feel we have gone about as far as we can go
on tuition. You see there is a differential in the
resources of the host national and the American. You
can only raise tuitions so far before you strike resent-
ment.

Table 4.5. Sources of financial income in school year 1969-1970 as expressed in terms of percentage of total budget.

Table 4.5. Sources of financial income in school year 1969-1970 as expressed in terms of percentage of total budget.

	Region I							Region II					
	S			M		L		S		M		L	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6
Tuition	58.0	69.0	89.5	73.0	84.2	69.9	61.8	66.5	80.1	77.8	71.2	88.4	83.6
Grant-in-Aid													
U.S. Govt.	24.6	15.6	6.4	8.7	-	4.9	4.2	14.6	4.5	8.1	2.6	1.1	4.7
Host Govt.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.5	-	-	-	-	-
Donations	9.4	2.5	-	0.8	-	4.9	2.5	1.9	2.1	0.5	3.9	1.6	1.6
Other	8.0	12.9	4.1	17.5	-	20.3	31.5	17.5	13.3	13.6	27.3	8.9	10.1

Source of Data: Office of Overseas Schools.

Table 4.6. Average annual tuitions (school year 1969-1970) expressed in dollars.

	Region I							Region II					
	S			M			L	S		M			L
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6
Elementary	86	152	120	500	330	150	400	325	415	275	213	330	365
Secondary	96	200	175	700	492	220	575	495	490	375	293	660	575

Source of Data: Office of Overseas Schools.

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Seven administrators noted that lay board members of both nationalities wanted optimal educational services for the least amount of money. The administrators asserted that this basic attitude was shared by segments of the wider binational community. Hence the process associated with determining the tuition scale in the individual school was considered by the administrators to be in large measure one of accommodation. Implicit in accommodation were:

> . . . permanent or temporary termination of rivalrous interaction which, while not necessarily settling the issue involved in the rivalry, permits the rivalrous parties to function together without open hostility.[5]

The tuition scales were in a sense the difference between what the board perceived the local constituency would allow and what the chief school administrator recommended as desirable to provide his concept of "satisfactory schooling." This meant that in most instances the schools were considered overfinanced by local standards but underfinanced by U.S. standards. Six administrators commented upon this underfinancing due to local conditions. A typical comment was, "We don't charge enough for our services."

The presence of a dual set of standards contributed to confusion and misunderstanding associated with the matter of tuition. Useem has noted that frequently misunderstandings that arise in the transnational institutions center around the imagined financial resources that an organization has at its disposal.[6] These administrators' comments support this premise:

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Our school is seen by a segment of the host national community as representing the big rich economic giant from the North. Consequently, their attitudes toward paying for the services are not always positive ones . . . .

Host national parents somehow get the feeling that since we are a private school and we are known as the "American school," we are by implication wealthy. The idea seems to circulate that we can thus be more lenient in terms of collecting tuition.

It should be noted that it was a social tradition, in most schools, that tuition be collected on a monthly or semi-annual basis. The administrative details of keeping the financial records for hundreds or thousands of students proved to be in itself a monumental endeavor, which one-third of the administrators identified as a problematic area in administering the school.

Grant-in-Aid

The second largest source of financial resources for these thirteen schools was the U.S. government grant-in-aid, which during the school year 1969-1970 constituted between 4.1 and 24.6 percent of the income in schools in Region I and between 1.1 and 14.6 percent of the income in Region II. (See Table 4.5). This financial resource will be disucssed in detail in Chapter VII.

Donations

The smallest amount of income for the school was derived from donations. This income comprised 0.8 to 9.4 percent of the individual school's operating budget in

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Region I and from 0.5 to 3.9 percent in Region II. The chief school administrators referred to donations as a financial resource in probablistic terms since it was a highly variable source of income from year to year and one which they could neither control nor predict.

Other Income

If the schools did not have sufficient financial resources from the combined sources--tuitions, grants, donations, the board was faced with the task of resolving a financial crisis. Hence other means evolved whereby additional funds could be secured. These means included: selling nonmaturing bonds, securing short-term loans from local, national, or international lending agencies, a surfee per student or family, etc. The "other" income comprised from 4.1 to 31.5 percent of these schools' operating budgets.

Various chief school administrators indicated that the schools had been involved in fund-raising activities on the local, national, or international levels. Local fund-raising activities--mediated by social custom--included: kermesses (bazaars); beauty queen contests, in which the queen was determined by the amount of money she raised; raffles; etc. Usually these affairs were dependent upon voluntary participation of Booster Clubs, etc. and the governing boards themselves were not in most instances directly involved. Rather, the chief school administrator

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was principally responsible for the supervision and management of these activities; the financial success of the event was largely dependent upon the imagination and energies of the local leaders. Fund-raising activities on the national or international level usually involved the wider business community and will be discussed in Chapter IX.

The Chief School Administrator's
Responsibilities in Financial
Affairs

The overall financial structure of these schools impinged differentially upon the boards and the chief school administrators and helped to determine the relationship between the chief school administrator and the board.

The chief school administrators asserted that the board retained the ultimate power and authority in terms of fiscal policies but that the chief school administrators had been delegated the responsibility for managing the financial affairs of the school. This task incorporated securing funds, controlling expenditures, and ultimately accounting to the board for the financial concerns of the school.

The administrators reported that this financial management function incorporated within it the responsibility for preparing the school budget either by himself or in conjunction with the school treasurer or finance committee. These school budgets were subsequently approved by the board. It was significant to note that fourteen of the

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twenty-two administrators indicated they had never prepared or administered a budget for an institution before assuming the role of chief school administrator.

The aggregate effect of these financial responsibilities upon the individual school administrator was that it imposed a set of dysfunctional roles. He was in a real sense a "determiner" of the quantity of funds since his professional judgment helped to determine what human and physical resources were required to operate the educational and administrative functions of the transnational institution. Moreover, he was in a real sense the "seeker" of funds since all the men reported they were responsible for securing the financial resources. These dual roles, the men felt, imposed a high degree of insidious stress.

The chief school administrator as a seeker of funds was engaged in a relentless struggle to secure funds to assure the institution's solvency and, in some instances, the institution's survival. The stress of this role was described by one administrator:

> The most difficult part of my work is getting enough money to make the payroll. There has been a continual crisis. No one else has to worry about it. No one else even knows about it. But every fifteen days for four years, I had a crisis on my hands. . . . Facing the parents when I told them we had to raise the tuition and when I knew they did not believe it, was the hardest part of this job. . . . These four years have been the most nerve racking of my entire life.

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The position of the chief school administrator was
highly vulnerable not only in the sense that he was deter-
miner and seeker of the funds but also in the sense that he
was subordinate to the board and was obligated to accept the
board's decisions concerning financial matters. Implicit
in the acceptance of the decision was the element of conflict,
especially if the administrator knew the decision restricted
the school's program as he perceived it. All the adminis-
trators asserted that they had encountered direct conflicts
with the board over financial matters related to salaries
of teachers, tuition charges, or expenditures. Four men
asserted that they had resigned from the position due to a
problem related to the financial status of the school.

Generally the chief school administrators reported
the lack of funds as a principal obstacle in managing the
school. However, the administrators with lengthy tenure
asserted that they had "learned to live with" the limited
financial resources and considered this condition a "chal-
lenge" to their ingenuity to solve the problem. One man
commented:

> Here you are a committee of one . . . . It takes
> a lot of my time to figure out ways of spending the
> limited resources so that we get our money's worth.

Another noted: "We are constantly planning and re-evaluating
our financial posture."

The chief school administrator, who successfully
secured and managed the financial resources of the school

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and thereby eliminated financial crises for the board, was able to establish his authority and power with the board. Those administrators who reported conflict with the board over financial matters did not manifest these characteristics.

The Chief School Administrators' Relationship with the Governing Boards

Professional Relationship

The administrator's perception of the position of chief school administrator and the board's perception of the position as well were open-ended and broad-aimed in terms of the definition of the job and jurisdictional areas. This condition precipitated a hierarchy of authority between the board and the chief school administrator that in most instances remained fluid and loose, and frequently was the source of conflict.

The overseas American schools were what one respondent described as institutions that were "everybody's business" and frequently board members acting individually or in groups would, or would attempt to, assume responsibilities for administrative matters. One chief school administrator with long tenure described how he coped with this authority crisis.

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Years ago our board was loosely organized and it operated differently. Now the board makes policy, but I carry it out my way. We don't have individuals coming in and telling the sub-headmaster to do something the way they wanted it done. I straightened them out on this. They used to get between me and the lower echelon, but now they are all businessmen and they understand the role of the organizational hierarchy.

Some administrators utilized another mechanism to resolve the authority crisis which emerged between the chief school administrator and the board. Two men recounted:

A month after I was on the job, I had enough of their meddling in the domain that I considered my right. So I just took the keys to the Board President's house and told him I was through. If they wanted to run the school . . . . This cathartic type of event climaxed and established my authority as administrator with this group at least for the time being.

I quit twice a year and they fire me twice. This helps them to know who is running this school.

The chief school administrators described their relationship with the board as being primarily professional in nature, and all the administrators indicated that the individual with whom they had the most frequent contact was the President of the Board. This relationship was variously described:

We work well together.

We are on the phone with each other almost on a daily basis. At times, _____ comes up to the school and we talk about the problems and how to solve them or I go down to his office. On occasion we have met in his home to discuss problems.

I always get together with the President before a board meeting. I propose a draft agenda and together we try to anticipate what to expect at the meeting. . . . Frequently there are items that he or other members want to get on the agenda.

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Frequently this relationship with the President of the Board held a special significance for the administrators. Since the overseas school was often not well defined in terms of the position it held in the overseas community and was not firmly established in terms of legal authority, the decision-making process was complex and cumbersome. The chief school administrator had few "significant others" and professional colleagues with whom he could discuss the affairs of the school, and frequently the President of the Board was one of these few. The comments of these administrators illustrate this point:

> We have a great Board President. He helped me to get organized.
> Mr. _____ has a real interest in our school.
> The Board President is one of the few persons who had demonstrated concern for the school.

The administrators reported that their working relationships with the board members varied in both form and degree. The administrators indicated that each board member had brought with him individual skills and knowledge as well as social, economic, and political status within the wider binational community and that each member performed a functional speciality within the school board organization. One administrator described the parameters of his work relationship with board members:

> When I need financial advice, SS helps me. When I need advice about how to solve a problem with the host government, this person helps me. When I have a problem with host parents, I depend upon _____ to help me solve my problem.

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Frequently, the individual board member lent not only his own individual resources and channels of communication to the school in the resolution of problems, but also made available to the administrator and the school the resources and information network of the organization with which he had his work affiliation. One administrator described how such a network aided in crisis management during a city-wide student strike:

> One evening, I got a call from a rough-voiced individual telling me to close the school or I would be sorry. Before I made a decision, I went to a member of the board, the U.S. Ambassador. We then talked to the military attache and the local police department. They suggested that we not close the school.

Other administrators indicated that through the board member's communication network, the school had "a bookkeeper to help set up a record-keeping system," "legal aid was given on immigration matters," "an engineer came over to help me design the school building," "some tables and chairs were repaired," "a plumber helped to set up the school's water system," "I got help to set up the playground," and "someone helped me build a basketball court." These resources were a significant contribution in the resolving of some of the practical and difficult problems that confronted the chief school administrator in operating a school overseas and serve to illustrate the extent of the administrator's function, particularly in the small school, where he saw himself as a "jack-of-all-trades." In essence, the

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school board members were functioning as a dimension of an administrative support system for the chief school administrator in these overseas schools, and were not functioning solely on a policy-making board.

Personal Relationship

When the chief school administrators were queried concerning the type of personal-social relationship that they maintained with the board members, the responses were varied. One administrator noted: "I don't have very much in common with them." Another administrator indicated that there was a personal dimension to the relationship, but that basically it was school related:

> Although our relationship is what you could call "personal," that is we call each other by first names, we don't have social relationships. I do quite a bit of memorandum writing. They respond by phone. It is not a familiar type relationship. But you see, I don't play golf or entertain either.

Still another administrator indicated the reason for his minimal social relationship with board members. He commented: "I don't see board members much socially because it causes problems and I am accused of showing favoritism." Another administrator indicated that his limited social relationship was due to a matter of acceptance in the community.

> There is a "we-you" division here between the "short" and permanent residents in the community. I am classified as a "short timer" and although I have been here a year and a half, I am an "outsider" to both the

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American and host national community. I have visited
in most of the American board members' homes at one time
or another, but we don't visit back and forth.

In one school where the governing board's internal organiza-

tion was minimal, the chief school administrator commented:

"We get together at Promotion exercises at the end of the

year. That is the extent of my relationship with the board

as a whole."

In contrast, there were those who maintained a more

extensive personal relationship with board members. Two

administrators with ten or more years experience in the

position commented:

I play golf with some of them and we meet at cock-
tail parties. On occasions we have visited with each
other.

. . . Out of session, I have a close personal contact
with several of the members . . . school affairs are
rarely discussed.

The relationship between the chief school adminis-

trator and the individual board members was predominantly

a professional one; sometimes personal in nature but gen-

erally school-related. Only infrequently was the relation-

ship social-personal in nature and, when it was, the basic

elements which helped to determine this social relationship

seemed to be length of tenure and acceptance in the community.

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Summary

The basic organizational structure of the trans-
national school was that of a civil association that was
legally established within the framework of the respective
host nation. The basic organizational unit which was
responsible for the school's administrative function and
financial solvency was the governing board. This governing
unit varied in composition and structure among the schools
and functioned independently, yet in all instances it was
this unit that engaged the chief school administrators in
these schools.

Authority crises between the board and the chief
school administrators were only one of the many conflicts
with which the board and the chief school administrators
coped. Conflicts and crises caused some boards to act;
others to delay action. But the resolution of the particu-
lar conflict or crisis was contingent upon the particular
conditions of the moment within the school and the community
and the priority demands of the various constituencies.
Hence it can be stated that implicit within the administra-
tion of the overseas school there is the element of crisis
not only for the governing board, but for the chief school
administrator as well.

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FOOTNOTES, CHAPTER IV

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[3]S. N. Eisenstadt, "Bureaucracy, Bureaucratization,
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[4]Frank D. Moore, Editor, <u>The Cyclopedic Law Diction-
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[5]John F. Cuber, <u>Sociology: A Synopsis of Principles</u>
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[6]Ruth Hill Useem, (Personal correspondence exchanges
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CHAPTER V

WORK-RELATED INTERACTION WITH

THE PROFESSIONAL STAFF

Introduction

The third major social collectivity which was con-
sidered by the chief school administrators to significantly
influence the infra-structure of these consociate institu-
tions was the professional staff. The professional staffs,
like the Boards of Directors, constituted a major functional
group within the formal work organization and the attainment
of the very goals of the schools was dependent upon the
individual and collective behavioral patterns of this group.

The chief school administrators were responsible for
the integration of the professional staff members into a
cooperative work system in the school. This task encompassed
a generalized process which included the recruitment, alloca-
tion, and coordination of the human resources to provide
satisfactory educational services.

An effort was made to determine the scope and scale
of the staffing patterns in these schools, and the influence
of the professional staff upon the internal organizational
structure. Moreover, an effort was made to determine the

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nature of the relationship that the chief school administrators maintained with the professional staffs. Thus, the administrators were asked a series of questions concerning the professional staffs which were employed in the school; namely the size, composition, professional preparation, etc.

The term "professional" in this section of the study is operationally defined as that individual who was engaged in a work role within the formal schooling process and who was administratively subordinate to the chief school administrator, i.e. administrators: associate superintendents, principals, assistant principals; classroom teachers: elementary and secondary; and auxiliary services: librarians, curriculum coordinators, counselors, nurses, audio-visual specialists.

Characteristics of the Professional Staff

The Size of the Professional Staff

During the school year 1969-1970, the chief school administrators were responsible for managing a professional staff that numbered 754 individuals and that ranged in size from 13-27 members of three small schools, from 27-61 members in the six medium schools and from 62-147 members in the four large schools. (See Table 5.1)

Table 5.1. Size of the professional staff.

	Region I							Region II						Total
	S			M			L	S			M		L	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Elementary	13	13	10	22	27	43	58	13	19	24	28	31	38	339
Secondary	–	13	14	32	17	42	70	3	17	27	24	26	53	338
Administrative	–	–	2	5	3	8	8	–	2	1	3	2	5	39
Auxiliary	–	1	1	2	2	1	11	–	1	2	2	3	12	38
Total	13	27	27	61	49	94	147	16	39	54	57	62	108	754

Source of Data: Office of Overseas Schools.

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Table 5.

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Gender of the
Professional Staff

Both males and females were employed in these schools.
(See Table 5.2)

From Table 5.2 it is evident that the female was the
dominant gender of the professional staff member in these
transnational schools and comprised 73.3 percent of the
professional staff. Female staff members comprised 94.0
percent of the staff in the elementary school, 52 percent
of the secondary school, 48.7 percent of the administrative
staff, and 89.5 percent of the auxiliary staff. Male staff
members comprised 26.7 percent of the professional staff.
The majority of the male staff members were employed either
in the secondary level or in the administrative positions.

Full-Time--Part-Time Employment

The professional staff members consisted of two
categories of employees: full-time or part-time. Of the
total professional staff, 610 or 80.9 percent were full-time
employees and 144 or 19.1 percent were part-time. Signifi-
cantly the proportion of part-time/full-time teachers was
highly differentiated among and between the schools. (See
Table 5.3)

From Table 5.3, it is apparent that 101 or 70.1
percent of all part-time employees were employed to perform
classroom teaching in the secondary units of these schools.

Table 5.2. Gender of the professional staff members.

Table 5.2. Gender of the professional staff members.

		Region I							Region II						
		S			M			L	S			M		L	Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Elementary	Female	10	12	10	21	27	42	55	12	*	21	26	31	34	301
	Male	3	1	-	1	-	1	3	1	*	3	2	-	4	19
Secondary	Female	-	9	12	17	12	14	45	1	*	14	13	16	19	172
	Male	-	4	2	15	5	28	25	2	*	13	11	10	34	149
Administrative	Female	-	-	-	3	1	4	4	-	1	1	2	1	2	19
	Male	-	-	2	2	2	4	4	-	1	-	1	1	3	20
Auxiliary	Female	-	1	1	2	2	1	10	-	1	1	2	3	10	34
	Male	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	2	4
Totals	Female	10	22	23	43	42	61	114	13	2*	37	43	51	65	526 (73.3%)
	Male	3	5	4	18	9	33	33	3	1	17	14	12	43	192 (26.7%)

*The breakdown was not given according to gender.

Source of Data: Office of Overseas Schools.

Table 5.3: Full and part-time professional staff members.

Table 5.3. Full- and part-time professional staff members.

		Region I 1 F	P	2 F	P	3 F	P	4 F	P	5 F	P	6 F	P	7 F	P	Region II 1 F	P	2 F	P	3 F	P	4 F	P	5 F	P	6 F	P	Col. Total F	P	Group Totals
Elementary	Female	7	3	11	1	8	2	18	3	26	1	40	2	55	-	12	-	*	*	21	-	20	6	31	-	22	12	271	30	320
	Male	1	2	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	3	-	1	-	*	*	3	-	2	-	-	-	2	2	15	4	
Secondary	Female	-	-	6	3	9	3	14	3	9	3	8	6	44	1	1	-	*	*	12	2	10	3	14	2	9	10	136	36	321
	Male	-	-	-	4	2	-	2	13	2	3	9	19	25	-	2	-	*	*	12	1	6	5	10	-	14	20	84	65	
Administrative	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	4	-	4	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	2	-	19	-	39
	Male	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	3	1	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	1	18	2	
Auxiliary	Female	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	10	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	3	-	5	5	29	5	38
	Male	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	4	-	
		8	5	19	8	22	5	42	19	42	7	66	28	146	1	16	0	3*	-	51	3	43	14	60	2	58	50	576	142	718
		13		27		27		61		49		94		147		16		3*		54		57		62		108				

*Gender elementary and secondary teachers not given.

Source of data: Office of Overseas Schools.

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Of the total part-time secondary teachers, the male staff
member comprised 64.3 percent of the group.

It is significant to note at this point that the
part-time teaching in the secondary and post-secondary levels
is a widely accepted practice in Latin America. Teaching at
the secondary level is seen as an auxiliary income for some
individuals engaged in a full-time profession (doctors,
lawyers, etc.). In addition, part-time teaching is prac-
ticed on a full-time basis by contracting to perform part-
time duties generally teaching one subject such as biology,
or Spanish in multiple institutions. This latter category
of part-time teachers was commonly identified as "taxi
professionals" due to the common means of transportation
used as they dashed from one secondary school to another.

The National Composition of the Professional Staff

The professional staffs which the chief school admin-
istrator attempted to coordinate were composed of citizens
from the host nation in which the school was located, U.S.
citizens, as well as citizens of a third country. Fifty-
seven and eight-tenths percent of the professional employees
were host national citizens, 37.5 percent were U.S. citizens,
and 4.7 percent were third country citizens. The dominant
mode of staffing was a multinational staffing pattern:
eleven schools employed multinational professional staffs;

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one school employed a binational professional staff; and one school employed only host national teachers. (See Table 5.4)

The "mix and match" of professional staffs displayed wide variation both intraregionally and interregionally in terms of the national origin of the staff members. In Region I, the proportion of host national staff members ranged from 36-100 percent of the total staff, the proportion of U.S. staff members ranged from 0-59 percent, and third country national ranged from 0-5 percent. In Region II, the proportion of host national staff members ranged between 12.5-80 percent, the U.S. staff member from 14-75 percent, and the third country national from 3-12.5 percent.

Within eight of these American schools more than 50 percent of the staff members were host nationals, while there were only five schools in which the U.S. staff members represented more than 50 percent of the staff. It was noted that there were more third country national staff members employed in the schools in Region II.

Professional Preparation

The professional staffs which the chief school administrator attempted to coordinate brought to their work roles training which had been secured in two or more disparate societies. These included training which had been secured in institutions of higher learning in the host country, the United States, and a third country. (See Table 5.5)

Table 5.4. Composition of the professional staff by nationality.

Table 5.4. Composition of the professional staff by nationality.

	Region I							Region II							Total
	S			M			L	S			M			L	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	6	
Host National	13	17	21	32	22	83	53	2	9	21	43	34	86		436
(Percent)	(100)	(63)	(78)	(52)	(45)	(88)	(36)	(12.5)	(23)	(39)	(75)	(55)	(80)		(57.8)
U.S. National	-	9	6	28	26	8	87	12	26	29	8	25	19		283
(Percent)		(33)	(22)	(46)	(53)	(8)	(59)	(75)	(67)	(54)	(14)	(40)	(17)		(37.5)
Third Country National	-	1	-	1	1	3	7	2	4	4	6	3	3		35
(Percent)		(4)		(2)	(2)	(4)	(5)	(12.5)	(10)	(7)	(11)	(5)	(3)		(4.7)
Total	13	27	27	61	49	94	147	16	39	54	57	62	108		754

Source of data: Office of Overseas Schools.

Table 5.5. Planned changes held by professional staff members.

Table 5.5. Earned degrees held by professional staff members.

Degrees Granted By	U.S. F	U.S. P	Host F	Host P	T.C. F	T.C. P	U.S. F	U.S. P	Host F	Host P	T.C. F	T.C. P	Total
Institutions of Higher Education in U.S.													
Doctor	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
Master	32	2	7	–	–	–	20	2	3	1	–	–	67
Bachelor	102	5	20	1	3	–	69	6	19	1	3	–	229
Associate	–	–	–	1	–	–	2	1	1	2	–	–	7
													304 (40.3%)
Institutions of Higher Education in Host Nation													
Doctor	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	3
Master	8	–	6	5	–	–	1	–	3	1	–	–	24
Bachelor	–	–	42	29	–	–	–	–	4	10	–	–	85
Normal Superior	–	–	3	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4
Normal	–	–	77	14	–	–	–	–	84	24	–	–	199
													315 (41.8%)
Institutions of Higher Education in Third Countries													
Master	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	2
Bachelor	–	–	1	–	6	–	3	–	–	–	8	–	18
Teaching Cert.	1	–	–	2	2	–	–	–	–	1	6	2	14
													34 (4.5%)
No Degrees	14	–	20	11	–	1	10	4	24	15	2	–	101 (13.4%)
Total	157	7	176	65	12	1	106	13	139	56	20	2	754

Source of Data: Office of Overseas Schools.

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The largest segment of the professional staff employed in these schools (41.8 percent) held academic degrees from institutions of higher learning within the respective host nations. By far the majority of these host national degrees were held by nationals: one hundred ninety-nine were normal school degrees granted by teacher training schools (Escuela Normal), four were degrees from Normal Superiors, seventy-six were Bachelor (Bachillar) degrees from host national universities, twenty-four were Master degrees and three degrees were doctorates (Doctor of Medicine). However, it should be noted that nine U.S. citizens also held bachelor degrees from institutions of higher education located in the host country.

The second largest category or 40.3 percent of the total professional staff members in these schools earned academic degrees from institutions of higher learning in the U.S. The largest number of U.S. degrees were held by U.S. citizens (242) and included one Ph.D., fifty-six Master degrees, one hundred eighty-two Baccalaureate degrees and three Associate of Arts degrees. Fifty-six host nationals held U.S. degrees, which included eleven Master degrees, forty-one Bachelor degrees, and four Associate of Arts degrees. Only six third country nationals had earned a bachelor degree from a U.S. institution of higher learning.

Four and five-tenths percent of the total professional staff employed in these schools held academic degrees

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from institutions of higher learning in nations other than either the U.S. or the host nation. The largest number of third country degrees was held by third country nationals (26) and included two Master degrees, fourteen Bachelor degrees and, ten Teacher Certificates. Only four U.S. citizens held third country degrees; three were Bachelor degrees and one was a Teacher Certificate. Four host nationals held third country degrees which included three Teacher Certificates and a Bachelor of Law degree.

Although 86.6 percent of the professional staffs in these schools held degrees from institutions of higher learning, it should be noted that 13.4 percent of the professional staff members held no academic degrees from institutions of higher learning. One hundred and one individuals employed in these schools had limited or no formal professional training. Included in this category were seventy host nationals, twenty-eight U.S. citizens and three third country citizens.

Implicit in the diverse educational backgrounds of the professionals employed in these schools is the fact that the majority of the individuals completed training and educational programs which were highly differentiated in terms of the length of training, the focus of curricular orientation, and minimum standards for program completion. All these were in large measure established by the customs and practices of the educational system of the respective society in which the professional training was pursued.

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Teacher Certification

By virtue of having graduated from institutions of higher education in disparate societies, the collectivity of professional staff members also brought to the schools an admixture of teaching credentials (teaching certificates or licenses) which had been granted by various educational and governmental agencies. (See Table 5.6)

From Table 5.6, it is evident that the group with the largest proportion of teaching credentials within the total professional staff (87.5 percent) was the personnel who held credentials issued by the respective provincial or federal educational authorities in the host nation. The second largest group (31.8 percent) holding credentials was composed of persons who held teaching credentials granted by provincial educational authorities in the U.S. However, only 3.2 percent of the professional staff held valid teaching certificates from a third country. This in effect meant that binational and multinational standards for teacher certification prevailed among the professional staff which the administrators attempted to coordinate.

However, possibly of more significance than the number of professional staff members with legal certification was the fact that 27.5 percent of the professional staff held no legalized certification to engage in work roles as professional educators. This condition in conjunction with the diversity of the teaching credentials which the staff

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Table 5.6. Certification of the professional staff members.

	Full-Time	Part-Time	Total
Host National Certification			
Host Personnel	199	81	280
U.S. Personnel	2	-	2
T. C. Personnel	1	-	1
			283 (37.5%)
U.S. Certification			
Host Personnel	29	2	31
U.S. Personnel	195	10	205
T. C. Personnel	4	-	4
			240 (31.8%)
T. C. Certification			
Host Personnel	3	-	3
U.S. Personnel	4	-	4
T. C. Personnel	16	1	17
			24 (3.2%)
No Certification			
Host Personnel	84	38	122
U.S. Personnel	62	10	72
T. C. Personnel	11	2	13
			207 (27.5%)
Totals	610	144	754

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members held complicated the task of chief school adminis-
trators in integrating the professional staff members in the
work organization of the school.

In summarizing thus far, the chief school adminis-
trators were confronted with professional staffs in which
there was much diversity in terms of national composition,
gender, professional training, and legal certification. The
majority of the chief school administrators perceived the
dichotomous conditions in terms of professional training as
stressful and often adversely affecting their task as admin-
istrator in coordinating the human resources of the school.
Only the long-term administrators demonstrated insight into
the cultural determinants that help to establish the appro-
priate behavior of those designated to train children and
youths. Moreover, it is this group of "long termers" that
stressed that maintaining an organizational balance between
the various segments of such a protean group was "frought
with crisis." One aspect of the crisis was the turnover
phenomenon of the professional staff, which will be discussed
in the subsequent section.

Selection and Retention of Staff Members

To get some notion about the process associated with
the selection and retention of the binational and multi-
national professional staff employed in these schools, the
administrators were asked to describe "how they secured

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their teaching staff." Their responses revealed that the process produced two distinct genres within the professional staff based not on chronological age but rather on the length of the teacher's socialization period in the school. These generational groups were commonly referred to as "short-term" and "permanent" staff members.

The Genre of "Short-Term" Teachers

The chief school administrators used the term "short-term" in reference to the professional staff members who had been employed in the school for a relatively brief period of time, usually two years or less. (See Table 5.7).

Table 5.7. Length of service of the teachers.

Years	U.S. Teachers	Host Teachers	T.C. Teachers	Total
1-2 Yrs.	139	130	12	281 (41.5%)
3-5 Yrs.	56	117	7	180 (26.6%)
6-10 Yrs.	32	75	9	116 (17.1%)
11-15 Yrs.	9	38	4	51 (7.5%)
16-20 Yrs.	8	25	1	34 (5.0%)
Over 20 Yrs.	2	13	-	15 (2.3%)
Total	246	398	33	677

Source of Data: Office of Overseas Schools.

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recruited and employed directly from the U.S. academic community specifically to teach in these schools on a one or two year personal service contract. These staff members were for the most part single, young, recent college graduates with little or no previous teaching experience either in the U.S. or overseas. Few were reported as possessing any fluency in the Spanish language. Only a few had interrupted their stateside teaching position to take this overseas position.

The administrators reported that various means were used to recruit and employ these "stateside" staff members. Two administrators recounted that when they first assumed the position in the American school, they had recruited and brought almost the "entire American teaching staff" with them from the States; these were individuals whom they knew personally, many of whom were retired teachers.

Although two administrators asserted that they made personal recruiting trips to the States, the recruiting pattern most frequently utilized was a "mail-order-like" process. Administrators' comments typifying this mode of recruiting included:

> We get a lot of letters from teachers in the States inquiring about the possibilities of teaching here.
> We review and correspond with those that look like promising candidates.
> When we decide on the candidate, based on his application, I interview him by phone.

The inherent limitation of this "mail-order" recruiting process prompted one administrator to comment:

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Of the total teachers employed in the school year
1969-1970, 41.5 percent were employed two years or less. Of
this "short-term" group 49.5 percent were U.S. citizens,
46.2 percent host national, and 4.3 percent third country
nationals.

The "short-term" American teachers constituted 56.5
percent of the U.S. professional staff.

Only 32.6 percent of the host national professional
staff members were "short-term." All but one school had
one or more host national teachers in the "newcomer" cate-
gory on the faculty during the 1969-1970 school year.

Thirty-six percent of the third country national
teachers had been employed in these schools for less than
two years. Six of the schools had one or more "new" third
country national teachers employed on the faculty during
the 1969-1970 school year.

U.S. Staff Members

The largest collectivity of "short-term" profes-
sional staff members was the U.S. contingent. This group
contained two distinct sub groups which the chief school
administrators further defined as those who were "stateside
hire" or those who were "local hire."

Stateside Hire.--The "stateside hire" U.S. staff
member was the largest component of the "short-term" U.S.
professional staff member. These staff members were

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A lot is taken on "faith" both on the teacher's part
and on our part. Sometimes the school and the teacher
are compatible and sometimes it just doesn't work out--
which means we have a certain percentage of turnover
every year.

Fifteen administrators indicated that the "stateside

hire" "new-coming" teachers were an extremely mobile group

of individuals; some were "unpredictable employees," who

frequently left almost as quickly as they appeared. One

administrator illustrated this with a case that he had con-

fronted:

We employed this one single male teacher, who on
paper looked like he would be an outstanding teacher.
He had good references and he appeared willing to take
the job despite the meager salary that we could offer
him. When he arrived, he seemed like the "right kind"
of person, who would fit into our high school program.
However, after a week or so of school had elapsed, Mr.
X did not appear for his Monday morning class. We
checked at his residence and the landlord told us that
he had moved out over the weekend. Later that day the
janitor found all his textbooks and his record book in
the corner of the gymnasium.

The administrator further commented: "This man wrote a

letter from the States asking us to send him something he

had left behind."

The majority of the administrators indicated that

employment in these institutions was rarely considered as

a career or professional development activity by these

"stateside hire" teachers; rather it was more likely to be

viewed by the teacher as a potential means for enhancing

one's personal development through an "exciting" and

"interesting" experience which overseas living provided.

Four administrators felt that a segment of the U.S. "stateside hire" teachers were motivated to seek overseas teaching assignments due to alienation in one form or another either from the U.S. society at large or the U.S. education community.

> We get a certain percentage of individuals who have had a traumatic experience in the States. Even though we try to screen them, we have had a few over the years.
> I have a teacher here, a top notch teacher, who just got fed up with teaching in the U.S. He left his work in the U.S. because he felt teaching in the U.S. was too confining.

The "comings and goings" or the migratory phenomenon of the "stateside hire" U.S. staff member was summarized in the form of a parody by an administrator with over twenty years experience, "Join the American Schools and see the world."

It can further be inferred that since salaries, which ranged from $768-6,600, were low by stateside comparison and fringe benefits--retirement programs, health or medical insurance, as well as sabbatical levels for the professional staff--were not widely institutionalized in these schools, employment in these American schools had a limited meaning in either a personal or professional sense for the staff member. These "stateside hire" staff members did not join the institution and thus had little commitment to the institution. Hence the U.S. staff members, who the chief school administrators reported as being most frequently attracted to teaching in these transnational schools, were the young

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with no previous overseas experience, limited familial con-

cerns, and a few individuals who had retired from teaching

but who wanted to remain "active" and "useful." This was

made explicit by one administrator:

> . . . For the most part, they [the "stateside hire"
> American teachers] were people who were anxious for
> adventure because the money was no reward. They would
> come for the novelty of living in a totally different
> environment . . . with no real intention of staying
> beyond a year or two. This group for the most part was
> composed of young and recent college graduates with
> little teaching experience.

The migratory nature of the "stateside hire" U.S.

staff member precipitated crises situations for the

managers of these schools as they sought to secure a replace-

ment for the "stateside hire" teacher. The nature of the

dilemma and the level of frustration that the chief school

administrator experienced in securing a replacement were

often a function of the timing of the individual's departure

and the availability of a replacement.

The pattern of unanticipated departure of these

"stateside hire" teachers was made explicit by one adminis-

trator:

> We would have that kind of crisis from time to time.
> We would get a teacher to come down and then he would
> leave in the middle of the year or sooner. It would
> give you a severe headache and you would have to get
> someone else.

He continued by describing the means for locating a replace-

ment:

> You would rush out into the American colony and
> search there. If you couldn't find anybody [U.S. citizen,

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U.S. educator] you would look into the local situation.
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Even though in some schools, these "stateside hire"
U.S. staff members completed their contractual agreement by
remaining throughout the period, the chief school adminis-
trators reported that few chose to remain beyond that period
in the employ of the school. The rarity of a U.S. "state-
side hire" teacher voluntarily extending the overseas stay
beyond the one or two-year period moved one chief school
administrator to comment, "When someone wanted to stay, it
was like receiving an unexpected gift."

The turnover of the U.S. "Stateside" hire profes-
sional staff member imposed upon the administrators the
perpetual need to secure personnel. The principal social
collectivity to which the chief school administrator turned
was the American segment of the wider binational overseas
community. The staff members employed from this collec-
tivity were known as "local hire" and constituted a
significant portion of the U.S. staff members employed by
the school.

Local Hire.--The "local hire" U.S. professional
staff members were frequently described by the chief school
administrators as individuals not recruited from the U.S.
educational community but who were recruited primarily by
virtue of their availability: a chance circumstance of
being in the community at the time when a vacancy occurred.

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One administrator commented about the "walk-in" nature of some of these individuals:

> Sometimes they are just passing through and stop to pass the time of day. They ask if we might need a teacher almost like migrant workers back in the States.

More frequently, however, the "local hire" staff members were dependents, most frequently wives of Americans residing overseas on a "more-or-less" temporary basis. Five and eight-tenths percent of the "local hire" professional staff were dependents of individuals associated with the U.S. government, 17.3 percent were dependents associated with U.S. or U.S.-affiliated business, and 11.5 percent were U.S. citizens dependents of local host national citizens. In one school, the chief school administrator reported that a significant number of the "local hire" American staff members were wives of students who were attending a host national institution of higher education.

As a collectivity, the "local hire" American staff members were also a highly mobile group. The degree of permanency was contingent upon the duration of the husband's overseas work assignment. When the husband's work assignment or training was completed, it meant that the staff member left the school's employ and once again the chief school administrator was confronted with the problem of securing a replacement. The chief school administrator cited such uncontrollable influences as job reassignment of the husband--often on short notice--contract termination, and

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shifts in the economic or political conditions within the host country as events that mediated the supply of the "local hire" U.S. staff member.

The chief school administrators asserted that generally employment for the "local hire" U.S. professional staff member, like that of the "stateside hire" was not viewed primarily as a continuation of a professional career. Rather, for most, teaching was perceived as a means to an end or, stated another way, it was situationally determined and crisis-oriented. For some teachers, the chief school administrator asserted motivation for employment was "financial"; for others "relief from boredom" that overseas living sometimes imposes; and in some instances due to the persuasiveness of the chief school administrators and others in the community to "help us out of a jam" through accepting a teaching position at the school. The services of this latter category were frequently sought irrespective of the individual's professional training or background.

The unpredictable and uncontrollable nature of the supply of American staff members, both "stateside hire" and "local hire" in the overseas setting prompted fourteen of the administrators to point out that their wives had been pressured into classroom teaching and, in one instance, a school secretary was utilized to meet the crisis situation. The duration and nature of the teacher replacement crisis varied, but in some instances there existed what could

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legitimately be called a condition of "permanent emergency"
associated with the American staff members, which one chief
school administrator simply described as ". . . We get over
one teacher crisis and we are faced with another."

Host National Staff Members

The second largest group of "short-term" professional
staff was the host national staff members. Although this
group composed 46.2 percent of the "short-term" group, it
comprised only 32.6 percent of the total host national staff
members.

These staff members were employed directly from the
host national academic community specifically to teach in
the Spanish sector of the school program. Within the ele-
mentary school, these staff members were, for the most part,
single, young, recent graduates from the host national
teacher training institutions with little or no previous
teaching experience. In the secondary school, however,
these staff members were usually professionals who taught
part-time in their areas of specialization. Generally this
group was reported to possess little if any fluency in the
English language.

The majority of the administrators asserted that the
host national teacher was attracted to the position because
of the assumed prestige and the relatively high wages, as

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well as, at least for the experienced teacher, educational opportunities.

Third Country National
Staff Members

The smallest group of "short-term" professional staff was the third country national staff members and only represented 4.3 percent of the "short-term" group. Since this group was so few in number, the chief school administrators found it difficult to identify or describe the characteristics of this group.

The Genre of "Long-Term"
Staff Members

The second major designation utilized by chief school administrators to describe the professional staff was the "long termer." This designation was used to describe those individuals who remained in the employ of the school for greater periods of time than the "short termer."

Through analyzing the tenure patterns of the professional staff members in terms of nationality, it was revealed that the dominant group of "long termers" was made up of the host national staff members. (See Table 5.7). The average host national teacher had been employed for over three years: 117, three to five years; 75, six to ten years; 38, eleven to fifteen years; 25, sixteen to twenty years; and 13, over twenty years. Included in this last category

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were some host national teachers whose employment history
extended back to the founding of the institution.

Host National "Long Termers"

The majority of the school administrators thought
of the lengthy tenure of the host national staff member as
being related in part to "good working conditions" in the
school. The administrators identified specific factors.
Seven stated "Our salaries are the highest in town even
though they are low by stateside standards." Three asserted
there was a "prestige factor" which was ascribed to working
in an American organization. This was made explicit by one
chief school administrator's comment, "When Miss X leaves,
I have about fifty applications from which to choose."
Moreover, and possibly of greater significance in the length
of tenure phenomenon, was the fact that in most schools
dependents of the professional staff members held favorable
positions in such matters as admission and lowered tuition.
The educational opportunities for their dependents were of
high saliency for a segment of the host national staff
members and possibly contributed to the degree of perma-
nence on the professional staff.

Another significant characteristic of the "long-term"
host national staff member was that a small but significant
segment of this group (8.3 percent) held degrees from insti-
tutions of higher learning in the United States. In addition,

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3.3 percent of this "long-term" collectivity were married to U.S. citizens and were frequently described as bilingual individuals. The chief school administrators felt the attitudes and behavior patterns of the host national staff members with the above characteristics brought to the work organization a highly desirable set of social characteristics. In a sense these individuals had been socialized either through professional training or language acquisition or in some instances marriage to this type of transnational institution and seemingly "fit" into the institution.

Frequently the chief school administrators noted that the host national staff members were for the most part recommended by other host national staff members within the school. It can be assumed that this type of recruiting process helped to produce in a sense a "like-mindedness" and "fit" within the work organization.

It is interesting to note that only one chief school administrator reported that the Ministry of Education must first sanction all host national teachers before the school can employ them. Hence it can be concluded that the majority of the schools could set their own criteria for selecting host national staff members and that their criteria frequently included those characteristics previously described in this section.

In describing the lengthy employment phenomenon of the host national teacher, the chief school administrators

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cited marriage and pregnancies as the most frequent reasons

for job termination. However, one chief school administrator

who had been raised in the country in which he is now working

commented:

> Social customs seem to be changing. Years ago,
> teaching was a single woman's job and they used to
> resign once they got married. However, over the years,
> I have noticed that more and more of them are marrying
> and are continuing to work.

Although this comment supports the notion that the host

national woman's traditional role in society is being modi-

fied as the society enters new levels of modernity, it also

supports the notion that teaching in these schools is one

work role which allows employment for married women. It

also supports the notion that teaching in these schools is

a mode of employment sought by members of a cross-cultural

marriage.

Although most of the "long-term" host nationals

were employed as classroom teachers, thirteen were employed

in administrative positions and five were employed in auxil-

iary services.

American "Long Termers"

The second largest segment within the "long-term"

category in these American schools in 1969-1970 were

Americans. These were individuals who had been with the

school for three or more years and who had, in most instances,

established permanent social roots in the community.

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Within this group there were forty Americans who had gone overseas specifically to teach and had remained. For these it can be inferred that professional commitment was in some degree part of the reason for remaining while for others, they had liked it there and decided to stay.

Frequently the nature of the permanency of the American teacher stemmed from their marital status: thirty-two were married to host nationals and four were married to third country nationals. Nine of the schools employed one or more individuals who were from cross-marriages: one school employed nineteen; two schools employed seven; one school employed four; two schools, three; one school, two; and two schools, one.

Moreover, there were nineteen individuals who were U.S. citizens and dependents of U.S. citizens in business in the host country; another eleven were U.S. citizens who had gone overseas without any dependency relationship overseas either by marital status or by corporate organization; and only one U.S. teacher was a dependent of a U.S. citizen who was an employee of the U.S. government.

The "long-term" American teachers, the chief school administrators asserted, were engaged in teaching in these schools as a principal means of support and were seen by the administrators as highly desirable teachers. One chief school administrator in a large school embedded in a

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"well-formulated" binational community expressed his assess-

ment of these individuals in his teacher recruitment

procedure:

> I first try to secure teacher replacements from the
> local [permanent] community. I try to identify those
> who have or will have some permanent interest in the
> community. I can work much better with this type person.

Explicit in this comment was the notion that the private

lives of these teachers rested in significant degrees within

the host society and hence by inference these individuals

had been socialized to the norms of the binational community.

These long-term teachers as a result of their presence over-

seas also constituted the nucleus of the permanent staff that

helped to "tie the present with the past."

The role that this group of "long-term" Americans

played in these transnational schools was made explicit by

one chief school administrator in a large school:

> We have a hard core of mature and somewhat older,
> more experienced American teachers. They are dedicated
> and settled. They bring a better understanding to the
> problems confronting the school and the ways of solving
> problems. Their experience is very important in this
> bicultural institution. These people know where we
> have been and where we are going.

The collectivity of "long-term" Americans was frequently

described by the chief school administrators as performing

varying leadership roles in the school, both on a temporary

and permanent basis. In three instances, "long-term"

Americans served in the role of "acting school director"

during the period when the school had no chief school

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administrator. Moreover, the administrator often identified
these individuals who had attained "long-term" status as
those upon whom he relied to help "get myself oriented here
in _____" and as those persons with whom he frequently
confers about the day-to-day administrative and educational
matters of the school.

Thirteen "long-term" Americans were employed in
administrative posts in these American schools, while nine
were employed in auxiliary services.

It is interesting to note that in comparing the
"long-term" and "short-term" American staff members in these
schools, variance was a dominant characteristic. (See Table
5.8) There were only five schools where the number of "long-
term" American staff members was greater than the "short
termers." Thus underscored in this table is the fact that
the administrators were confronted with a turnover phenomenon
not only at different levels in the work organization but
also in the proportion of teacher turnover.

Third Country "Long Termers"

The smallest segment within the "long-term" profes-
sional staff members was composed of third country nationals.
This segment, or 5 percent, incorporated twenty-one full-time
professional staff members who had been employed for three
or more years; seven employed for three to five years; nine

Table 5.8. A comparison of the "short-term" and "long-term" American staff members.

	Region I							Region II						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	T
Short Term 2 or less yrs.	–	5	6	13	15	2	41	4	5	22	5	15	16	149
Long Term more than 2 yrs.	–	4	–	15	11	6	46	8	21	7	3	10	3	134
Total	–	9	28	28	26	8	87	12	26	29	8	25	19	283

Source of Data: Office of Overseas Schools.

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employed for six to ten years; four employed for eleven to
fifteen years and only one employed for sixteen or more years.

All the "long-term" third country staff members were
reported to be married to either host country or third coun-
try nationals. In most instances they had established some
social roots in the community and were considered by the
administrators to be like their "long-term" American col-
leagues in that they were overseas on a more or less
permanent basis. In a real sense, these individuals had
been socialized in the binational community.

The chief school administrators, when queried about
these third country staff members, frequently paused and
concentrated before they attempted to describe these third
country "long termers." When queried about the pause, the
chief school administrators in essence replied that the
third country staff members were so few in number and were
difficult to describe. If they were from an Anglo culture,
they tended to be more like the North American staff member;
whereas if they were from a Latin culture, they tended to be
more like the host national. Thus there seemed to be little
differentiation in the minds of the chief school adminis-
trators about these third country staff members and there
were few comments as to how or why they came to be associated
with the American schools.

In summary, the chief school administrator was con-
fronted with two distinct generations of professionals--

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"short termers" and "long termers." The "short-term" generation was composed in large measure of Americans who had been employed in the U.S. via a mail-order procedure for a teaching position within the school or those who were hired locally, "direct-hire," and were overseas primarily as dependents. The "long-term" generation of professionals was composed primarily of host nationals.

It was in a sense the group of American "long termers" who were the carriers of the American education culture. Through the mix and match of Americans married to host nationals, and the host nationals married to Americans, as well as other semi-permanent American residents, these transnational schools have maintained a degree of stability within the professional staff which has enabled the institutions to survive.

This section has attempted to describe the staffing patterns of these consociate ventures without any in-depth discussion or analysis of the areas of stress which the chief school administrators experienced as they attempted to coordinate this segment of the formal work organization. The areas of stress will constitute the focus of the subsequent section, in which the chief school administrators' interaction with the professional staff is discussed.

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Work-Related Interaction with
the Professional Staff

Introduction

In the previous section, the dominant character-istics of the professional staff in these third culture institutions were described. The professional staff members were highly mobile, educated individuals who emanated from two or more disparate sociocultural groups and were engaged in the common enterprise of providing schooling for binational or multinational student bodies.

It was assumed prior to the initiation of this study that the individual staff members brought to their work roles differentiated notions not only concerning what constituted appropriate schooling for children and youths, but also sets of ideas concerning the appropriate attributes and mode of behavior of those designated to teach children and youths.

The U.S. teacher stemmed from a wider society that is recognized as being highly differentiated from the host society in which these institutions were located. Implicit in this condition are the differential ideas of the role and the function of the teacher. The position of the U.S. teacher within the States carries with it an achieved social status. One holding this position is judged in large measure by the degree of professional performance in the work organization. Moreover, in the American society, one's

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personal life is in large measure privatized and segmented from the professional life, which gives one a degree and form of social insulation and freedom to conduct one's private life somewhat independently of the work role. These values and beliefs are shared by the wider American society and they are reflected in the mode of professional preparation of the U.S. teacher to perform this work role. Moreover, since the chief school administrator was an American, he likewise shared these beliefs and this orientation about the role of the professional teacher.

The host national teachers emanated from societies which were smaller in scope and scale and were less differentiated. The teachers, by virtue of their socialization and training within the respective social system, brought to the work role a somewhat traditional Hespanic orientation to what constituted a "teacher." The position of teacher in the host society carries with it an ascribed and, to a lesser degree, an achieved social status. One is frequently judged by "who" he is as well as by the "how" of his professional performance. Thus in the host society, one's personal life is not segmented from the professional one. The interdependency of these elementary aspects helps to determine the behavior pattern of the host national teacher in these transnational institutions.

Moreover, it was assumed that the professional staff member employed in these third culture institutions would be

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confronted with varying forms of role conflict. That is, the role they were expected to perform was different from the role the staff member perceived they could or should play. Hence they experienced what Byrnes called "role shock" and defined as:

> . . . frustrations and stresses associated with such discrepancies as between what [a teacher or administrator] views as the ideal role for himself and what he learns or finds the actual role to be abroad or between the role he expects to play abroad and the role he actually plays. In other cases this shock is identified with such role related conflicts as between administrative and professional authority.[1]

It should be noted that not only were the professional staff members confronted with discrepancies between what they expected and what existed, but also the administrator himself faced a similar situation especially if this was his first experience in dealing with a binational or multinational staff in the overseas setting.

Hence to get some notions about the interface of the work organization of these American schools and specifically the dynamics associated with the management, coordination, and integration of the multinational teaching staffs, the chief school administrators were asked to describe their experiences in managing their particular work organization. Their descriptions of their experiences with the professional staff as a unit and with the particular segments of the multinational staff provided the data for the ensuing discussion.

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Perceptions of the Binational
or Multinational Professional
Staff

Three-fourths of the administrators viewed their

relationship with the binational or multinational profes-

sional staff as being equalitarian in nature. That is,

eighteen of the administrators felt that their relationships

with the host national professional staff members were the

"same" or "about the same" as the ones they maintained with

the U.S. staff members.

> I deal with them [the entire staff] as a group.
> There is no "North American" staff member or "_____"
> staff member as far as I am concerned.
> I try to treat them individually and to give each
> one the same kind of consideration.
> We don't think along national lines when dealing
> with professional problems.

One administrator was very emphatic about treating segments

of the binational staff equally. He commented:

> It is very important that this should be discussed.
> More can be done in this area. This problem was one
> that I inherited. A [host national] teacher was fired,
> but an American teacher who pulled ears was not. A
> policy was established that every staff member here
> would be treated equally.

In contrast, there were three long-term administrators who

indicated that there were differences in the type of rela-

tionships they maintained with segments of the professional

staff because each segment operated out of a different set

of norms and these had to be taken into consideration.

These long-term administrators proceeded to identify rela-

tional and situational aspects that affected the modes they

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chose and utilized to solve the professional personal prob-
lems of the multinational staff. One administrator's
comment summarized the manner utilized by this category of
chief school administrator: ". . . you treat them in a non-
threatening way but each one differently [taking into account
the cultural differences]."

The nature of the interaction between the chief
school administrators and the professional staff was mediated
to a large degree by the size of the institution and the
degree of bureaucratization of the work organization.

The administrators in the large schools, where a
more crystallized work hierarchy existed, reported that their
relationship with the professional staff was limited in most
instances to professional associations, such as teachers
meetings, committee activities, etc. Two men described the
nature of their relationship in this manner:

> I have very little direct contact with the teachers
> here in the school. Socially I have no relationship.
> The principals in this school are very close to the
> teachers. I only meet with a teacher if it is an
> exceptional case. If it is a routine matter they
> [the principals] do it. To date I have had only 2-3
> interviews with teachers this year.
> All the matters related to personnel are delegated.
> I only get in on things if we have a major problem.

In contrast, in the medium and small schools where
the work organization was less differentiated, the chief
school administrators reported more direct and personal
interaction with the staff members and thus they were more

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sensitive and aware of the stress and strain which the professional staff members experienced.

In these American schools with the binational or multinational professional staff, the type of interaction that occurs was dependent upon the means of communication, the use of language. Hence the administrators were queried about how language influenced their relationship with the binational or multinational professional staff.

Most chief school administrators felt that the lack of knowledge of Spanish was not an insurmountable obstacle in managing the school since there were bilingual teachers or administrators who would help them in translation. Implicit in this fact, however, was the establishment of a dependency relationship upon those staff members who were bilingual for transmitting essential or even nonessential information to non-English speaking staff members.

However, two administrators did feel that their lack of command of the Spanish language was an obstacle in their relationship with host national staff members. They commented:

> It was very difficult because I did not speak Spanish.
> Interpreters are fine but they always seem to interpret my thoughts incorrectly.

Conversely there was another administrator who felt that he had experienced problems by virtue of his ability to speak Spanish. He recounted: "I thought I had a very

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good relationship with them until this near strike came up.
I confided too much information."

For the U.S.-trained administrators, one common
vehicle utilized to bring about organizational integration
was the staff meeting. However, the administrators pointed
out that carrying on discussions and making decisions on
educational matters within the framework of staff meetings
was difficult. They commented:

> . . . Oh, the translation problem!
> The host national does not object to attending the
> meetings, but I have trouble getting him into the con-
> versation.
> When I first arrived I had the idea that a school
> should be run as democratically as possible. Back in
> my old district, we utilized teachers meetings and
> committees to accomplish this. I overestimated the
> utilization of meetings in this situation. After the
> first year, I gave up the idea because I did not get
> any responses from the teachers.
> Americans seem to dominate our teachers meetings.

Implicit in these comments about professional staff meetings
was the element of nonparticipation of a segment of the
teaching staff. However, according to Simon, if a decision
is to be reached: "[The subordinate must be able] to
supply most of the premises of the decision and to synthesize
them adequately."[2] Hence it should be noted that profes-
sional staff meetings within the Latin American culture
have traditionally been used as vehicles for dispersing
information and directives and teachers were not expected
to play an active role in the decision-making process. Thus
some of the professional staff members were reacting within

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the faculty meetings in the manner which they thought was expected of them, but this role was quite different than the one the administrator expected them to play.

Since the teachers meeting was frequently ineffective from the administrator's point of view, the administrator had to resort to other administrative styles when working with the binational staff. An example that was typical of the change of administrative style follows:

> Now I only hold a meeting when it is absolutely necessary. I deal directly with each person. Although this takes a lot of my time, I seemingly get much better results . . . . Meeting after school in 104 degree heat is really not the ideal way to get teachers to cooperate.

The chief school administrators in their attempts to organize the professional staff into a cooperative work unit encountered differential attitudes and orientation which the binational professional staff members maintained.

One administrator described how the professional staff reacted to team teaching:

> We were eager to adopt the idea of team teaching here in the school. It seemed like a good way of working in the two educational programs [American and host national]. In principle it sounds good but when you go to translate this into practice in a school like ours you have all kinds of problems.

He further described the conflict:

> One part of the team feels that her way of doing things is better and is trained to utilize a lot of teaching materials. When we can only provide a few of the materials, she becomes anxious immediately. Part two of the team frequently comes to the situation with another set of ideas about homework, or the way kids should be handled. We are at our wits end . . . .

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Another described ideas which the professional staff had about the use of the school's limited educational resources and problems which limited resources precipitated.

> We try to substitute professional knowledge by
> employing people who have experience, for what we lack
> in equipment, etc. This means the U.S. teachers really
> have to dig because we do not have all the ready-made
> kits to solve their problems. They must learn to do
> without. If they are not the type that can do without,
> they are not much use as teachers in this situation. We
> try to get those teachers to leave who can not cope with
> the situation.

He continued:

> In contrast, the host national teachers are over-
> whelmed by the teaching materials we do have since it
> is substantial when compared with the improvised
> environment that the public and some private schools
> must contend with. Our big problem was getting them
> to utilize what we actually had.

Implicit in the previous discussion is the fact that all members of the professional staff in these schools experienced "role shock" to some extent. The parameters of the work role itself, the multinational professional col-leagues, and the multinational student body as well, each contained diverse and distinctive elements which meant that inevitably stresses would occur.

The chief school administrators who were involved in the day-to-day management of the binational or multi-national professional staff considered it a highly vexing and conflict-producing task, which produced stress and strain both in the professional and private life of the administrators. These conflicts centered on issues which

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focused on what Useem asserted to be "how to mediate between the rational precepts of modern bureaucracies and the entrenched social practices of either [two or more social systems]."[3]

Moreover, the chief school administrator's experience in managing a work organization in these third culture institutions located in traditional societies supports Eisenstadt's premise that it is frequently difficult to establish a functionally specific bureaucratic organization in a traditional society.[4]

Interaction Patterns with American Staff Members

The chief school administrators perceived the U.S. staff members as being an integral segment of the professional staff. The nature of the relationship which the chief school administrator maintained with these people was mediated by the fact that the American school was located overseas and was quite dissimilar from the schools in the U.S. for which their training had prepared them. The chief school administrators' relationship with the U.S. staff members was more extensive than the chief school administrators or U.S. teachers normally have experienced in stateside schools.

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U.S. Professional's Role
in the Institution

The purpose of the employment of U.S. staff members varied with the nature of the school. In those schools where there were large numbers of host nationals in attendance, the U.S. teacher was employed "to teach English to the host nationals as a foreign language." In contrast, in the schools where large numbers of U.S. students were in attendance and where the curriculum was a U.S.-type curriculum taught in English, the U.S. teachers were employed to teach what the administrators called the "U.S. curriculum." In a real sense, the identity of the institution was derived from the presence of these U.S. staff members.

The chief school administrators asserted that these transnational schools as "private" and "foreign" institutions within the host society were confronted with the problem of securing and retaining the legal authorization from the host government immigration agency for the employment of the "stateside hire" as well as the "local hire" U.S. professional staff members. This was made explicit by one administrator:

> The school is a private organization and as such it does not have diplomatic status . . . . We must secure legal documents for all our U.S. personnel to be employed here in _____ . The procedure is much like those for any foreign business organization. It makes administering the school difficult and often problematic.

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The legal mechanism under which the teachers were granted legal authorization was often provisional and restrictive in nature. The chief school administrators asserted that the U.S. staff members employed in the schools were, in a very real sense, what two administrators termed "second class" citizens. The legal hiatus that confronted these staff members was perceived by all the administrators as precipitating a seriatem of complex problems for both the individual and the administrator and was a contributing factor to the perpetual teacher turnover. (See Chapter VII for discussion of specific problems associated with school-host government.

The U.S. professional staff, in all these schools but one, were employed on a written personnel service contract that in most instances was for a one or two year period. In the one school, written contracts were not used due to the nature of the mobility of the U.S. teacher. The administrator had found it difficult to determine the actual staffing needs, sometimes until the very opening of school. This status meant that the teachers who were employed were required to experience high levels of ambiguity in their professional lives and were frequently called upon to "fill-in" in a teaching position.

The pervasiveness of this "unassigned" condition prompted one administrator to report:

> Here in our school, the U.S. teachers are employed unassigned. That is to say they are employed but with no specific teaching assignment. The exact assignment is left open until we can see how to utilize them.

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He further noted that, "if the teachers are not flexible, we often times have problems with the American teachers."

Integration in the
Professional Staff

The integration of the U.S. staff member into the work organization of these American schools was in itself often difficult and stress-laden. One chief school administrator in a large school, which employed only a handful of American teachers, described the "role shock" of some American teachers in his school.

> The American teachers since they are the minority group both in the school and in the community have not been able to exert any leadership in the school. Their assumed loss of status in a school that is called an American school where they feel they should be the leaders has caused a great deal of resentment toward me--"It's your fault, you brought me here." Moreover, this loss of status coupled with their resentment of their low status tended to cause them to isolate themselves from the host national teacher as well. This situation is intolerable in an institution which is trying to blend the American and _____ culture . . . .

He continued:

> This condition frequently leads not only to the withdrawal of the American teachers from participation in the local community, but I feel prompted their decision to return to the States.

Another area which the administrators mentioned as causing conflict was related to the American teachers' relationship with the host students. Two administrators commented:

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The American teachers, mostly first-time-outers with
limited teaching experience, are insensitive to the
socio-cultural norms that the host national student
brings to the classroom.
American teachers are trained for middle class
America, not to teach English as a second language.

One administrator made explicit the method he used in dealing

with problems related to this type situation.

Sometimes I have to tell them [the U.S. teachers]
rather forcibly that these kids [host nationals] are
not like those back home . . . . These students
represent different socio-economic groups and you
just have to become aware of these differences to
be effective.

For a discussion of this type of student-related problem

see Chapter VI.

Five administrators reported problems which were

associated with the fusing or interconnecting of the work

role and the private life of the American teacher. The

combining of these two roles, one an achieved status as

a professional teacher, and the other an ascribed status

based upon the representative status of being an American,

frequently precipitated stress and conflict for both the

teacher and the administrator. One administrator described

the problem which confronted him:

We had a young female teacher down here from _____.
She was very sensitive to the kids and was doing a good
job in the classroom. However, within months she had
made acquaintance with a local theatrical group. It
was at this point that the local community objected
violently and felt I should talk with her. I finally
asked her to resign. Thus all my efforts to get this
person down here, the transportation, the legal docu-
ments, etc. were all for naught.

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Other examples of the problems which the American teacher confronted upon entering the new professional role were associated with the mode of dress considered appropriate for a teacher:

> Down here in Latin America, a teacher's role and status is perceived in a rather traditional manner. You can imagine the problems I have with teachers who arrive in mini skirts. I finally had to call two of them in my office yesterday and insist that they not wear them to school.
> . . . Last year we had one male teacher who had difficulty conforming to our dress code here in _____ as well as other problems of personal behavior. He was just an exception to the norms that have been established and he was not willing to conform. After a month he resigned.

The administrators felt that it was difficult for the U.S. teacher, who viewed his personal life as being independent of his work role, to redefine his role and personal life in terms of the local society. Sometimes he could cope, sometimes not.

The conditions associated with the U.S. teacher's work role and his private life precipitated legacies of crises which all of the administrators were trying to "live down." Most of the administrators were highly emotional about these incidents, which they perceived as reflecting negatively upon the image of the institution's representative role as an American school.

Since the administrators felt personally responsible for the maintenance of the relationship with the complete professional staff (U.S., host national, and third country)

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as well as the wider community, these "live down" situations implicitly reflected upon the administrator in a personalized manner. This was made explicit by one administrator as he described the U.S. teacher's relationship with counterparts on the professional staff who maintained permanent social roots in the community.

> The permanent teachers, both host and American, feel uncomfortable and resent the scandals that the new American teachers inadvertently create in the community. Sometimes they come and talk to be about it. I, too, share their feelings since I am the one who has to straighten things out when something happens.

He continued and posited in insightful fashion a speculative reason for the degree of reserve and aloofness, which he noted the "long-term" teacher, both American and host national, displayed toward the newly arrived Americans: "Some of my teachers have seen so many Americans come and go that I can easily understand how they develop this attitude."

Often it is this very aloofness of the long-term staff which precipitates the newly arrived Americans turning to marginal groups and individuals. Also, many of the new arrivals are single and cannot fit into the "married set."

Since this particular situation occurred in a school which was located in a small community where the social network was small in scale, the American teachers were highly visible and their social behavior prominent within the community. Hence implicit in the administrator's comment was a

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"testing" or "trial" period to which the new American teacher
was exposed as the new work role began. This "trial period"
further underscores the ambiguity which the U.S. teacher
faces not only in the work environment but also in the
wider community. Moreover, the parameters of such a situa-
tion serve to highlight the degree of stress that impinged
upon the chief school administrator.

In contrast, the chief school administrators in the
large school did not perceive the level or degree of stresses
associated with the private lives of the American teachers
as being problems in the administrator's relationship with
the American staff member. The administrators speculated
that this phenomenon could be attributed to the level of
tolerance of social deviance which was greater in the larger
urban cosmopolitan localities due to the availability of more
and diverse social networks and pathways that a more highly
differentiated wider society provided.

Social Relationship

When the administrators were asked to describe the
social relationship that they had with the American teachers,
most of the administrators stated they had "cordial" and
pleasant relations with them. One described his relationship
in depth:

> I felt close to them and they felt close enough to
> to me to come to me with their problems both academic
> and personal. When you have young and old people down

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> there to take over part of the instructional load, you
> have to assume the position of loco parentis whether
> you want to or not. You have to find places for them
> to live, help them get over the cultural shock, get
> along with problems like getting a car down here; all
> of these things . . . . For the new teacher, it was a
> matter of being open to them for any kind of problems.

Another commented: "We do get involved in the personal problems of the U.S. teachers. We try to help them over the cultural shock."

The chief school administrators asserted that the American teachers did not have a well-defined role within the overseas American community nor did they have access via social networks to segments of the host community. The realities which the new American teacher confronted were expressed by an administrator with lengthy tenure in a large school:

> The government people come here and they have been
> in six or seven different communities. They can get
> into the social system with ease. However, the American
> teacher does not get this type of welcome so we try to
> have the PTA invite them to their homes. Our school
> pays one-half of the dues at any social club they choose
> to join. . . .

In axiom fashion, he commented: "The happy teacher is a better teacher so we do everything we can to help . . . . Their problems are our business."

However, not all the administrators were sensitive to the conflict which the American teacher experienced outside the school nor did the majority of the schools have the organizational means or the financial resources to provide the American teachers with access routes to social

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relationships in the wider community. But regardless of the

degree of insight, the chief school administrators often

assumed, by default or choice, the responsibility for the

social well being of the American teachers in their schools.

The parameters of social relationship in the small

school were described thus:

> There are so few of us, we socialize together. We
> have a very relaxed relationship both in and out of
> school.
> I have a daily contact with the American teachers
> here at school and what you might call frequent social
> association out of school. The single girls visit in
> our home in the evenings as they need someone with whom
> they can share their daily frustration.

Typical comments from the administrators in the

medium school include:

> We had some of our young teachers living in our
> home the first of the year until they could get settled-
> in. It was quite an experience. We still look in on
> these American teachers to see how they are getting
> along.
> I am currently sharing my living quarters with an
> American teaching couple.

In contrast there were some administrators, usually

in the large schools, that were not involved in any type of

social relationship with the American teachers. They com-

mented:

> I personally don't get to visit with many of our
> teachers since much of this type of thing has been
> delegated.
> I don't see the teachers outside of the school
> except in formal gatherings. Sometimes the principal
> is a wet blanket. You can't drink with them tonight
> and bawl them out in the morning.

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The motivation for maintaining a minimal social relationship with the U.S. staff member was made explicit by an administrator in a large school. He commented:

> There is a certain amount of loneliness when you direct a group like this. You can't be one of them. I feel you can solve their problems minus the outside socializing. That only causes problems.

Frequently American teachers, both single and sometimes family units, lived together in apartments or houses and this type living arrangement was perceived by the administrators as contributing to the individual teacher's stresses and strains and the administrator's problems. One administrator noted:

> The U.S. teachers live close together. Differences in life style, work habits, and personality can precipitate intense hostilities. I sometimes get involved in these conflicts even though you would like to remain aloof.

The close personal relationship between the administrator and the American teacher created a sensitivity in the professional relationship, particularly with those teachers whom the administrator had personally hired. Moreover, the close personal relationship frequently had an inhibiting effect upon the degree to which the chief school administrator exerted his authority in the professional aspect of his relationship with these teachers. The following examples illustrate this:

> I don't push them to any extent because of the difficult situation they are faced with. I try to help them to secure passports, a house, transportation, doctor, medicine, etc.

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I have to go easy on the American teachers. After
all, if I jump on them, I am hard put to find someone
to take their place.
I get after them for not being at school on
time. . . . They know I can not get anyone to replace
them so they do not take me seriously.

Summary

Implicit in the data presented thus far are issues
related to the professional and social assimilation and
even the very personal identity of the American teacher
overseas. The centrality of the interrelationship between
these areas and the work performance of the American teachers
were asserted by three-fourths of the administrators as being
a critical part of their jobs. It required much time and
effort to establish and maintain a "balanced relationship"
with the American teachers both in the professional and
social sphere.

Interaction with the Host National Professional Staff

The majority of the administrators asserted that the
tenor of their relationships with the host national staff
members was "cordial," "friendly," and described the staff
members as being "excellent people to work with."

The nature of the relationship with the host national
professional staff was aptly described by one chief school
administrator. He commented:

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> My relationship is the same kind as with the Americans but not as intense because it doesn't have to be. They were established members of whatever community in which they resided and knew their way about so there wasn't as much help that they needed or wanted from the head of the school. It was more of a type of professional relationship between the director and his staff.

Explicit in this comment is the fact that the chief school administrator did not perceive the relationship in terms of social assimilation of the host national staff into the binational staff or community because the host national teacher already had a privatized social life that extended into the wider host national community. Rather he saw the relationship as focusing on the teacher's acumen and his ability to do the job in the classroom.

Host National's Role
in the Institution

Most of the administrators perceived the relationship with the host national teacher and the institution as being basically a symbiotic relationship and complementary to institutional survival in the host society:

> They are accredited by the government, they know the language, and they have a closer understanding of local culture.
> We have to have them for accreditation, but they give our school critical elements for a binational, bicultural experience for the students.

The comments of two administrators summarized the shared value of thirteen administrators in respect to the host national teachers:

> The [host national] children feel good that we have
> [host national] teachers. It helps our school relate
> to the host country. It helps us have good relation-
> ships with the [host nationals]. If we are interested
> in having a cross-cultural school, we need them. They
> help enlarge upon the history and culture. They give
> stability to the school. They have a sense of identity.
> They have pride in the school. They are more apprecia-
> tive than the U.S. teacher for the opportunity to work
> in this type of school. There is prestige in being able
> to say you work in the American school.
> They take more pride [inferred than the U.S.
> teacher]. They identify. They are concerned about the
> institution's future.

As documented earlier in this section, the host

national teachers were the category of teachers who pos-

sessed the longest period of employment in these schools.

Hence in a sense the chief school administrators "inherited"

the greater segment of the host national teaching staff and

explicitly this established a modal pattern of behavior.

The majority of the chief school administrators, especially

those with short tenure, perceived their relationship with

these teachers to be influenced by this condition.

> All the teachers [host nationals] were here when
> I came . . . . You might say I inherited them.
> Many of the teachers in _____ had been there a
> long time . . . .
> I have been on the job two years and only hired
> three host national teachers.

The permanency of the host national staff members,

in effect, established a condition whereby half of the

administrators--mostly "short termers"--were confronted with

the task of managing a teaching staff, a significant portion

of whom had more "first-hand experience" in the school and

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the community than the administrators did. Moreover, they
held a different set of social roots in the school and com-
munity than the new director.

The majority of the chief school administrators as
they described their initial reaction to managing the bina-
tional or multinational staff reported that upon assuming
the position of chief school administrator they had encoun-
tered crises with the professional staff. Two explained:

> When I assumed the position, I wanted to increase
> the number of American teachers to improve the English
> program in our school. If I did this, I felt the school
> could increase the student enrollment. However, the
> host national teachers objected strenuously to my
> bringing in "outsiders." Rather than risk a revolt,
> I decided against it.
> I wanted to change the commercial program to be
> more U.S. structured, but I had a strike on my hands
> before I even opened the door in September. . . . So
> I stopped it.

The chief school administrators were confronted with
the immediate task of achieving a measure of organizational
integration within the schools. Or stated another way, the
administrators were confronted with the task of establishing
a viable mode of social legitimacy. This task required the
chief school administrator to secure and maintain the
"cooperation" of the host national teachers in order for
the school to function effectively.

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Integration into the
Binational Staff

Since the host national professional staff member
formed the dominant group in eight American schools, assimila-
tion within the professional staff was not as difficult for
them as for the U.S. teachers. This, however, did not pre-
clude these staff members from encountering stress and
conflicts.

On the contrary, as indicated previously, the host
national staff member encountered frustrations in areas
such as staff meetings, modes of instruction, changes in
programs, etc. In a real sense the host national profes-
sional staff member encountered "role shock" also since the
actual role within the work organization incorporated many
new elements. The following comment illustrates one such
element.

> When I first arrived, I asked the host teachers to
> see their lesson plans because I wanted to know what
> was going on in the classroom. I soon discovered that
> the notion of planning was basically an American educa-
> tion idea since the host national curriculum was
> prescribed by the Ministry. I have been here ___ years,
> and I am not so sure I have gotten the idea across to
> segments of our teachers.

Moreover, those host national teachers who had not
een exposed to American students before also experienced
degree of "role shock." One administrator illustrated:

> We had a problem with the Special Spanish program
> in the high school. The teacher has all American kids,
> who are not enthused about learning Spanish. She is a
> little too serious. She came to me about discipline
> and was about to quit. First I talked with her. Then
> the second time I went to talk with the group.

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This exemplifies the type of stress which the host national teacher encountered when teaching students who brought with them different cultural and social norms in terms of the role of teacher, expected student behavior, and role of language. Moreover, it underscored the mediator role the chief school administrator played in helping to resolve the role shock which the host teacher experienced.

The chief school administrators felt that the majority of problems they encountered in integrating the host national professional staff into the work organization were related to the professional training of the host national teacher. Seventeen administrators reflected on the professional training of the host national teacher. Typical comments included:

> The preparation of the local teacher here in _____ is not university level training, it is normal school. Their intellectual scope is limited and often provincial. . . . It is a problem. . . . That is one reason we have a salary schedule that rewards intellectual accomplishments, such as increases in salaries for courses completed, etc.
> Their [the host national teacher] training was limited and also their basic philosophical orientation was European. The cultural patterns were not Anglo-Saxon which has made it difficult in working with the teacher.

The majority of administrators viewed the host national teacher's professional training as "classical," "content-oriented," and the teachers as frequently holding "provincial attitudes."

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In coping with the discrepancies which the chief school administrator encountered in what he expected of the host national staff and what really was, the chief school administrators displayed three distinct patterns. One pattern was exhibited by those administrators who tried to change the teachers through various means:

> They are not well prepared by our standards. They are not allowed to be creative within their system of education. It was hard for them to change, even though I tried and tried.
> We encouraged these people [host national normalistas] to take in-service training courses. We would then raise their salary.
> I think one could say when employing them that we tried to fit the American ideal over the procrustean way of the [host national]. In many cases we were able to get very excellent people, many of them were exceedingly well trained, at least by their standards, and perhaps from ours in some instances, too.

Another pointed out that he tried to change his view, but that "it took some getting used to after ___ years in schools in the U.S." This acceptance pattern is exemplified in this comment:

> I recognize that 92% of the teachers only have the equivalent of a high school education. I expect that type of performance since I grew up with these people. Thus these teachers can not give the type of education that one might receive in _____, Michigan . . . but I don't expect that either. . . .

A third pattern that occurred incorporated the element of change for both the administrator and teacher. This third pattern, although not pervasive, was one which can be inferred from the comments of two sensitive administrators

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who recognized that a form of accommodation on the part of

both the teacher and the administrator occurred.

> I did not try to change them at first. I first
> tried to learn all I could about them and then set
> about trying to coordinate and integrate the binational
> staff into an effective unit. Over a period of time
> the teachers have responded.
> My degree of patience increased as a result of this
> experience. It used to be a good catharsis for me to
> get a job done. But after two years of this experience
> of working with this [host national] staff, I concluded
> that discretion is the better part of valor. I would
> try to treat them [the host nationals] in a non-
> threatening way on an individual basis. This seems to
> work best for me and thus got the job done.

Other Factors Which Affect
the Nature of the Relationship

Seventeen chief school administrators felt that

financial concerns affected their relationships with the

host national staff member. Twelve administrators asserted

that the host national teacher sought employment in the

American school because, as one administrator stated, "This

school pays the highest salaries here in _____." More-

over, the administrators perceived that this condition was

in a sense "holding power." One administrator stated:

> They [host nationals] value the security and the
> salaries that we pay. The salaries are high by com-
> parison with the salaries of other teaching employment.

Although the chief school administrators perceived the host

nationals as receiving the "highest salaries in town" when

compared with local teachers' salaries, this did not preclude

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e administrator from encountering conflicts with the host

tional teachers over financial concerns.

Five administrators encountered problems over how

e school's resources should be spent. One explained:

> When I first got on the job . . . in order to
> improve the English program, it was decided to install
> a language laboratory. Well, we utilized the U.S.
> government grant to buy the equipment and got the
> thing all set up. . . . Then I ran into all kinds of
> opposition from the teachers [host] about this project.
> It was finally made clear to me that the teachers had
> another idea of how to spend the money. They wanted
> me to simply raise their salaries rather than buy that
> "useless type equipment." I found this incomprehen-
> sible. . . .

ur administrators noted that conflicts over financial

ssues with the host national teachers centered around dif-

rential salary scales for the host national and U.S. staff

mber, as well as the criteria for granting salary increases.

The permanency of the host national professional

aff, according to the administrators in Region I, was deter-

ned in part by the host nation's labor code. This, it was

serted, required that all corporate institutions that

ploy an individual for thirty-one or more days can only

lease the employee either within the procedure established

 the labor judicial system which was costly in time or

ancial resources or by financial indemnification to the

minated employee based on length of employment and salary

e. The administrators in Region II did not consider the

gthy tenure to be associated to any great extent with

al considerations but rather stressed the employment

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vironment--favorable working conditions, prestige, and pro-

essional status.

e Social Relationship

The relationship that the chief school administrators

aintained with the host national professional staff was in

arge measure limited to the confines of the "official"

chool function, as the following examples illustrate:

> They have been in my house for the beginning of
> the year school parties or at school parties. I do
> not socialize with them [host national teachers] inten-
> tionally. If they are there we get along. But it is a
> more formalized relationship. . . . The only time I
> really see them in my office is if there is a problem.
> We get together at faculty meetings, committee
> meetings, and parties at the end of the year. I make
> it a point not to socialize on a one-to-one basis; in
> large groups, yes.

However, some administrators felt that they did

aintain a personal dimension to the relationship that went

yond the formal professional relationship. Three com-

nted:

> I deal with them individually . . . they have per-
> sonal problems, too, and I try to help them when I can.
> I would not let myself get real personal in com-
> parison with the Americans. The relationship was more
> superficial. They came to me with their problems; to
> complain about another teacher, to get off for a wedding
> or funeral, or occasionally to borrow money. . . .
> They come to me to ask advice about such matters as
> buying a house, but they don't ask me to sign a note.

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Summary

Implicit in the discussion of the host national pro-
fessional staff was the fact that the chief school adminis-
trators were dependent in varying degree and form upon the
host national teachers for the very "success" of the educa-
tion program and the school. Hence the integration of the
host national staff into the work organization was a vital
but often frustrating task for the chief school administra-
tors and was the focus of the relationship between the chief
school administrators and host national staff members. More-
over, since the host national professional staff had a
privatized social life that extended into the wider host
national community, the chief school administrators did not
perceive the question of the social assimilation as being a
factor in the relationship.

Interaction with Third Country
National Professional Staff
Member

The nature of the relationship with the third country
national teacher was most frequently described by the chief
school administrators as "much like those they had with the
American." Frequently the men paused to identify who these
teachers were and in simplistic fashion commented about the
category of teacher:

They are well integrated here in _____ and they
are so much like Americans that I don't have to solve
many problems for them.

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Implicit in this statement was the nature of the social roots
of these third country teachers. Since many of these individ-
uals were from nation-states with Anglo-Saxon cultural orienta-
tions, the cultural differentiation was not as great and this
helped the administrator understand and to perceive them in a
similar frame of reference. However, two administrators
asserted that their relationship with the third country
teacher was "like that he maintained with the host national
teacher." In these instances, the third country teaching
contingent emanated from other Latin American countries.

Summary

The areas which the chief school administrators stated
as causing difficulties in working with the binational staffs
revealed and made explicit the fact that the behavior, values,
and customs were viewed as primarily different from the
customs and practices related to U.S. educational values.
These facets underscored the varying degree of the adminis-
rators' sensitivity or insensitivity to the cultural norms
and practices which affected the organizational balance in
the schools. Many of the respondents asserted that it was
the situation and the people in combination that caused the
obstacles. Most saw the integration of the segments of the
national staff as highly problematic.

In contrast, the long-term administrators most fre-
ently demonstrated an artful means of dealing with the

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sparate segments of the binational staff and elicited and

intained the social legitimacy required to permit a con-

ociate work organization to function as a whole social unit.

ey perceived the problems related to managing the bina-

onal staff in terms of a sensitivity to the cultural

fferences and tended to separate the people and the situ-

ion in the problem. Most administrators in this category

re engaged in efforts to correct the conditions and saw

e lack of trained people and the integration of the bina-

onal staff members as challenging.

FOOTNOTES, CHAPTER V

[1]Francis C. Brynes, "Role Shock: An Occupational
zard of American Technical Assistants Abroads," The Annuals,
l. 368, Nov. 1966, p. 96.

[2]Herbert A. Simon, Administrative Behavior, 2nd ed.
ew York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 227.

[3]John Useem, "Work Patterns, of Americans in India,"
148.

[4]Eisenstadt, "Bureaucracy, Bureaucratization, and
ureaucratization," pp. 304-395.

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CHAPTER VI

WORK-RELATED INTERACTION WITH THE

STUDENT BODY

Introduction

The institutional survival of these thriteen
schools was contingent upon the establishment of a recip-
rocal exchange arrangement in terms of providing satisfac-
tory educational service for the dependents of segments
of two or more societies, specifically the modern bina-
tional and multinational communities found to exist in
all the nation states where these schools were located.
The schools were in a real sense providing schooling for
a group of dependents who have been labeled by Useem as
"third culture children." As such they represented a
generation of children and youth who were experiencing
and participating in a cultural milieu which was signifi-
cantly different from those experienced by their parents
or by the larger segments of the societies which they
represent. This meant they were attending schools where
two languages were utilized as the media of instruction,
where curricular patterns incorporated in varying degrees

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elements of both host and U.S. educational systems, and where binational or multinational teaching staffs were employed.

It has been pointed out by Useem that

> if you change the culture of man, you change the identity of man so that you get new kinds of selves in relationship to new kinds of culture. Finally out of these changes in cultures and selves come new collective identities which have posed for man rather critical problems as to who he is in relationship to what we have called society in the past.[1]

The question arises, then, what is the nature and extent of the problems encountered by the group of children who are receiving their formal education in these thirteen schools? Who are these students? Where do they come from and where do they go? What does this mean in terms of the administration of these schools? To get some notions about these and other student-related issues, we asked the men responsible for the management of these schools a series of questions. Their responses form the content of this section.

Characteristics of the Student Body

The Student Body--A Multinational Group

The patterns of national composition of the students who attended these schools were highly differentiated among and between the schools. Utilizing nationality as the criterion, eleven of the schools had multinational student bodies, while only two schools had

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binational student bodies. Three distinct national group-
ings were identified: host national, U.S. national, and
third country national.

The national composition of the collective student
bodies of these schools was: host national, 7,706 (68
percent); U.S. national, 2,986 (26.4 percent); and third
country national, 630 (5.6 percent). In Region I, host
nationals composed 4,315 (67.4 percent) of the students
enrolled in the schools; U.S. nationals, 1,884 (29.3
percent); and only 211 (3.3 percent) were third country
nationals. In Region II, host nationals composed 3,391
(69 percent) of the student bodies, 1,102 (22.4 percent)
were U.S. nationals, and 419 (8.5 percent) were third
country nationals. It was noted that in Region II, there
was a higher proportion of third country nationals than
in Region I. (See Figure 2.1)

From the data it is evident that the nationality
"mix" of the student body among and between the schools
was highly differentiated. The host nationals enrolled
in these schools composed from 37 percent to 97 percent
of the respective student populations. The U.S. students
enrolled in the schools composed from 3 percent to 56
percent of the total student body, and the third country
nationals ranged from 0 to 12 percent. The host
national students formed the largest nationality grouping
in these schools. The U.S. nationals were numerically in

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the minority in all but two schools. The third country national constituted the smallest portion of the student body in all the schools.

In addition to the three major classifications of citizenship previously enumerated, a fourth classification was observed. These were children who possessed dual citizenship and who might be classified as "passport Americans." That is, they were children of cross-cultural marriages--the father was one nationality and the mother a different nationality. They are by definition American citizens; however, culturally they are bi-cultural. Three administrators, who were observant and sensitive, asserted that they looked and acted "like American kids" yet "somehow they are different." In one school it was reported that approximately one-fifth of the students were dependents of cross-cultural marriages. Although the exact data on this aspect were not available for most of the schools, one school reported that in 1969, 3 percent of its student population classified as U.S. citizens actually possessed dual citizenship.

The Student Body--A Coeducational Group

The student bodies of these schools were coeducational at all levels--preschool, elementary, and secondary. It should be noted that the social practice of segregation

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by sex in both public and private educational institutions
has long been a traditional practice in Latin America.
However, the practice of coeducation in the schools has
gained social acceptance in the twentieth century.

The Student Body--
A Mobile Group

The thirteen schools in this study served as
"educational bridges" across which passed students from
various national groupings. The movement of these stu-
dents on these bridges, as with any bridge, flowed in both
directions and created differential and distinct student
mobility patterns within the schools as the schools
attempted to provide the schooling needs for the multi-
national groups.

All the chief school administrators identified
mobility as a dominant characteristic of the student body,
and described the comings and goings of the students and
the problems each encountered. However, only three ad-
ministrators had compiled any comprehensive data on the
mobility of their students. These data is used throughout
this section because they illustrate the mobility patterns
which all the administrators asserted transpired in their
schools.

The student mobility which the administrators
described varied significantly from school to school, and

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degree of mobility was mediated by the geographic loca-
tion of the institution. The scope and scale of the
student mobility as well as the difference between schools
is apparent in the following comparative analysis.

Using the student's length of residence in the
locale as the criterion to show mobility, the chief
school administrator in a large school in a nation's
capital reported that 47 percent of the secondary students
in that respective school had resided for five years or less
in the city where the school was located. In contrast,
the chief school administrator in a medium school in a
provincial capital reported only 17 percent of the
secondary students in that school had resided in the city
for five years or less. (See Table 6.1) This limited resi-
dence period meant that these secondary students had
attended schools in other locations prior to attending
the present school. The data also underscore the fact
that the number of students with short residency periods
is greater in the school located in the national capital.

Although the variable of nationality was not
determined in the information presented above, the chief
school administrators felt that the host national student
resided in the locale for longer periods of time in com-
parison with the American and third country student.

The nature of the student's mobility was further
described by the number of countries other than the U.S.

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e 6.1.   The length of residence of the secondary
          students in the city in which they attended
          the American school.

	Medium School	Large School
Year or Less	13 (5%)	227 (23%)
Five Years	32 (12%)	246 (25%)
Ten Years	26 (10%)	132 (13%)
n Years or More	<u>193</u> (73%)	<u>379</u> (39%)
	264	984

e of Data: Survey report prepared by schools.

he host nation in which the secondary student had

ed.   The chief school administrator in the large

l reported that the secondary students in the respec-

school had resided in some sixty-four countries, while

condary students in the medium school had resided in

wenty-four countries.   Once again the degree of

ty of the students in the school in the nation's

l is shown to be greater than in the school located

provincial capital.

    All the administrators indicated that the student's

y as well as the number of countries in which he

ed was mediated by the employment patterns of the

the household in the student's family.   When the

f employment changed, the student moved.   The

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nistrator of a small school reported that families of

students in the school were asked the length of time

intended to remain in that city. He reported that 11

ent of the families expected to remain less than two

s; 6 percent for two to five years, 4 percent for six

en years, 50 percent expected to remain for a lifetime,

23 percent were uncertain how long they would remain.

data not only indicate the wide range in terms of per-

ncy and mobility of the families associated with these

ols, but also serve to underscore the condition of

rtainty which a large segment of the families and

r dependents experienced.

Although the administrators described the student

lity in terms of length of residence and geographic

ient from place to place, mobility was also described

e quantity of student transferrals from other educa-

l institutions. This education migration occurred

the host national student transferred to the American

l from the host national education system; when the

national student transferred from the American school

the host national education system; when the American

rd country student transferred to the American school

n education system in the U.S. or third country; or

he American or third country students transferred

the American school into another education system.

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The nature of this education migration varied

een the schools in scope and scale and was influenced

again by the location of the school and the composi-

of the student body. The chief school administrator

large school in a capital city where the student body

omposed of over 50 percent Americans, reported that

rcent of the secondary students had transferred from

ls in the U.S., 39 percent had transferred from

schools in the same country, and 15 percent had trans-

d from schools in a third country. In contrast, the

school administrator in a medium school in a pro-

al capital where the student body was composed of

50 percent host nationals, reported that 32 percent

ansferred from the U.S., 6 percent had transferred

hird countries, 52 percent had transferred from

schools in the same city, and 10 percent had trans-

from other schools in the same country.

The comings and goings of students produced dis-

generations of students within each of the schools.

generations, like those of the parents and teachers,

etermined not by chronological age but rather by

gth of time the student had attended the institu-

The education migration as well as the geographic

on of the student body occurred throughout the

schools' educational program. Thus the "in and

it" migratory patterns of the students will be discussed

the ensuing section by educational program categories--

eschool and elementary and secondary school--and by the

tional group--host national, American, and third

untry. To assist in this discussion, Figure 6.1 has

en prepared which shows the composite total of the host

tional, American, and third country students at each

ade level at the time this study was conducted.

eration of Students in
school and Elementary
ool

The "in" migration of the host national child at

preschool level is apparent in Figure 6.1. According

the administrators, the enrollment of the host national

dent was motivated by the parents' desire that their

ldren "learn English." However, as Figure 6.1 reveals,

number of host national children decreased after the

chool level and presumably these children pursued

r formal schooling elsewhere, either in a public or

ate school in the same city. The question can be

timately raised, "What are the reasons for this large

ase?" Since the chief school administrators did not

on this phenomenon during the interviews, the answer

nly be speculative. It is possible that the figure

e preschool level is a composite figure for one, two,

ree years of preschooling programs since the
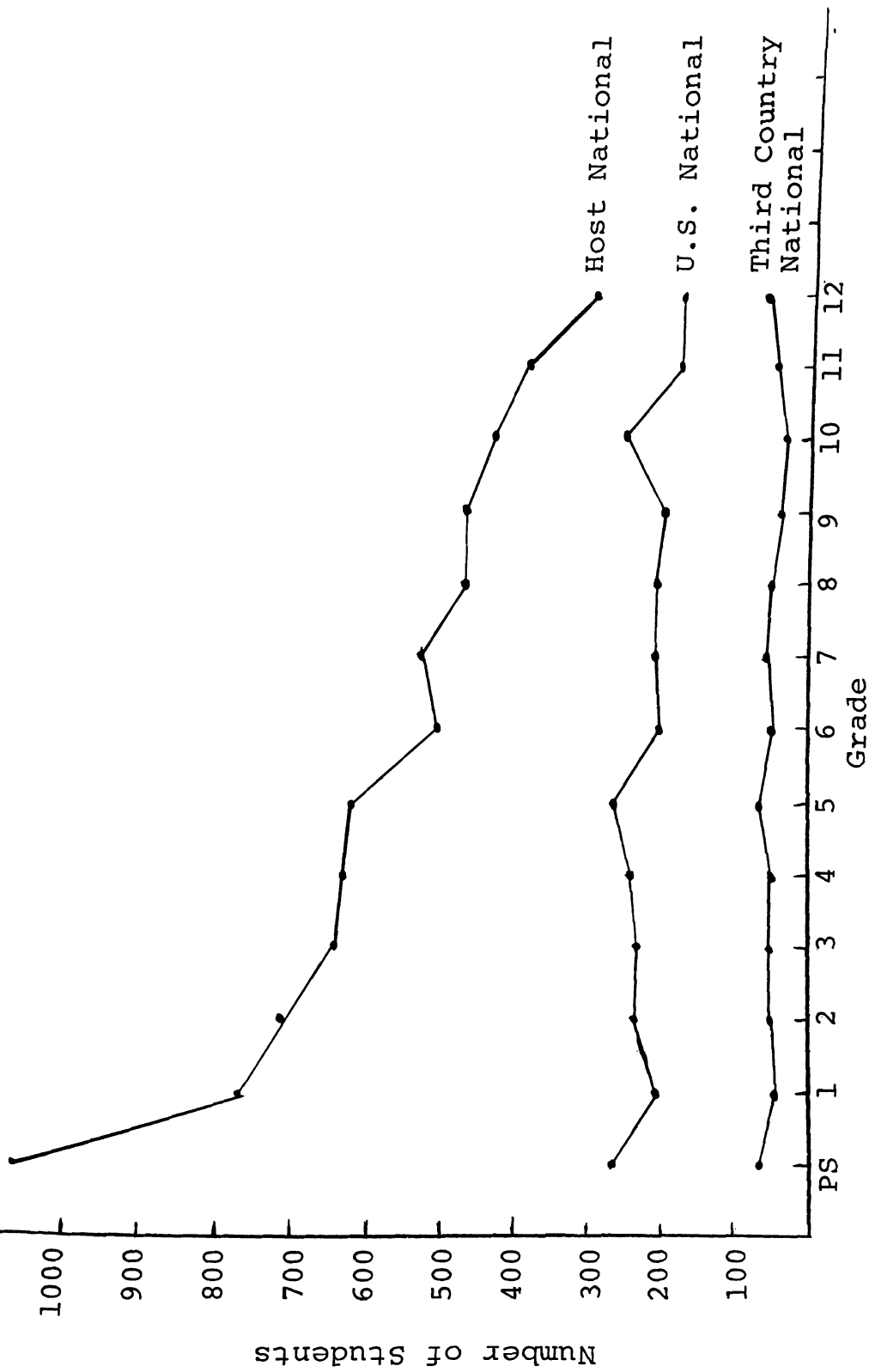
Figure 6.1. Number of host national, U.S. national and third country national students enrolled in each grade in the thirteen American schools in school year 1969-70.

Source of data: Office of Overseas Schools.

inistrators did mention this fact and thus the magni-

e of the decrease is misleading. However, it is also

sible that only a certain number could be admitted at

first grade level due to limitations in class size.*

eover, it is possible that the host national parent

t the tuition for the elementary grades was too high

was not satisfied with the schooling experience and

refore chose a less costly or different type schooling

erience for his child.

However, once enrolled in the elementary school,

host national child was reported by the chief school

inistrators as becoming a part of the "most stable

up" in the school. Six administrators reported that

een 60 and 95 percent of all host national students

entered the American school in the elementary school

leted the elementary cycle.

The chief school administrators reported that the

ican elementary child was more mobile than the host

onal child. Six administrators reported that between

d 90 percent of all American students enrolled in

lementary program complete it in the American school.

in and out" educational and geographic migration of

merican student at the elementary level was described

e administrator in this manner:

*It is interesting to note that 30% of the schools
aiting lists for admission into school.

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We have a great deal of turnover in the American
student contingent. The pattern seems to be that the
father is transferred down here to work with an
American or host national organization for a given
period. Here in _____ this appears to be for two-
three years. Then it is back home to the U.S. for the
entire family and the child continues his schooling
there.

From the aggregate data in Figure 6.1, it is evi-

 that there is variation in the number of American

ents in Grades 1-6. However, the chief school adminis-

ors indicated that the American child was apt to enter

leave the school at any grade level.

The migratory pattern of the third country national

entary student was not mentioned by the chief school

nistrators and it would appear from Figure 6.1 that

group might be overlooked primarily because the

er involved is so small in comparison with the other

nal groupings.

ation of Students
condary School

The secondary students, like the elementary students,

ined generational groups based on the length of time

had attended the American schools. The data in Table

llustrate transfer "in" patterns of the secondary

ts into two institutions.

The degree of mobility at the secondary school

was somewhat differentiated between the host national

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e 6.2.   Percentage of secondary student bodies who
          transferred into the American school at each
          grade level.

rade	Medium	Large
chool	8%	-%
	6	-
	6	4
	1	5
	3	6
	5	8
	11	10
	10	17
	4	13
	3	16
	5	9
	2	9
	-	3
al English	15	-

e of Data: Survey reports reported by the schools.

merican students.   Between 50 and 90 percent of those

national students who matriculated from the school's

ntary cycle to the secondary cycle were reported to

ete the school's secondary program.   In contrast, 0

percent of the American students who matriculated

the elementary school to the secondary level were

ted likely to graduate from the school.

     Another pattern was evident for those students

ransferred into the American schools at the secondary

     In those schools which had complete secondary

ms, 75 to 95 percent of the host national students

eported to complete their secondary schooling in

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transnational school. The chief school administrators

rted that between 10 and 90 percent of the Americans

transferred "in" at the secondary level completed

program. However, the dominant pattern was for the

ican student not to complete his secondary schooling

seas. In most instances he returned to the U.S. at

conclusion of ninth grade and/or tenth grade.

Mobility of the Host National Secondary Student.--

nobility of the host national student within the

dary level of these transnational schools was increased

mpared with the elementary student. The administrators

ted that the host national students frequently trans-

d "out" of the American school into the host national

ls either at the conclusion of sixth grade or at the

usion of ninth grade. This tendency was noted par-

irly with the host national male, while there was a

cy for the host national female to transfer "in."

The transfer phenomenon as described by the chief

administrators was associated with the culturally

ined concepts of work roles and gender roles of the

ociety.

In the host culture, ninth grade tended to be a

al point in the life cycle of the male youth, and

ons were made concerning the professional paths via

schooling. Since admission to higher education for

t national affected the professional life within

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respective society in terms of work role--lawyer,

or, engineer, etc.--few males could risk an educational

that did not guarantee university admission. His

al status as a "man of knowledge," his identity that

title bestows, as well as his financial rewards were

nfrequently contingent to a large degree upon gradu-

from a host national university.

The chief school administrators reported that

r education in Latin America is for the most part

ed to public-supported institutions and admission

ll as attendence is generally free to holders of

dary school certificates. Thus large numbers of

dary graduates apply for admission. Admission to the

tution is often not based on competitive examinations,

ther on successful completion of the secondary pro-

n a host national accredited school and a letter of

endation from the institution affirming satisfactory

t. Hence the host national male was reported to

er "out" of the American school at the secondary

into a host national accredited institution to give

ce of admission into institutions of higher learn-

hin the host country.

This transfer "out" phenomenon of the university-

d host national male was identified by the chief

administrators as being most pronounced at the

rade level. This pattern occurred most frequently

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hose American schools in this study where the secon-

(Grades 7-9) and/or preparatory (Grades 10-12)

rams were not accredited by the Ministry or Department

ducation of the host nation. Moreover, it was noted

this transfer "out" phenomenon more frequently occurred

e nations where higher education was more highly

oped.

Other possible reasons for the transfer "out" of

ost national male, although not cited, can be sup-

d. Since the tuition rates at the secondary level

ese schools were significantly higher than the ele-

ry level, it is possible that financial consideration

account for this transfer. Moreover, yet another

ble explanation seemed implicit in the secondary

ms offered in these schools. The majority of the

school administrators indicated that the school's

ary program met "both the U.S. and the host national

ion standards," and asserted that incorporated into

rricular structure were "elements of both the U.S.

host national educational programs." The amalga-

of the educational programs from two disparate

onal systems, by its very nature, produced an

onal program that was different than those offered

ndary schools in the host nation. Since the educa-

program was not like either the host nation or U.S.

s, yet contained elements of both, it in a real

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e precipitated what one administrator identified as a

dibility gap at the secondary level."

Moreover, if the host national parents did send

r children to the American schools for the complete

ndary program, this increased the necessity for send-

their child to the U.S. or another nation for higher

ation, particularly if the school's education program

ot accredited by the host national universities.

host national institutions generally made no pro-

ns for granting equivalency credits for courses com-

d in nonaccredited schools.

In contrast to the host national male's pattern of

ferring "out" of the American schools in the secon-

level, the chief school administrators reported a

er "in" pattern by the host national females. When

ief school administrators were queried concerning

henomenon, two commented:

    We are known as a "good place" to learn English
d in recent years, we have started a bilingual
cretarial program.
    Some of the wealthier host national families here
_____ like to send their daughters to the
ates at some time either before or after they enter
e University so they send them to our school to
arn English. It is in a sense preparation for a
undetermined "next step."

Five administrators reported yet another aspect

mobility of the host national secondary student.

segment or approximately twenty students came

ral into the urban areas within the country for the

cific purpose of attending the American school. Al-

ugh frequently these students lived with relatives, the

inistrators, especially those in the small and medium

e schools, reported that they became involved in the

sonal matters of these students, such as "finding

sing" and attained a "feeling of being responsible for

." "

Mobility of the American Secondary Student.--The

f school administrators reported that the mobility of

American student at the secondary level was contingent

two factors: namely, the transiency of the American

ly and the educational goals of the overseas dependent.

e the transiency of the American family overseas has

discussed previously, the discussion will be focused

e second factor, educational goals of the American

dent overseas. Implicit in this second factor is

ulturally determined notion that a U.S. college educa-

was highly prized in terms of work role and social

s. Moreover, since admission into higher education

e U.S. was contingent in part upon attaining a high

on the college boards, which are calculated on the

al norms of the stateside peers, the overseas Ameri-

uth was thought to be at somewhat of a disadvantage.

he American parent, like his counterpart in the bi-

al community, does not leave this matter to chance

mehow arranges that the American youth gets back to

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.S. for a portion or all of the secondary school.

is reflected in the enrollment figures found in

e 6.1.

ations of Graduates

Where do the secondary graduates go? The adminis-

rs who had complete secondary programs (Grades 7-12)

asked to comment upon the graduates of their schools

especially those who enter institutions of higher

tion.

The administrators reported that between 10 and

rcent of the host national graduates went on to

r education within the host nation. The administra-

asserted that these graduates were successful and

ently very successful in their efforts.

The administrators estimated that from 0 to

rcent of the host national graduates entered insti-

ns of higher education in the U.S. and that a

ed number pursued higher education either in Europe

er Latin American nations. The Latin American

most frequently mentioned was Mexico.

The chief school administrators reported that

n 70 and 100 percent of the American graduates went

institutions of higher learning in the U.S. However,

ministrator indicated that some American graduates

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rolled in institutions of higher learning within

st country. He commented:

   Ten American graduates went to the host national
iversity in 1969 and another 20 chose to attend an
erican institution of higher learning here in _____
at offered an accredited U.S. baccalaureate degree.

ministrators commented on the success of the Ameri-

aduates in American universities and colleges and

ed, "They always do well." The comments of these

school administrators, however, were based upon

s' comments and occasional letters from the graduates.

   However, one chief school administrator with

y tenure in a large school did comment about an

ation he had made:

   The school doesn't have any formal follow-through
our graduates. We try to talk to as many as we can
en they return here. We have noticed that those
dents who have been out of the U.S. for long periods
time tend to have adjustment problems in the States.
y get homesick and want to come back to _____ as
t as they can.

   It should be noted that the chief school adminis-

made no comments concerning the third country

es from the school. It can be assumed that because

re only thirty-one third country students in the

grade in all these schools, this group of graduates

oticed since it constituted such a small group.

The chief school administrators indicated that at

ent time the schools had no mechanism for

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cting comprehensive data concerning the graduate's

mic success or social adjustment in institutions of

r education.

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The student bodies attending these thirteen

.can schools were a multinational, coeducational,

iighly mobile group of children and youths. The geo-

iic mobility patterns of the students were highly

?rentiated, but the American and third country students

considered to be more mobile and the host national

nore stable group. Student mobility was also defined

?rms of the change of educational goals and objectives

ie students which mediated that the student moved in

it of the American school. The multiple "in and out"

?rns of the students created generations of students

:n the school and a student body that was continually

·tion.

The chief school administrator perceived the mo-

y of the students as causing discontinuities in the

nts' educational and social lives. The problems

the chief school administrators encountered with

tudents in managing the educational program will be

;sed in the following section.

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Factors Associated with the Administration
of a Highly Mobile Multinational
Student Body

ction and Discussion

The data in the preceding section established

ational and mobile nature of the students enrolled

schools. To get some idea about how the adminis-

perceived the task of managing the highly mobile,

onal student body and the kind of problems both

ministrator and the student encountered within the

, the administrator was asked a series of questions,

included; With what segment of the educational

m he had encountered the most headaches? i.e.,

ool, elementary, or secondary? Who handled the co-

tion of the academic program? Have you set up any

ns for new students? Do you have boarding students?

These questions were easily answered by most ad-

ators in the small and some of the medium-sized

. They could cite specific problems that affected

om a personal as well as professional standpoint,

as the effects upon the students. These adminis-

were more intimately involved with the students

the staffs were smaller, and the administrator

re and sensitive to the integrative process and

encountered by the students because the adminis-

themselves had to find solutions to the problem.

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ontrast, the chief school administrators, in other

um size schools and especially in the large schools,

d these questions more difficult; some rambled, some

lized about the "good the school was doing." In

ral, this group of administrators was less aware of

ntegrative process and the problems since the re-

ibility for the actual administering of the education

am and student-related matters had been delegated to

dinates in the school organization: principals,

ntary and secondary, curriculum coordinators, admis-

officers, counselors, etc. (See Table 5.1) The

school administrators had less direct contact with

tudents and became involved only if the problem had

ed a crisis level. One chief school administrator

arge school commented on the nature of his involve-

I get involved with problems when the parents are
in arms. Just this morning I had a parent come to
mplain about our Second Grade teacher and how she
ndled a playground problem.

The student-related problems which the administra-

ed in the open-ended responses were categorized

ree groups: they were admission and placement

s, academic adjustment, and social adjustment to

rseas school. (See Table 6.3)

Although the administrators cited problems in the

admission and placement to the school, by far the

Table

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le 6.3.   Areas that the chief school administrators con-
           sidered to be important in dealing with the
           highly mobile, multinational   student body.

	Number of Mentions
ission and Placement age, language, finances)	18
demic adjustment to overseas school	20
ial adjustment to overseas school	14
	52

number of items mentioned: 2.1.

rity of the administrators mentioned problems related

he student's adjustment to the school, both academic-

and socially. Why did these types of adjustment problems

? To seek answers to these questions it was necessary

amine the types of academic programs that were offered

ese schools and the conditions which would influence

dent's adjustment to his new classmates and environ-

In analyzing the educational programs, it was

ined that no archetype educational program was pur-

n these thirteen schools. Rather, if the educational

ms were placed on a continuum, at one end point, the

and sequence of the curricular structure was that

ibed by the host national educational authorities,

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ish was the dominant language of instruction and for

ying on the affairs of the school, and English was a

ndary language in terms of usage and time used in

ruction. On the opposite end of the continuum, the

e and sequence of the curriculum was patterned after

ducational programs followed in the U.S., English

he dominant language of instruction and for carrying

e daily affairs of the school, and Spanish was the

minant language--that is, it was taught primarily

foreign language and used solely as the medium of in-

tion for those subjects required by the host national

ment, i.e., national civics, history, and geography.

n these two polar points, there existed educational

ms that contained various blends or mixes of curricu-

ements from culture one (host nation) and culture

.S.), thus producing unique and highly differen-

curricular patterns, various blends of time and

of the English and Spanish languages, as well as

nguage used to conduct the daily affairs of the

s (See Chapter II, pp. 22-25 for the various models).

cific pattern which each school followed appeared

elated to such contingencies as the implicit and

t goals of the school, the mix and match of the

l backgrounds of those whose dependents used the

and the availability of human and financial re-

The educational program, which the student

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untered, in all likelihood contained new subjects,

h he had never experienced before. Hence it is under-

dable that the student would have to adjust to the

ram in the respective school.

In terms of social adjustment, the student again

aced with a new situation. He was meeting students

one or more nationalities; he was faced with not one

age, but two; the language to which he was accustomed

or might not be the dominant language of his new

mates; and he was faced not only with the set of

l norms and behaviors of the culture from which he

ted, but also with another set of social norms and

or characteristics of the locale in which the

was located.

For the elementary child, the social adjustment

new situation was by far much simpler in compari-

th the adjustment faced by the secondary youths.

by definition, asserted Eisenstadt, is "the transition

hildhood to full adult status or full membership in

ciety," and as such constitutes the

.stage at which the individual's personality
uires the basic psychological mechanism of self-
ulation and self-control, and his self-identity
omes crystallized. It is also the stage at which
person is confronted with some models of the major
es that he is supposed to emulate in adult life and
n the major symbols and values of his culture and
munity.[2]

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secondary youths who attended the transnational schools

experiencing in a real sense unique and complex pat-

in terms of adult roles, symbols, and values since

lements of two or more cultures were incorporated in

ng degrees and forms into the schooling experience

ll as those elements that impinged upon them from

ider binational and host national community. It is

d understandable that the secondary youth would

ter problems with social adjustment.

The student adjustment problems with which the

school administrators must contend were a function

highly mobile nature of the children and youths in

erseas schools. In essence, there were generations

dents in each school. Each generation and more

ically each student then was at his or her own

ularistic level in the adjustment cycle. Those

ts who had entered the school either in preschool

ly elementary grades, and had matriculated progres-

through the grades, had made their academic and

adjustment to the school environs early in their

In contrast, those students who had just entered

ool were in the initial stages of the adjustment

Although the problems that the administrators

requently centered around adjustment to the school,

of the administrators reported that the individual

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ol conducted orientation programs for the new student,
those efforts described were informal and limited in
. One administrator reported a buddy system existed,
er that the student council made efforts to orient
tudents, and one that the Counseling Department
ted in student orientation by the distribution of a
nt handbook.

Having established the categories of student-
ed problems with which the chief school contends,
nsuing discussion will focus upon the administrator
attempts to resolve these problems. Areas to be
sed will be the admission and placement of the
t, the elementary student and his adjustment to the
, and the secondary student and his adjustment to
nool.

ussion and Placement
Student

The admission policies and practices were found to
gnificantly among and between the schools. Three
ents reported that their institutions followed what
cribed as an "open admission" policy; open in the
hat all students were admitted whose parents wanted
ll their dependents in the school and could pay the
. However, the majority of the administrators re-
hat a type of "selective" admission practice was

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owed; that is, admission was contingent, in addition

he ability to pay, upon determinants such as age,

es on entrance examinations, specifically scores on

ish language proficiency tests (no school reported

iciency tests in the Spanish language); the sponsor-

agency of the U.S. student's father; established

nal quotas and/or class size; and frequently personal

views with the students and, in two instances, par-

Whether "open" or "selective" policy prevailed,

sion was contingent upon a written contractual agree-

between parent and/or legal guardian and the school

rning the conditions of admission. It is interest-

note that only two schools required as a condition

dmission, a physical examination, although some

s recommended that the child obtain certain vaccina-

prior to entrance.

All of the chief school administrators asserted

hey had experienced stress in administering the

ion policies. This stress revolved around contro-

s over age, language, and administering scholarship

Age was mentioned by five administrators as a

round which much controversy revolved in the

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ission and placement of children and youths in these

isnational schools. Eisenstadt asserted:

> In all societies, age served as a basis for defin-
> ing the cultural and social characteristics of a human
> being for the formation of some of their mutual rela-
> tions and common activities and for the differential
> allocation of social role.[3]

two major social collectivities (host national and

ican) which used these schools brought to the school

distinctive patterns in regard to age for beginning

ol. The customary and legally established age for

ring the first year of formal schooling in these seven

American nations was age seven. In contrast, the

mary and legally established age for entering first

in the U.S. was age six.

The chief school administrators reported they

confronted with the task of determining policy con-

ng what age-gradient system would be used in the

ls. Since these schools were attended by a binational or

national student body, the chief school administrator

ced with the dilemma of either (1) following a

age-gradient system based on either the host or

ge-gradient system which inherently imposed dis-

ages to one or more groups of students, or (2)

ping a flexible admission policy which would accom-

individual differences and would be based not solely

, but academic proficiency as well. The majority of

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ief school administrators asserted that the age-gradient

stem used in the respective schools was flexible and

dents between four and six years were admitted in the

school program, from six to twelve in grades one through

, and from twelve to eighteen years old in grades seven

ough twelve.

The controversy over the age-grade placement of

child frequently stemmed from the child's mobile

re. The parents were concerned about the child trans-

ing to other schools. One administrator described the

national parents' concern:

The host national parent was concerned that the
child would be at the socially acceptable age-grade
level when it was necessary for him to enter the host
national education system, while it was our [adminis-
trator's] concern that the child be acadmically
prepared.

er administrator described the American parents'

rn:

American parents are overtly concerned that the
hild will not be at the appropriate grade level upon
is return to the U.S.

U.S. and host national parents alike were concerned

the child's social and educational future and wanted

sure that the child would meet the social and educa-

norms within the respective society in which the

would continue his schooling.

The chief school administrators indicated that

were occasions when the conflict over placement had

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)een resolved in the manner acceptable to the parents

:hat the controversy had been extended beyond the con-

; of the school. One administrator recounted:

> They [the American parents] think this is an
> merican school like those their children attended
> ack in the U.S. They want their child to be given
> pecial consideration. I often have to fight with
> arents over this matter and on occasion all kinds
> f hell is raised at the Embassy.

:it in this comment is the fact that the American

: was unaware that this school was different, or the

1 for its being different than those back in the

;. Moreover, it indicates the type pressure that

:ministrator encountered over only one administrative

of the educational program.

h Language Proficiency

Not only was age a factor in the admission and

ent of children and youths within the school, but

1 language proficiency was as well. The chief

administrators reported differential policies con-

this aspect. Some administrators noted that non-

speaking students were only admitted to classes

d to increase their English language proficiency.

Other administrators asserted it was school

to permit the student to enter at any grade level

1 the child had a certain English language pro-

'. This comment illustrates:

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We used to take kids who did not have any knowl-
edge of English. We have now ruled that they must
take an examination to enter. We take them if they
are no more than two grade levels below in English
language proficiency.

›larship Programs

As already mentioned, admission into this school
contingent upon the parental consent to pay the tui-
fees established by each school. Implicit in the
ent to pay is the condition of ability to pay. How-
all the administrators reported that their schools
ted some students, whose parents did not have the
ty to pay the tuitions, via scholarship programs
all the schools maintained. Scholarship aid in
rential amounts, either as full or partial scholar-
, was granted in the school year 1969-1970 to a total
9 students (6.4 percent of the total student popu-
). Full scholarships were granted to 397 students,
332 students were recipients of partial scholarships
Table 6.4)

The scholarship policies in these thirteen schools
requently not recorded, and where policies were re-
, the actual administration of the program varied
Y among and between the schools. In some instances,
ief school administrator was responsible for the
te administration of the scholarship program, while
er instances a scholarship committee, composed

Table 6.4.   Scholarship aid programs by nationality of recipients in SY 1969-70.

	Region I							Region II							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	Total
U.S. STUDENTS															
School Sponsored															
Full	3	2	-	8	-	7	10	-	3	-	7	-	-	40	
Partial	-	-	3	3	-	-	47	-	-	-	-	-	-	53	93
HOST STUDENTS															
School Sponsored															
Full	5	-	-	18	-	53	44	8	-	1	24	6	27	186	376½
Partial	12	-	-	13	-	50	10	-	7	-	-	22½	76	190	
U.S. Govt. Sponsored															
Full	9	24	12	-	30	32	25	11	-	2	8	2	7	162	249½
Partial	40	-	8	-	-	1	-	-	11	10	-	15½	2	87	626
T.C. STUDENTS															
School Sponsored															
Full	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	4	-	-	9	10
Partial	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
TOTAL	69	26	23	42	30	143	142	19	21	13	43	46	112		729

Source of Data: The Office of Overseas Schools.

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erally of members of the Board of Directors, were in-
ved in the selection of scholarship participants but
administration of the actual program was left in the
ds of the chief school administrator.

The scholarship programs were often described by
administrators in a moralistic and paternalistic
er, such as "allowing needy students to attend the
ol, who otherwise would not have the opportunity."
the administrators asserted that the scholarship
rams imposed problems for them in terms of securing
money for the scholarship program and in terms of
istering it. One administrator in a medium school
ibed the conditions under which he became responsible
two scholarship students from a nearby island:

We got into this arrangement because the land on
hich the school was erected was given by the host
ational government. The government chose these kids
or these scholarships and we had to take them. The
by was 16 years old but we had to place him in the
ifth grade with eleven year olds since he was below
is age-gradient level. He evidently had never been
ff the island before nor exposed to urban living.
e had to see that he got food for lunch. This lad
ame into my office asking to go home. It broke me
o to see this boy so homesick, so I agreed that he
uld go home. . . . He never came back.

r chief school administrator quipped:

I find myself torn between the "good" this program
ovides in terms of "goodwill in the community" and
e frustrations I encounter. When I am confronted
th reams of paper work and endless meetings and
iticism directed at me over the administration of
is program. I wonder if it is all worth it.

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Two basic types of admission policies, "open" and

lective" were practiced in these schools. The accom-

ation of two culturally determined age-gradient systems,

)ined with the mobility of the student body required

: these schools practice a flexible admission process.

administrators reported that they experienced frustra-

s as they attempted to administer these loosely

ned admission policies.

Elementary Age Child
His Adjustment to
American School

Once the elementary child had been enrolled in the

)1, the chief school administrator was confronted with

ask of assisting each child in his or her adjustment,

academically and socially, to the new environment.

mic Adjustment

As indicated in the introduction, the school's

:ion program incorporated the use of two languages,

;h and English. Hence, if the incoming student was

lingual, it was essential that the child gain skills

second language. The administrators described the

utilized to accomplish this purpose.

The integration of the host national child into

lingual program, particularly the English language

m, was described thus:

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We give new host national students enriched
English classes. We give them extra tutoring by
placing them in our Special English classes. We
give them more than their tuition could demand.

The means of accommodating the American child into

school program and especially the Spanish language

sses was described in the following manner:

Continuity of our American student body has been
one of our greatest problems especially since part of
our elementary program is taught in Spanish. When
the American child gets here from the U.S., he
generally does not know Spanish and we have to get him
fluent enough in Spanish because he needs it to keep
up. This means we have to provide special Spanish
classes for these students.

icit in these comments was the fact that the schools

ided both highly formalized as well as informal or

rial classes as a means of helping the child learn the

nd language in the school program. In essence, the

f school administrator perceived the child's academic

tment as being contingent upon his becoming bilingual

ickly as possible.

The chief school administrators were aware that

hild's language development was influenced by the

The influence of the home on language development

scribed by MacGinite, who stated:

The home is obviously the prepotent source of
vironmental influence on language development. The
tent and nature of language stimulation in the home
flects the play of many factors--the interest, affec-
on, and the ability of the mother, the presence of

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siblings, the nature of the conversation and verbal planning in the family.[4]

The host national child, the chief school administrators asserted, was enrolled by the parent in the school to "learn English." Frequently, one or both of the host national parents spoke English (see Chapter III) and for the host national parent within the Latin American culture the knowledge of foreign language appears as a prestigious element and prized cultural symbol. The parent's attitude towards learning English was conducive to the host national child's development of English language skills. However, one CSA observed a pattern in the English language development. He commented:

> The host national child develops nicely in English language skills through the Sixth Grade. At Grades 7-8-9, he reaches a plateau.

Most administrators noted that the U.S. parent's attitude toward his child learning the Spanish language greatly influenced the U.S. child's language development. If the U.S. parent had a positive attitude toward learning Spansih, the child was more apt to make satisfactory progress. However, the majority of the chief school administrators did indicate that they had encountered conflicts with American parents over the school requirement that all children take Spanish language classes as well as certain subjects in Spanish; i.e., history and geography. Two men recounted:

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> We had to educate parents that all of the nine
> grades had to take Spanish. The kids were adaptable.
> The parents caused most of the problem.
> The parents are concerned over the fact that their
> children are required to study the host national
> language or history since they are only going to be
> here for ____ years. "____ was going back to the
> States and he would not need all that other stuff."

Since many American families were "short-termers,"
the chief school administrators felt that the American
parents viewed elementary schooling as only an interlude
in the education cycle and thus were more interested in
having their children have a schooling experience that
was comparable and compatible to what the children would
be experiencing back in the U.S. Frequently the U.S.
parents resisted the requirement that their child learn
the language of the host country, and the parents' negative
influence was reflected in the child's negative reaction.
The CAS described this negative influence.

> The American kids fail deliberately. . . . This also
> happens in the elementary. They develop such a block
> against Spanish and all other classes.

To facilitate language learning, especially in
English, all the chief school administrators reported
that the schools were engaged in extensive preschool
programs, which were purposely designed to assist the
non-English speaking child in gaining some facility in the
English language and to socialize him to the bilingual
school. The preschool program involved four year olds in

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nost instances, although one school did enroll three year

olds.

Although the majority of the chief school admin-

istrators did not comment on the language development of

the student in his native language, four chief school

administrators did comment on problems they had encountered

with the language development of host national students at

the preschool level. One described the nature of the

problem:

> . . . The maid had brought them [the children] up. . . .
> This would not be a problem if they entered the
> school speaking "good Spanish" but frequently they
> spoke a regional dialect. . . . When they [the child-
> ren] came to associate with other children, they
> found it difficult to communicate.

Implicit in this statement is the influence that the

environment within the home had on the child's language

development in his "native" language, Spanish.

ial Adjustment

The boys and girls enrolled in the American

ools emanated from disparate societies, which main-

ned differential notions concerning the social up-

nging of children and the social roles these children

uld learn and assume in the school with peers and per-

s in authority roles, such as teachers and principals.

e cultural norms mediated the child's behavior

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atterns within the school and influenced the child's
ocial adjustment to the American school.

The chief school administrators stressed that
eir interpersonal relationship with the elementary host
tional children was ceremoniously "polite and correct"
d commented on the deference that host national children
monstrated toward them. It was observed that in several
hools, students of all ages and nationalities rose to
eir feet and gave an oral greeting, sometimes in English,
metimes in Spanish, to authority figures such as teachers,
ectors, and the occasional visitor who entered the class-
m. This is a custom that is widely practiced in Latin
rican schools, especially at the elementary level.

Those administrators who were involved in the
mentary school asserted that maintaining student dis-
line both in and out of the classroom was a major con-
for them. One chief school administrator expressed
problem in terms of supervision: "We are constantly
ronted with supervision problems." Yet he continued
escribing the classroom situation:

You perhaps have noted that classrooms are somewhat
more noisy--they are, at least, in terms of what I was
accustomed to back in _____. It seems the kids
down here seem to be much more uninhibited in speaking
out and moving around.

cit in this comment is the fact that a different set
havioral norms than those to which the administrator
ccustomed existed in that culture.

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It should be noted that what was acceptable class-
room behavior was contingent upon the cultural norms of
the students and the teachers. Since there were both host
national and American teachers in the elementary school,
the child in the classroom encountered differential norms
of what was appropriate classroom behavior. When the
teacher's notion of what constituted appropriate behavior
differed from the students', the student encountered stress
and discipline problems:

> Frequently the discipline problems are with
> Americans who just arrived from the States, but to
> be sure, I have my share of problems with the host
> national child.

The American boy or girl entering the overseas
American schools encountered a new set of norms for class-
room behavior and encountered stresses. The administrators
were aware that there was an adjustment period for these
newly arrived Americans. One commented:

> We try to help these youngsters as much as we
> can both in the school and out. If we can get them
> through the first ninety days of class with reasonable
> success, they seem to make the adjustment to the bi-
> lingual program satisfactorily.

Explicit in this comment was the fact if the child was
given time, he adjusted to the new school, a new language,
his classmates, and the classroom situation.

It should be noted that the American child enter-
ing the American school, in all instances but two, was a

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member of the minority group in these schools. It is
possible that this influenced his social adjustment and
well-being in the school as well.

Although the administrators commented that they
encountered discipline problems with the host national
boy and girl, they did not view these problems in terms
of the child's social adjustment to the school. It is
possible since in the majority of schools the host national
students comprised the majority numerically, that the ad-
ministrators did not perceive the discipline problem in
terms of differences in social or classroom norms.

Rather, the CSA tended to comment upon the social
upbringing of the host national child in relation to his
social integration into the school. One commented thus:

> . . .Much of the responsibility for raising children in
> the host national family is delegated to a maid or
> "nana." Down in the elementary grades you see this
> in terms of their social and intellectual development.

Three administrators commented on the limited outside
contacts with other children the child had before entering
school: "They had played primarily with the maid, a broth-
er or sister." This limited social interaction was
perceived by one administrator as influencing the child's
interaction patterns in school; he commented:

> The [host national] children in the lower elemen-
> tary grades tended to play by themselves or in small
> groups of two or three. Larger groups tended to pro-
> duce conflict as a matter of fact. Cooperative play
> is very difficult to organize at the elementary level.
> The idea of cooperative "team" play does not seem to
> have any significance until upper elementary grades.

In essence, the social upbringing of the children was perceived by the administrator as influencing the type of activities that could successfully occur in the school program.

Activities

The chief school administrators reported that school-sponsored events for the elementary students incorporated celebrations and parties for both the host national and U.S. holidays. Moreover, the schools frequently tried to provide after-school academic enrichment programs and activities for the elementary students, since the social activities in the community were limited. The after-school activities included informal athletic programs and scouting--Brownies, Junior Girl Scouts, Cub Scouts and Boy Scouts. Only two schools had formal athletic programs: one had a peewee football team and another had a boy's track team and elementary-age cheerleaders.

Since leaders for these after-school activities were hard to come by, seven of the administrators reported they had assumed the responsibility. One man served as a football coach, while another administrator and his wife had assumed the task of supervising all the after-school activities.

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Although all the chief school administrators were
not involved with the supervising of the after-school
activities, nevertheless the administrators frequently
were embroiled in, and not infrequently the arbitrator of,
conflicts that occurred over after-school activities.
Conflicts centered around leadership; what set of criteria
would be followed in the organization--whether the scout
troops would be registered in the host country or in the
U.S. and which uniform was correct; the norms of behavior;
the type of activities appropriate for binational groups;
and the scheduling of these events so as not to conflict
with the sociocultural or religious nroms of segments of
the binational community.

Summary

The administrators perceived the elementary child's
academic adjustment as being contingent upon language
learning, particularly of the second language of the
school, and hence all the schools offered specialized
language programs. The chief school administrators were
aware that discipline problems occurred in and out of the
classroom but generally only perceived the newly arrived
American child's behavioral problems as being associated
with social adjustment. Although the CSA identified
language as a significant element in the academic adjustment,

e did not associate language learning to the behavioral

problems of the elementary child.

Generally, the chief school administrators sought

direct interaction with the elementary students. Those in

the small and medium sized schools commented with a sense

of pride and personal satisfaction that they had direct

and frequent contact with the students either as a part-

time teacher/administrator or as supervisor of the after-

school programs. One administrator in a large school

described how contact with the elementary students helped

him:

> I have been the director of this school for about
> four years and I have experienced many crises. Over
> the years, I have learned that one way to get a lift
> when things are a mess is to take a walk over to the
> kindergarten or first grade room for a while. After
> a few minutes with those kids, I can come back to a
> problem with a renewed and different attitude. It
> really does me a lot of good.

Academic and Social Adjusment of the Secondary School Youth

The student group that the administrators felt

encountered the most difficulty in adjusting to the over-

seas school was the secondary age youth. This group was

composed of female and male students aged thirteen through

nineteen enrolled in grades 7-12.

Twenty respondents, who were employed in the

schools that conducted partial or complete secondary

schooling, reported that the assimilation of the individual

student into the academic and social life was often highly stressful for both student and administrator. Only one administrator reported that "no problems" existed. This could possibly be explained by virtue of the fact that the complete responsibility for secondary education had been delegated to subordinates.

The administrators' descriptions of their relationship with secondary youth frequently took the form of anecdotal-like accounts of recent crisis issues that confronted them in managing the students, underground school newspapers, campus codes of conduct--dress codes, smoking or not smoking, use of alcoholic beverages at school affairs, class attendance, scheduling of examinations for students whose families were departing before the end of the school term, or arrival of students mid-term.

These crisis events were generally not seen as being related to the school organization and program but rather perceived as being an inherent "conflict" aspect of the current generation of youth, over which the administrators felt they had little control.

In describing the secondary age youth, the administrators frequently were apt to delineate issues that they confronted with the national grouping of which the student was a member. Most administrators felt that American students" encountered and presented them the most problems and the third country student the least.
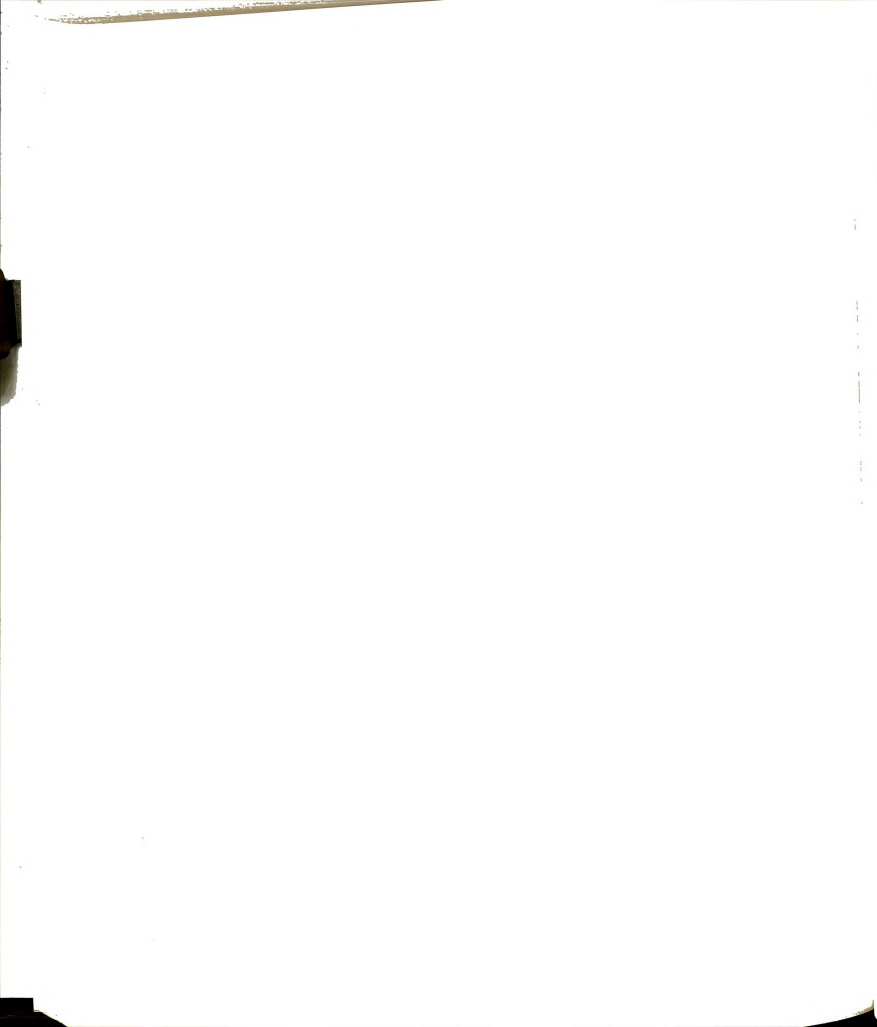
Hence the data will be presented in terms of the national grouping of the student.

American Secondary Students

Some of the administrators described the students in generalized stereotypes such as a "typical American student" and "responsible and good students." Most tended to categorize the students as "Embassy kids," or "business kids," or "missionary kids," and kids overseas on a "permanent" basis, or kids who were "transients."

In analyzing the chief school administrator's relationship with the American secondary youth, it was the element of mobility that was perceived as a fundamental condition that permeated the nature of the relationship. As indicated in Characteristics of the Student Body, the students were a mobile group and this mobility produced generations of students whose comings and goings not only caused discontinuities in the students' lives but also produced problems in managing the school. Hence an administrative expedience was developed by many schools to limit the amount of movement. Regulations concerning the number of excused and nonexcused absences and early withdrawals were established. For example,

No student will receive credit for the school year or for any course if more than 25 (excused or non-excused) absences are recorded. This same ratio of 14% will apply to any part of the school year the student may be enrolled in the school.

No early withdrawals are permitted. Students are required to complete the school year, including final exams, to gain credit for the year. The school year ends about the middle of June and the primary Spanish program (Federation of Mexican Schools) may continue on through the third week of June depending on the official Federation calendar.

evertheless these regulations did impose pressures upon

he administrators within the administrative process.

The responses of two administrators explain the

roblems that were reported by twelve others to have

ccurred annually at their schools. The one administrator

escribed the problem and how he dealt with it.

We just had one family who wanted to leave before the school year was over and before the final exams were given. I knew if I let one person take the exams early, I would have all the other Americans on my neck. We finally resolved the matter by making arrangements for the son to remain here for another week. I boarded him in my home and then after exams, he flew to the States to join his parents.

n another instance, the administrator had assumed the

ole of guardian for a male student who was to finish out

he year. However, he reported that

I finally had to write a long letter to the father and suggest that he come down to get his son and take him back to the U.S. The father did this.

ne of the administrators, however, reported that the

hool operated boarding facilities for these students.

e administrator did indicate that two years ago a local

otestant mission had attempted to establish a boarding

use for missionary children but that the project was

andoned after a year.

The mobile nature of the student was perceived as influencing the youth's adjustment to the school, and the administrators themselves often identified problems with those students who were transient in terms of the academic and social adjustment to the school and the community.

Academic Adjustment.--Since the educational programs in these thirteen schools incorporated the use of two languages, Spanish and English, the initial problem was to integrate the student into the program and to provide the youth with a means of becoming proficient in the second language. Two administrators aptly described the process:

> We give them time to adjust. I get them into a Special Spanish program. We try to adjust the schedule.
> One in five American students were transients. They had not been involved in this type program before. We had to do some "shoe hornin " to get some type of fit [in the educational program]. However, the social adjustment for kids fresh out of D.C., I felt was more pronounced.

Explicit in the latter comment was the fact that this administrator perceived the "social adjustment for the kids . . . was more pronounced." This was a notion which was expressed by the majority of those administrators involved in working with the secondary youths and was the dominant problem area with the American secondary youths.

Social Adjustment.--The newly enrolled students were seen by the administrators as experiencing a "new world" where the student was confronted with the task of establishing social and self identity, in a school environment which was influenced not by the values, symbols, and roles on one culture but of two cultures. The students' reaction to these diverse elements varied. One chief school administrator made explicit how he perceived the feelings of newly arrived American students: "The kids in junior high and high school don't quite feel at home. Being out of our culture is hard on them."

The American youths encountered new sets of social norms about what is acceptable behavior for youths, such as this administrator described:

> . . .the Latin American culture does not provide U.S. type living. Living here is very different. Dating is done quite differently. The chaperone idea is still very much a part of life.

Still others cited differences which pertained to the characteristic role of male youths. There was a lack of ample opportunity for part-time employment, and youths rarely had the privilege of owning and driving a car-- cars are very expensive to buy and maintain overseas.

Not only were the social norms for youths' behavior different than what the American was accustomed to in his society, but, not infrequently, the chief school

administrator cited legal codes of the host nation as an

impinging force. Two administrators cited the following

events:

> Two boys were picked up in a <u>cantina</u> for drinking.
> The law here in [<u>host nation</u>] states that the school
> must suspend these students and not allow them back
> in the school.
> . . .The immigration authorities are cracking down on
> the Americans who are involved in smoking pot.

The American youth's reaction to this new social

environment was expressed in different forms and described

variously by the administrators. Two administrators

described the students who rebelled against being over-

seas and made this rebellion manifest in their academic

work:

> Americans are slow to adapt. They don't want to
> be here. They fail and go to another school.
> American kids fail deliberately. They know they
> can go home again. . . . They develop such a block
> against Spanish and all other classes.

Still another administrator described the students rebel-

ling against the local social and legal norms.

> Our student problems are with the U.S. rebels.
> They fail to realize that they are in a foreign
> nation and fail to realize the need to observe the
> rules of the [host nation].

Others described the reactions of those students

who knew they were overseas for a limited period of time.

> The Transient American student is least interested
> in the school and takes the least pride in it. Since
> he is here temporarily there is no reason to establish
> loyalty. Moreover he generally thinks anything out-
> side the U.S in inferior.
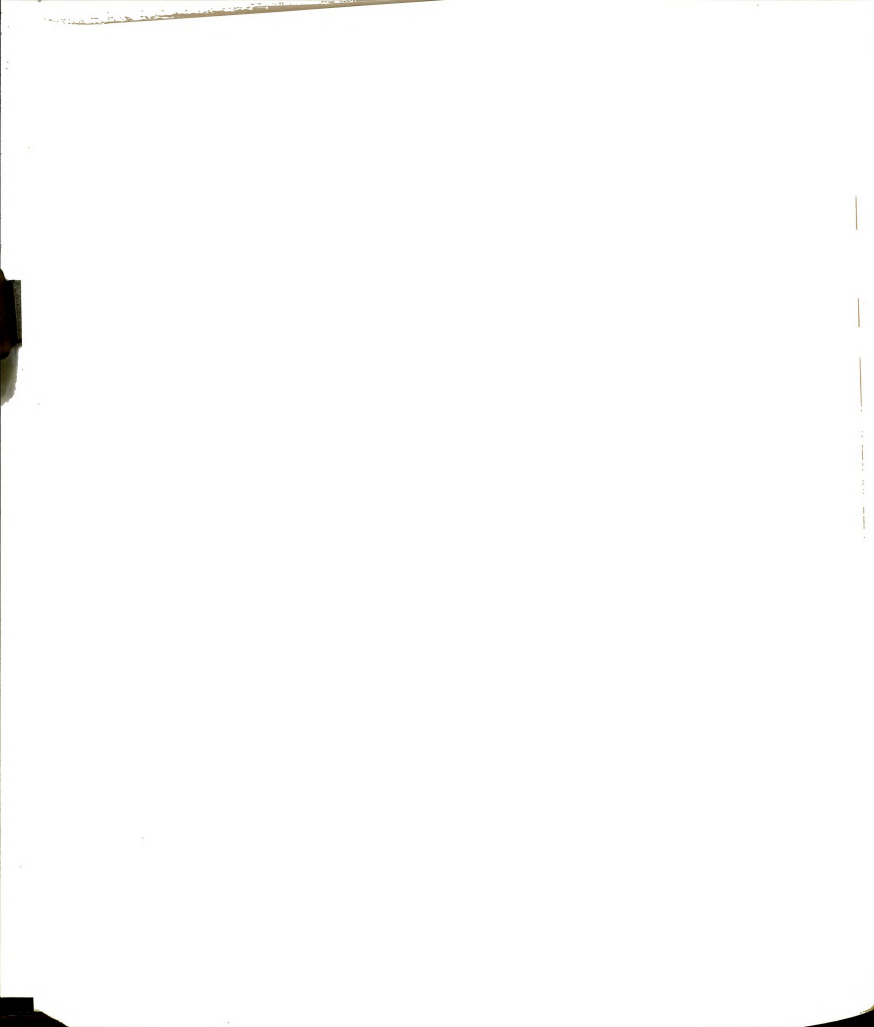
Another administrator cited the "trouble group" in his

school as "those students, whose dads were on sabbatical

and whose mothers want a glorified vacation." He con-

tinued:

> . . .the new kids [Americans] count the days before
> they are to go home. They have an "I don't care,
> why bother" attitude.

Explicit in these comments were loyalty to and acceptance

of one set of symbols and cultural patterns and rejection

of another. In a real sense these American youths were

rejecting a cultural pattern which the overseas school

represented and which the chief school administrator was

attempting to create and integrate.

The administrators reported that the social net-

work that would allow the overseas American youth to

adjust to the new social environments outside of school

with ease was absent, for the socialization patterns for

youths in the host culture were different. One adminis-

trator commented about these socialization patterns:

> . . . Their [host national youths] socialization was
> more in the home rather than in public places. The
> public places were not frequented.

Another administrator further commented:

> . . . These kids only have one recreational outlet.
> That's physical education classes here at
> school.

In an effort to cope with the behavioral issues that resulted from the different sets of social norms for youth, some administrators reported that the schools had established a set of regulations governing student behavior, on and off campus.

One chief school administrator described the basic regulation operative in his school:

> When a student's off-campus behavior is of such nature that it brings adverse criticism on the school, the student may be subjected to suspension or expulsion.

The administrators reported that the students reacted to these regulations differently. Since the American secondary students in a real sense were participating in two or more cultures outside the school which were different (nonconformity), some students did not accept nor feel loyal to the school's idealized patterns of student behavior. One administrator described such a youth and the consequence. "Just the other day, I caught a boy smoking on campus and I expelled him permanently."

Frequently, the student regulations were described in authoritarian terms and were viewed as authoritarian by the student body. One chief school administrator commented:

> The kids don't like the idea of being told how to dress. If you wear a short skirt, you must learn how to sit. And I don't like to be placed in the role of local policeman over all the kids in the school.
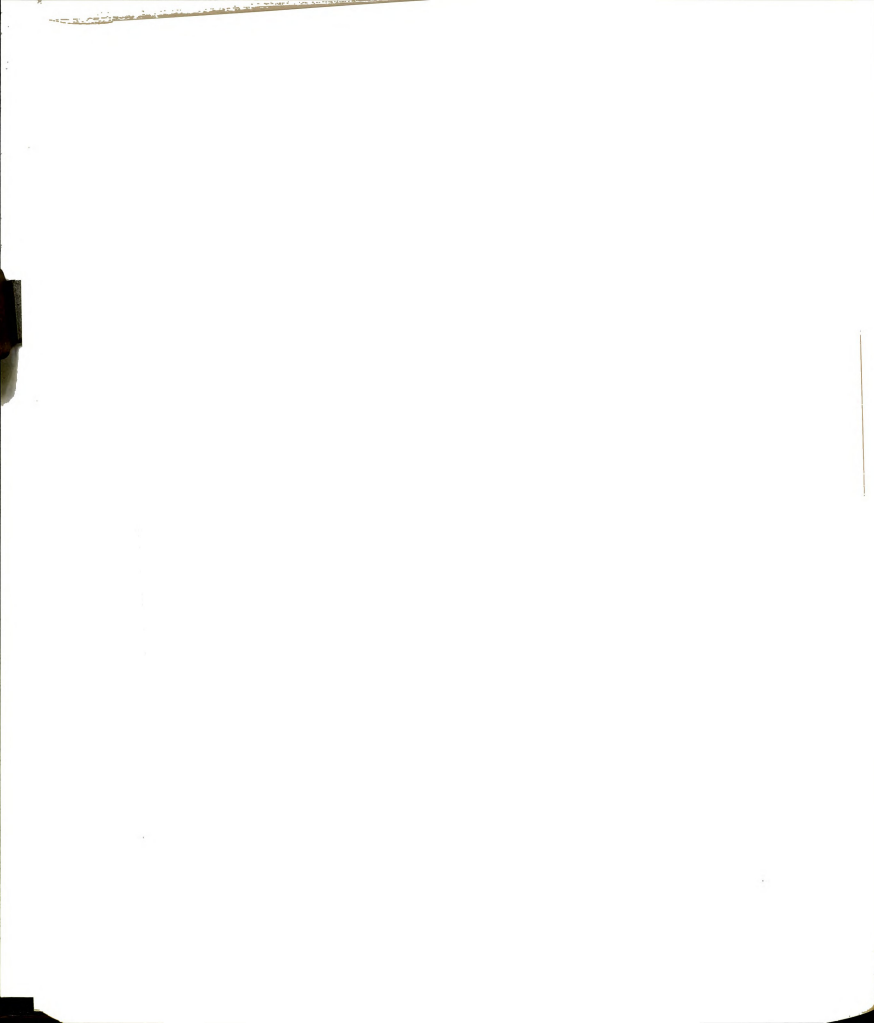
Yet he continued to describe the students' acceptance of the regulations. "Most students expect to be sent home. Most American parents support the idea of sending the kids home." Explicit in the above comment is the influence and support that the overseas American parents gave to the school on these regulations. The chief school administrator reported that the parents' sanctioning of these regulations was due in no small part to the fact that the parents were under pressure from the sponsoring agency or business to portray the "ideal" U.S. citizen abroad and implicit in this was conforming to the host national social and legal norms. For the American parent abroad this pressure represented a new and different pressure, since previously in the U.S. the head of the family had been judged by his work performance only and his personal and family life were privatized.

Since the American youth overseas held a social status that might be termed "piggy-back status," that is a social status derived from the representative role of the larger collectivity of which a student's parent was a member, the American youth's behavior overseas impinged upon the father's job overseas as well as the family's status. Consequently, the American parent pressured his son or daughter to conform to the local social norms as well. This parental pressure caused one chief school administrator to comment: "The parents use the situation

as a bull whip. "If you don't behave, I'll _____."

Only five schools employed counselors who could

help the students with their problems; consequently many

of the administrators reported that they themselves

assumed this role. Comments included:

> I counsel with the kids.
> . . . I even have a daughter of a board member, who has
> taken to pot. He wants me to talk to her about this,
> since he doesn't know how.

If the administrators could not resolve the issue with

the student, other alternatives were sought. One adminis-

trator described the process in his school:

> This is a difficult situation. We deal with the
> parent. If this fails, we deal with the Board. We
> must recommend. They either agree or change at the
> meeting. We are in a foreign country and we don't
> want the image of the U.S. to be damaged.

Only two administrators reported that they could

turn to various individuals in the community for help.

One called on a local minister; the other commented:

> At one time, we called on a group for help:
> an Anglican, a president of a local firm, and a
> person from the Embassy.

Another administrator did indicate that the school had

sought professional help:

> The school brought in a psychiatrist to help
> some students who had been forced to move a lot and
> faced some serious problems.

Other administrators did indicate that schools had
incorporated into the school program special problems and
cultural differences, as a positive means of handling
social adjustments. A typical comment follows:

> . . . These type problems have persisted, but we try to
> counter it by strengthening our Social Science pro-
> gram through discussion of social problems.

Although the majority of the administrators made
reference to the American student's problems in adjusting
to the social environs overseas, many if not all, did
adjust successfully.

One administrator who had personally "counseled"
some fifty to sixty American students over a nine year
period described what might be called the "successful"
adjustment pattern which the American student generally
followed as he entered the school and the host society.

> There are stages that the kids go through. First,
> this is something novel. Then after about 30 days
> they enter the second stage, they are tempted to
> rebel. Then after three or four months, he reaches
> the third stage. Things begin to make sense. They
> find out that they are like all the other kids and
> they accept it. They generally improve their studies.

The majority of the administrators talked about a
rebellion stage of the American youths overseas. It can
be inferred that since the American youths were coming
and leaving that the chief school administrators were
constantly facing new generations of students who were
experiencing crises in their personal lives. Hence rarely

did they describe those youths who had "made" it through the adjustment cycle so to speak.

Only two administrators made reference to the American students who had adjusted to living overseas. One administrator commented on the influence that being an American overseas has on the youth's social status.

> The Americans were more sophisticated than the national kids or even kids their own age in the U.S. American girls do develop more naturally overseas. . . . The niceties were part of the social upbringing overseas. The U.S. girls were especially attracted to this.

Another administrator commented on those American students who were permanent residents. He said, "They are like the host national."

It can be inferred then that the long-term American student had been integrated into the school and the bilingual program at an earlier point in time. He or she had adjusted to the host national culture possibly by virtue of the acquisition of the host national language, thus helping to confirm Rainey's assertion that length of stay overseas does affect the acquisition of languages.[5]

Moreover, as these American youths were overseas for longer periods of time, their loyalty to and acceptance of the host culture increased. This was confirmed two chief school administrators in these comments:

> . . . Those Americans who are raised here, can't stand the rat race in the U.S.

...They [American students who had been permanent residents here] are often afraid to go back home [U.S.] to go to college.

In essence these American youths were experiencing alienation from the U.S. culture.

There were six administrators who reported that within their respective schools there was a small but significant group of American youth, who had experienced alientation from the U.S. culture or aspects of it, and who were residing overseas with persons other than their parents. Frequently these youths were children of cross-cultural families residing in the States. Some now resided with a grandparent, although there were some who were just "wandering" or "whose fathers were in Vietnam."

One administrator in a medium size school reported that he conducted an informal program whereby he catered to a number of both male and female U.S. high school students, who had social problems with their parents in the U.S.

> We have had five or six problem kids up to this point. These kids had negative feelings about their parents. We bring them down here and place them in stable host national families. There is something about the host national family that sort of dissolves their feelings for their parents, and the kids develop different feelings for them. The kids have a new and different kind of freedom in the situation even though the host family has well formed and rigid social patterns. Then, too, I set up a schedule of counseling. We are going to do more of this. We are going to have 30-40 of this type student in the future.

the administrator was asked why he was involved with

program, he replied, "They speak English and we are

: of English-speaking kids."

Summary.--There was a consensus among the adminis-

rs that the American secondary student encountered

s as he entered the American school. The student's

nic adjustment to the school was influenced by his

ciency in learning the second language and his accep-

of the school's educational program--since many

ferred from other schools, some students did express

sure of dissatisfaction. The administrators perceived

:udent's social adjustment as being problematic for

:udent and for themselves. As the student entered this

)cial environs, he encountered two sets of social-

al norms in operation. Whether the student accepted

ected the acceptable behavior patterns for youth in

cale, greatly influenced his social life. Moreover,

the American student was highly mobile, this

ty affected his educational patterns and his social

1s, especially the maintenance of friendships.

itional
iry Students

It should be noted that the number of host

1 students at the secondary level was less than in

mentary school. (See Figure 6.1) Generally the

: national male had transferred out of the school by

level and the host national student population was

ominantly female.

Academic Adjustment.--The chief school administra-

described two generations of host national secondary

ents: one contingent was labelled permanent, the

transient. The permanent group, the "old timers"

speak, had attended the school for a number of years,

matriculating from the elementary school into the

dary school. These students were integrated into

chool's bilingual education program at a point

er in time. They had adjusted to the school and the

am and had gained a level of proficiency in the

sh language. This group was described by one chief

administrator:

> The host national student is in his own country.
> takes the most interest in the school. He can
> entify. He has pride in the school.

Moreover, the chief school administrators indi-

that these permanent host national youths "were

well-behaved," and "polite and courteous" in their

e, a socially acceptable behavior pattern for youths

the host society. Hence many commented, "I spend

ttle time on discipline with host nationals."

The generation of newcomers, the chief school

rators asserted, imposed a set of administrative

lems. Problems were frequently related to the students'

gration into the school's program.

> The students who enter at the high school level
> either have a knowledge of English or they must enter
> the special English programs before they can be inte-
> grated into the regular program. Since most of the
> students do not know English we have to schedule
> Special English classes for these students.

The administrators acknowledged that some of the

mers had enrolled in the school for the purpose of

ing English. Usually this group of students, gener-

girls, had matriculated from host national schools

ad enrolled in the American school for specialized

ams, e.g., Special English or bilingual secretarial

ams. One chief school administrator described such

ram in his school:

> . . The bilingual secretarial program has helped to
> tract new students at the 10th grade level. In
> is program, we teach all the secretarial skills in
> th English and Spanish. After three or four years,
> pending upon the student's language abilities, they
> aduate from the school as bilingual secretaries.
> e new industires as well as banks are always looking
> r bilingual secretaries.

The very nature and process of learning a language

ceived by the administrators as an arduous and

task which the men sought to facilitate by con-

searching for new and more effective techniques

ching English as a second language to these youths.

ninistrators acknowledged that some students found
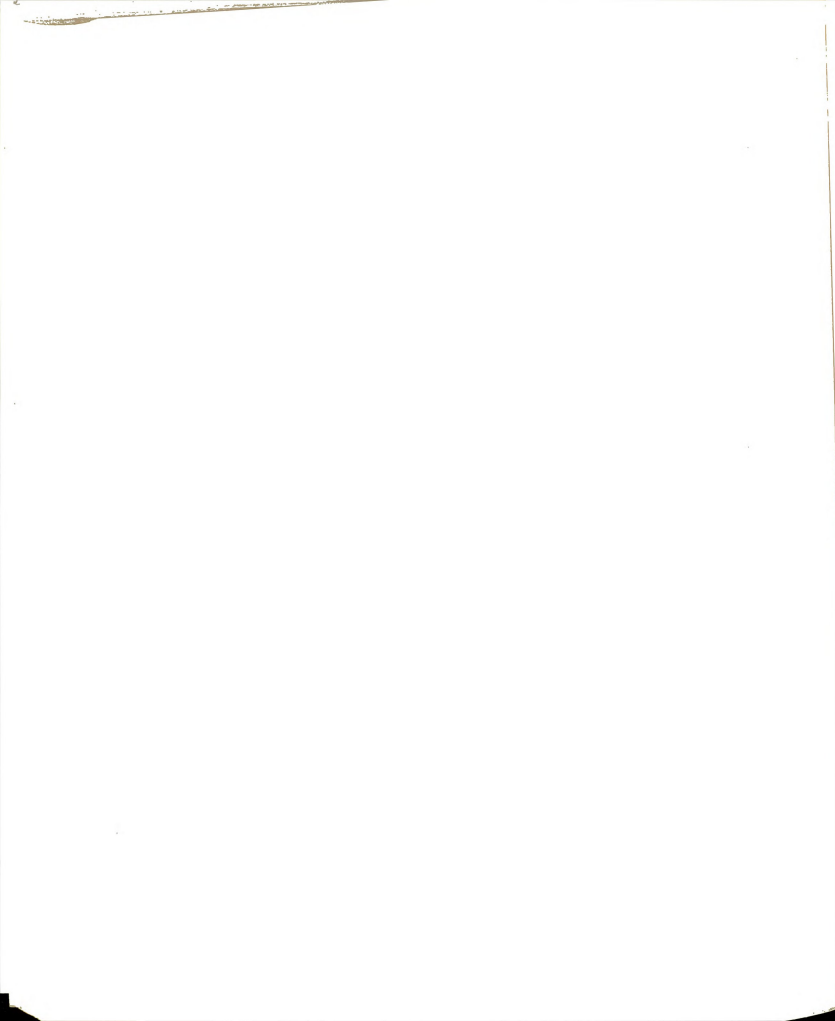
ning a foreign language difficult and that sometimes

e students withdrew from the school.

The majority of the administrators perceived the

lems with the host national secondary age student as

g primarily related to the student's academic progress

success in the school's program. These schools' pro-

s were oriented towards either preparing the student

ntrance into higher education or preparing the host

nal student for future work roles in the host society--

ion that was congruent with administrators' profes-

l training and experience and educational norms. How-

this idealized view of the school's role frequently

n conflict with the notion that the chief school

istrator reported was held by some of the host

al students. The following comments illustrate:

. . We have a certain segment, some boys and some girls,
o did nothing about their work but just sort of
ayed on and on....They kind of used it for busy
rk until they decided what they wanted to do--to go
f to work or what not...
   Our bilingual secretarial program served as a
ven for those who did not want to go to work or to
roll in the college prep course...

However, one perceptive chief school administrator

ed the social role of the female in the host society

a segment of parents viewed the role that the

was to play in preparing the daughter for her adult

the society:

Here in Latin America, the role of the woman is
rather traditional. They are not expected to play a
leading role in business and her place is thought to
be in the home. . . . Very few girls enter higher educa-
tion. However, problems arise for both host national
parent and daughter. What does the daughter do if
she does not go into the labor market after ninth
grade? The class of host nationals who send their
daughters to our school view this as a "safe" place
to send them. Safe in the sense that they can possibly
learn some English and some secretarial skills, both
socially prestigious skills which help them to retain
their social status in the community. They also feel
we run an organization that looks after the welfare of
the student.

Social Adjustment.--The administrators rarely

untered problems with the host national students'

al behavior outside the school. Upon leaving the

ol grounds each day, the host national youth returned

is social world where Spanish and host cultural norms

ailed. The youth was aware of the appropriate means

rying adult roles and establishing his own self-

ity. One chief school administrator described the

dary youth's social development:

Their social development was more in the home
ather than in public places. However, the host
ational male had a good degree of sophistication
ince the male role in Latin America is somewhat
ifferentially defined than the American male role.
he Latin American culture does provide the female
hild with a "coming out" birthday party at the age
= 15; this establishes her as a person with an adult
ocial status and accompanying role expectations.

Summary.--There was a consensus among the adminis-

s that the host national secondary age youth caused

problems for them within the school than the American

lent. The host national youth was accustomed to the

opriate behavioral pattern for youth in the locale,

consequently social adjustment for this group was less

lematic. Rather, the administrators reported, the

lems focused on the students' adjustment to the aca-

c program of the school, particularly learning the

ish language, and the students' academic progress.

Country Youths

The third country secondary age youth represented

6 percent of secondary student population and the

school administrators failed to identify problems

he had encountered with this group.

It could be inferred that either this group had

exposed to different sets of sociocultural norms

re than one nation and knew how to cope and adjust

situation, or that their marginal status meant that

r the student nor the parent felt justified in

ng the problems to the attention of the chief

administrator.

t Interaction
ns

To integrate the student into the academic pro-

the American school was one objective, but to

ite the student into the student body was another

tter. If the student was to be a viable member within

e student body, then he must be able to share and dis-

s ideas and thoughts with other members within this

up. This sharing and discussing is based on communi-

ing with each other and this, in turn, is based on

guage. Hence, to become one of this group necessitated

t the youth knew the language of the other member, be

English or Spanish. The administrators were cognizant

the importance of language and endeavored to provide

youth with proficiency in the foreign language as

kly as possible; hence, the Special English and

ial Spanish classes.

One of the vehicles which the schools used to

grate the segments of the student body and hopefully

ain a measure of school spirit was through activities.

Table 6.5)

The range of activities included social, cultural,

hysical activities. The administrators reported that

ctivities often got bogged down and became ineffec-

due to lack of leadership. Typical comments included:

Getting these things started is generally easy but
eeping momentum is another issue. When kids see
here is no adult interested, you can't blame them
or the attitude they show toward these things.
We have to ask teachers to take these activities
a voluntary basis. Generally they do, but once
ey find out the many problems--no equipment, no
cilities, no money, and lack of interest on the part
the students, they generally give up. I can't
ame them.

ble 6.5.   Student activities conducted in American
            schools in school year 1969-1970 as reported
            by the chief school administrators.

tivity	Frequency of Mention
dent Government	
Student Council	9
Social Activities (Queens, homecoming, dances)	7
Student Exchange	1
Club to Study Problems of Youth	1
ool Publications	
Yearbook	12
Newspaper	4
e Art Activities	
Art Club	2
Drama Club	4
Literature Club	1
Music (Band, Orchestra, Drum Corps, Choir, Glee Club, Guitar Club)	6
letics	
Intermurals	8
Intramurals	3
Cheerleaders - Pep Squad	2
ial Interest Activities	
Astronomy Club	1
Chess Club	1
Industrial Arts Club	1
Model Airplane Club	1
Photography Club	1
Sewing Club	1
Typing Club	1
ce Clubs	
ibrary Science	2
ocial Welfare (volunteers to assist local orphanage)	1
astic Organizations	
ational Honor Society	2

It should be noted that leadership of these activi-
es was on a voluntary basis. Frequently, the host
tional teacher had little or no experience with such
tivities as they were not frequently part of the host
hools' educational program. The American teacher has
d experience with many of them, but the adjustment to
e new teaching situation and culture often were diffi-
t, and any additional task, especially when there was
enough equipment, etc. to do the task, was just too
h to cope with.

The students' involvement in the activities
ied. Although the above example implied the lack of
erest on the student's part, it should be noted that
type of activity and extent to which the student was
iliar with the activity often mediated the student's
onse. For example, "the kids were always trying to
o each other on fund-raising activities. I finally
to put the brakes on." This particular activity, that
und raising by electing queens, was an activity which
a part of the host culture. The student had been
lved either as a bystander or participant before, and
efore was aware of what should be done and how to do
In contrast, other activities in which the student had
o previous experience precipitated problems, as
illustrations imply:

We are still trying to get last year's yearbook
finished.
. . . They [the students] have a hard time organizing.
We must set the program. If it is on school time,
they stay but not after school.

It should be noted that staying after school to
participate in activities was not a widely accepted custom
although if it were an activity with which the students
were familiar, such as socials or athletics, participation
was more likely to occur.

Another aspect of the activities problems was
related to sex. It should be noted that within the host
culture there were certain activities appropriate for
girls and others for boys. Generally girls tended to be
less involved in athletic programs, and then the sports
were generally limited to volleyball. Moreover, since
the secondary schools often had few males, this also
limited the extent of the athletic programs that could
successfully be utilized in the schools.

Another aspect of the activities problems was
related to language. For example, in such activities as
dramatics and newspaper, the language used mediated the
extent of the student involvement. For example, one
chief school administrator commented:

The Americans are frozen out by the host
nationals in dramatics and sports. Only one kid,
who had brought a trombone, was included in the
social group.

Summary

The chief school administrators in managing these
transnational educational institutions were confronted with
the task of integrating a multinational, coeducational,
mobile student body into the school's educational program.
The administration of educational programs, which would
enable 7,706 Spanish-speaking children to learn English,
some 2,986 English-speaking children to learn Spanish, and
some 630 third country children to learn both Spanish and
English imposed considerable frustrations.

The administrators perceived learning a second
language as the significant key to the student's becoming
integrated into the educational program, and all reported
specialized language programs in the schools to assist
the student in making the academic adjustment.

However, by far the majority of the administrators
reported that the social adjustment of students was more
problematic, especially for secondary age youths. The
students were faced with not only the set of social norms
and behavior patterns of the culture from which they
originated, but with another set of social norms and behav-
ior pattern characteristics of the locale in which the
school was located. The student's acceptance of, or
rejection of, these sets of behavior patterns influenced

is social adjustment. Moreover, the student's social

djustment was also influenced by length of stay in the

ocale.

The administrators perceived the students' inter-

tion patterns as being mediated by the student's ability

share and discuss ideas with other members of the

udent body in the other student's language, be it

glish or Spanish. The students' involvement in school

tivities was influenced by the language used in the

tivity, the type of activity, as well as the extent the

udent was familiar with the activity. The chief school

ministrator reported that the "school spirit" evidenced

the school activities was often related to the degree

transiency or permanency of the students--the permanent

dents had "more pride."

The administrator was again the "man-in-the-

dle." He was mediator between the student and parent,

student and teacher, student and student, and often

student and the local community. It was a task that

ired a compassion and concern for the child or youth,

nderstanding of social norms and behavioral patterns,

respect for and acceptance of the child or youth

n individual.

FOOTNOTES

[1] John Useem, Class notes taken by author in the ilture and Personality course conducted by Dr. John Useem.

[2] S. N. Eisenstadt, _Essays on Comparative Institu-ons_ (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965), p. 149.

[3] _Ibid._, p. 147.

[4] Walter M. MacGinitie, "Language Development," in cyclopedia of Educational Research, Robert L. Ebel (ed.), ew York: The Macmillan Company, 1969), p. 696.

[5] Mary C. Rainey, "Language Learnings of Overseas-erienced American Teenagers," (unpublished Doctoral sis, Michigan State University, 1970).

CHAPTER VII

WORK-RELATED INTERACTION PATTERNS WITH

GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

Introduction and Discussion

The previous chapters, II through VI, described

 major social collectivities that comprised the inter-

 social structure of the school and the interaction

terns that the chief school administrators maintained

h each. In addition to the internal social collectivi-

s, the schools maintained relationships with external

ial institutions, such as governments, educational

anizations, etc. which also were thought to influence

 institution building process in the cross-cultural

:ing.

Loomis described this systemic linkage between

itutions as

. . . The process whereby the elements of at least two
social systems come to be articulated so that in some
way they function as a unitary system.[1]

hird culture" institutions, these overseas American

ls were systemically linked with two or more societies,

s such were conceptually seen to bridge between two

ultures--the host national culture and the American

ulture--which in itself made the task of articulation

omplex and difficult.

The second major objective of this study was to

dentify the dominant social institutions in the wider

ocial systems with which these American schools related,

 explore the nature and extent of the interaction pat-

rns between the school and the institution, and to

quire some notions concerning the effect these relation-

ips had on the administration of the school.

The administrators were asked a series of ques-

ons concerning the relative importance of various

stitutions' influence on the school, how they learned

ut the influence, and to describe the nature of the

erinstitutional relationship. Collectively, the

ponses to these questions constituted an index of the

ef school administrators' perceptions of the relative

endent-independent status of the school in the cross-

tural setting. The data are presented in the next

ee chapters.

uential Social
itutions

The respondents were asked to rank ten social

itutions that were thought to influence the overseas

ican school's development and the administrative

process. The respondents were also asked to record any
additional social insitutions that they thought exerted
influence on the school.

Twenty respondents completed this ranking question.
Two of the incumbent administrators chose to abstain from
answering this question in a direct fashion. One indi-
vidual after looking over the list asserted that "the
items represented different categories of influence," and
"did not see how you could possibly rank them." The other
respondent stated "I don't feel that any of the items
influence the school to any degree." Although these
individuals did not respond at this point in the inter-
view, in subsequent sessions they frequently referred to
"outside" pressures from individuals and groups as "people
who come in and try to tell me how to run the school."
Possibly their reaction to this question lies in the fact
that these two individuals were interviewed during a
period of crisis. One school was preparing for the annual
election of the Board of Directors and an aura of uncer-
tainty surrounded the event. In the second instance, the
second semester was getting under way and the chief school
administrator was experiencing severe staffing problems,
i.e., one teacher had unexpectedly resigned and a new
group of student teachers was arriving. Possibly the
question was interpreted by these incumbent administrators

having threatening qualities which were not immediately
apparent to the interviewer.

The responses of the twenty administrators on
this ranking question were tabulated using a ten-point
scoring scale with 1 representing the greatest influence
and 10 the least influence. (See Table 7.1) Although the
data reflect variations in the administrators' perceptions
of the influence of the institutions, nevertheless the
data reveal that the categories of institutions that were
perceived to exert the most influence on the school were
governmental or educational institutions. Economic insti-
tutions were perceived by eleven administrators to
influence the school to a lesser degree than either
governmental or educational institutions. Philanthropic
foundations, religious institutions, and other institu-
tions were perceived by more than half of the respondents
as exerting little or no influence.

For the purpose of analysis, the data in Table
7.1 were further tabulated into a typology which included
three categories--high, medium, and low influence. High
influence included 20-19 mentions which were predominantly
in the 1-3 influence rankings. Institutions having high
influence were in the governmental category. Medium
influence included 16-18 mentions which were distributed
predominantly between the 1-5 influence rankings. Insti-
tutions having medium influence were in the educational

Categories of Institutions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Number of Responses	Number of No Responses
Governmental												
Host Nation	12	3	4	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	20	–
U.S.	3	8	4	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	19	1
Third Country	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	3	17
Educational												
Southern Association of Colleges and Schools	2	4	6	1	3	1	1	–	–	–	18	2
Regional Association of American Schools	1	3	2	6	2	–	–	1	1	–	16	4
Economic												
Host National	–	1	–	4	2	1	3	–	–	–	11	9
U.S.	–	1	1	2	3	3	–	–	1	–	11	9
Third Country	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Other												
Philanthropic Foundations	1	–	–	1	1	2	3	–	–	–	8	12
Religious Institutions	–	1	–	–	1	–	–	3	1	–	6	14
Other Institutions	1	–	1	2	–	3	–	1	–	1	7	13

ategory. Low influence included 11 or less mentions
hich were predominantly distributed between the 4-7
nfluence rankings. The economic and other categories of
nstitutions constituted low influence. This typology
orms the basis for the ensuing discussions in Chapters
I-IX. Chapter VII is devoted to high influence insti-
tions, Chapter VIII to medium influence institutions,
d Chapter IX to low influence institutions.

arning of the Influence

Subsequent to ranking the institutions, the
ministrators were asked, "How did you learn about this
luence?" All the respondents reported that they
rned of the influences through events that transpired
er they got on the job. Most had a hard time identify-
 the exact process by which they learned of the
luence. Some indicated they learned about the influence
m persons closely associated with the internal matters
 the institution--board members, former directors,
cted teachers, office secretaries. Two mentioned
 some of the long-term American residents had provided
ght into these influences. However, most administra-
 indicated that they had learned of the influence
ugh experiencing crisis situations directly with the
al institution.

The period of time it took the administrators to become consciously aware of the conditions varied. One short-term administrator reported that he learned about the influence of social institutions "within the first half hour" after getting on the job. A more tempered and mature response was given by a chief school administrator who had lived most of his life in the cross-cultural environment, "I am still learning."

It was obvious from the responses to the question, "How did you learn about this influence?" that the majority of the administrators possessed little training or experience in identifying the power structure confronting the schools in the cross-cultural setting. Since 71 percent of the administrators left the job after only a brief tenure (modal tenure three years) few learned how to identify and control the relative influence of these social institutions on the administrative process.

Host Government

The governmental institution that the chief school administrators ranked as exerting the dominant influence on the overseas American school was the government of the host nation in which the school was located. All the respondents reported it influenced the school. However, administrators perceived the degree of the host government influence to vary: twelve ranked it highest

in influence; three ranked it second in influence; four
ranked it third.

The Scope and Scale of
The Relationship

The American schools, as legally established,
corporate entities within the host nation, were subject
to the civil legal codes of the respective countries.
Thus the administrators indicated that the schools were
constantly interacting in a dependency status with a
plethora of host governmental agencies at many adminis-
trative levels. These agencies were categorized according
to administrative level and within the host government's
bureaucratic structure, and a summary of the reported
units and the frequency mentioned are presented in Table
2.

The chief school administrators reported that the
interactions with some of the host governmental units were
infrequent while others required daily contact. Many of
the public utilities were nationally owned and operated--
telegraph, telephone, electricity, air and rail service--
and although the influence of these units was often taken
for granted and not frequently mentioned, nevertheless
the school was greatly dependent upon these government
units in its day-to-day operation. For example, the
schools were dependent upon the communication network,

Table 7.2. Host governmental units with which the American
            schools were reported to interact.

National Government	State Government	Municipal Government
Ministry of Finance - 1	Department of Education - 12	Department of Water - 4
Tax Bureau - 13 Customs - 13		
Ministry of Labor Immigration - 13	Department of Highways - 1	Department of Public Health - 3
Social Security - 12		Police Department - 2
Ministry of Education - 9		Department of Streets and Roads - 2
Ministry of Health - 5		
Postal Department - 1		

h local and international. The technological problems

ociated with telephones out of order, "mail not arriv-

for months," telegrams "never being sent," were topics

und which, amusing in the telling, but often frustrat-

experiences, were reported.

     Placing a long distance telephone call here in
          can be one of the most unique experiences of
a lifetime. It may take hours to get through. Your
voice is hoarse from yelling "hello, hello" through
the interminable static. Sometimes our phones are
out-of-order for days on end.

We only have air service on one airline three days
a week here in _____, in contrast to the air ser-
vice in the national capital or state capital. The
schools located there indicate they have "great air
service," but we certainly don't.

e Host Government Control
Education

Since these thirteen American schools were all

ablished as private education insitutions, they were

jected to the education codes regulating nonpublic

ools which were established by the federal or provin-

l government authorities in the seven nations. Since

ion I was a federal republic, the states as well as the

eral government possessed authority in educational

ters, whereas in Region II, the federal government was

sole authority.

The units of the host government which all the

f school administrators felt were most influential in

rmining the nature of the overseas school enterprise

the National Ministry of Education or the provincial

rtment of Education. The nature of the governmental

uence was a function of the school's accreditation or

rporado status with the educational authority or

rities. The administrators reported variations in

umber of educational authorities with which they

affiliated. (See Table 7.3)

	Region I							Region II					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6
Elementary Grades 1-6 (Primaria)	F	S	S	S	S	S	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Grades 7-9 (Secondaria)	F	S	S	S	F	S	NU*	F	F	F	F	F	F
Grades 10-12 (Preparatoria)	–	–	–	SU	NU	SU	NU*	–	F&	–	F&	EX	F
Commerce (Commercio)	–	S	S	S	S	S	–	–	F	F	F	–	–

F = Federal Authority
S = State Authority
* = Program Affiliation

NU = National University
SU = State University
& = Extra Classes

EX = Exam

From Table 7.3, it is evident that the schools in Region I were affiliated with from one to three education authorities--federal or state education authorities and federal or state universities as well. All schools in Region I were reported to have Grades 1-6 accredited in the federal or state _Primaria_ programs, six schools were reported to have Grades 7-9 accredited in the federal or state _Secundaria_ program, and five schools and commercial programs accredited by the state education authority. Moreover, since the federal and provincial universities retained the authority to accredit Grades 10-12 (_Prepara-toria_), three schools in Region I reported having Grades 10-12 accredited by either the federal or provincial university system, while one school reported an affiliated relation with the autonomous National University for education programs in Grades 7-12.

From the data in Table 7.3, it is evident that in Region II the federal governments retained the educational authority. Thus all schools were accredited by the federal Ministry of Education of the respective nations.

Twenty-one respondents felt accreditation with the host national education authorities was imperative to ensure the host national student admission into the next level in the education cycle in the host nation's education system (secondary or higher education)." Moreover, since these thirteen American schools enrolled a large

rcentage of host national students, the matter of host
tional accreditation was perceived by the majority of
ief school administrators as a critical determinant in
e institution's survival. Three such responses were:

> We would be like fish out of water.
> It gives us holding power.
> Having an elementary or secondary certificate that
> is registered and certified by the Education Department
> with its signature and seals is a prized document.

Although all the administrators perceived accredi-
ion with the host national education authorities as
ng essential to the institution's survival, neverthe-
, the administrators perceived operating an accredited
ol under the laws of the respective host nation as
ying with it the condition of control. For the schools,
control was mediated through the regulative and evalu-
e functions of the host government's education
ority. The chief school administrators identified
major categories of control which impinged differen-
ly and often in an inhibiting manner on the
istrative process.

ssional Staff

All the chief school administrators reported that
ost government controlled professional staffs via
tions concerning teacher certification and the
ment of national and foreign teachers.

The chief school administrators reported that each country maintained teacher qualifications and retained the power to control not only teacher certification within its jurisdiction, but in some instances required that a given percentage of host national teachers be employed in the school as well. One respondent commented:

> Here in _____ the Ministry designates a portion of our elementary teachers in Grades 2-5. We can select some, but they must be approved by the Ministry.

Moreover, the chief school administrators reported that each country maintained regulations concerning those teachers who could be assigned the task of teaching courses related to host national constitution and government (i.e., civics, history, geography). Specifically the Constitutions of each country stated that such teaching assignments could be held only by native-born citizens of that country.

The host national government had not only established regulations concerning the certification and assignment of host national professional teachers but of foreign teachers as well. Since the American schools utilized U.S. professionals trained outside the host nation, the chief school administrator reported that the schools had to receive official approval from the respective federal or state education authorities prior to employment of all foreign nationals. In the administration of this control, the host government exercised the practice

"selective immigration":   only those who possessed the

sired professional qualifications were granted working

rmits which entitled the foreign teacher to enter the

untry for employment purposes. The chief school admin-

trators reported that the time, effort, and financial

sources required to secure official approval often

lited the number and quality of U.S. professional staff

bers in these schools.

These controls were perceived by the majority of

administrators as inhibiting the supply of trained

. professionals. The condition prompted one adminis-

tor to comment:

> . . .we are limited in faculty selection. The teachers
> we can attract and retain are not current. The paper
> work associated with getting the working permits for
> U.S. teachers is overwhelming. This stifles our
> efforts to run a creative education program.

ation Programs

All of the respondents reported that the respec-

education authority with which they were affiliated

tained a prescribed or "official" course of study to

the incorporated schools were expected to adhere.

where adherence was required often included the

and sequence of the curriculum, the utilization of

ribed tests, the utilization of the host national

age as the medium of instruction, and the school

dar.

Twelve respondents indicated that the regula-

tive nature of the "official" course of study and

activities influenced the educational program in the

school.

> We follow the Department of Education curricu-
> lum. When it is national health week, we do a
> unit. When we get a directive from the Department
> of Education instructing us to suspend classes for
> whatever reason, we comply, just as we do when we
> are asked to conduct a special health unit.
> We always cooperate with the Department of
> Education in celebrating their national holidays.
> As you know, holidays are a part of life down
> here and the way you celebrate them is very impor-
> tant. We lay wreaths at statues. We always
> march in the parades on holidays. Our band is
> very much in demand.

Eight of the administrators reported that the

educational authorities of the host nation exercised

control over the educational process in varying

degrees through the end of semester or year examina-

tions. Two respondents reported:

> We used to have to teach toward their [the
> Department of Education] tests, but in the last
> two years they have allowed each school to
> develop its own tests.
> Here in _____ we are required to submit
> all our secondary and commerce tests to the
> technical department of the Department of Edu-
> cation. We must submit them a month before the
> examination and if the tests are in English, we
> must submit a Spanish translation.

All the chief school administrators reported

that the American schools were evaluated by inspectors

from the respective educational authority who visited

the schools and observed. To determine the extent of

the inspection experienced by the schools, the adminis-

trators were asked if the schools had ever been inspected.

All responded in the affirmative; however, the frequency

and the nature of the inspection varied from "informal

visit," "once a year" or "once a month" to see what we

are doing to "an 'all day visit' which included the

inspector teaching a mathematics class."

The respondents recounted the inspector's

visit variously.

> We greet him and bring him into the office.
> We have coffee together followed by a walk
> around the school. As you know, we go through
> a deference routine in our greetings and in
> walking around the building. I get in front of
> him to lead the way. [Within this culture this
> is a mark of deference.]

Since the schools were attempting to blend the

course of study of two education systems together to

form a basic course of study that would meet the

needs for both the host national and American student,

consequently the host educational authorities' control

over the education program was viewed as an inhibit-

ory aspect of accreditation. Two administrators

commented:

At the secondary level, it [accreditation] does weaken our English program.

It [accreditation] complicates life in scheduling classes especially when I must provide special classes prior to the time when Ministry of Education tests were administered.

Frequently the chief school administrators ommented on the often laborious and frustrating .sks related to compiling enrollment data for the ucation authorities and the registration and certification of the "official" certificates and plomas. Typical comments were:

It takes one person two weeks to complete all the statistical data at the opening of school.

We have been waiting for weeks to get our elementary certificates signed and approved by the ministry. You should see the mountain of paper work at the close of the school year.

In summary, the host nation's control of cation was mediated through the regulative and luative function of the respective education hority in each nation. Although the chief school inistrators perceived accreditation with the pective education authority as essential to the rican school's survival, nevertheless the ompanying controls were frequently viewed as

aving an inhibiting effect upon the school's educa-
on program and the selection of professional staff
embers. The nature of the relationship between the
dividual school and the education authority as well
the means that emerged for resolving differences
ll be discussed in the subsequent section.

lationship with Host
ucation Authorities

These American schools had what might be
entified as a status constellation which included
h a host government "official" status as well as
foreign" status. The "official" status was
ived from the fact that the schools were legally
ablished in the respective countries and offi-
lly sanctioned by the host government, educa-
nal authorities, vis-a-vis accreditation. The
eign" status was derived from the fact that
e schools also had their roots in other cultures
e they were providing schooling for American
dren as well as other nationals. The "foreign"
us was frequently emphasized by the administra-
as they stated

> . . . the school is perceived by the host
> community as an official representative of
> the U.S. Government. After all, we do fly
> the U.S. flag along with their flag and it
> is easy for people to get the idea we are
> a U.S. Government school, even though we
> aren't.

The combining of these two status positions into an

acceptable and smooth-working relationship with the

respective educational authorities often proved vex-

ing and was a condition that was difficult for these

American-born and trained chief school administrators

to cope with.

The chief school administrators, in managing

bilingual, binational, bicultural schools were con-

fronted with the task of selecting and incorporating

elements from two education systems and a minimum of

two cultures. Hence implicit in this task were

elements of competition and conflict between systems

and cultures, and this was evident in the relation-

ships that existed between the school and the host

national education authority.

Yet solutions to these conflicts were necessary

for the institution's survival. In place of competi-

tion and conflict which were surrounded by confusion

and misunderstanding, a new kind of relationship was

ubstituted, one that was less rivalrous in nature and
efined by Cuber as "accommodation."

> . . . permanent or temporary termination of
> rivalrous interaction which, while not necessarily
> settling the issue involved in the rivalry, per-
> mits the rivalrous parties to function together
> without open hostility at least in some aspects.

The practice of accommodation by the host

ucational authorities was a universal that chief

hool administrators from both Regions of the study

scribed. Accommodation was permitted by the

nistry of Education within a legal framework of

e host national law by granting an "experimental

atus" and/or passage of "permissive legislation."

ese legal procedures served to permit not only

school's establishment but more frequently provided

school leeway to deviate from the established

icial educational program.

The accommodation arrangements, the chief

ool administrators asserted, were transitory

nature and required the school to constantly

efine its relationships with the educational

orities. It was the chief school administra-

who was required to mediate and negotiate the

litions of the accommodation and all the
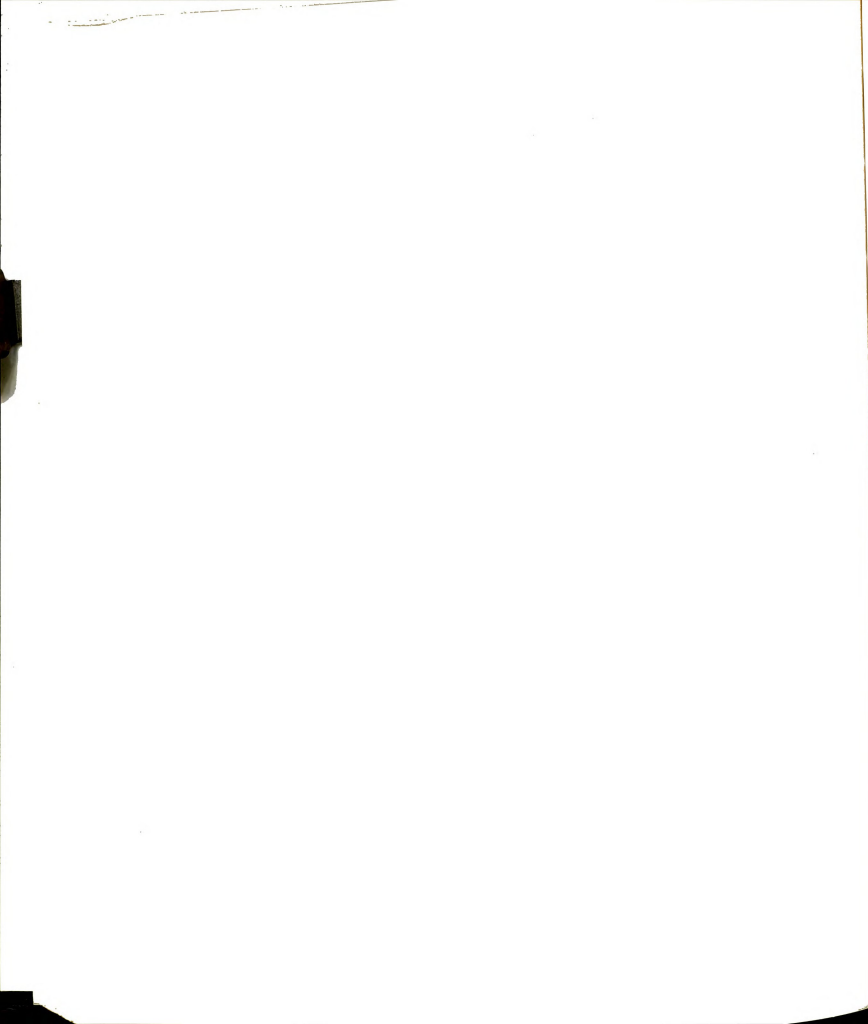
espondents reported they had performed this role during

heir tenure. A response which reflected the feelings of

he majority of the long-term chief school administrators

 dealing with these conditions follows:

> All private schooling is controlled by the
> government here in _____ and if you want to operate
> you must make peace with them. The Founders were
> interested in having the school related with the
> Ministry. It was one of my first awakenings upon be-
> coming the director, since it was different than what
> I was accustomed to.

Most frequently accommodation occurred in aspects

 the education program. One respondent described the

ocess of obtaining accreditation for the school's

hillerato program (Grades 10-12):

> National accreditation was a must to me. Prior
> to this time, it had not been done. . . . There were some
> who were trying to get not only the diploma from the
> _____ School but also to finish their Bachillerato,
> which would enable them to enter the local univer-
> sity. . . . I thought a change should be made so that the
> students would be prepared at the _____ School to
> go to the local university. The role I played in this
> was to get people interested. You kind of sidle up,
> you talk, you say this and that. You present the
> various needs of the school, and you ask "what do you
> think would be essential for this school to change in
> order for the students to prepare for the Bachiller-
> ato?" They say you have to add this or that. Backing
> and filling, and compromising and so forth. You get
> someone who is able to persuade people so you can
> bring it about. It is the same kind of thing you have
> here, there, everywhere. The proper approach, some
> tact, some persuasion and some pressure.

Three chief school administrators reported accom-

ion had also been made in the area of the accrediting

y's prescribed textbooks since the schools were

lowed to use U.S. textbooks. One respondent described

e process required to secure this accommodation as "quite

exercise in patience." He related the sequence:

> First we gave them a list of all the secondary
> texts used here in the school and outlined the contents
> of each. In addition, we went through the national
> curriculum and underlined the portions that correlated
> with the respective sections in the texts. After all
> this they came back and said, "We can't read English,
> how do we know that what you have outlined is correct?"
> My blood pressure jumped, but after many lengthy ses-
> sions in the Ministry, we convinced them that we were
> covering the "material." We were, however, still re-
> quired to pursue the official program in the
> prescribed order.

licit in this example was the fact that accommodation

been made by allowing the school to use English text-

s instead of Spanish textbooks. Nevertheless, the

ol was still required to follow "the official program

rescribed order."

Administrators also noted that accommodations had

made concerning the utilization of English as a medium

nstruction in varying quantities and at various levels.

respondent described the time-consuming and conflict-

ask associated with securing approval from the

ncial education authority so that first grade could

ught in English:

> This required months to accomplish and was only
> inalized after numerous conferences with the educa-
> ional authorities, reams of documentation justifying
> he request, and patience.
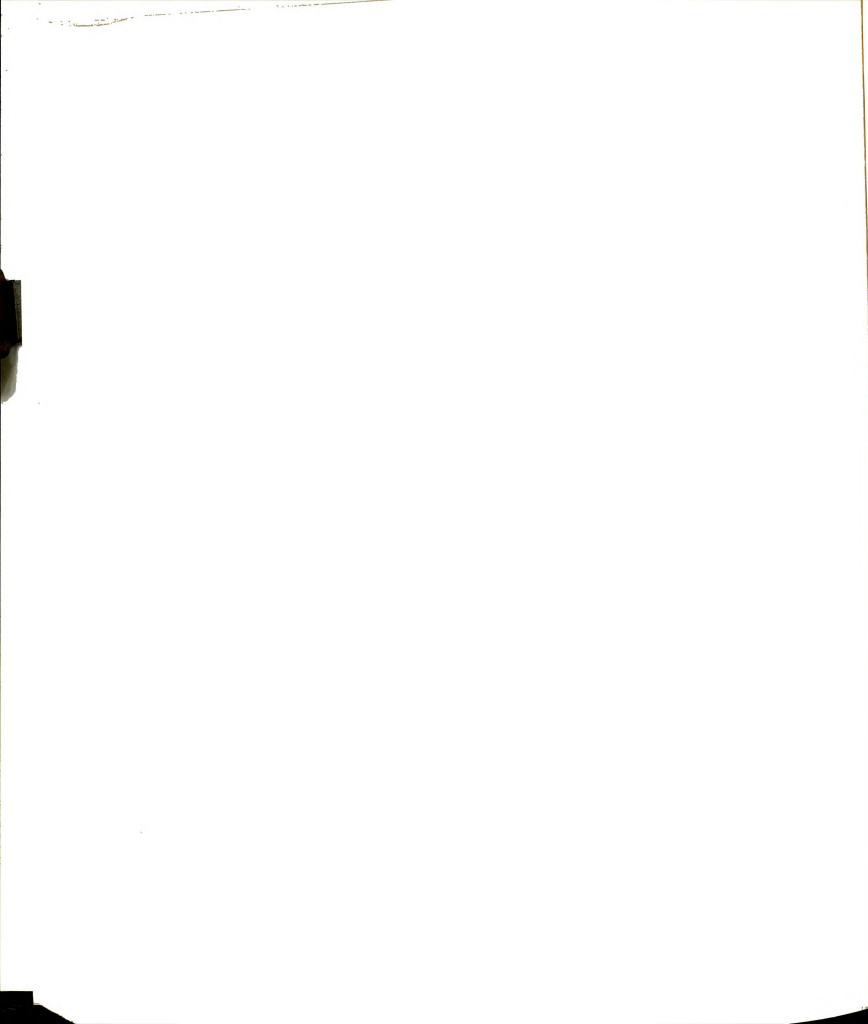
The American schools by possessing a combined
"official" and "foreign" status were allowed accommoda-
tions. However, each educational authority established a
point beyond which the institution was not permitted to
deviate. Subsequent to the gathering of these data, one
of the thirteen schools was charged by the Ministry of
Education as having exceeded its limits and was subjected
to a formal and much publicized inspection by the Ministry
which resulted in sanctions being placed on the school.

Since the seven nations in which the schools were
located were confronted with problems of mass education,
their educational policies were oriented toward public
and national interest. Stated another way, education
served as a nexus around which political, economic, social,
and developmental efforts have converged in the host
nation's modernization process. An historical event which
was brought to the attention of the researcher not only
described the nature of the relationship between the
American school and the host government, but also how the
change in the relationship between the U.S. and the host
nation is articulated within the overseas American school.
The first genre of American schools, as described in Chap-
ter II, was established during a period when the United
States maintained a superordinate relationship with the
national government. However, as the relationship
between the two nations altered, the anachronistic

ivilege" status of these schools was terminated and

status moved toward a more coordinated scheme.

Under President Plutarco Elias Callas, the coedu-
cational system of Mexico became closely supervised
by the federal government. The Mexican government
required proof that schools in the United States could
operate in the Spanish language before granting per-
mission to the American School to continue operating
in the English language. Dr. Henry L. Cain [chief
school administrator] went to the United States and
found proof that there were ten counties in Texas which
could operate schools in Spanish. In 1934 the Elemen-
tary Department of the school was incorporated under
the Secretaria of Educación Publica. Thereafter, in
the elementary school, the course of study prescribed
by the Mexican government was followed for half the
school day; the other half of the school day was
dedicated to the course of study prescribed by the
public school system of the United States.[2]

This event resulted in the establishment of a new

tionship between the American school and the host

rnment and produced a solution that effected struc-

l alteration within the school. The solution was

rocal and satisfactory to both parties under a given

f conditions. Moreover, this event reflected the

government's nationalistic attitudes and feelings

rning the maintenance of sociocultural customs and

tions through the utilization of its native language.

ermore, the situation exemplified the process used to

e between two bureaucracies--the overseas American

and the host national education system--and it

r highlighted the role of the chief school adminis-

in the mediating process between the school and a

institution in the cross-cultural setting.

Moreover, in the current era, as functionaires in

educational bureaucracy changed either via new politi-

appointees or via the installation of "new order"

eaucrats, a further redefining of the power relation-

p between the educational authority and the American

ool was frequently required. The significance of this

inferred from comments of one chief school adminis-

tor:

It requires a constant effort on our part to main-
tain a critical balance of our school with the
education department. It is a task that requires
constant organizational adjustment and acumen on our
part in working with both minor and often major
authorities. It is becoming progressively more
difficult in comparison with former periods when I
knew everyone in the central office.

In addition to the formal nature of the relation-

between these schools and the host government

ational bureaucracy, one chief school administrator

rted there was an informal relationship. Respondents

uently stated, "As you know, the government officials

their children here in school and they know what we

doing."

ry

The host government's influence upon the American

l was a composite of multiple lines of forces from

is governmental agencies, but the dominant influence

om the Ministry of Education. The American school,
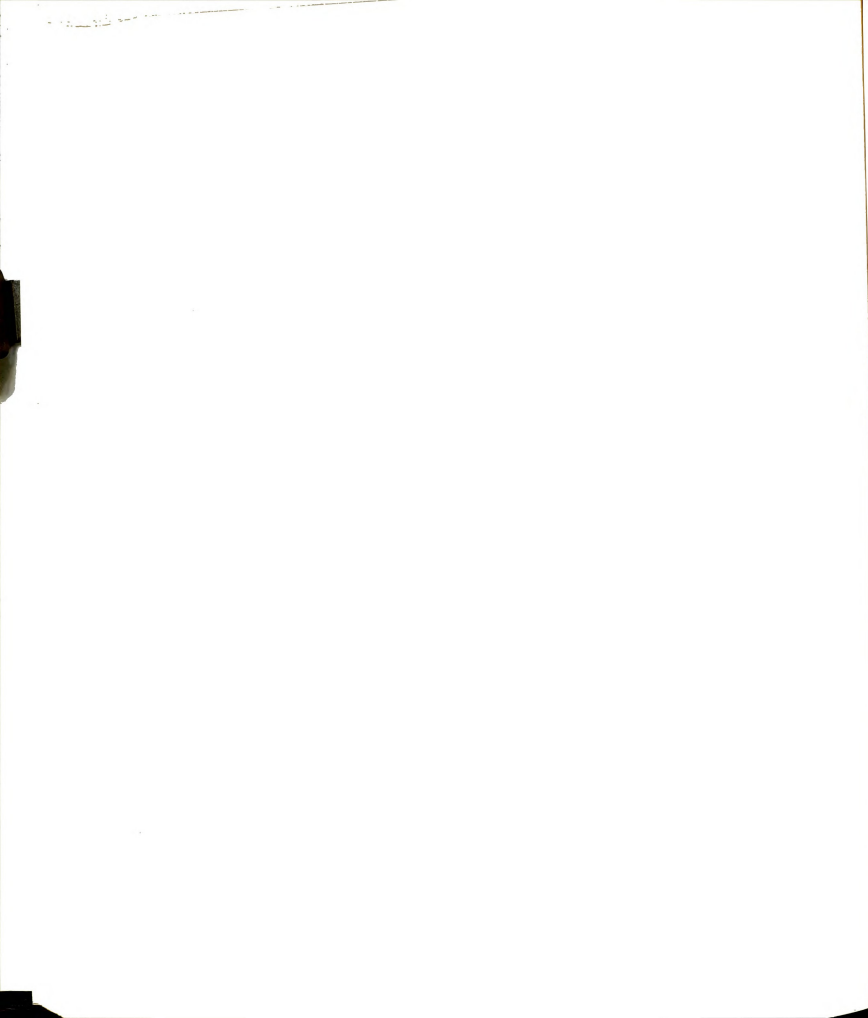
; a "third culture" institution, held an "official" but

oreign" status within the Education Department. These

hools might be characterized as "institutionalized

viants" within the host nation's education system.

wever, there was a "range of approved or permissible

havior" that was tolerated but beyond which no accommo-

tions were made.

The interinstitutional relationship was constantly

ng redefined in terms of sociocultural, economic, and

itical developments within the host nation and in terms

the wider relationship between the host nation and the

ted States.

The chief school administrator was delegated the

dership role in mediating the interinstitutional

ationship in the cross-cultural setting. To maintain

equilibrium between the institutions, his task required

t acumen, masterful diplomacy, a political sense--and

nite patience.

The U.S. Government

The second governmental organization that the

f school administrators perceived as influencing the

ican schools was the U.S. government. Collectively,

dministrators ranked the U.S. government as the

d most influential organization in the systematic

ge system.   (See Table 7.1)   Three administrators
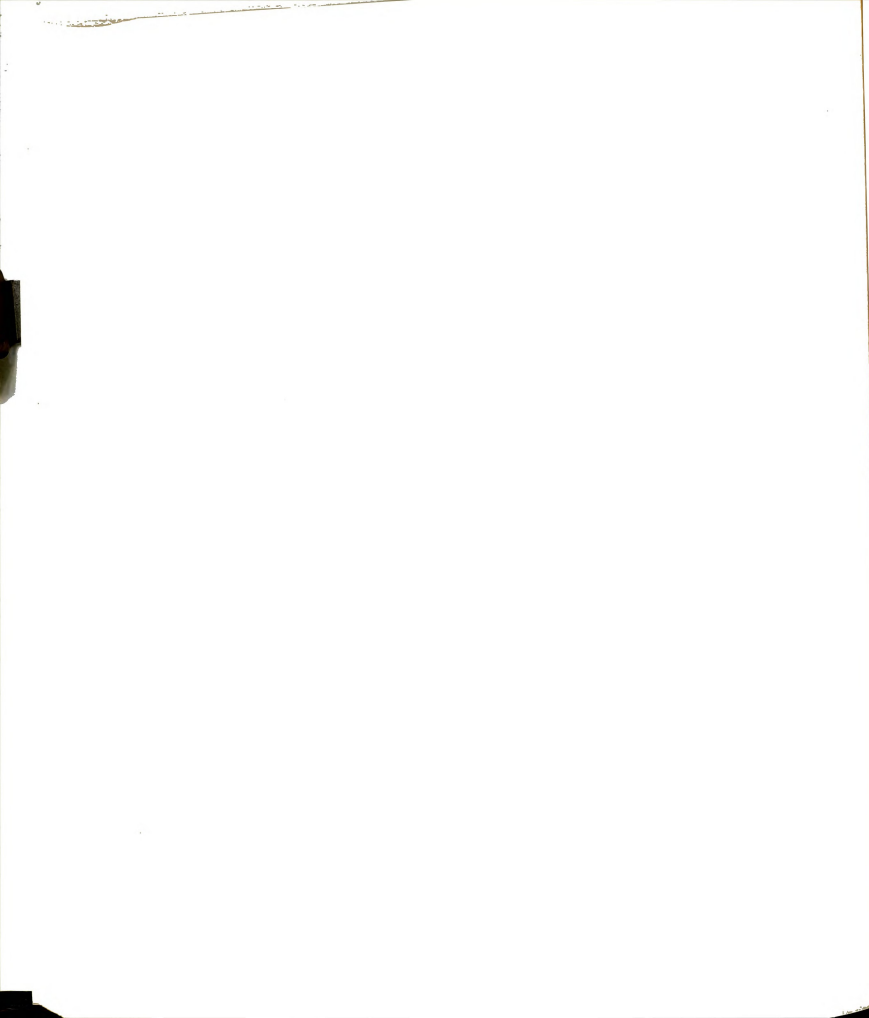
ranked it first in influence, eight ranked it second,

four ranked it third, four ranked it fourth, and only one

did not give the U.S. government any ranking. (See Table

.1)

To determine the interinstitutional relationships

that existed between these thirteen American schools and

he U.S. government, the chief school administrators of

hese schools were asked a series of questions: Does the

overnment influence the school? How would you describe

he school's relationship with the U.S. government? How

d the relationship come about? With what agency do you

ve the most contact?

The answers to these questions provided the basic

ta used in this section to describe the scope and scale

the interinstitutional relationship between the school

d the government and its effects upon the work role of

chief school administrators in these overseas American

ools.

torical Overview

The relationships between the U.S. government and

se thirteen American schools, which the administrators

attempting to manage, spanned scarcely more than a

ter of a century. The relationship began in 1944,

the U.S. government became formally involved in the

ation of American dependents overseas and contracted
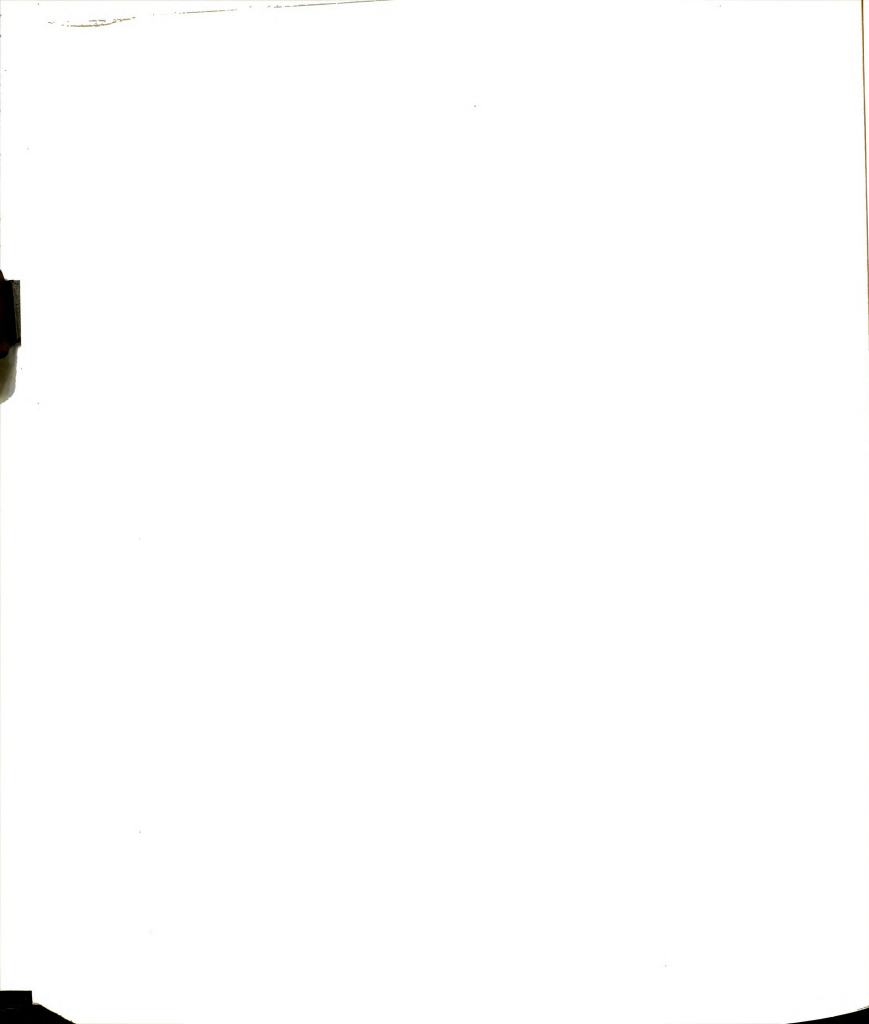
ith the American Council of Education to channel govern-

ental financial assistance to the American schools in the

atin American Republics and to assist them in recruiting

eachers. The American Council of Education established

he Inter-American Schools Service to perform this func-

ion and this agency was operative until 1962. At that

ime new organizational arrangements were formulated to

sist the expanding educational enterprise overseas.

e International Schools Services assumed the teacher

cruitment and professional assistance function for the

erican-sponsored schools located not only in Latin

erica but around the world. However, the financial

sistance was disbursed directly by U.S. governmental

encies overseas. This administrative arrangement proved

orkable since there was no central office within the

deral government either in the U.S. or overseas to

rdinate the overall education programs for nonmilitary

rican dependents overseas. Hence, the Office of Over-

s Schools was established within the Department of

te in 1964 and was delegated the responsibility of

rdinating the overseas schools assistance programs

luding the financial, technical, and professional

cts.
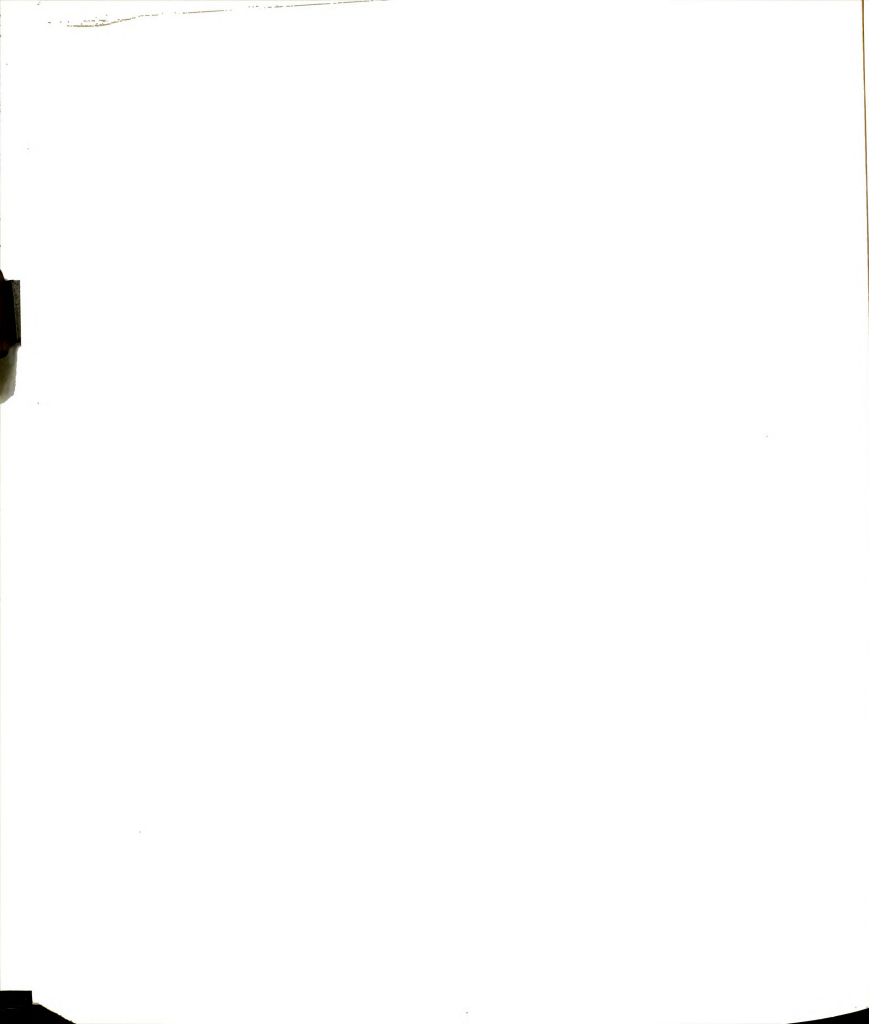
he Scope and the Scale
f the Relationship

At the time of this study, all the administrators
eported that the school maintained relationships with
nd between operating units at various administrative
evels of the U.S. government, both overseas and in the
.S. as well. The governmental units and the frequency
f mentions by the chief school administrators are tabu-
ated in Table 7.4.

able 7.4. U.S. governmental units with which the chief
school administrators reported the American
schools interact.

Overseas Governmental Units		U.S.-Based Governmental Units	
S. Embassy	12	Office of Overseas Schools (Department	22
S. Consulate	5	of State)	
S. Information Service including Binational Centers	18	Office of Education (Department of Health, Education and Welfare)	1
ency for International Development	5		
ace Corps	1		

The cluster of U.S. governmental units with which
administrators worked included from two to six; the
ian was three or four.
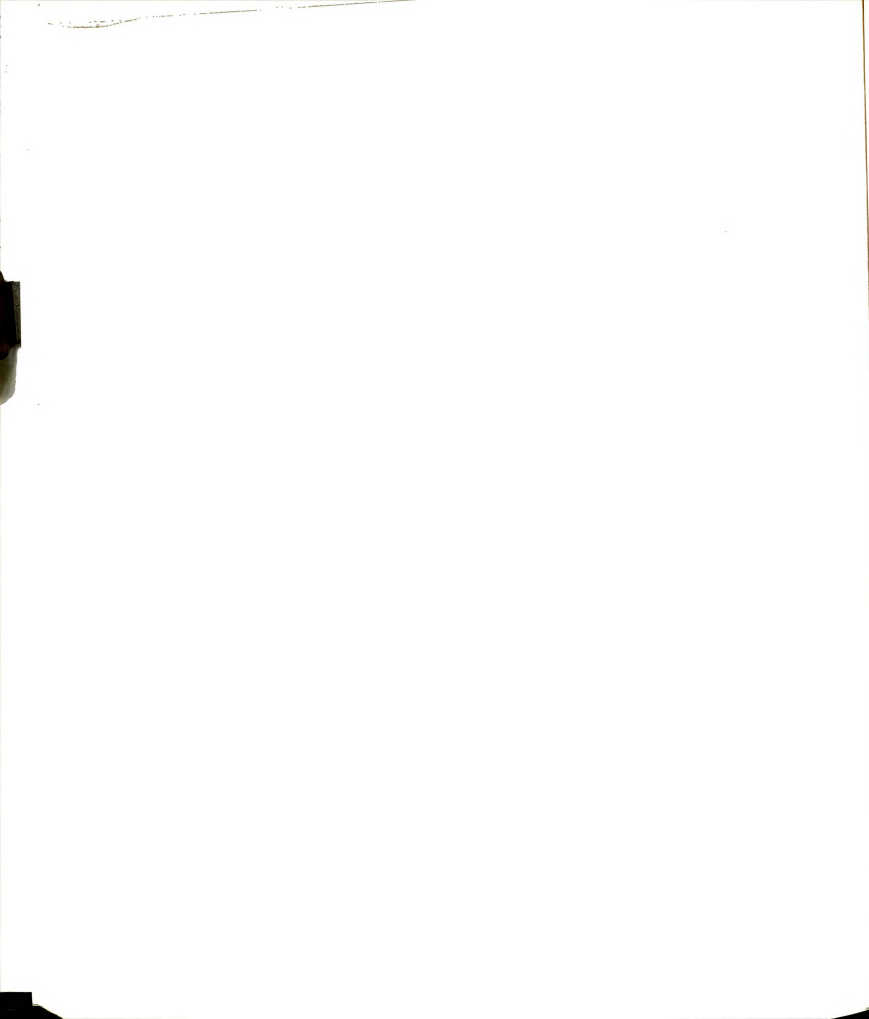
It was interesting to note that although these schools enrolled 512 dependents of U.S. governmental personnel, (Region I - 152, Region II - 360), the administrators frequently omitted this aspect in their description of the school's relationship with the U.S. government.

The Office of Overseas Schools

The unit of the U.S. government that received the most frequent number of mentions on Table 7.4 was the stateside-based Office of Overseas Schools (OOS) within the Department of State. All the administrators reported that the financial assistance that the school had received from the U.S. government came in the form of grants-in-aid from the Office of Overseas Schools. The administrators indicated that these grants were annual direct grants which were accepted by the individual school on a contractual basis. The grant-in-aid was categorically limited in most instances to teachers' salaries, teaching materials and equipment, and scholarships for host national citizens. In five instances the grant-in-aid also incorporated funds for special projects, i.e., the school-to-school project.

Although the Office of Overseas Schools made grants-in-aid to the overseas American schools, the actual funds were disbursed through an operational unit of the U.S.
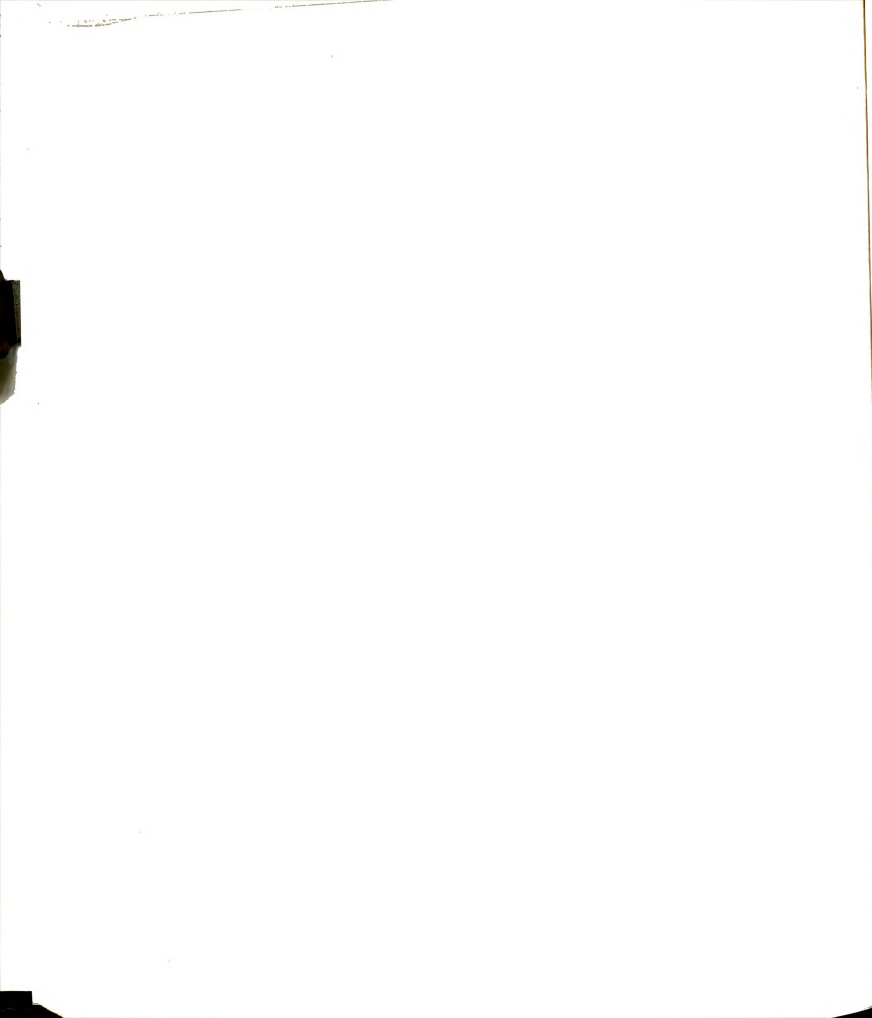
government overseas; i.e., the U.S. Embassy, the U.S.

Consulate, or the Agency for International Development.

Hence, the schools reported relationships with these govern-

mental units in Table 7.4.

Moreover, the Office of Overseas Schools was seen

by half of the administrators as influencing the develop-

ment of the school by OOS's organization power and

ability to secure resources for the schools from the non-

governmental sector of the American society. The Office

of Overseas Schools serves as an executive secretariat to

the Overseas Schools Advisory Council, which was estab-

lished in 1967 by the Department of State:

> . . . To seek the advice and capabilities of a
> selected group of American leaders from the business,
> foundation, and educational communities, with respect
> to the American-sponsored elementary and secondary
> schools abroad that are assisted by the Department of
> State . . . and to help the overseas schools become
> the show cases for excellence in education, and to
> help make services abroad attractive to American
> citizens, both in the business community and govern-
> ment.[3]

The Advisory Council sponsored activities between

even of the schools in this study and the Institute for

elopment of Educational Activities, Inc. (I.D.E.A.),

affiliate of the Charles F. Kettering Foundation. This

ram was perceived by those administrators, whose schools

received money contributed to I.D.E.A. by business

s with children in the school or whose schools had

ved professional assistance from I.D.E.A., as a
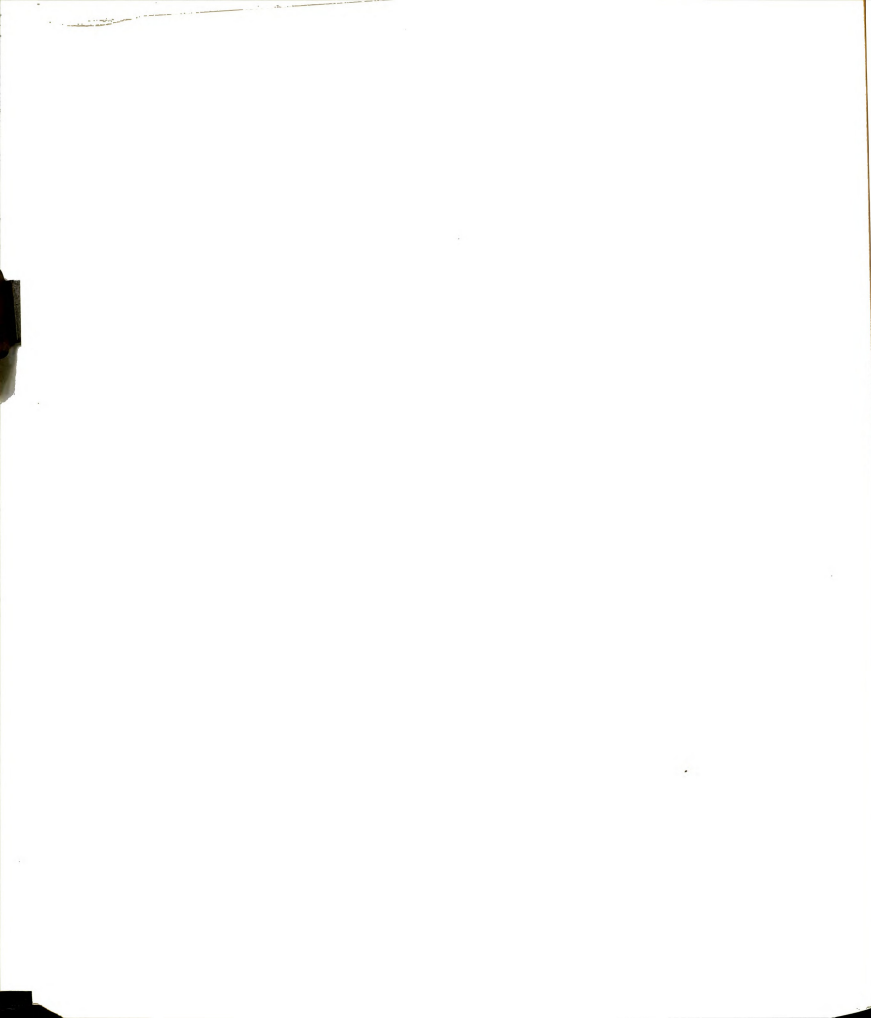
significant, positive influence. The following comment

makes this view explicit:

> The school was an isolated unit in 1958 with a
> single tie with the Inter-American Schools Service.
> Since then we have expanded and now have many avenues
> of aid for our school. We get financial help from
> I.D.E.A. as well as consultive services on occasion.
> As these various ties have come about, the importance
> of the school has grown.

In contrast, the administrators whose schools had

not benefited appreciably, either financially or profes-

sionally by the I.D.E.A. program, tended to see the rela-

tionship as just another organization that someday might

be able to help the school in some fashion.

The Nature of the
Government Relationship

All the administrators perceived the U.S. govern-

ment's influence as being affected by the financial

assistance which the U.S. government provided to these

schools. In the school year 1969-1970, the thirteen

American schools in this study received grants-in-aid

ranging between $8,000 and $52,400, which represented

between 1.6 and 24.6 percent of the schools' annual operat-

ing budgets. (See Table 7.5)

From the data in Table 7.5, it is evident that the

grant-in-aid represented differential portions of the

school's financial income. In the small school, the finan-

cial assistance comprised between 11 and 25 percent of the
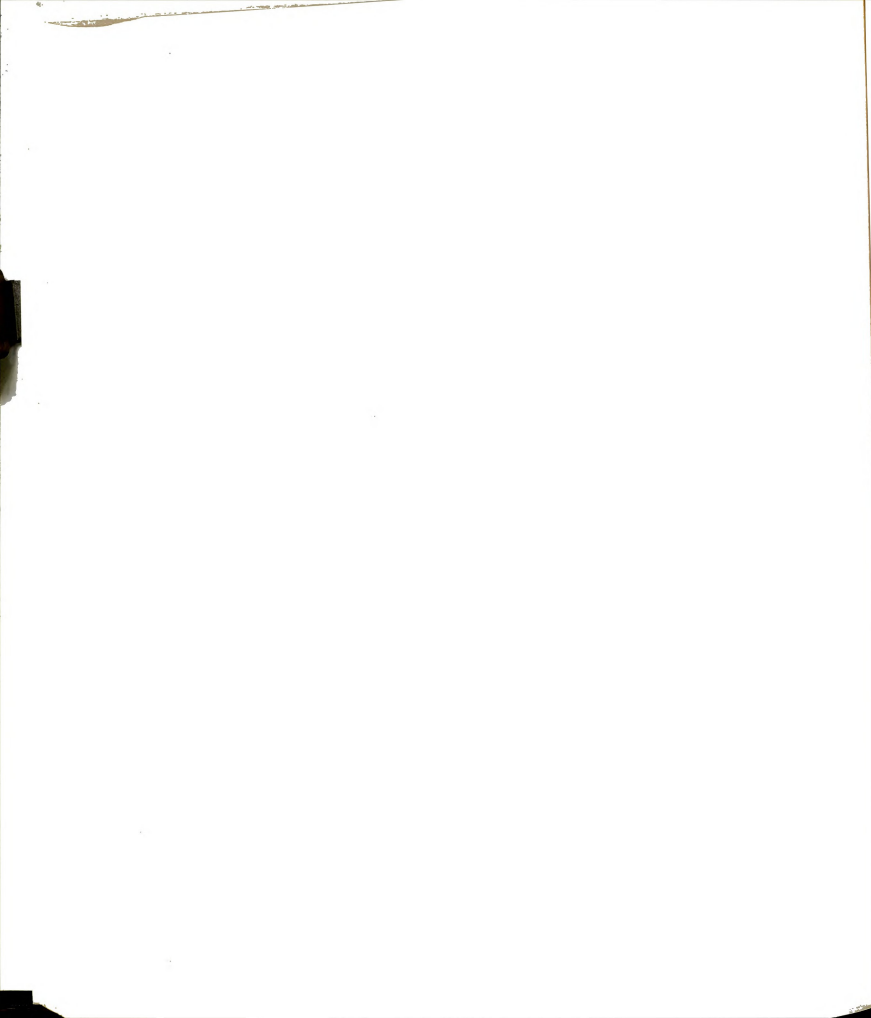
school's operating budget while in the large school, this
assistance comprised less than 5 percent.

Dependency Upon
Financial Assistance

The degree to which the school was dependent upon
the grant for its financial resources tended to parallel
the level of frustration which the administrators encoun-
tered in managing the financial affairs of the schools.

The extreme levels of frustration were most fre-
quently expressed by the administrators in the somewhat
smaller schools, that were relatively isolated from other
American schools, with few American pupils, and that were
removed from Consular and Embassy locations. One adminis-
rator expressed his experiences in negative terms,
stressing the effect of a lack of funds and expressing his
loss of faith in the rationality of the two organizations
to solve the school's financial problems.

> We never get as much money as we ask for or need.
> There is no future here in _____, we have hit rock
> bottom, financially speaking. I think it might be a
> lack of knowledge on their part or possibly on ours.
> I have reached the conclusion that no one (U.S. govern-
> ment) will ever become interested in us. We have to
> constantly sell ourselves to the government people . . .
> but all they do is listen diplomatically.

icit in this statement was the degree to which the
ol was dependent upon grant-in-aid for a financial
urce. Another administrator described his efforts to
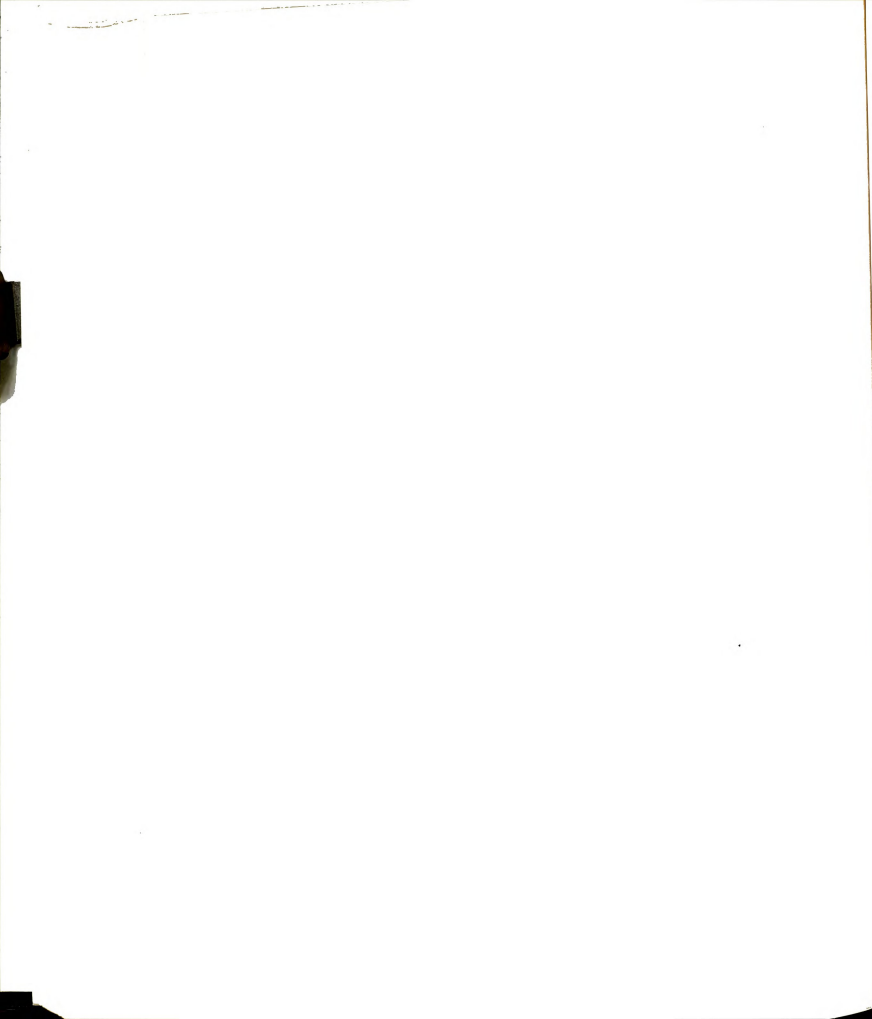
get funds for his school, which was perpetually confronted

with financial crisis, "I dutifully completed their forms

and submitted them to the Embassy," and when probed con-

cerning how he felt about it, he replied, "Well, it's

just what happens after you pray, you just have to wait."

It should be noted that both these administrators

terminated their services at the conclusion of the school

year. One terminated it primarily because his physician

had advised him to reduce the tension and work pace; the

other because of the school's financial situation.

Administrators who performed their work roles in

schools of medium size expressed a somewhat moderate per-

ception of their dependency upon the U.S. government for

this financial resource. One individual, who had a lengthy

tenure as chief school administrator, expressed his per-

ceptions in these terms:

> We never get as much as we could use to really do
> a good job. The U.S. grant has been a gradual thing.
> At one time, we only got a small amount, but now we
> get more.

In the large schools, where the financial assis-

tance comprised a small portion of the overall budget,

administrators likewise expressed frustrations concerning

using the financial resources which the grant provided.

individual commented:

> I really have to go through hell to get this
> grant, and sometimes I wonder if it is worth all
> the effort.
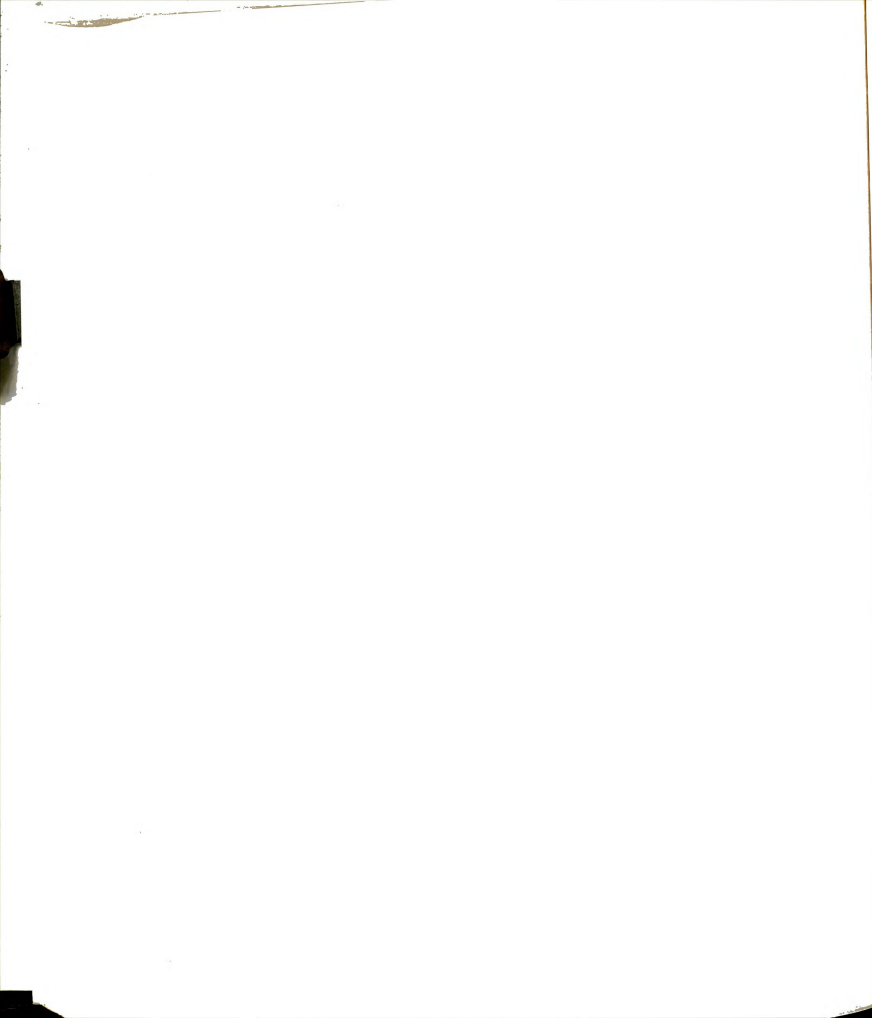
Moreover, the administrators reported that they

experienced great frustrations when the grant-in-aid was

cut back as these comments illustrate:

> My Board got indignant last year when they tried
> to reduce our grant. I had to raise holy hell at the
> Embassy and in Washington. It was rather an unpleasant
> experience.
> We were cutback in _____ and that really upset
> our program. We made threats and tried every way we
> knew to get it raised. We never did get it raised or
> figure out the rhyme or reason used to determine the
> amount of our money. It made managing the school an
> "interesting" job.

Since within the grant-in-aid program there was no provi-

sion for the adjudication of disputes, the conflict between

the school and the funding agency required that the chief

school administrator become involved in protesting the

reduction in any manner he could.

Although all the administrators recognized that

the Office of Overseas Schools administered the grant-in-

aid, only those chief school administrators who had

experienced "getting by" with the funds provided through

the grant were aware that the money that the schools

received was contingent upon appropriations made by the

U.S. Congress. They were aware that the funds were in

large measure contingent upon factors over which the

school had little or no control, since the appropriations

were a function of the wider socioeconomic relations that

prevailed between the U.S. and the country in which the
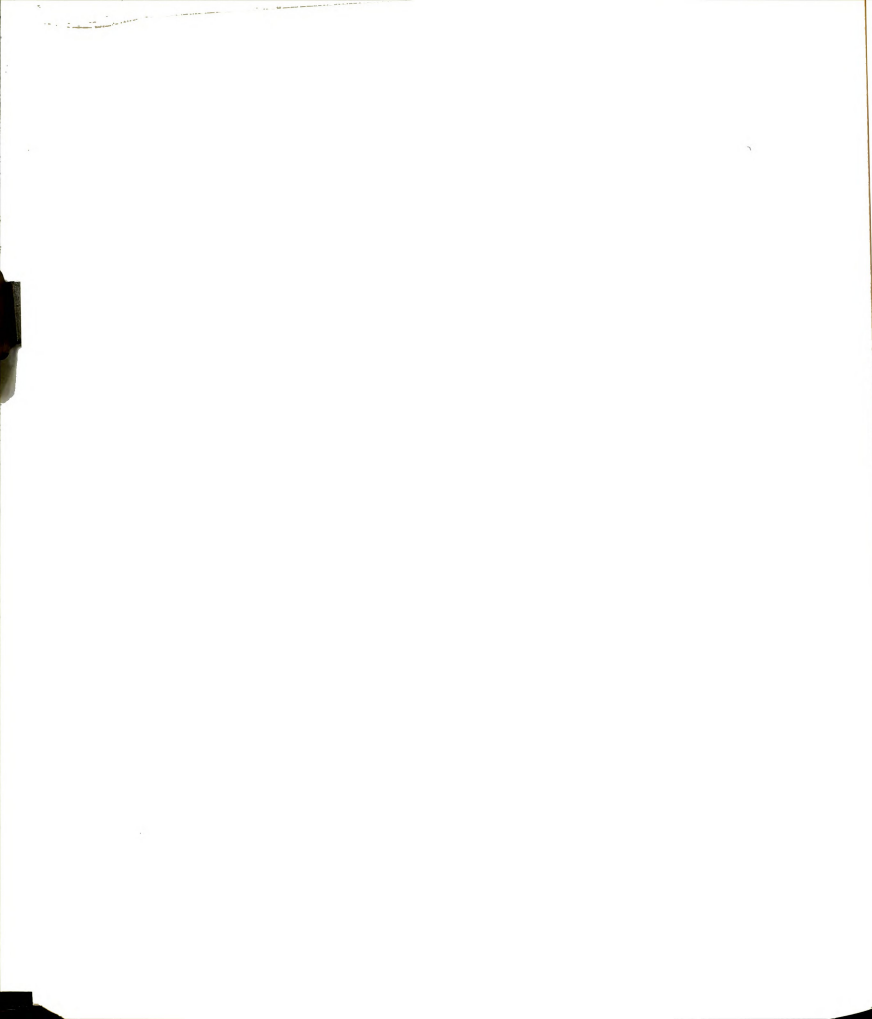
school was located, as well as the political and socio-

economic conditions that existed in the U.S.

Operational Procedures
and Policy

Although most of the administrators were frustrated

by the availability or nonavailability of financial

resources provided by the grants, caustic criticism was

more frequently voiced about the operational procedures

and policy associated with the grant-in-aid.

For five administrators with little or no previous

overseas administrative experience, the frustration

centered on learning the granting procedure. One newcomer

to the position of chief school administrator recounted:

> It was through trial and error that I learned the
> granting process, or what the grant was all about.
> After I got here I had to identify the type of assis-
> tance we wanted, present a lengthy justification,
> secure board approval and then send all the materials
> to the Embassy. From that point, I am not sure what
> happened to the forms. They might send it back to be
> revised since I filled it with little assistance. I
> suppose my predecessor took care of all these matters
> but no one here or at the Embassy seems to know exactly
> what to do. . . . I can't find any information on how
> to go about it since our record system is not adequate.

The administrators with at least two years experi-

ence in the position of the chief school administrator

reported they had limited insight into the procedural

matters and the decision-making process associated with

the grant. Their insights were generally focused on the

operational process at the overseas level as this typical

response indicates:

> We received a set of forms with places for elaborate
> comments. We completed them and sent them back to the
> Embassy. After that I don't have any notion what
> happened to them.

The level of learning and understanding of an

administrator who had been responsible for the solicita-

tion of the grant for three years follows:

> I am not sure I ever understood the granting pro-
> cedure at all. Somebody said to see Mr. _____ in
> the Embassy so I went to see him. Together we pieced
> together a procedure. He would call me and I would
> call him when we had questions.

In contrast, a well-formulated concept of the

entire granting procedure and the decision-making process

concerning the grants were reported by seven individuals.

Significantly, these individuals had ten or more years

experience in the position and thus had acquired an experi-

ential background. A typical description follows:

> You receive a lot more materials [forms] from the
> Office of Overseas Schools than are reasonable. To
> complete the forms here in our school takes efforts of
> three people three full weeks. Together with all the
> budget requests and other data, we then submit the
> forms along with the Post Officer's recommendations
> to Washington.
> Our requests are studied by the Regional Education
> Officer in the Office of Overseas Schools and the
> officials of the Department of State. In consultation
> they decide how much financial assistance we are given
> based, of course, upon the amount of money and their
> priorities. We then get notification through an air-
> gram, telling us how much and when we will receive it.
> Mr. _____ at the Embassy assists us in the adminis-
> trative processing when the money gets here. . . .

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> priorities. We then get notification through an air-
> gram, telling us how much and when we will receive it.
> Mr. _____ at the Embassy assists us in the adminis-
> trative processing when the money gets here. . . .

This process is getting progressively more complex and cumbersome.

Even though the long-term administrator had learned he granting procedure, nevertheless these administrators ikewise encountered frustrations in the operational pro- edure. One such administrator in a large school expressed is frustration and how he adapted:

It's not the individual but the system. . . . As you know, AID has about seven levels of bureaucracy and it's the top level where the decisions are made. This job will wear you down. You could quit but you need patience and perseverance.

All the administrators considered the grant-in-aid a vital financial resource which enabled the school to tablish and maintain an institutional identity and thus lfill its representative role as an American school in e respective community.

The chief school administrator's understanding of e conditions of eligibility which the U.S. government ed as criteria in giving grant-in-aid, created varying jrees of anxiety and uncertainty for the administrator. :h administrator described and defined the school in a rhly particularistic fashion as each administrator tried justify why the school should receive the grant-in-aid.

Eleven administrators perceived the grant-in-aid enabling the school to "promote bicultural education" virtue of the American-trained, English-speaking chers, whom the grant enabled the schools to employ.
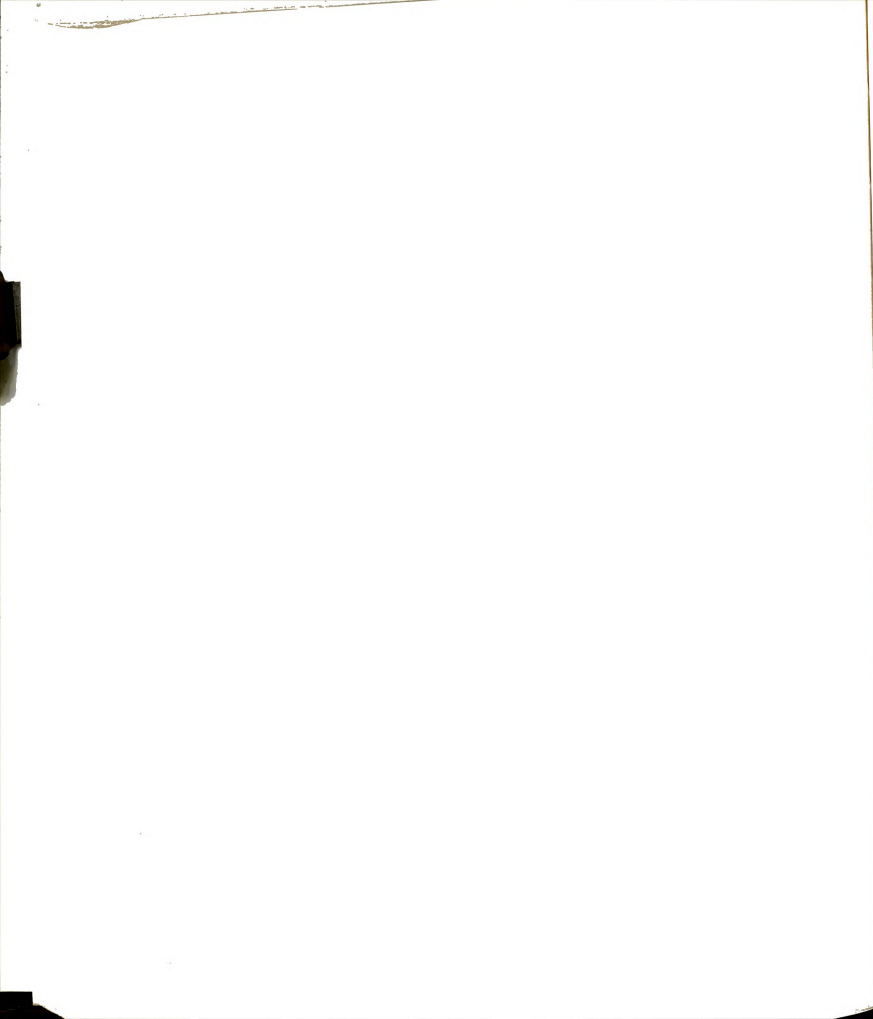
Seven administrators perceived the grant-in-aid as enabling

the school to prove a "U.S. type education" overseas because

they were able to secure teachers, educational supplies,

and equipment. Two administrators perceived the grant-in-

aid as helping the school to become a "demonstration

school" for a combination of the above reasons, but addi-

tionally cited benefits such as cultural exchange programs.

In the schools which were attended by a large

percentage of host nationals, the administrators regarded

the grant-in-aid as helping the schools to maintain an

"American ethos" or an "American image" in the school and

the community. Two individuals emphasized this view.

> The money they give us is not wasted. If they
> could only see the aura that is created by the presence
> of the American school, they would change their minds.
> We consider ourselves lucky to get anything. We
> have to work hard to interpret the use of the grant.
> It is the image idea that we create here in _____.
> We suggest that they believe in our image and in the
> work we are doing.

These two administrators as well as half the others found

it difficult to understand why the schools were not

accepted for their imparted symbolic value that they

possessed as institutions that were "making friends for

the U.S." and "contributing to international understand-

ing and thus peace in the world." The administrators'

perceptions of the school-U.S. government relation helped

to confirm Useem's assertion that:
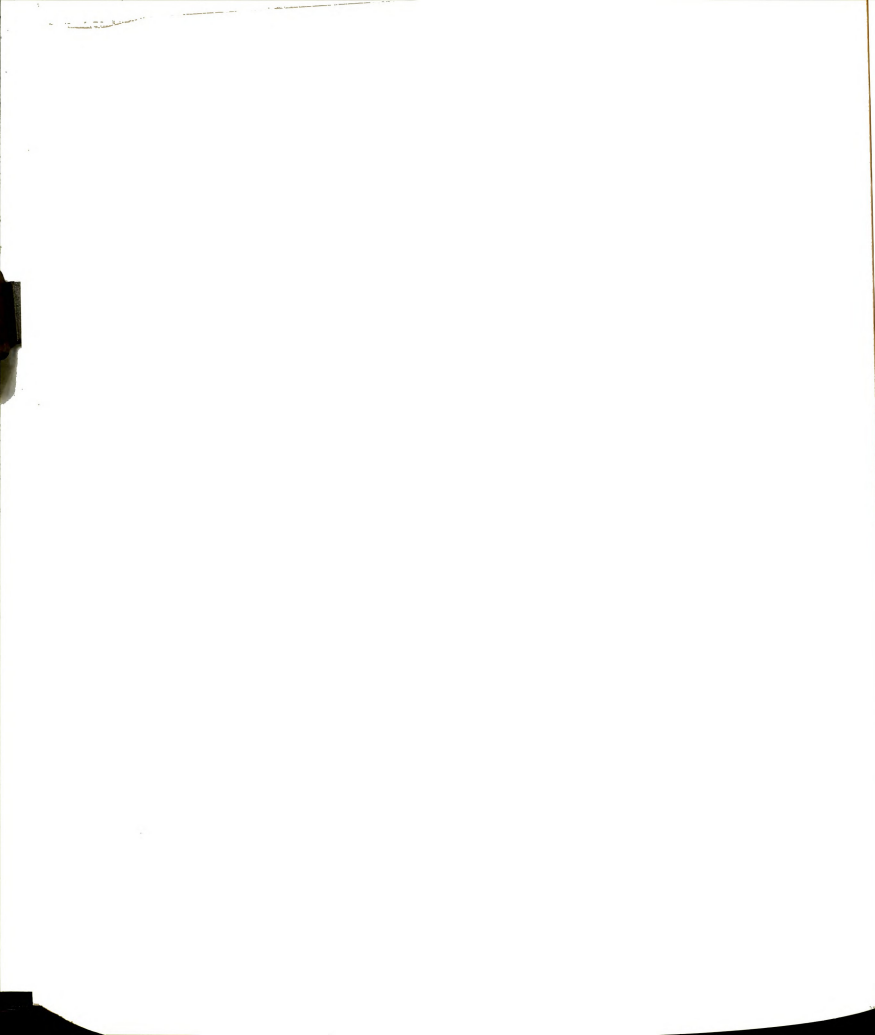
Rarely do they [overseas institutions] gain
acceptance as symbolic value in themselves even when
the symbolic value comprises an often unrecognized
latent function of the program.[4]

Another aspect of the uncertainty associated with
the conditions of eligibility for financial assistance was
mentioned by three administrators who reported that in the
particular city in which the school was located there
existed a second or third American school. One adminis-
trator commented:

As you know, here in _____ there is another
American school, which is really a spin-off of this
school. The parents, who did not think our school
was "American" enough started it. One year we had a
crisis when we thought the grant was going to be given
to the _____ school.

Moreover, in those countries where more than one
American school exists, the chief school administrators
viewed the schools as competing for the scarce resources
that the grants provided. One administrator described how
e attempted to get what he considered to be his school's
air "share":

I talked with the Ambassador to try to find out
why our school has not been able to get as much money
as _____. Our school is more truly a binational
school.

Informal Associations with
the U.S. Government Overseas

Although the dominant influence of the U.S. govern-
nt upon the overseas American school was expressed by the
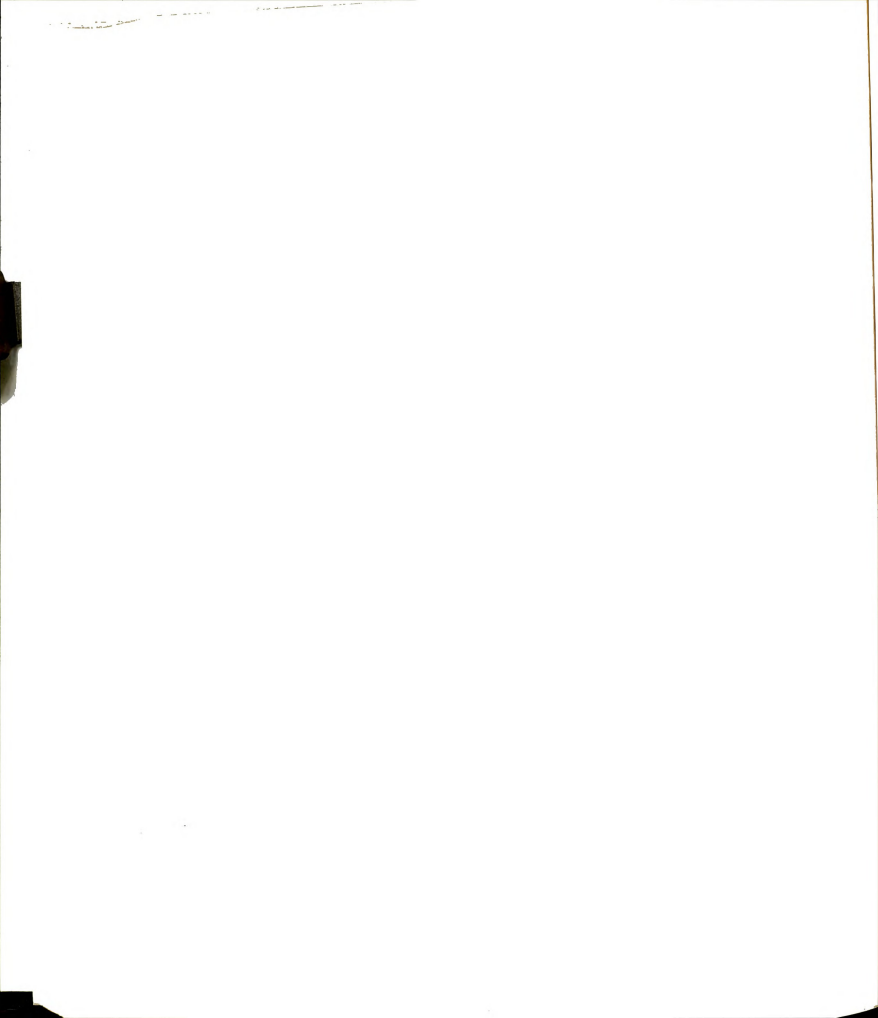
administrators as being connected with financial assistance, other relationships were mentioned.

Four administrators reported that U.S. government employees were presently serving as members of the governing board of the school: one school board reportedly had three members, while three other school boards each had one member. The presence of these men on the Board of Directors was, in most instances, viewed as being advantageous for the school. The administrators reported that these men gave the school access to the wider U.S. government organization and its resources although primarily on an ad hoc and informal basis. The administrators illustrated:

> We have been able to bring in some of our supplies under importing privileges.
> We needed a means to take our basketball team to a special game and _____ of the Embassy helped me make arrangements for a special flight.
> If the school had a school party on a special occasion, I was granted PX privileges.
> We have had various members of the Consular Office as graduation speakers.

These informal relationships, however, were often reciprocal type arrangements:

> We needed some chairs for one of our programs, and the Embassy let us use theirs. But they borrow our piano and public address system and the Marines use our basketball court and gym.
> They use the school grounds for the Fourth of July celebration.
> Whenever they need an auditorium for some program, they call us.
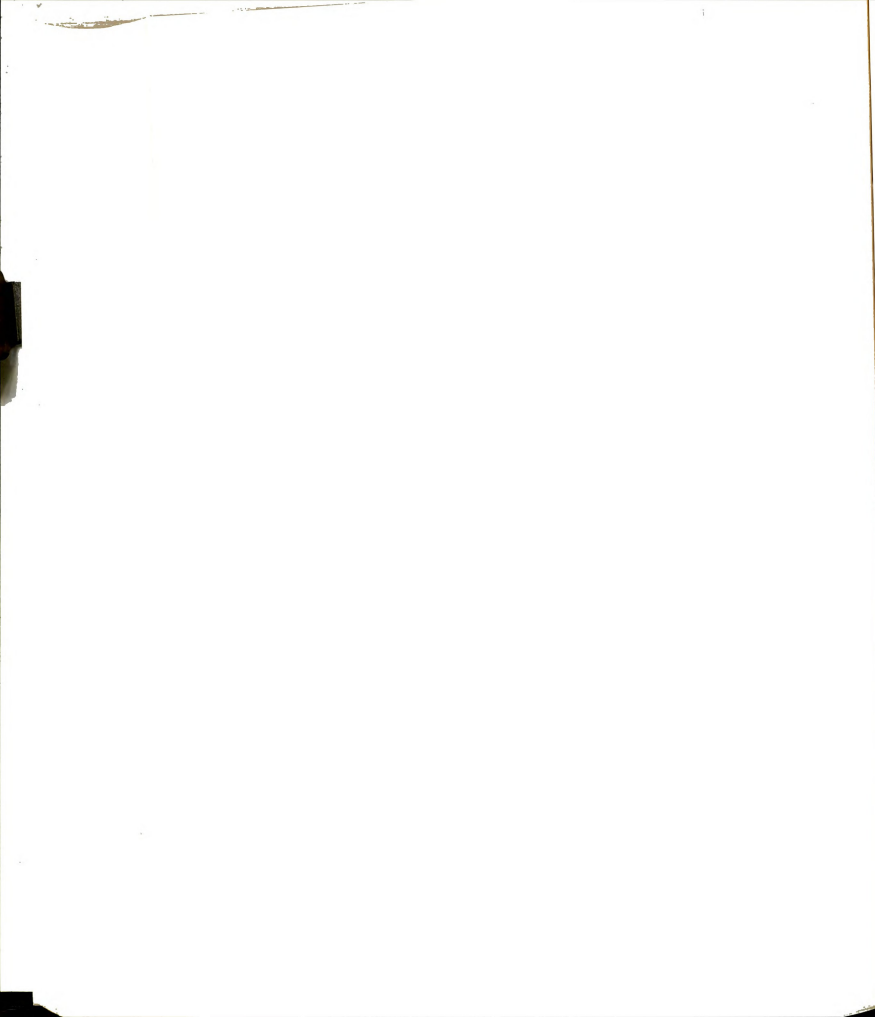
The overseas American schools did not have at their disposal the supportive professional services and equipment found in the U.S.--libraries, large collections of films or filmstrips, etc.--and frequently for assistance in this area they turned to the United States Information Service (USIS), an agency which disperses information overseas about the American society. Nine administrators mentioned that they maintained informal relationships with this agency; frequently it was contingent upon a personal relationship between the administrator and the USIS office or national center. Various types of associations were reported:

We use their library facilities, but what a struggle until we convinced them that all our students should be eligible to utilize their services.
We get books from them and occasionally we receive some of their films.
We borrowed a projector from them.
The Institute conducts Spanish classes for some of our teachers.
We use some of their English materials in our school.

However, two respondents reported negative aspects of this relationship with USIS:

They sent us information that was not pertinent to our needs here in _____. We need educational films, not propaganda films.
They wanted to send us a pianist to perform here in _____. Where in hell could I find a grand piano to put on any kind of a performance.
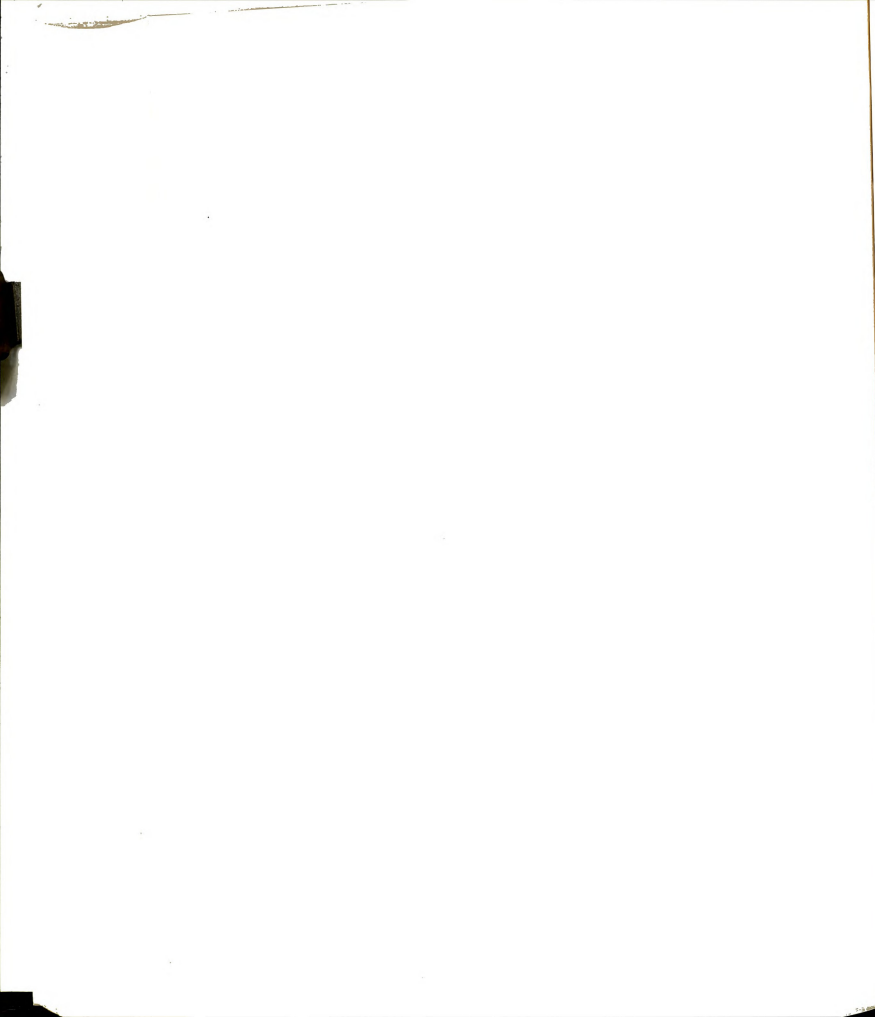
Perceptions of the U.S.
Government-School
Relationship

      Although fourteen respondents felt that the school's
overall relationship with the U.S. government was "very
good," four felt it was only "good," two felt it was "fair,"
and two felt it was "poor." The administrators' percep-
tions tended to parallel their length of tenure. Those
administrators with long tenure seemed to be more aware of
the parameters of the relationship because they had "lived
through it" or "grown up with it" and tended to feel the
relationship over the years had been helpful to the school
as indicated in this comment:

>   Over the years, we have had a high caliber of
> men here in the U.S. Embassy and they have been
> cooperative.

Other long-term administrators could recount specific
instances of the positive effects of the relationship.
One administrator, whose frame of reference went back to
World War II when the school had its first contact with
the U.S. government, commented:

>   I remember the day when the Nazi influence was
> great here in _____. Two men came out from the
> Embassy to talk with us about getting this school
> started. It was finally agreed that we would equip
> the school and they [the U.S. government] would pay
> the salary of a U.S. teacher.

Still another recalled that back in the 1950's "we got
funds from some type of governmental, agricultural
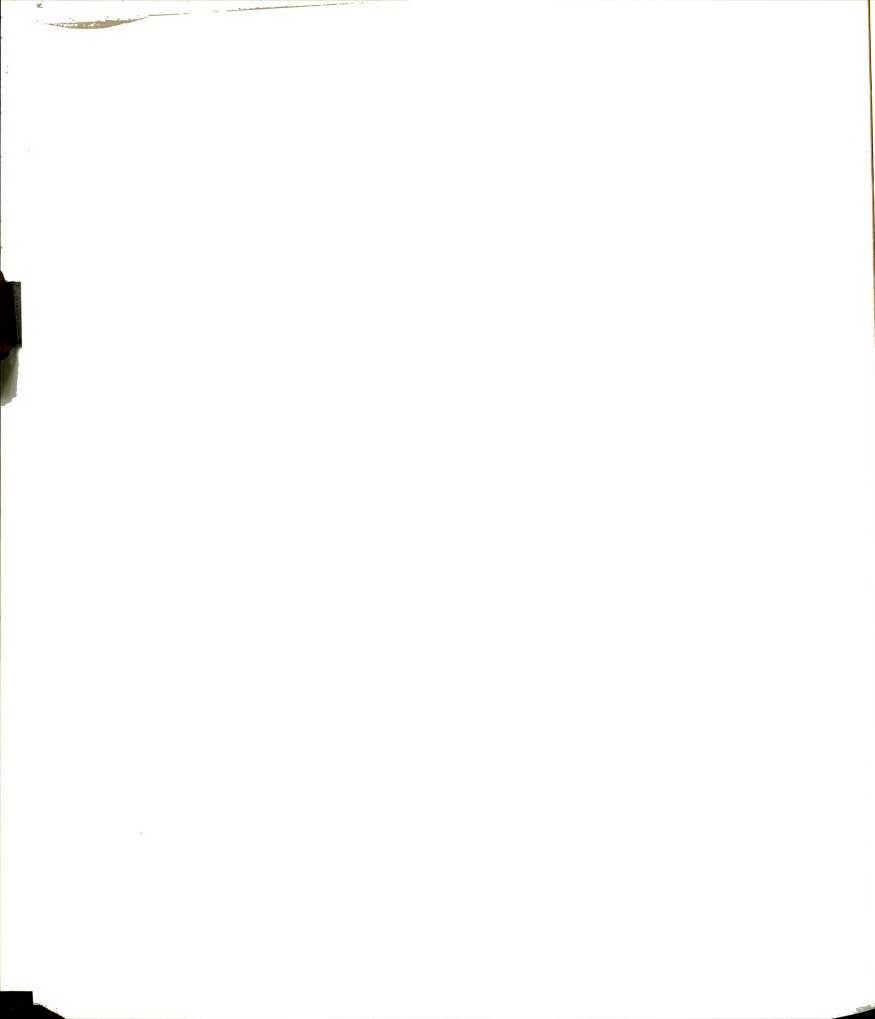
roducts agreement," (PL480 funds). These funds enabled

to "construct and equip our school" said one administra-

or, as he pointed with pride to one section of the school

uilding.

In contrast, the short-term administrator tended

view the relationship with the U.S. government nega-

ively, and evidenced emotional stress in discussions

oncerning the lack of communication with the government

fficials and the financial problems he had "inherited."

e feelings of this group were made explicit in the

llowing comments:

> It is pretty damn bad as far as I am concerned.
> All the high sounding phrases in the contract don't
> solve my problems even if I do get the money.
>   They never come and see what we are doing here
> in _____ even though they fly right over our heads
> on the way to the Capitol. We need help.

In general, the U.S. government was an organiza-

on that all the chief school administrators felt free

criticize.

mmary

The chief school administrators perceived the U.S.

ernment's influence on the schools as being mediated

the financial resources or the resource network which

U.S. government provided. The dominant resource was

yearly grant-in-aid administered by the Office of

rseas Schools, and was perceived as assisting the

school in establishing and maintaining an institutional identity and fulfilling its representative role as an American school in the respective community. All the administrators expressed a belief that "if we had more money" we could do a "much better job" of meeting the school's broad educational and public service functions. The expectation of reaching the school's potential was perceived by most of the administrators as the signifi- cant "challenge" of the job.

It was the chief school administrator's task to actively solicit the grant-in-aid for the school. The availability or nonavailability of grant-in-aid was an extremely sensitive issue for the administrators, and the administrators found it difficult to reconcile the differ- ence between the actual amount of money the school received and the school's perceived worth to the U.S. government. The behavior patterns that the chief school administrator experienced in coping with the uncertainties of the government assistance program varied. Some expressed despair and resignation, others patience and perseverance, while others pursued a course of action which one administrator expressed in maxim-like fashion, there are many roads to Rome you know; if you meet a block at one corner you go to another."
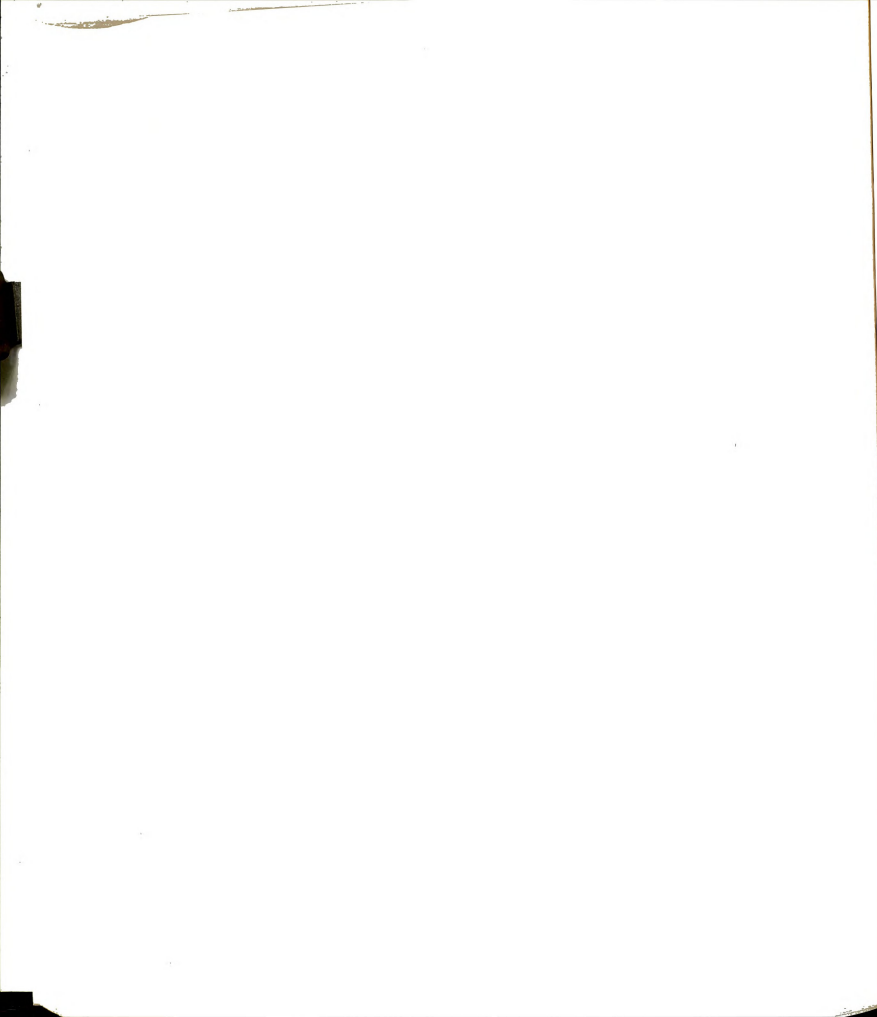
Third Country Government

Third country government was given an influence
nking by only three administrators. One ranked it
ird, one ranked it seventh, and one ranked it tenth.
e majority of seventeen did not perceive this govern-
ntal institution as an influence and did not give it
 ranking.

It can be inferred that since the third country
vernment provided the school with neither legal nor
cational legitimacy, as the host government did, nor
ancial resources, as the U.S. government did, that it
 not perceived to influence the schools in any appre-
ble manner.

Summary

For thirteen American schools, the inter-
ion patterns which the schools maintained with the
ous governmental institutions were often mediated by
type of authority and influence that the respective
rnment had over the individual school.

The administrators perceived the host national
rnment as being the most influential governmental
itution. This perception was based on the fact that
schools were legally incorporated institutions within
ost nation and, as such, the schools were controlled
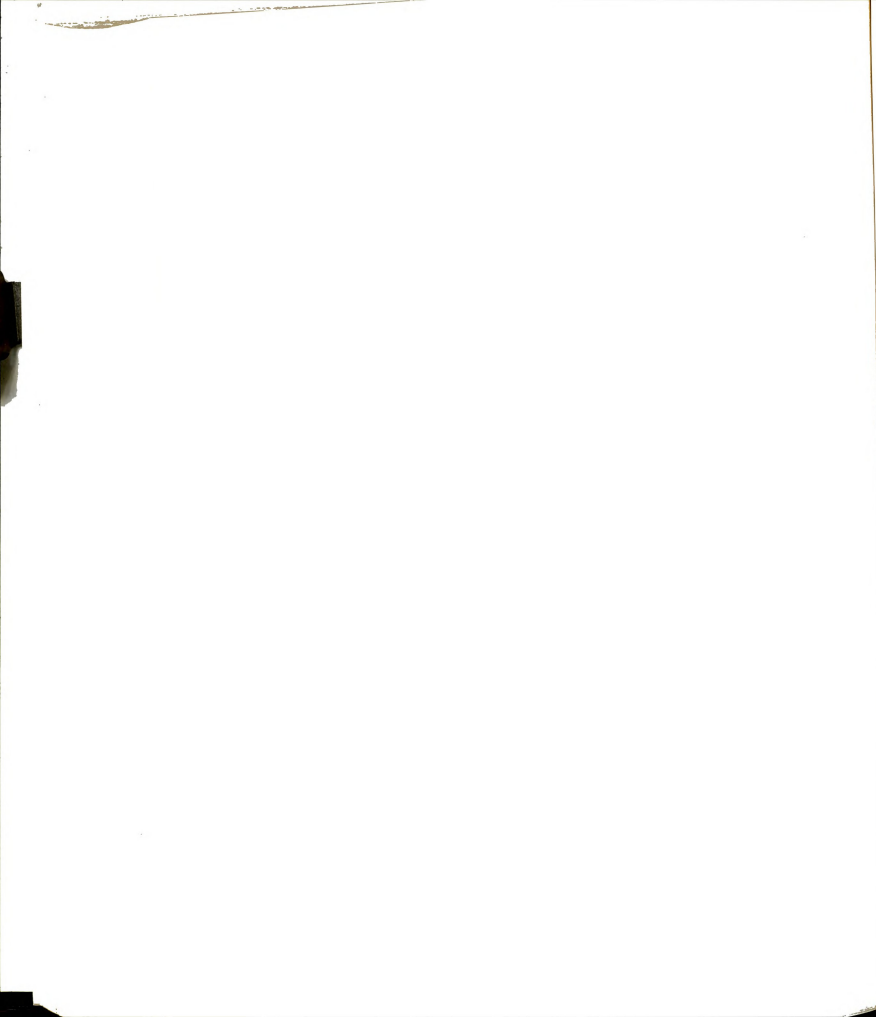
the legal and educational codes of the host nation.

the schools did not comply with the host nation's

rols, implied or real sanctions were placed against

school. It was the chief school administrator's

to mediate the differences that occurred between the

institutions and to arrive at some means of accommoda-

if he was to be considered a successful administrator.

The chief school administrator perceived the

ol's relationship with the U.S. government as being

iated not by any legal or educational codes, but rather

the financial resources that the U.S. government made

lable to the school. The extent of the U.S. govern-

's influence was perceived by the chief school

nistrators as being principally mediated and dependent

the school's need for the financial resources which

U.S. government grant-in-aid provided. The adminis-

or in the role of "seeker of resources" encountered

me levels of frustration in the administrative

ss associated with the granting procedure and the

tainty of the amount of financial assistance avail-

The chief school administrators did not perceive

chools' relationships with a third country government

significant, since the third country government

ded neither legal or educational legitimacy nor

ial resources.
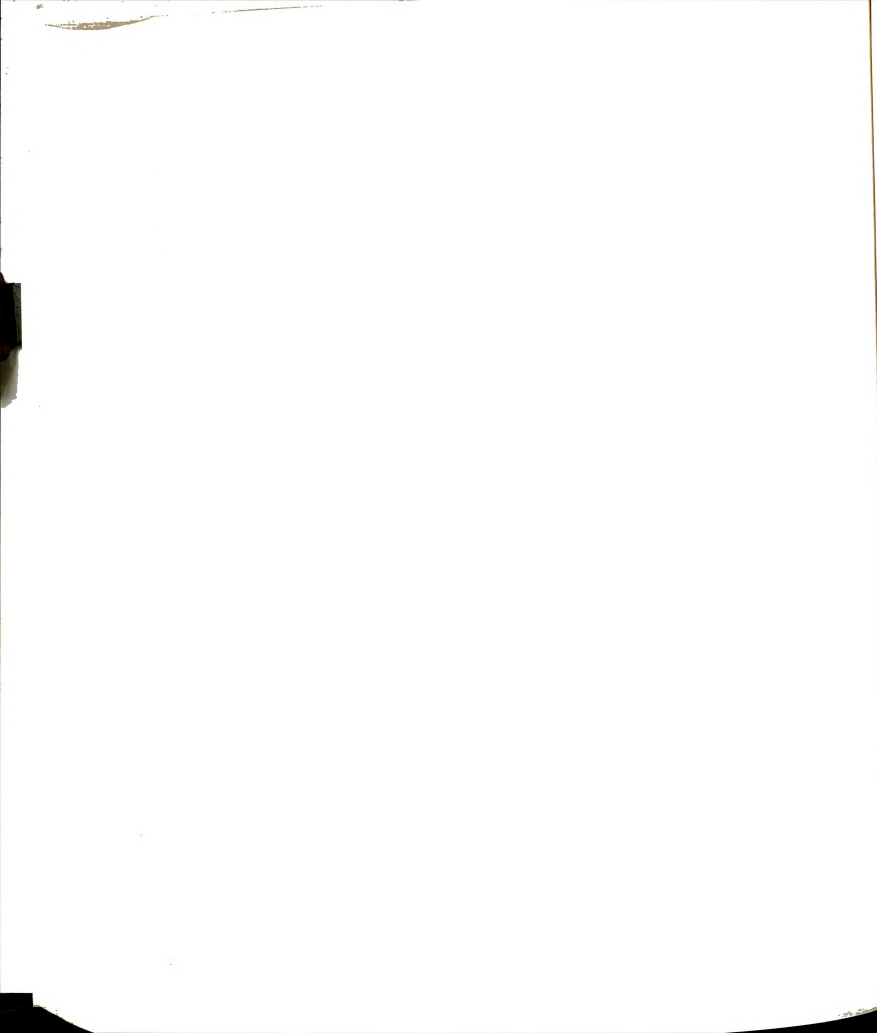
The overseas schools, then, were confronted with
e task of relating with governmental institutions that
e part of two distinct sociocultural political
tems. These governmental institutions maintained
hly differential notions about the bonds of commitment
loyalty as well as interest in these thirteen overseas
rican schools. The chief school administrator was
in the man-in-the-middle, relating the school to each
he governmental bodies in such a manner as to provide
school with a semblance of organizational balance and
inuity. The task he performed was extremely difficult,
iring much tact, political sensitivity, and infinite
ence on his part.
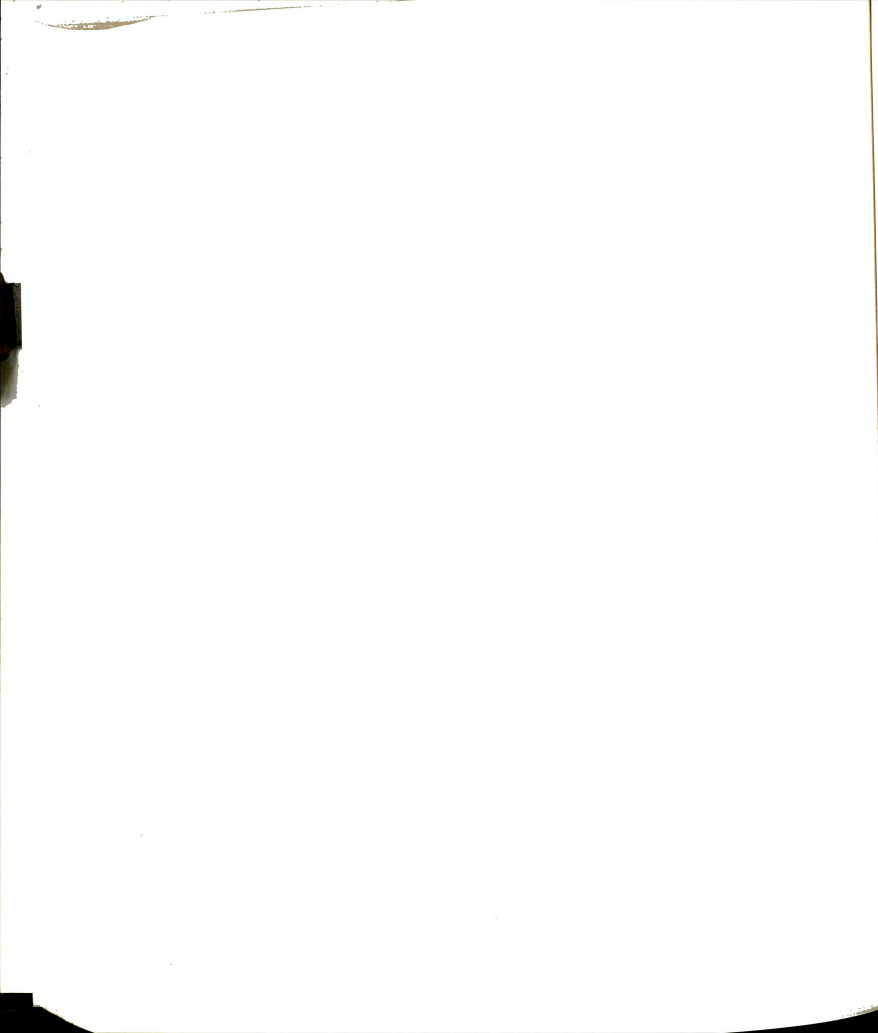
FOOTNOTES

[1] Charles P. Loomis, "Systemic Linkage of El
errito," _Rural Sociology_, XXIV (1959), 55.

[2] The American School Foundation, "The American
ool Foundation, A. C. 75 Years of Service," p. 27.

[3] _Uniform State-AID Regulation_ 618.1.

[4] Ruth Hill Useem, Personal correspondence exchanged
ween the author and Dr. Useem on this topic.
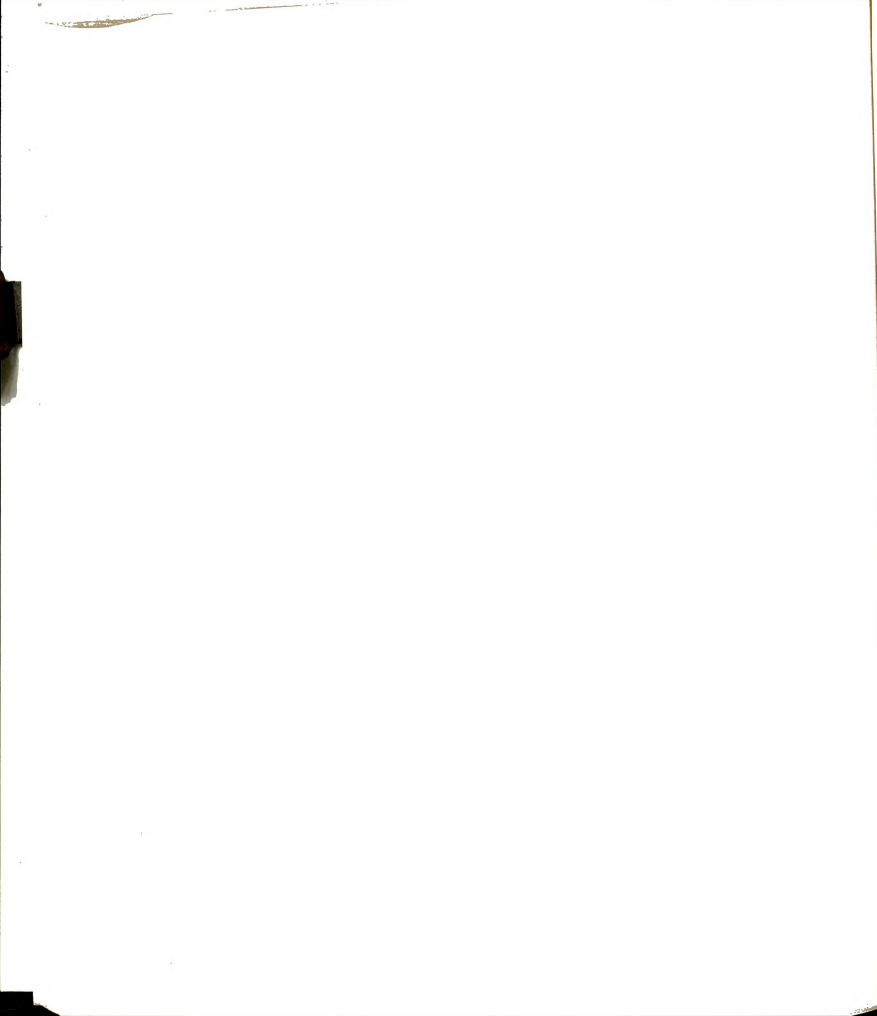
CHAPTER VIII

WORK-RELATED INTERACTION WITH

EDUCATION ORGANIZATIONS

Introduction

The social institutions in the interinstitutional

kage network which were identified by the administrators

constituting a less dominant influence than the govern-

tal institutions in shaping the schools, were those that

e associated with the professional educational community.

se organizations are identified as "educational institu-

ns" in the balance of this chapter.

The two educational institutions with which the

ols interacted most frequently and which the adminis-

ors asserted influenced the school were the Southern

ciation of Colleges and Schools, a U.S.-based profes-

al organization, and two professional organizations

osed of American schools located in the respective

on commonly referred to as the "Association of American

ls."

Although the Southern Association of Colleges and

ls and the Association of American Schools were the

337
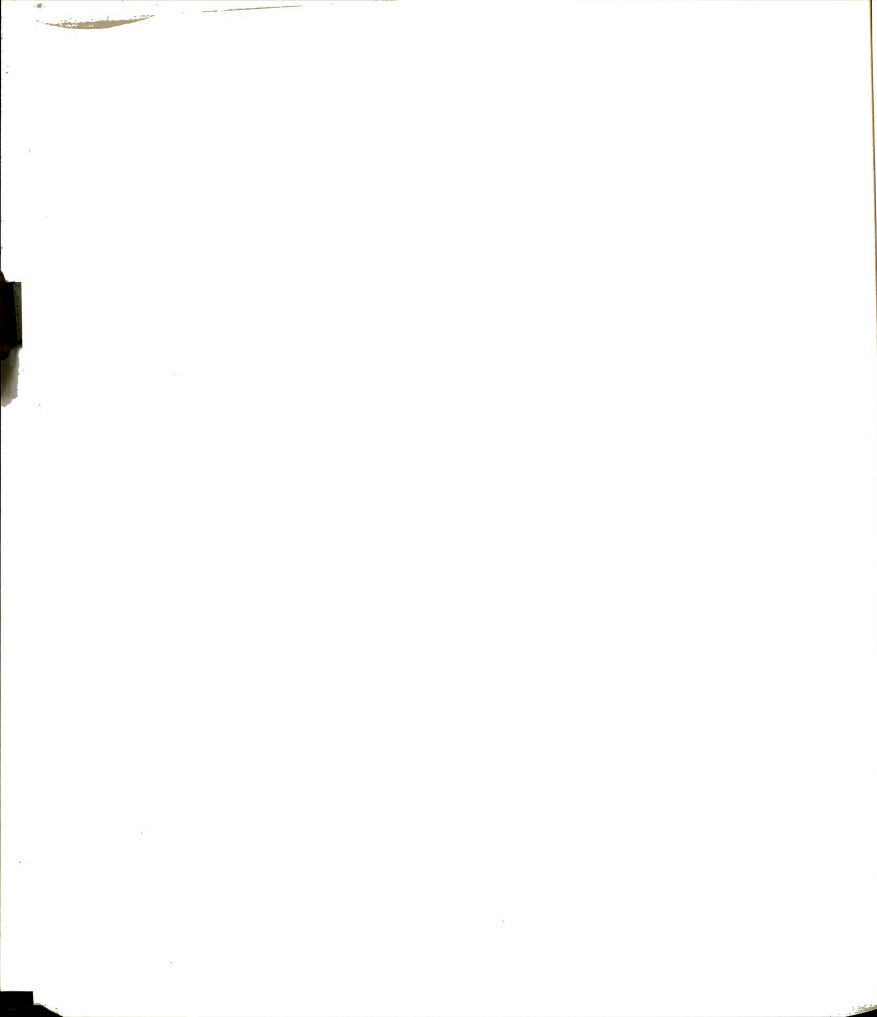
lucational institutions ranked in terms of influence, it

ould be noted that the schools' relationships with the

ofessional community were not limited to these two insti-

tions.   It was reported that three schools held accred-

ation with the Texas Education Agency--the office charged

th the responsibility of accrediting schools in the state

Texas.   However, this accreditation was perceived as

ving little influence and generally this institution was

ted in the "other institutions" category.   (See Table 7.1)

Furthermore, all the administrators reported that

respective schools maintained relationships with from

to ten institutions of higher education in the U.S.

most frequently mentioned institution was Michigan State

versity because of its role in the Association of American

ool activities.   This educational institution will be

ussed in conjunction with the Association of American

ols on pages 350-352.

All but one administrator reported that the school

tained formal or informal relationships with institu-

s of higher education in the host nation.   The formal

tionships, for the most part, were via secondary school

editation which, in Region I, is a function of the

ersity system.   In addition, one chief school adminis-

or was a faculty member of the local university.   The

rmal relationships, which five administrators reported,
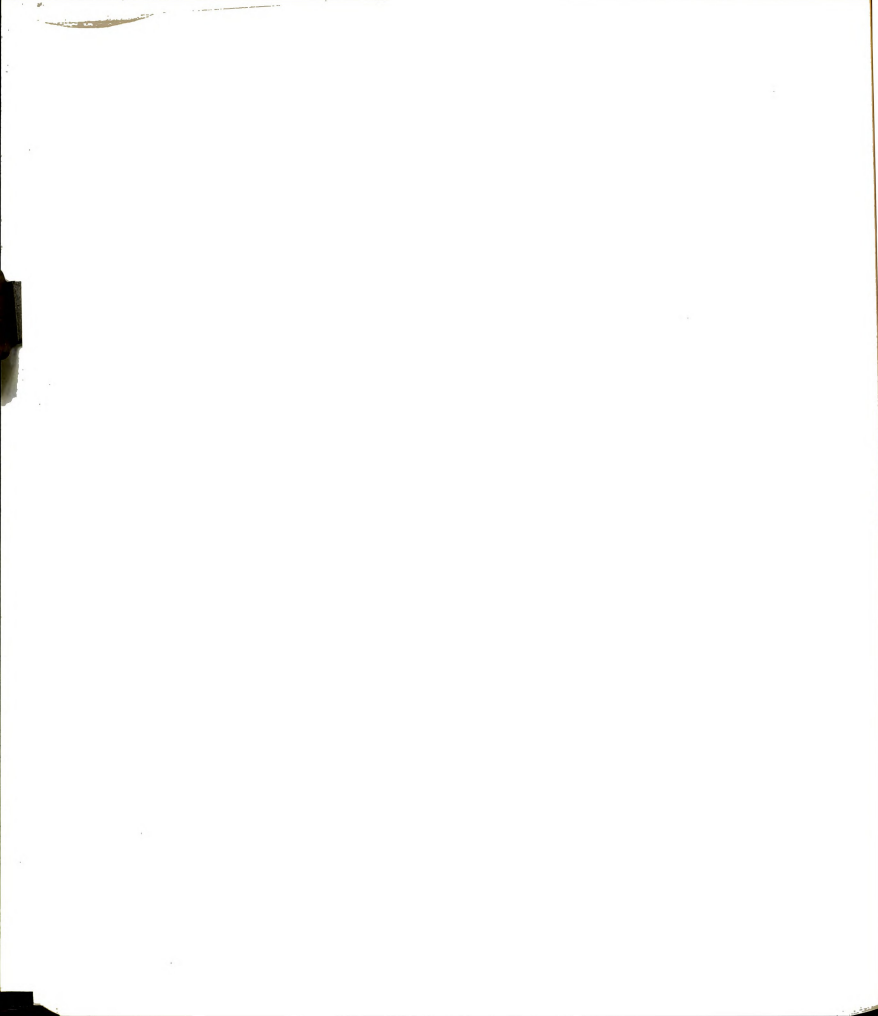
re in the form of personal contacts with university

ficials and ad hoc program affiliations, i.e. athletic

 social events.

The nature of the schools' relationships with the

thern Association of Colleges and Schools and the

ociation of American Schools, the strength of the re-

ionships as well as the areas of stress, and the

inistrator's role in the relationship provide the param-

rs for the ensuing discussion. Each educational

titution, however, for the purpose of analysis is dis-

ed singly.

The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS)

The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools,

ts own description,

> . . . is one of the six regional associations
> which accredit the schools and colleges of the
> United States and American schools abroad. Founded
> in 1895 its territory embraces the states of
> Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana,
> Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina,
> Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. By agreement with
> ther associations, it also accredits American
> schools in Latin America except those in the
> Panama Canal Zone.[1]

At the time of this study, the thirteen schools

ained various degrees of formal relationships with the

ern Association of Colleges and Schools. Eight schools

fully accredited by SACS. One schools was involved

mpleting the accrediting process and since this study
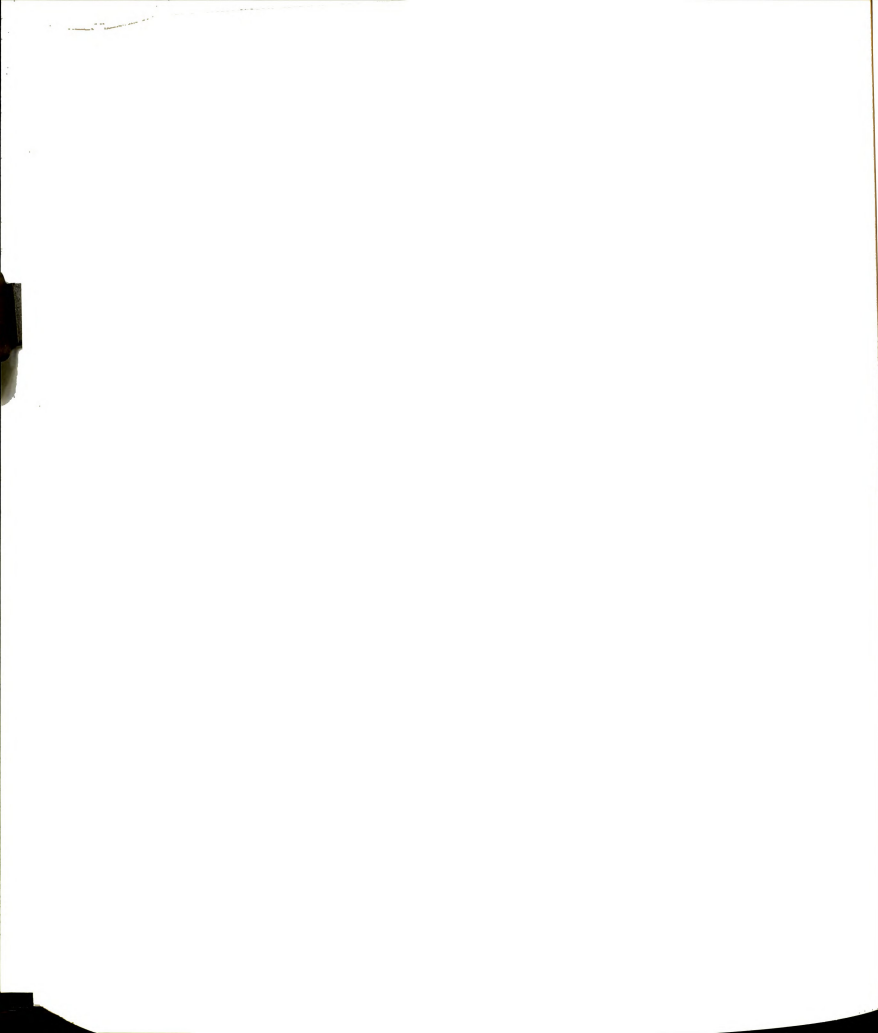
; undertaken has become accredited. Three schools main-

ned an affiliated status with SACS, which is a status

nted to a school which subscribes to the principles of

S and is engaged in improvement and professional growth

ivities; however, it is not to be confused with the

redited status. One school maintained no relationship

h SACS. (See Table 8.1)

le 8.1.   Status of relationship between the thirteen
American schools and Southern Association.

	Region I							Region II						Total
	S		M		L			S		M		L		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	
edited	-	-	x	x	x	-	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	9
liated	-	x	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	3
elated	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Eighteen respondents felt that the Southern Associ-

of Colleges and Schools influenced the schools; how-

they ranked the influence differentially. Two ranked

as exerting the greatest influence in the school, four

d it second, six ranked it third, one ranked it fourth,

ranked it fifth, one ranked it sixth, and one ranked it

th. Two chief school administrators in small schools

t give SACS any ranking. (See Table 7.1). It was

that those respondents who had worked in the large
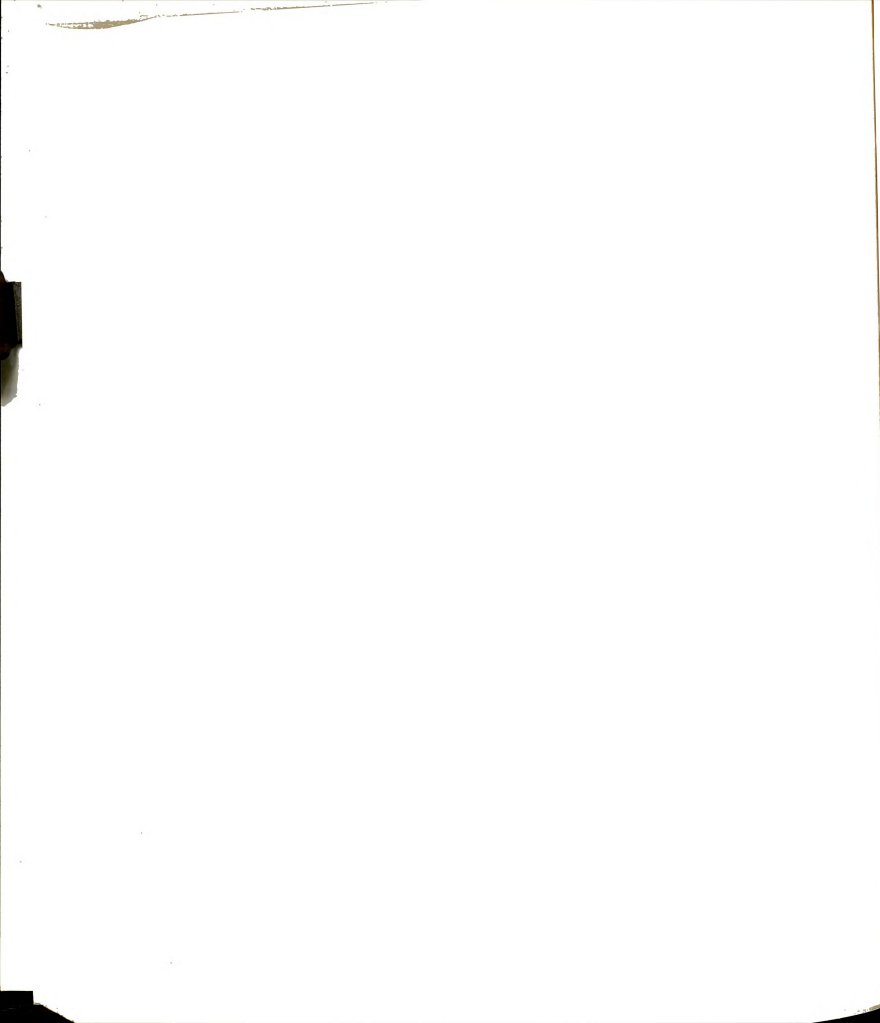
and medium schools tended to rank SACS higher in influence
than those who were or had been employed in the small
schools. From Table 8.1, it is evident that only the
medium and large schools were accredited with SACS. Hence,
t is reasonable that SACS influenced these schools more
han the small schools.

erceptions of the
ccreditation with SACS

Accreditation with SACS was perceived favorably by
he administrators of those schools which were accredited.
velve administrators identified themes concerning the
ffects SACS accreditation had upon helping the school
stablish its education credentials in the overseas com-
nity. Comments included:

Accreditation helps the community know we
are concerned with standards . . . .
For the host national and the U.S., it
[SACS] is prestigious but more importantly
for the American community, it is a form of
security since SACS is like a licensing board.
Accreditation for our school allows our
students to transfer their studies to schools
and colleges in the U.S.

Implicit in the comments was the fact that accred-
tion with SACS in essence gave the school legitimacy as
American school, since the schools attempted to main-
n the same educational standards and norms as those in
States. This sentiment was even verbalized by one
inistrator:
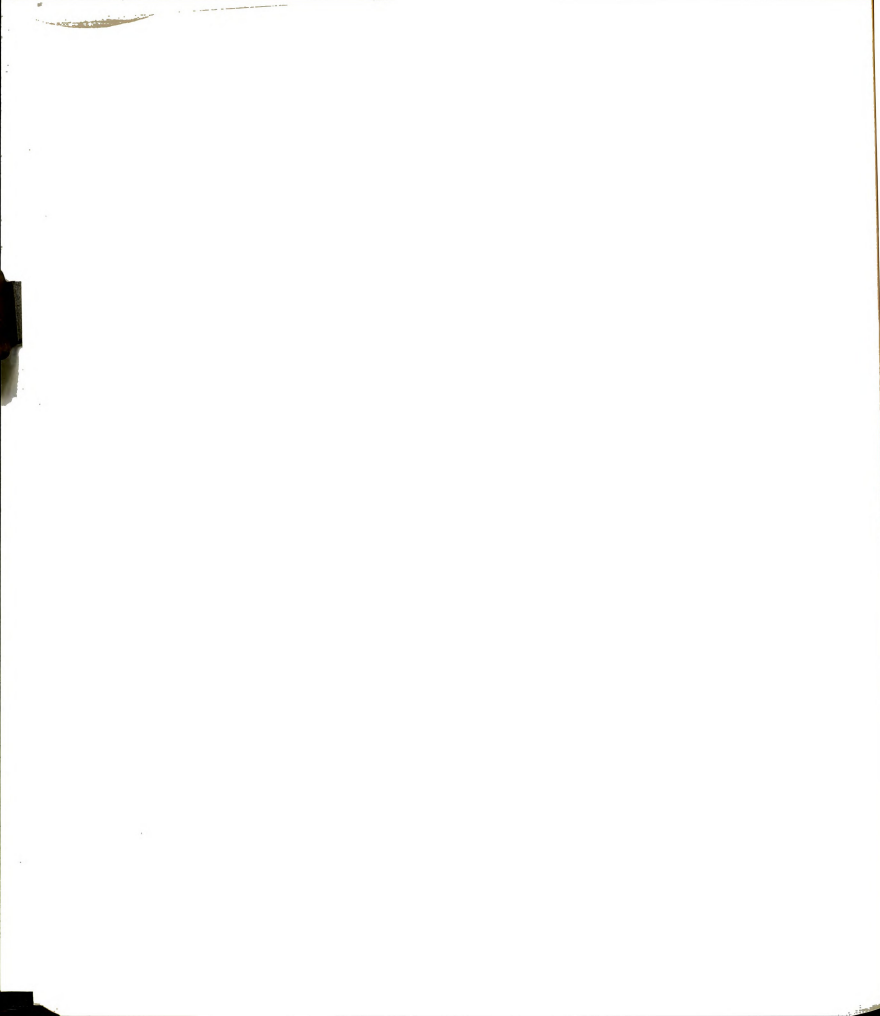
It (accreditation) must be maintained since it is an American school. We have some guidelines.

In contrast, those administrators of schools not accredited with SACS, viewed SACS differently. Comments included:

We are affiliated, however it does not have any great significance to us other than getting the newsletter. The Board is not aware nor do they care about accreditation.
We do not aspire to become accredited.

For the accredited schools, SACS in a real sense perceived as providing guidelines for the school and being a normative and referent system. Typical comments included:

We need some guidelines to operate a school overseas. This is especially important in areas such as teachers' salaries, library, etc. Here we are sort of a law to ourselves.
. . . It sets up standards and roles, against which to measure ourselves . . . .

One administrator with long tenure in a large over-s American school felt that SACS had contributed much the overseas school. He commented:

The Southern Association is broad minded in its approach to accreditation in these schools. I feel we have made progress over the years in Latin America as a result of this association.

Moreover, for the individual administrator, SACS perceived as a significant and important communication rk which provided desired professional information. administrators commented upon this aspect of the SACS tionship. Typical comments included:
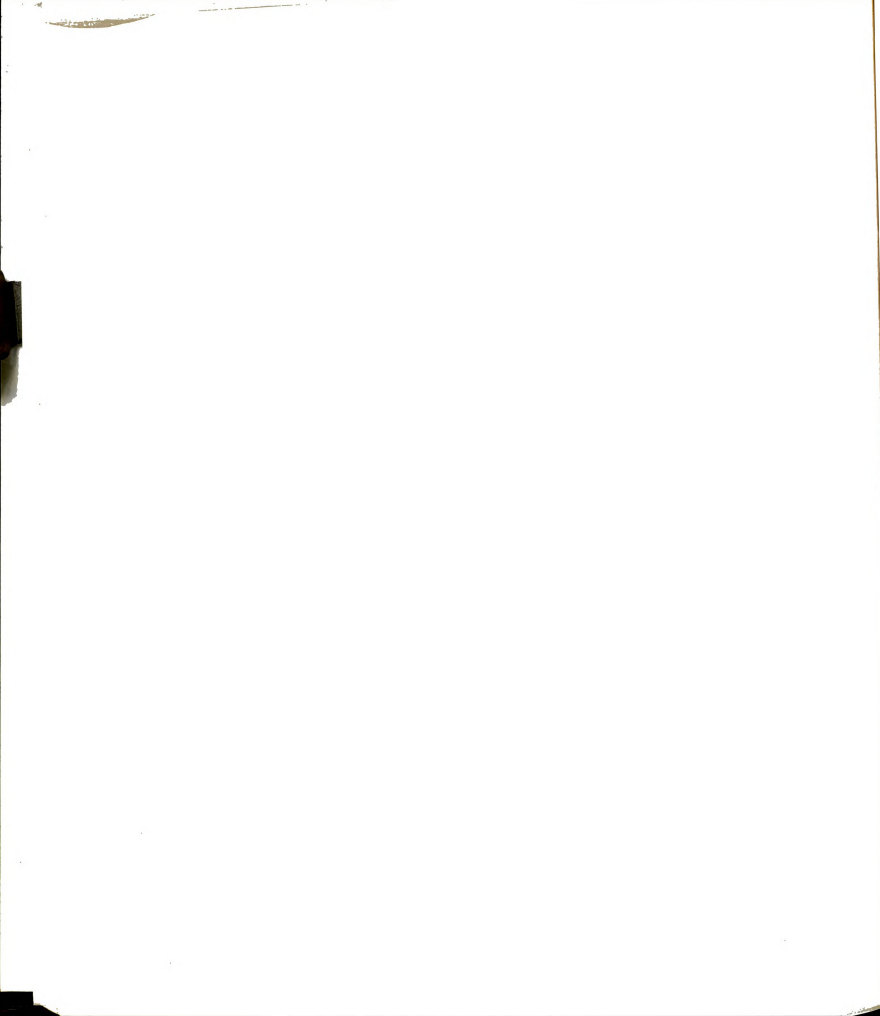
I receive the bulletin from SACS and they provide valuable information for me here in _____. In addition I am professionally refueled when I attend the annual SACS conference. Besides seeing many friends, I get an opportunity to glean new ideas from the "bull sessions" and general sessions. You know being out of the country makes one feel that he is not in the mainstream.

It [SACS] also provides consultants and a sort of "home base" to get professional information through publications and through the annual meeting.

licit in these comments is the fact that the administrators of the accredited schools did participate in the S conference. One administrator had even been elected serve on one of the SACS committees.

Although the majority of the administrators agreed the principles and basic standards of SACS, nevertheless four did express criticism concerning aspects of the ationship. One commented on the administrative aspect:

The forms are not designed for overseas use. We have a lot of problems trying to computerize this data . . . .

More frequently, the administrators discussed the lems that occurred within the school which were red to maintaining or improving the educational standards ired in SACS accreditation:

. . . the standards are constantly raised. . . . We have been warned by the SACS that we have many deficiencies.

Some of their standards are unrealistic. Take, for example, the situation with our librarian. She is not a certified librarian but she is the best I have ever seen in all my days in administration. Yet we are criticized because we don't have a U.S.-trained, certified librarian. They are costly.
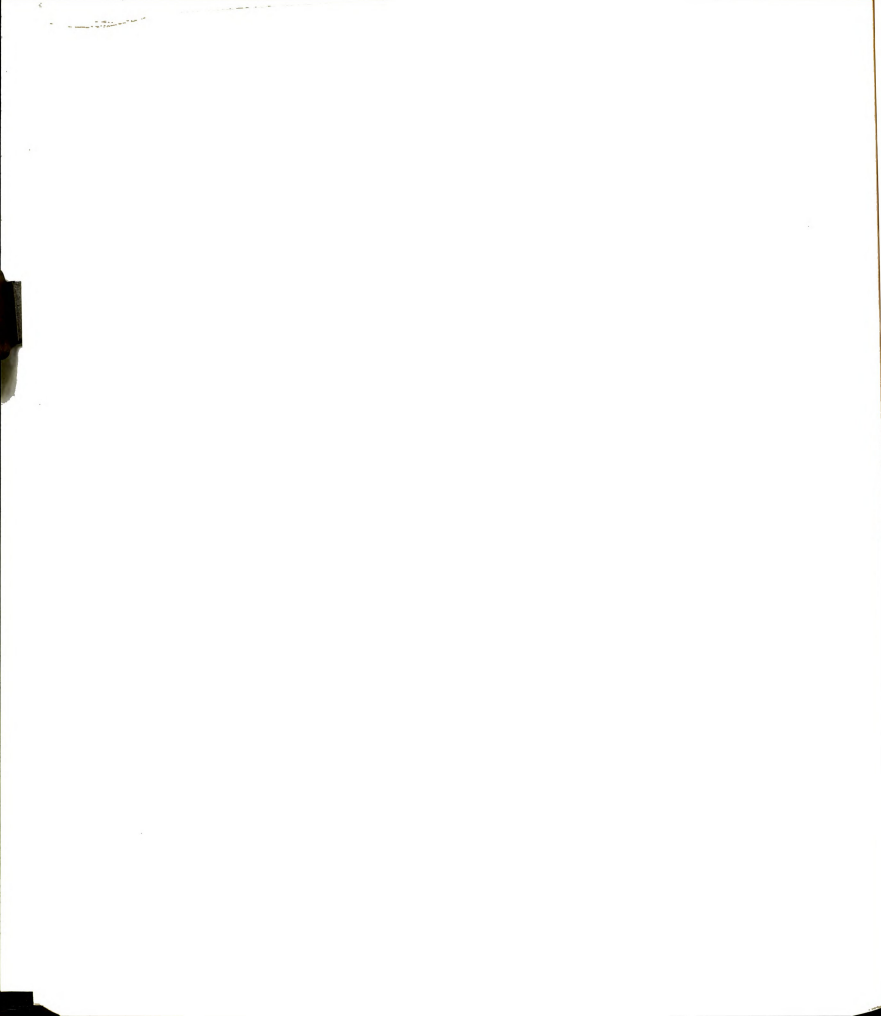
chief school administrators were professionally re-

nsible for the quality of the educational product, yet

y were administratively responsible to the Board and

patrons from whom the school received its financial

port. This situation was a most perplexing one for

administrator and a source of stress. Frequently the

inistrators perceived SACS accreditation and standards

providing an administrative "lever" which helped to

rcome the obstacles, mainly financial, to school improve-

. Two comments follow:

> This [SACS] helps assure a quality dimension
> to our school that, as Director of the school, I
> could not establish and maintain by myself when
> dealing with the community in efforts to raise
> educational standards. When I tell the Board,
> or someone from the Association [SACS] tells the
> community that financial support is needed to
> improve salaries, teaching equipment or building
> facilities, it carries some weight.
> This can be a good crutch to convince the
> community you need more money. It makes a good
> selling point . . . .

ver, there appeared to be a point at which the school

tituency would not accept the SACS accreditation as

icient reason for tuition increases. One administrator

nted:

> At the local level there was extreme
> esistance to increasing tuitions and expenses.
> s the executive officer, I was responsible to
> rovide the best education, yet even after
> 0-30 explanations, I could not get them to see
> he advantages of Southern Association accred-
> tation despite the fact that we had been
> ccredited for years!
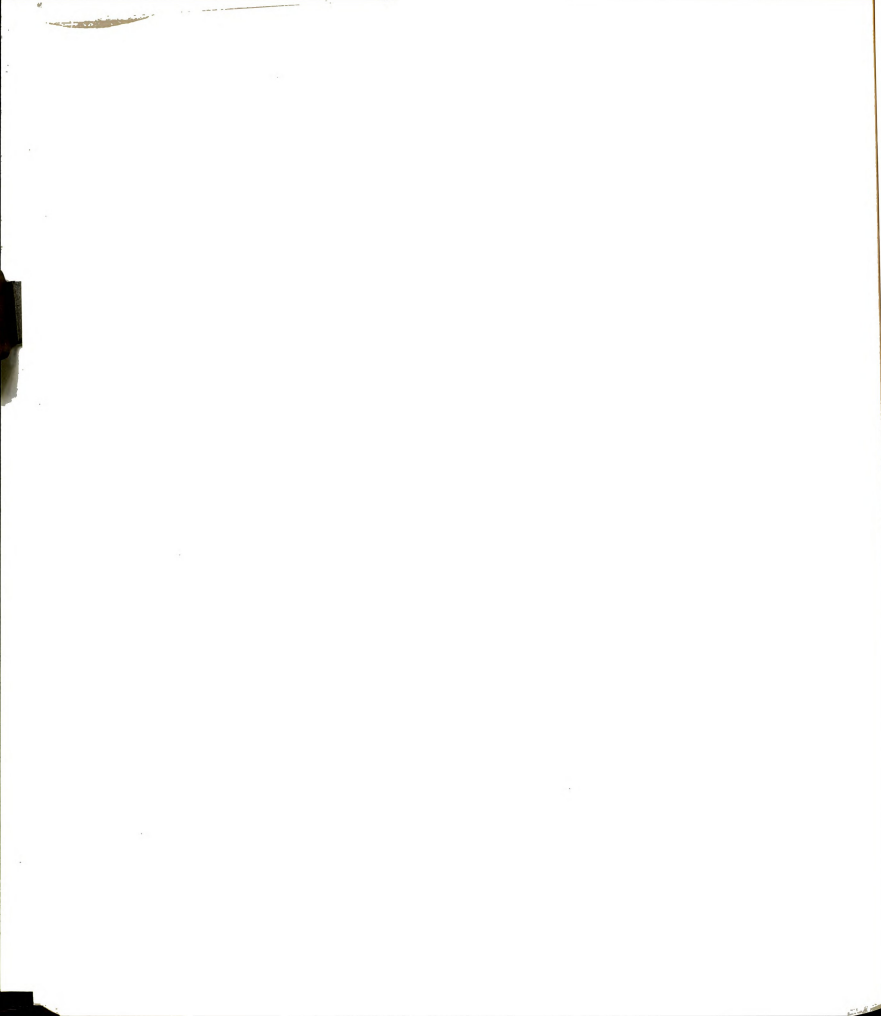
Explicit in these comments is the fact that
creditation with SACS was a stressful area for many
ministrators. One administrator expressed this succinctly
d offered an explanation.

> The problem is that is [accreditation]
> constantly requires interpreting standards to
> people--the board, the parents, the teachers,
> and supervisors since they are not aware of
> this organization called Southern Association
> of Colleges and Schools . . . . As you know
> down here education is controlled by the State
> . . . where in the U.S., the State and the
> profession work together for the improvement
> of education . . . . Voluntary accreditation
> is a new concept and getting them to see the
> value of this has been extremely difficult.

In essence, the administrator was the man-in-the-
dle, between groups within the school and between the
ool and SACS. Since these American schools attempted
aintain not one but two sets of standards for accred-
ion--one established by the host national government
the other established by SACS--educational standards
frequently an area of stress within the school. To
members of the school's constituency, the standards
by SACS represented a foreign set of educational
es, norms, and practices which were established by a
gn-based agency. To others of the school's con-
ency, the administrators reported SACS represented
ccepted set of standards. Hence the administrator
he man-in-the-middle mediating between groups and
ently had little but his personal or professional
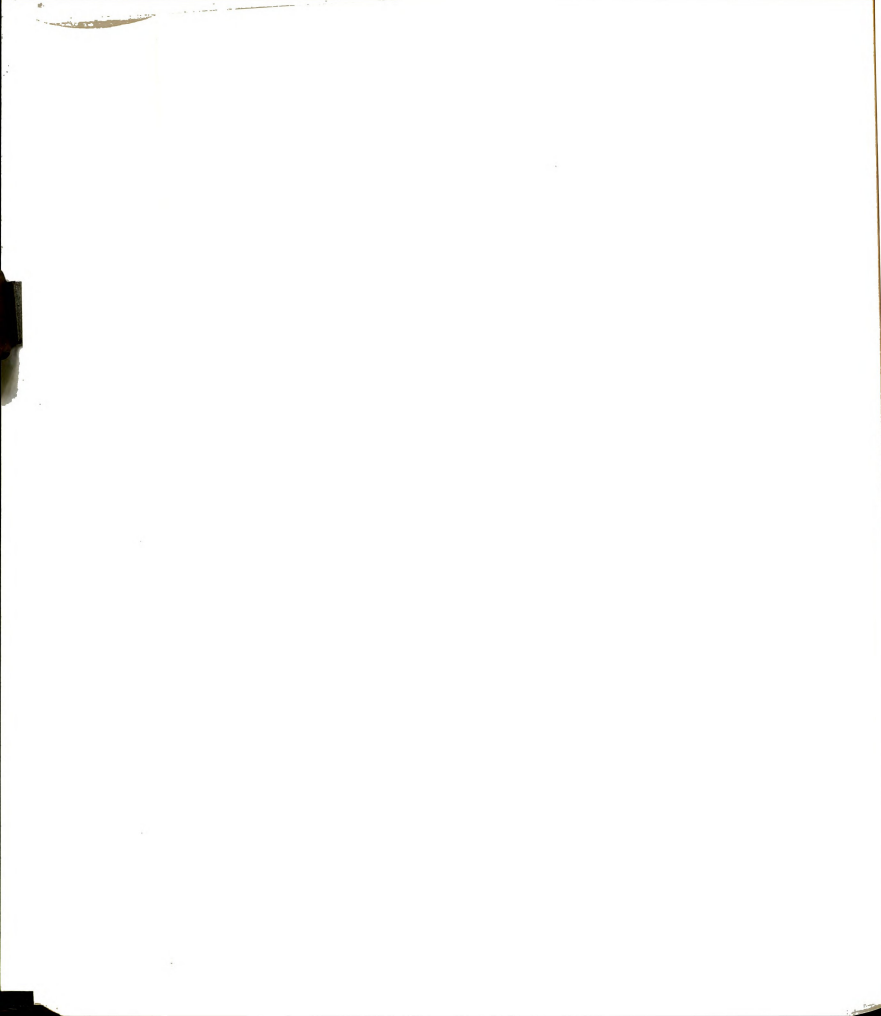
eputation to persuade segments of the binational com-

unity to support or change the educational standards of

he school. The administrator's success in this mediating

ole affected the very nature of the school's relationship

o SACS and the authority and power which SACS possessed

ver the school.

ummary

The administrators of the schools that were accred-

ed with SACS perceived the accreditation as providing

e school not only with educational credentials but as

lping to provide the school with a degree of legitimacy

an American school, since the school was following the

me educational standards and guidelines as schools in

e U.S. In essence, SACS was a vital communication link

h the U.S. academic community.

The SACS-school relationship, although generally

wed favorably by the administrators, did contain elements

conflict and stress for the administrator. Most fre-

ntly, the stress occurred at the local level when the

ool was told by SACS it was deficient in certain areas,

correcting these deficiencies necessitated increasing

ions. The administrator was the man-in-the-middle who

only mediated between the school and SACS but also

een groups within the school to obtain the needed sup-

to maintain or change conditions in the school.
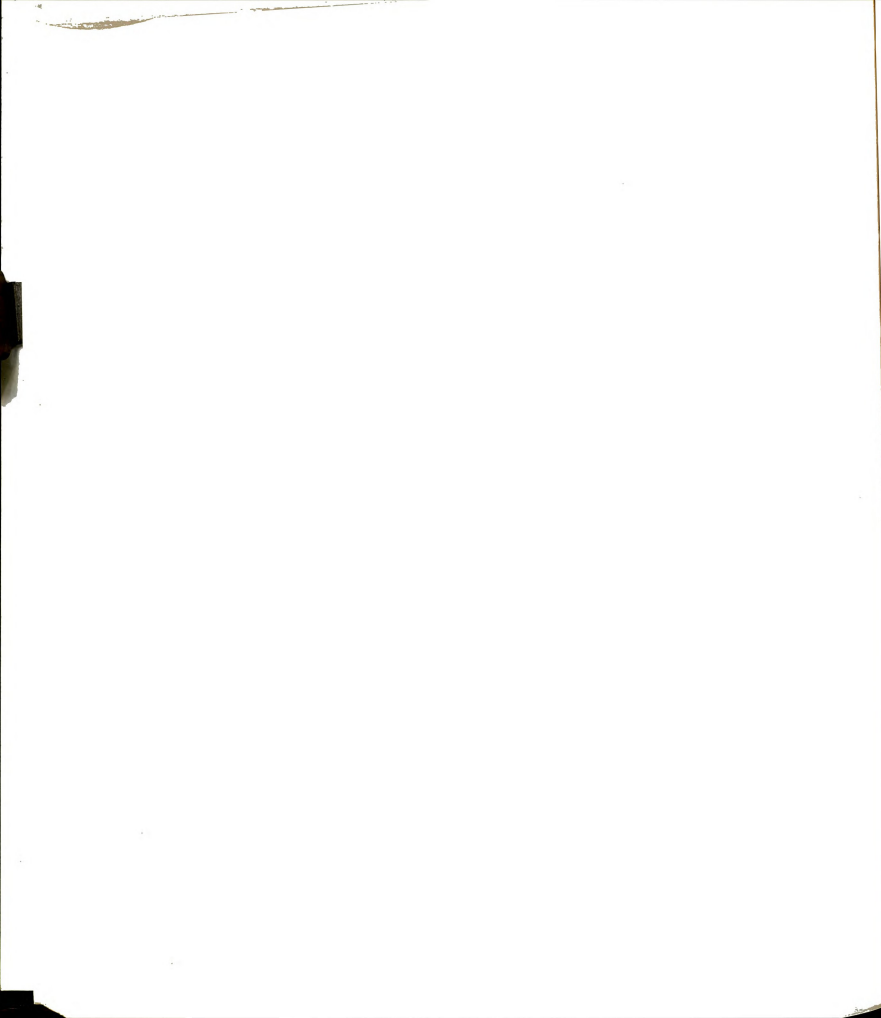
The Association of
American Schools (AAS)

The Association of American Schools received the
fourth largest number of responses as an influential
institution in the interinstitutional linkage system.
However, the influence was ranked differentially by the
administrators. One administrator ranked it first in
importance, three ranked it second, two ranked it third,
six ranked it fourth, two ranked it fifth, one ranked it
eighth, one ranked it ninth, and four administrators did
not rank The Association. It should be noted that at the
time of the study two administrators reported their re-
spective schools were not members of The Association;
hence this would explain why this education institution
was not ranked in terms of influence.

The Associations of American Schools in both Region
I and Region II were educational organizations that had
been formed voluntarily by the overseas American Schools
within the respective Region. The Association in Region I
was formalized in 1959 and the one in Region II in 1960.
Each of these Associations had evolved as a collective
means to resolve mutual educational and administrative
issues and problems confronting the member schools. This
was made explicit in the stated purposes of the two
Associations. In Region I, the purpose of the Association
of American Schools was defined thus:

The purpose of this association shall be the development of a closer union of American Schools in cooperation and consistent with the rules and culture of the Republic of Mexico; to resolve common problems of member schools; to advance ideals and standards of the teaching profession and administrative leadership; to promote the educational welfare of the community in which the schools are located; and to provide a clearing house of information common to our schools.[2]

Region II, the Association's purpose was stated as:

The purpose of this Association shall be the development of cooperation among the schools to carry out activities of educational research, development, and training; to promote the educational welfare of the community in which the schools are located; and to provide an organization which can secure help for the schools individually and collectively.[3]

For the most part, membership in the Association

limited to those schools in the respective region,

:h were recipients of U.S. government grants as pro-

:d by the Office of Overseas Schools. The governance

.he Association was conducted by officers who were

ted from the Association membership, although in Region

the Association did have the assistance of a part-time

utive secretary to handle a portion of the affairs of

Association. Each member school did make a small

icial contribution to the Association for the purpose

.rrying out activities. However, the Associations

dependent upon grants, usually direct grants-in-aid

the Office of Overseas Schools, to carry out Asso-

ɔn activities and projects.
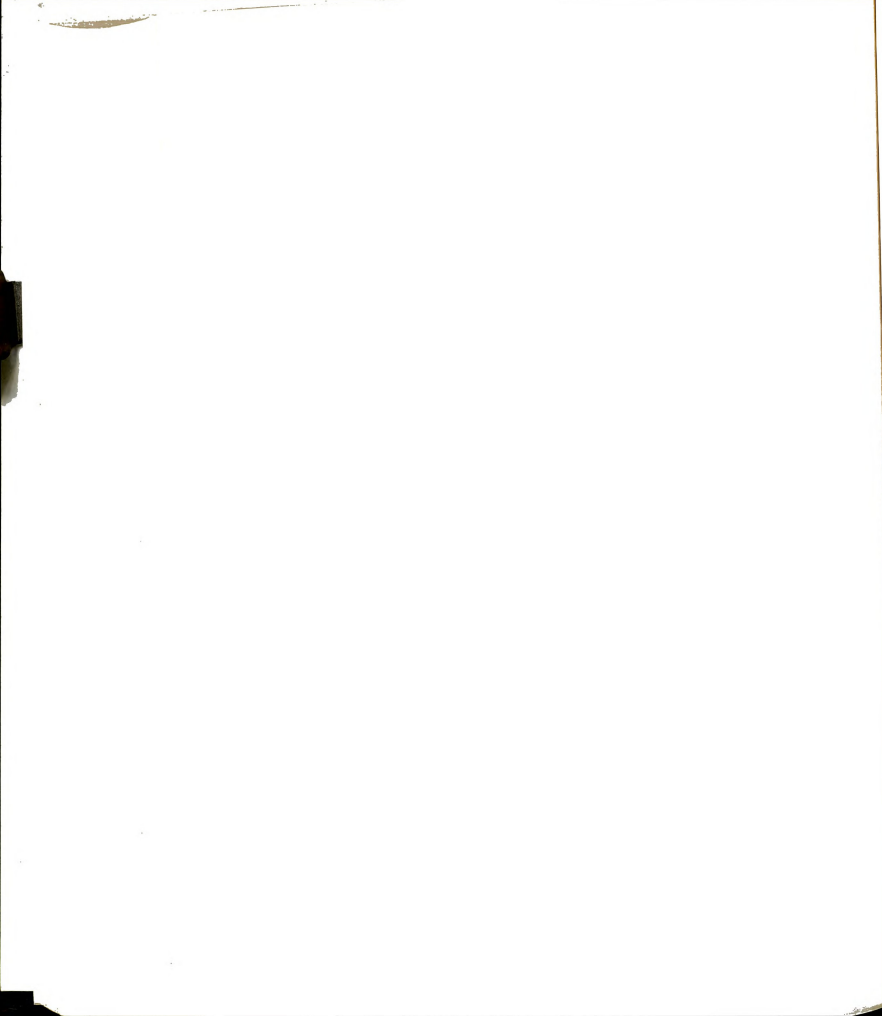
rceptions of the Association

  The Association was perceived by the majority of
e administrators as an organization for sharing mutual
ncerns, both on a professional and personal level. The
ofessional aspect is evident in the following comment:

  It was the same type of professional
organization that school administrators would
be associated with in the U.S. We had a regional
meeting which gave educational uplift or
advancement so to speak. The meetings were
helpful and cooperative. We would help each
other. We all had the same type problems!
Where to get money for this or that? What
to charge for tuition? How to get faculty
members and how to keep them? How to reward them?

eover, the Association meetings brought the chief school

inistrators in contact with their role partners, who

mutual experiential backgrounds, and provided the

inistrators with an opportunity to share not only pro-

sional but personal concerns as well. This experience

sense provided an identity and a catharsis for the

f school administrators, which was explicit in state-

s such as:

  The association with other directors is
great, when we get together. The personal
contact with each other is important.
  It would be lonely to be without others
who are in the same boat.
  There is an emotional tie between
Directors.
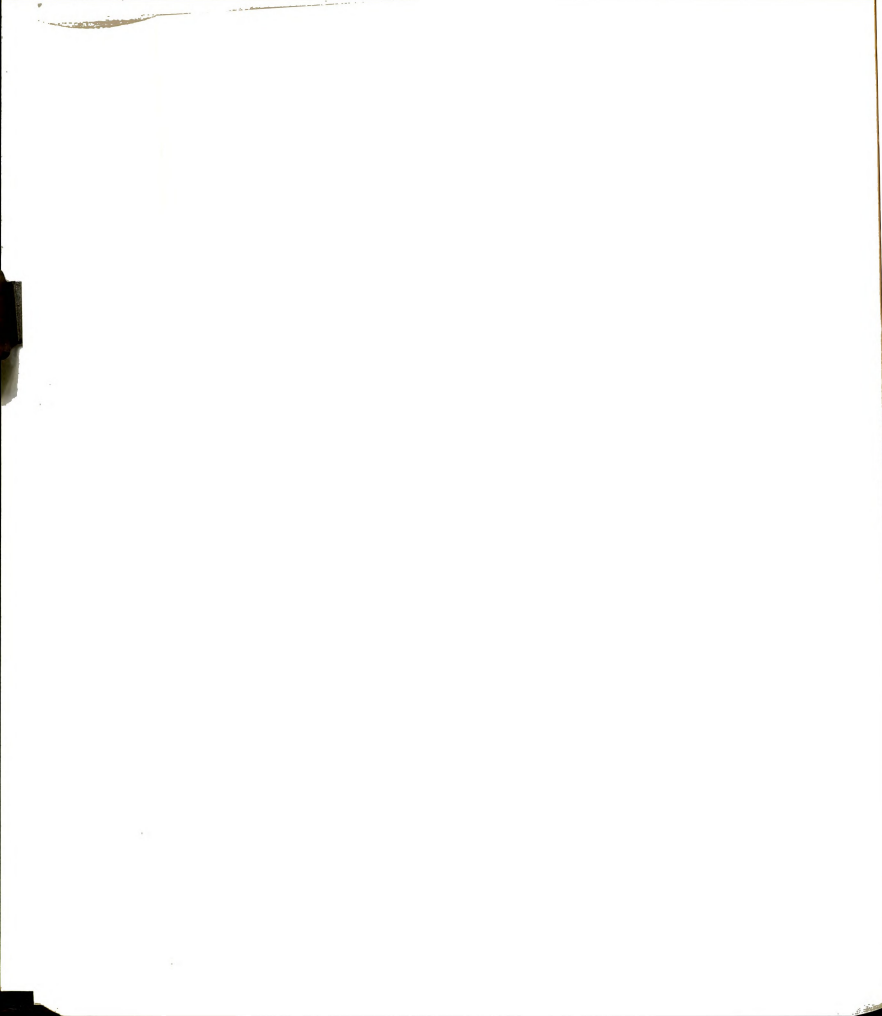
ssociation--American
hool Relationships

Through the Association, not only were mutual con-
rns shared but solutions to like problems were sought.
nce the Associations became involved in projects which
re envisioned as means of overcoming some of the obstacles
ich the schools confronted collectively and individually.
e projects are discussed in the ensuing section.

Association--
higan State University Project

The Association--Michigan State University Project
the one formalized Association activity in which the
ority of administrators asserted their respective
ools participated. This project was initiated in 1959
became a formalized contractual relationship in 1961.
purpose of the relationship was:

To jointly develop and promote continuing
programs of teacher education, school program
improvements and programs of educational research
and publications.[4]

The assistance which the individual schools had
ived through the Association's contract with Michigan
e University was variously described. Some adminis-
rs commented on teacher education programs:

At the request of the school, MSU sent
down somebody for a month or six weeks. We
would have classes, and the teachers would
meet this individual. It was kind of a
workshop, and the teachers were able to get
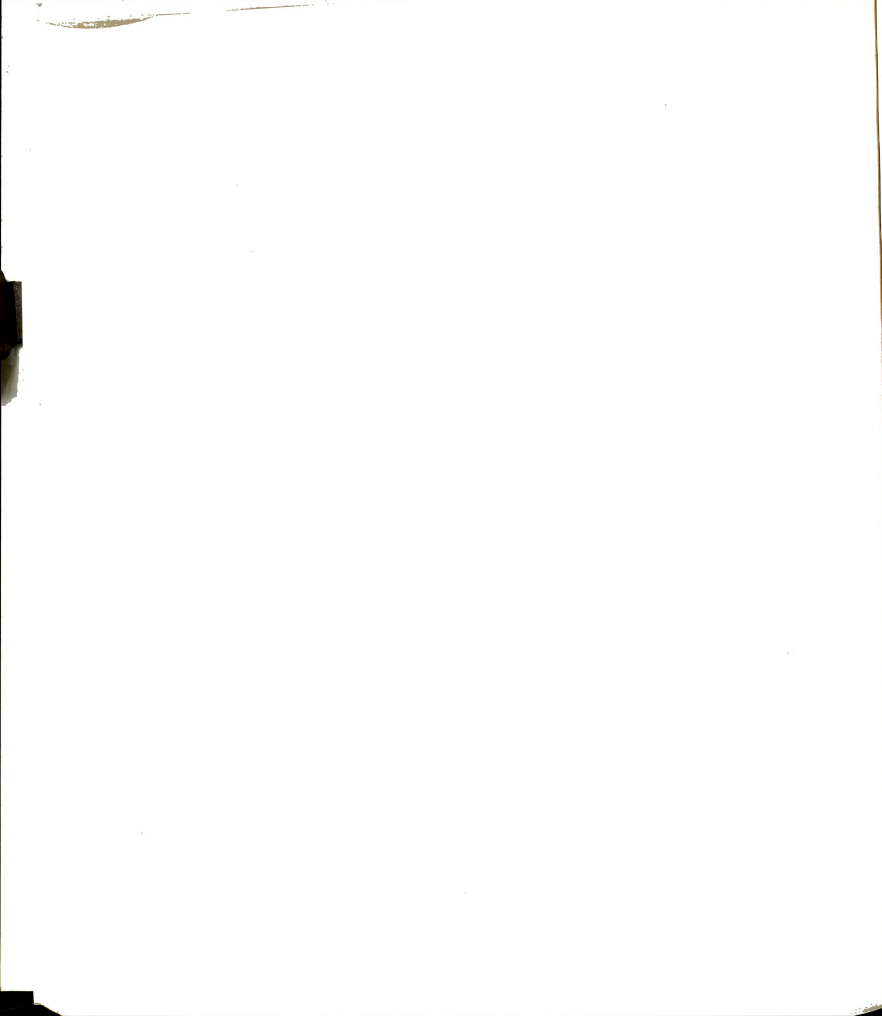
credit for it. It was successful and a good
idea. It was the only opportunity for our
teachers--and I am sure this is true of many
other schools--for professional refreshment
where they could advance their professional
knowledge and also in some instances get
advanced credit toward a degree of certification.

We had workshops and credit courses by
Michigan State University. This type of
Association activity was meaningful . . . .

MSU's contribution is noteworthy. There
was a carry-over with our host national
teachers and in up-grading our staff, but
there is a turnover of personnel which makes
this program a constant effort. We never
seem to get through with the task.

The student teacher program with MSU
has been very beneficial to our school.

ners commented on the consultative services:

We have had MSU consultants here at
our school . . . . It felt good to know
someone was thinking about you.

Although Dr._____ was very unrealistic
in analyzing our problem, his report at
least gave us some direction where we had
none before . . . bit by bit we have tried
to follow his suggestion.

It [MSU] was one reason why I took the
job. I knew that _____ [MSU staff member]
was someone on whom I could count for help.

Although most of the administrators perceived their

ool's affiliation with MSU as meeting a need in the in-

dual school, nearly one-third of the administrators

icized some aspects of the relationship. Some found

ifficult to understand the complexity of the large

ucratic organization that MSU represented and cited

nication problems. Others felt the MSU relationship

n imposed one. Still others felt that the University

ot send people with the appropriate language training

and cross-cultural backgrounds to the schools, a feeling

that was made explicit in one administrator's comment:

> We need people who have had overseas
> experience, not those who are here to get
> experience . . . .

It was interesting to note that the criticism was predom-

inately voiced by those administrators with limited over-

seas experience and those who saw their task as chief

school administrator as one of helping the institution to

survive despite seemingly overwhelming odds. One admin-

istrator sarcastically stated:

> It's like giving a dying man medicine,
> it won't hurt him.

In contrast, the more experienced chief school

administrator tended not only to recognize the inherent

limitations of the relationship but were aware of the

overall positive affect that this relationship represented

for the school. Typical comments include:

> This [MSU] is the greatest contribution
> that has been made to our school. Schools
> like ours do not progress due to the work
> of an individual; its progress is dependent
> upon institutions of higher education.
> The affiliation gave our school some
> prestige in the community.
> MSU was our salvation. It was the first
> contact with the outside world. It got us
> in contact with _____.

In summarizing the administrators' comments con-

cerning the schools' affiliation with MSU, it can be stated

that this affiliation has helped define and provide the

group of chief school administrators with a sense of
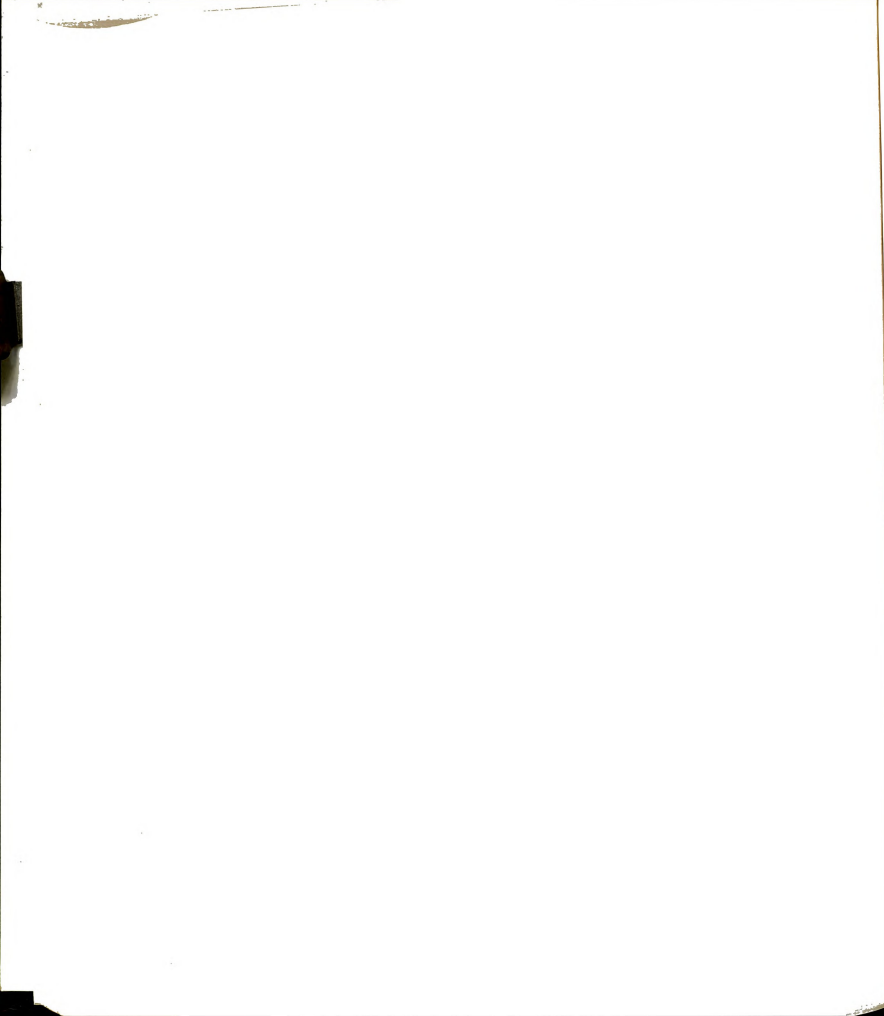
relatedness with the American educational community. The
professional services which MSU provided were congruent
with the administrator's own professional preparation and
the implicit cultural norms, i.e. teacher certification,
credit course, academic degrees, which the administrator
carried with him to the job overseas.

Since the administrators were familiar with MSU
and understood its role in the professional community, it
is possible that they felt freer to criticize an institu-
tion from "their own culture." The administrators held
critical feelings towards MSU's rule as an institution of
higher education, and its administration of the professional
services to the school. These critical feelings tend to
support the notion of Chris Argyris "that men expect
rationally conceived (or what appears to be a rationally
conceived organization from their home culture) to operate
rationally and effectively overseas."[2] When the chief
school administrators encountered the complexities and
realities of working with U.S. institutions overseas, they
tended to respond negatively.

Change Projects Among the
Members in the Association

Since the schools within the Association were
heterogeneous in the sense that there were small, medium,
large schools, each having its particularistic pattern
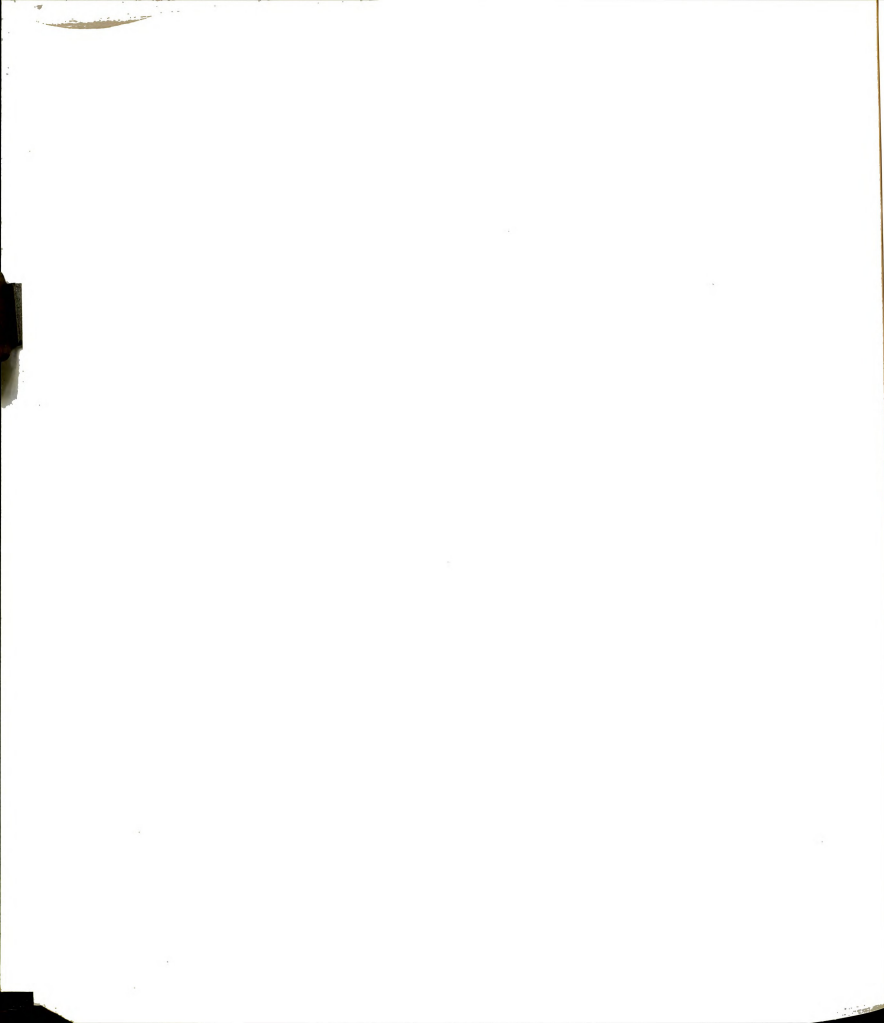
terms of organizational structure and educational pro-

ams, exchanges between and among the schools were per-

ived as means that might help resolve various problems

ich the member schools faced.

These exchanges took various forms. There were:

change of staff members, exchange of educational materials

film strip, audio tapes, books, desks, and other equip-

nt--and student exchanges. Although these exchanges were

ans of mutual cooperation and assistance between and

ong the schools, nevertheless this type of project held

esses for some of the administrators involved. Some-

ies, it was a logistical problem, as this administrator

cribed:

> We shared some tapes between schools.
> However, the tapes were for a different type
> machine. How am I supposed to use them?

ivities with Other
ociations of American
ools

On occasion, the Associations in the two Regions

participated in joint endeavors. One chief school

nistrator with lengthy overseas experience indicated

the two regional associations in conjunction with MSU

rganized and conducted a fund-raising drive on an

national scale. He continued:

> Although our combined and initial efforts
> roduced only scant monetary resources,
> omparatively speaking, the program served
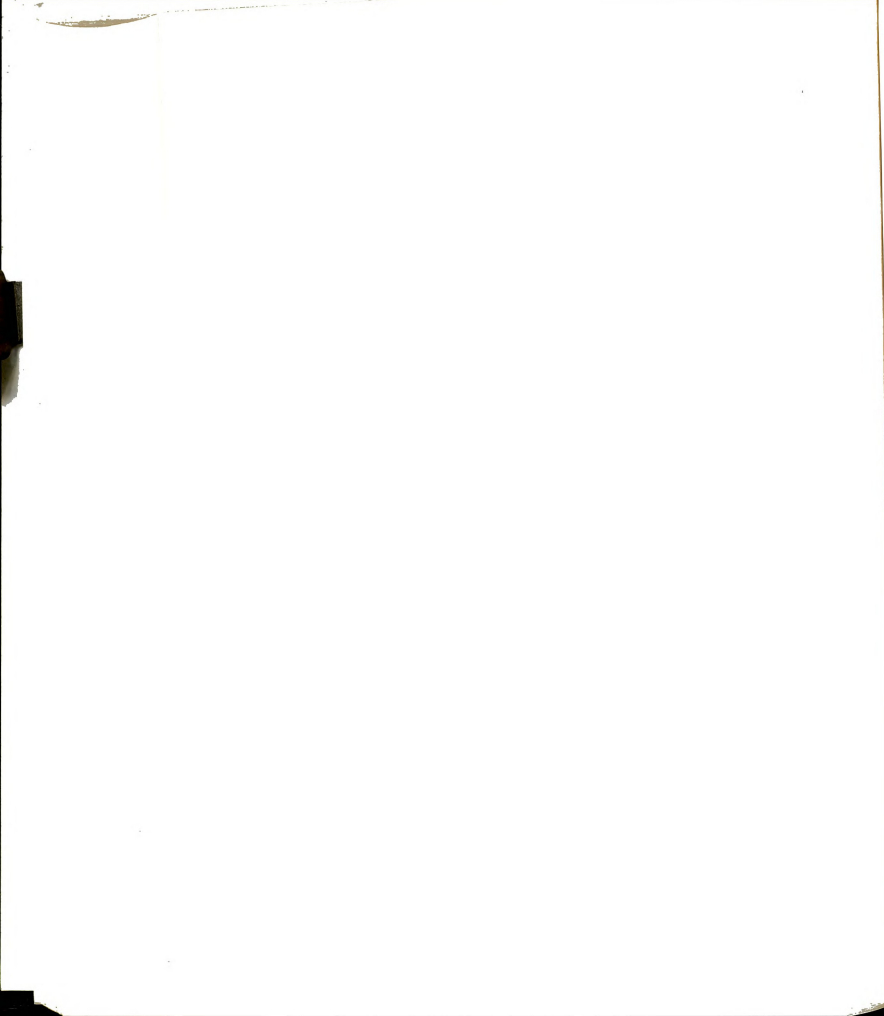
as a prototype which has subsequently been
a model for fund-raising efforts conducted
on a world-wide basis for all the American
schools.

This administrator recognized the limitation that
this project had for the schools in the Association; never-
theless he was aware of the global influence which the
project had. However another administrator saw this fund-
raising activity as benefiting some schools within the
Association, but not his; he commented:

We tried to conduct a fund-raising
campaign some years ago. Our school never
benefited to any appreciable extent.

The American School Network

In the course of the discussions concerning the
Association, the administrators were asked if they con-
sidered themselves part of an overseas American school
network. Three-quarters of the administrators replied in
the affirmative and cited the Association-related activ-
ities as the vehicle which helped to define and contribute
this feeling. Typical comments include:

In a sense this feeling is what I get
from the Association. I feel that I am
involved and am sharing with others. I
was even included as a teacher . . . .
Through the Association [AAS], we
discuss things at the meetings focusing
on the American School movement as a whole.
All of us have a similar mission even
though we work with different types of people.
We know of the other schools and have some
communication with those in Latin America and
even on a worldwide scale.
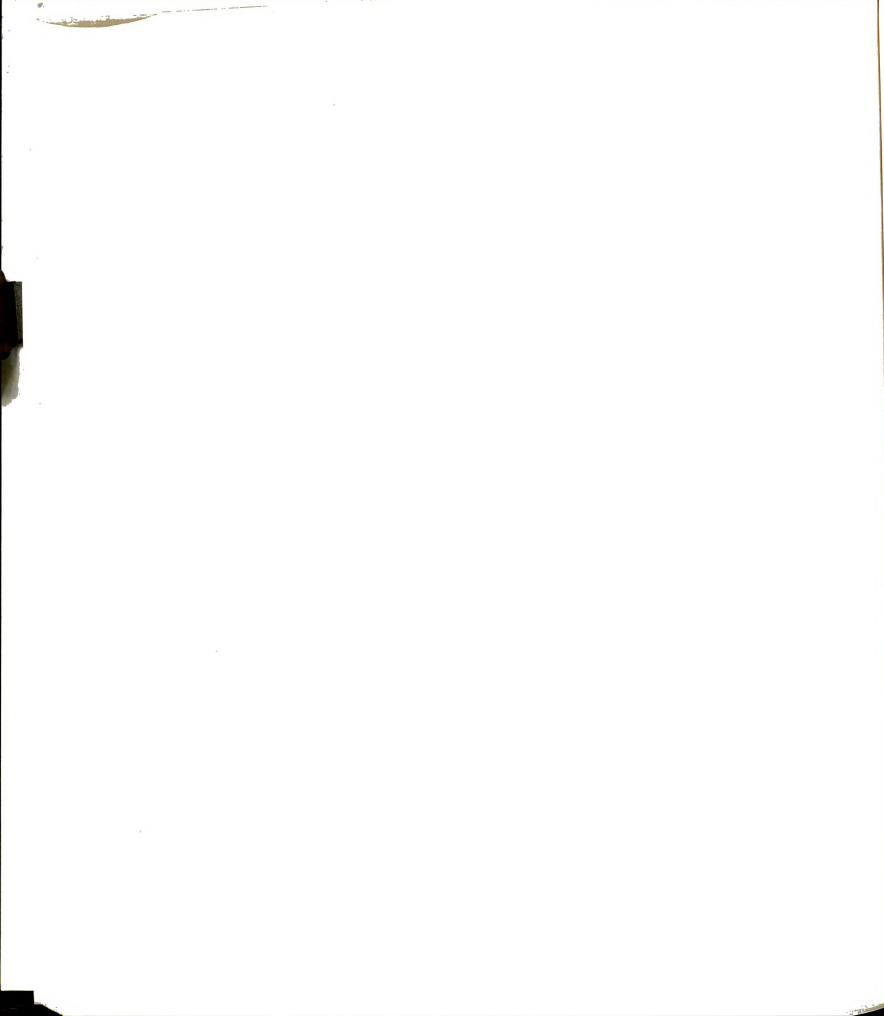
There were two administrators who conceded that a
network did exist, but hastened to qualify their comments
by pointing out the institutional autonomy which each school
implicitly and explicitly maintained.

> In the larger sense yes. We are
> working with the Office of Overseas Schools.
> Michigan State University helps us by sending
> consultants. In a left-handed sort of way
> there is a "loose network," but we are a law
> unto ourselves. The Association is only for
> educational exchange.
> We are related yet we are independent.
> We are in a sense federated in terms of
> broad policies or practices . . . we are
> related because we have diplomats' children
> attending the school. The network is
> professionally based on mutual interests . . . .

Conversely, four administrators did not perceive an
outline of an American school network. Significantly, two
these administrators were directors of institutions that
did not participate in any Association activities.

The majority of the administrators who felt a part
the American school network had been in their present
post two or more years, had made personal visits to three
more other American schools either intra- or inter-
nationally in the Western Hemisphere, and had been involved
the Association activities. Only one administrator had
first-hand experience" with American schools in another
continent.

Conversely, one administrator with limited over-
experience (less than five months) found it difficult
recognize any outlines of a network of American schools,
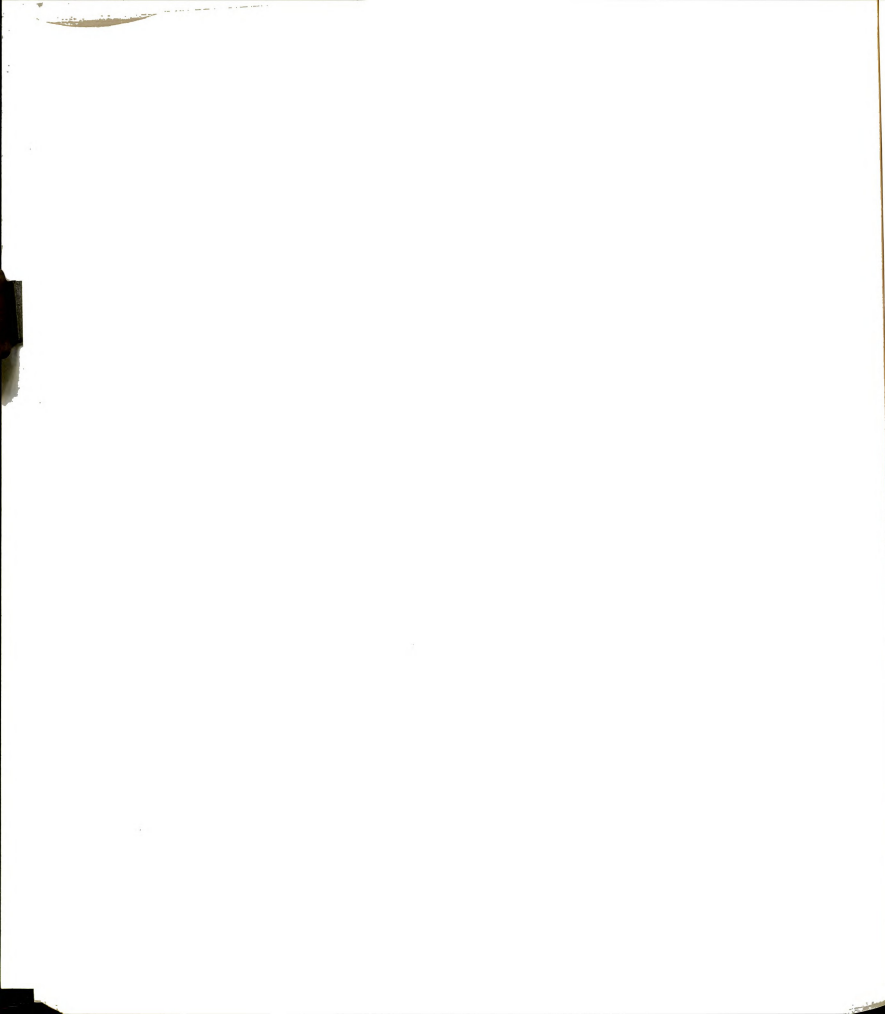
and had no experience with the other American schools in
his region nor the Association.

It can possibly be inferred that these administra-
tors' perceptions about being part of the American school
network and the Association were in some way related with
the socialization of the individual to the overseas educa-
tional milieu and the referent system he develops _after_
he assumes the position of chief school administrator.

Summary and Discussion

The majority of the administrators perceived the
AAS-school relationship as being beneficial to the school.
The most beneficial AAS project, as far as the adminis-
trators were concerned, was the Michigan State University
project, through which each participating school received
professional services in the form of credit courses for its
teachers or consultative services. However, some criticism
was voiced by the administrators concerning aspects of the
MSU relationship. The role that the individual school and
its respective administrator played in the Association
frequently served to define the administrator's perception
of the Association and the degree to which the administrator
and his school participated in the Association and its
projects.

The description of the Association activities which
were carried out in an interdependent fashion with members
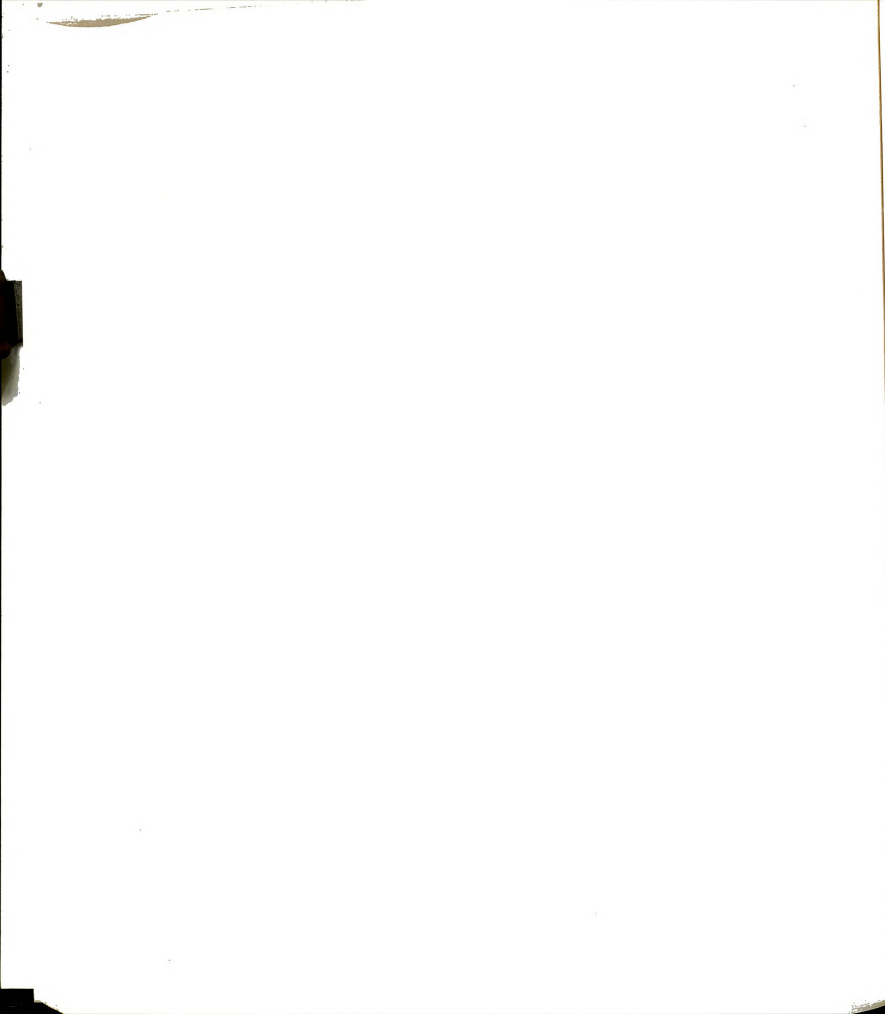
the Association and other agencies with which the schools
ntracted, was characterized by conditions of cooperation
d conflict. These conditions prompted the men to behave
fferently as they attempted to mediate the affairs be-
een the Association and the school.

The Association generally was perceived as a com-
rative reference organization for the schools, and as an
ganization that could possibly help the school. The
jority of the administrators pursued the development of
pperative relationships with other schools in the Asso-
ation. In this case, the chief school administrator was
'seeker of resources" for his school. This point of view
s made explicit in this comment:

> Here you learn to live life one day at a
> time. There are so many things that could
> go wrong that it is impossible to anticipate
> them all. You try to get involved in all
> types of activities that can possibly help
> the school. The Association is one of these
> activities. It can't hurt us, it can only help.

Although the chief school administrators, as insti-
ional representatives, sought Association membership
cooperative relationships with other American schools,
rtheless because the Association was a federated type
rganization in which participation was voluntary, the
nistrators could elect to participate or not participate
e affairs of the Association.

Less than one-fourth of the administrators felt
ssociation did not provide a personal or professional
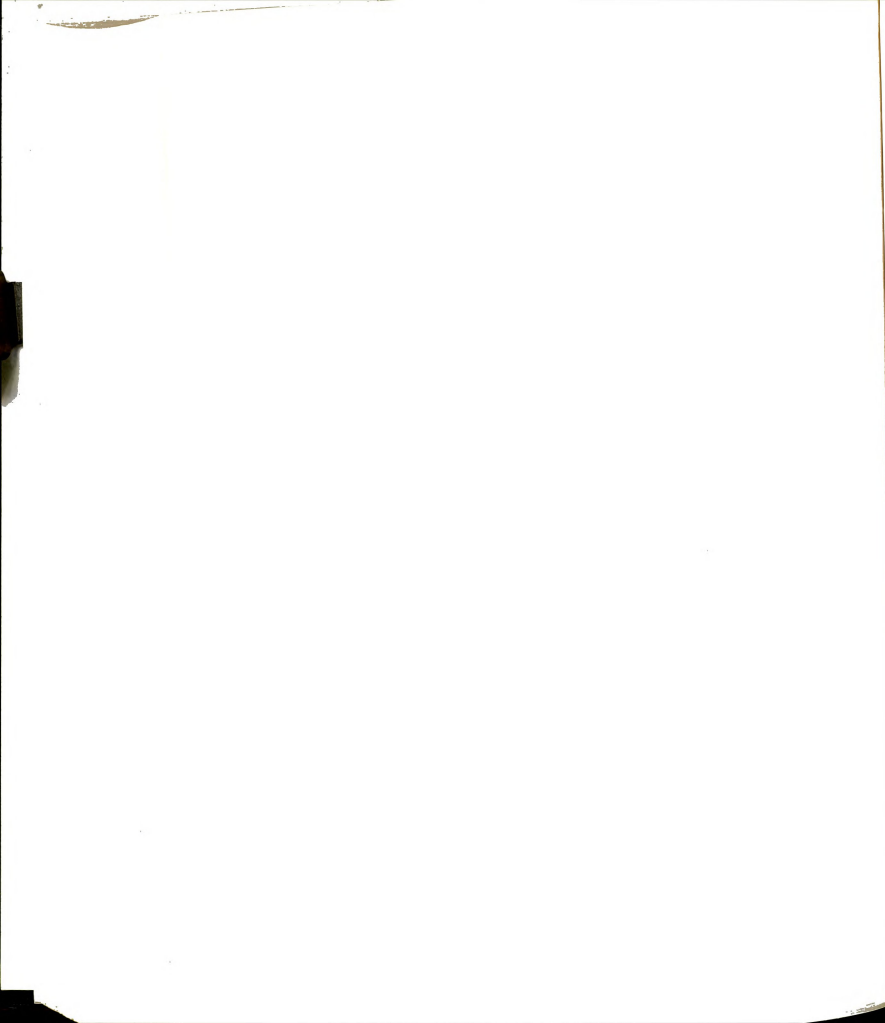
eward for them or their institution and thus a pattern of

ithdrawal or withholding their participation in the activ-

ties of the Association occurred. Some of the conditions

hich prompted this behavior are illustrated in the fol-

owing comment:

> The schools seem to have their own problems.
> The administrators do not seem to want to co-
> operate on some things. If they do want to
> cooperate, they do not have the resources.

oreover, often the individual member within the Association

lt powerless in the organization. This was made explicit

 one administrator:

> Our school is too small to contribute to
> the Association in comparison with the larger
> schools. We are wooed because we look good
> in the reports the Association prepares.

is position of powerlessness in the Association was a

dely shared notion by those administrators in the small

 medium schools, who perceived the larger schools--gen-

lly located in the national capitals--as possessing

itions of prestige, power, and social status. A pos-

le explanation for this notion could be that the

itions of leadership in the Association were held by

inistrators in the larger schools; in one instance the

ce of president was a permanent office.

Chapter Summary

The second set of social institutions, which the

nistrators ranked as the second most influential in
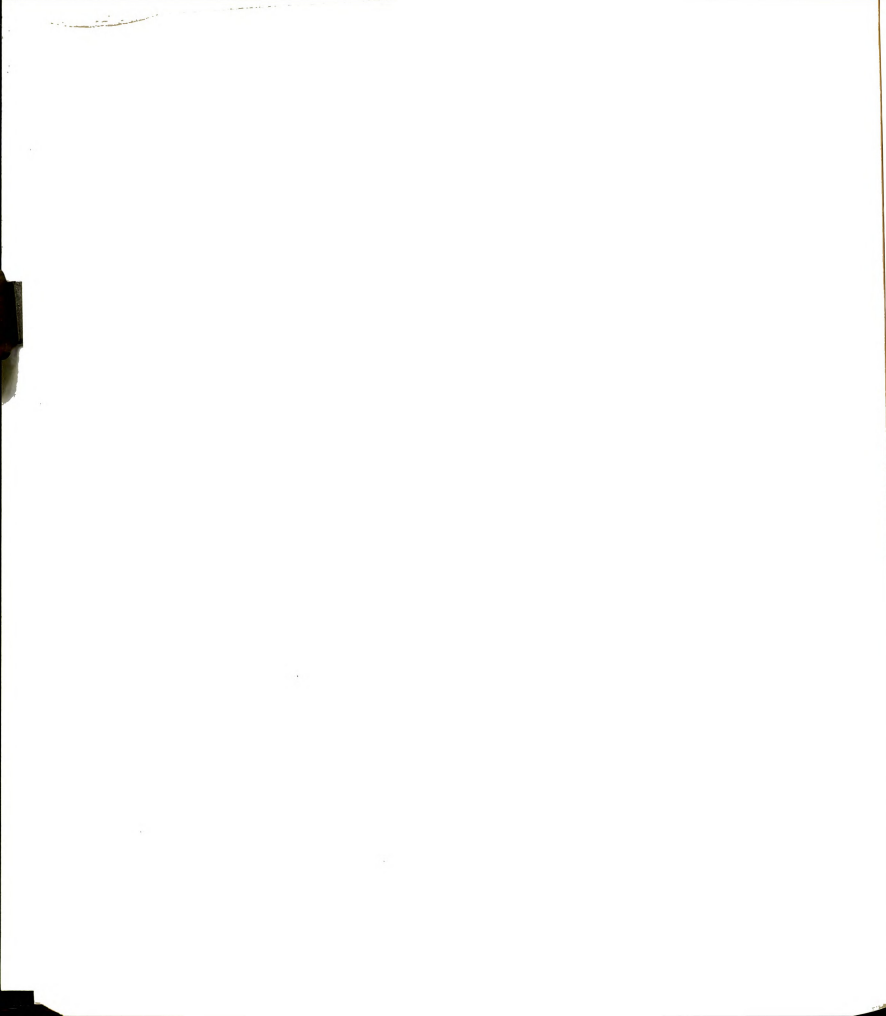
iving direction to the American schools, was educational
nstitutions: specifically the Southern Association of
olleges and Schools and the Association of American
chools.

From the data it was established that both organ-
ations provided the school with educational norms and
lues, reflective of the U.S. education system, and pro-
ded the administrators with a communication network with
e U.S. education community and other American schools
erseas as well.

Both SACS and AAS functioned as specialized co-
dinating agencies which Litwak and Hylton hypothesized
re characterized by conditions of cooperation and con-
ict.[6] The relationships which the administrators de-
ibed between the school and these institutions would
old this hypothesis.

The chief school administrator became the man-in-
-middle, mediating between groups in the school, the
ool and SACS, the school and AAS, as well as the school
MSU.
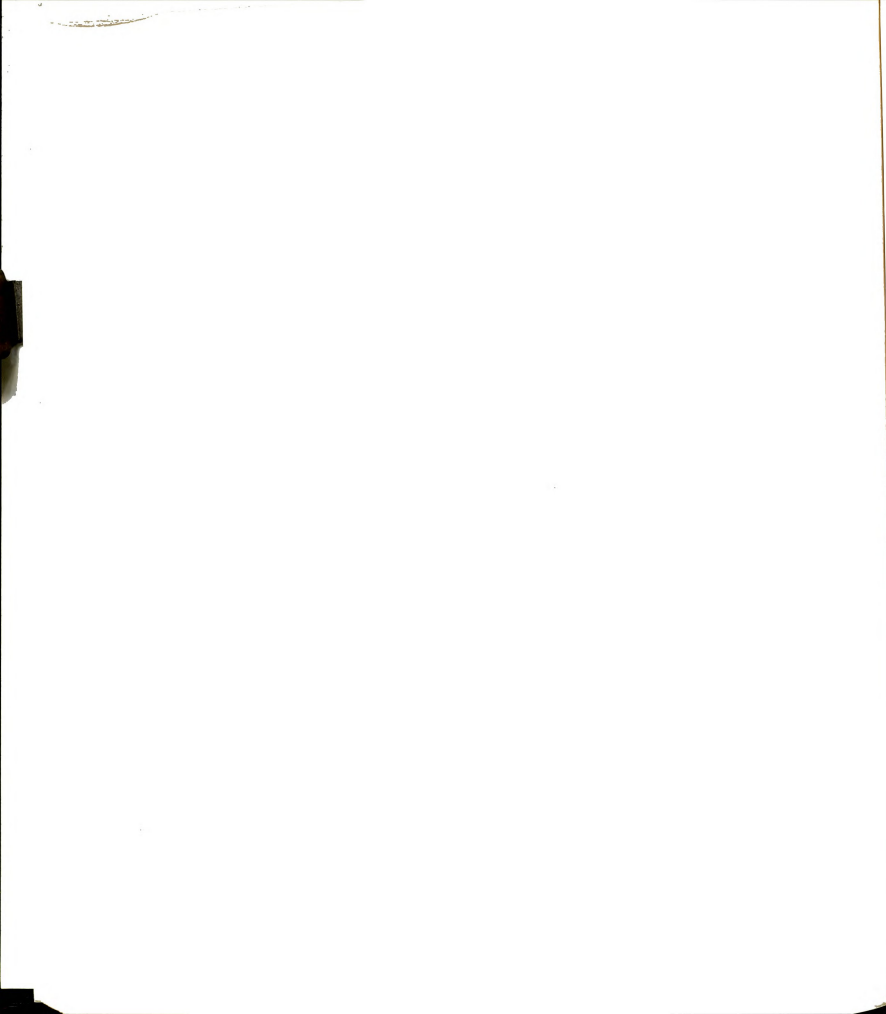
FOOTNOTES, CHAPTER VIII

[1]Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, "Guide to the Evaluation and Accreditation of Secondary Schools" (Atlanta: Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, 1969), p. 1.

[2]Association of American Schools in the Republic of Mexico, "A Conference of American Schools in Mexico, Held in Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico, March 21-24, 1965." Mimeograph.

[3]Association of American Schools of Central America, "Statutes of the Association of American Schools of Central America, March 28-29, 1963." Mimeograph.

[4]Mimeograph copy of "Agreement between the Association of American Schools in the Republic of Mexico and Michigan State University to establish a five year program of teacher education and improvement services."

[5]Chris Argyis, Interpersonal Competence and Organizational Effectiveness (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, Inc., 1962), pp. 28-37.

[6]Eugene Litwak and Lydia F. Hylton, "Interorganizational Analysis: A Hypothesis on Co-ordinating Agencies," Sociological Reader on Complex Organizations, 2nd ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), p.354-356.
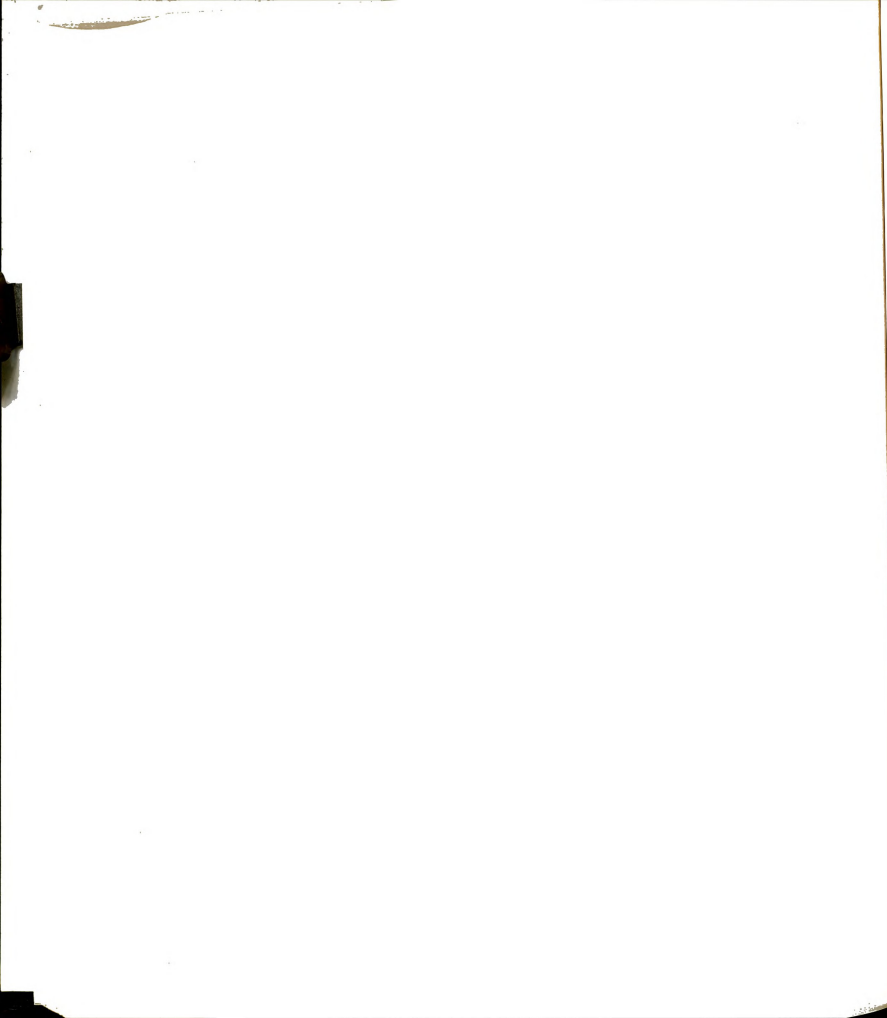
CHAPTER IX

WORK-RELATED INTERACTION WITH ECONOMIC,

PHILANTHROPIC, RELIGIOUS, AND

OTHER INSTITUTIONS

Introduction

In addition to the governmental and educational

ganizations that were ranked respectively as high and

dium influence in the systemic linkage analysis, the

ief school administrators identified and ranked as low

fluence a cluster of institutions that were economic,

ilanthropic, and religious in nature.

An attempt was made to determine how the adminis-

tors interacted with these institutions and the views

t the administrators shared about each one. The data

each type organization will be presented and discussed

this chapter.

Economic Institutions

The social institutions that the chief school admin-

ators collectively ranked third in influence in the

emic linkage system were those organizations that were
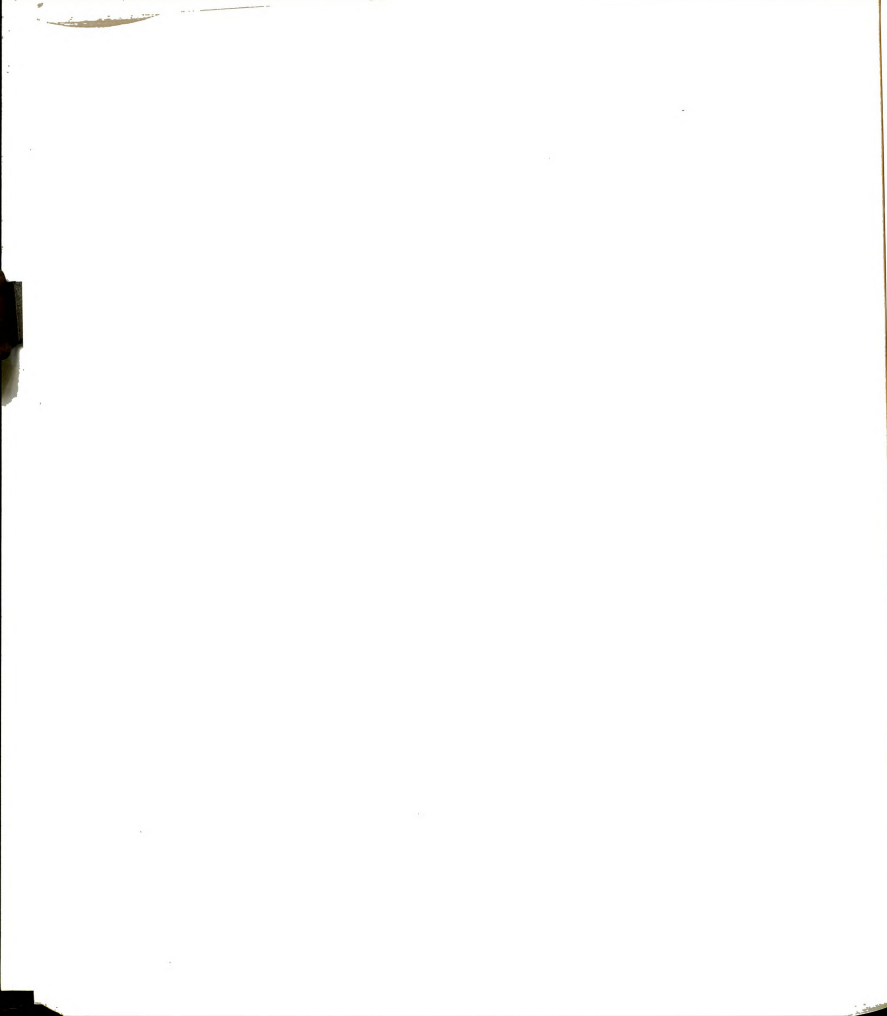
embedded in the economic system. This category of institutions was, for the most part, identified as the "business community" and included three segments: U.S. business, industrial and commercial; host national business, industrial, and commercial; and third country business, industrial, and commercial.

In analyzing the data in Table 7.1, it is evident that the administrators ranked the influence of the economic organizations significantly lower than either government or education since only eleven administrators imputed any quality of influence to this category and nine administrators did not give this category any ranking. Those mentioned were predominately in 4-7 influence positions.

Even though all the nations represented in Region I and Region II were part of what Horowitz referred to as the "third world" and by definition were underdeveloped,[1] Region I was more economically and socially developed, especially in the levels of industrialization and the use of technology, than those nations in Region II. Moreover, the basic level of industrialization of the overseas community in which the schools were located seemed to mediate the degree and kind of influence which the administrators perceived the business community as exerting. The administrators of the large schools, which were located generally in large industrial centers, tended to see the school's relationship with the business community in terms of a
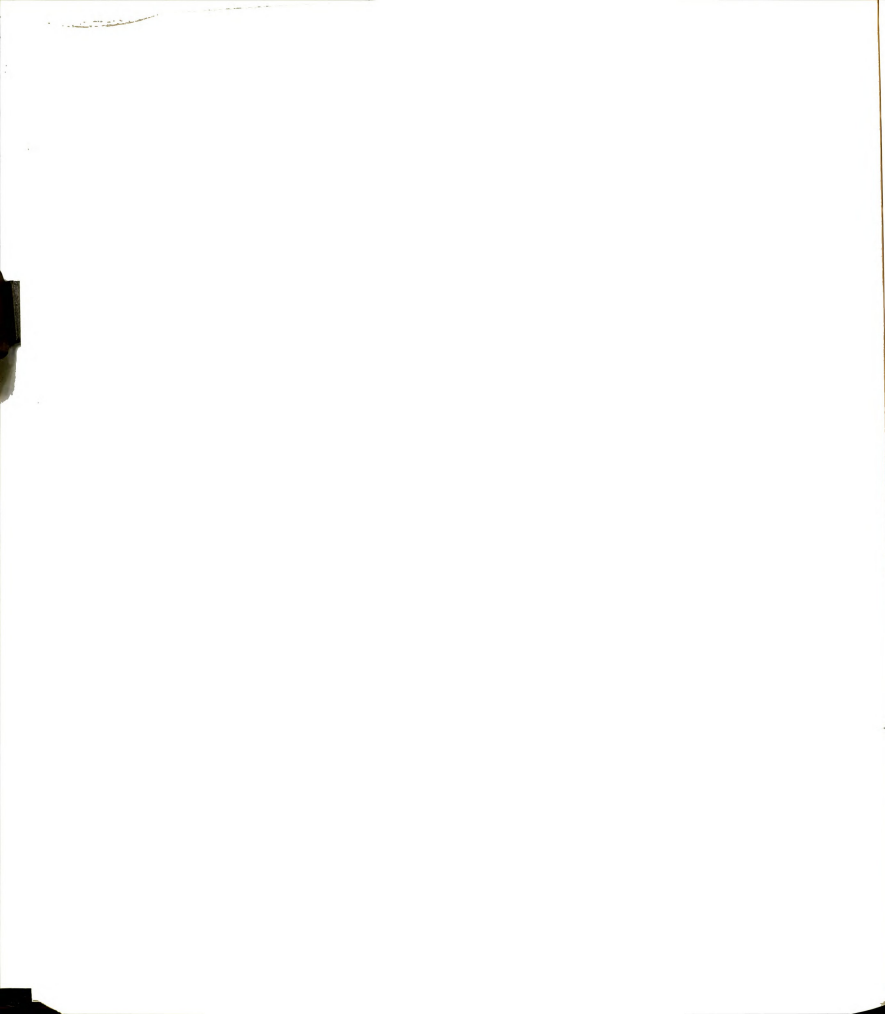
direct" influence and were able to articulate the school's

elation with the business community. In contrast, the

dministrators of schools located in less industrialized

r more rural areas, tended to perceive the schools' re-

ationships with economic institutions in more of an

indirect" influence.

In addition, a factor which seemed to blur the

ministrators' perceptions of the national origin of the

onomic organizations in the community was the element

nationalization of industries. The comments of two

ministrators illustrate:

> It is hard to tell what industry is U.S.
> and what is host national since here in
> _____ the nationalization of industry is
> progressing rapidly. What used to be
> American is now national . . . .
> . . . As you know new firms are starting
> up as other firms are going out of business.
> They seem to make the same products you get
> back home . . . Kelloggs corn flakes, Dodge
> and Ford cars, Coca Cola . . . even Kentucky
> Fried Chicken. . . .

Nature of the Relationship

All the administrators who indicated that the

ools were influenced in some measure by the economic

titutions asserted that the school maintained some form

relationship with the business community. The adminis-

ors tended to categorize the relationship as formal and

rmal, direct or indirect and cited examples of the

ous types of relationships.

Eight administrators reported informal and often ad hoc educational programs for segments of the business community. These programs were designed to meet needs of various sectors of the host national and U.S. business community; however, no administrator reported any type of program for segments of the third country business.

Frequently the motivation for these projects was to secure additional financial resources for the school, but more frequently the programs were seen as an accommodation to the community and as an activity to create positive school-community relations. The administrators themselves got involved in the administering of the programs. Examples of some of the activities in which schools were involved are illustrated in these four administrators' comments:

> The _____ and _____ use our testing
> service. We have trained some of the people
> in their administration units on promotion and
> planning and provided them with the test materials.
>   Our school conducts English classes in the
> evening for one of the local banks that wanted
> a special training program for their employees.
>   We set up a language lab downtown, and
> conducted English classes. It was attended by
> secretaries and business personnel in the
> downtown areas. We did this as a type of
> public relations. We wanted to offer a service
> to the community.
>   We have conducted the Bedel course for the
> [U.S.] corporation. It is a course where we
> teach middle _____ how to teach. This type
> of program was developed to try to change our
> image from one of snobbishness to one that allows
> broad participation. During the last year, we had
> about 160,000 people involved in the program. We
> have actively sought out industry on this. We will
> send instructors out to the plant or we will conduct
> the classes here on the school premises. We are of-
> fering it through the American Chamber of Commerce.

Six administrators reported the converse of the
school-business community relationship. That is, the
school used the business organization for educational
purposes as these two comments illustrate:

> We use the factories for field trips.
> We bring resource people from industry whenever
> we can for our secretarial training. But be
> cautioned; we don't use the banks because they
> are nationalized.
> We conducted a community resource workshop
> for our teachers and the teachers at a public
> school here in _____. We took the teachers
> to see the industrial plants and to meet the
> plant managers. This helped immensely to
> improve our relationships with local industry.

However, the dominant viewpoint shared by the
administrators toward the establishment of any extensive
and prolonged educational programs, that were designed to
benefit either the school or the industry, was that the
task was highly complex and difficult. One administrator
commented:

> You know the idea of a school such as ours
> getting involved with business is sort of a
> new concept down here. Our school has a hard
> enough job in the educational programs with the
> kids.

Implicit in this comment is the value that the administrator
placed on the relationship and the feeling that "we are
not equipped or staffed to do a whole lot in the area of
adult education."

Of the eleven administrators who felt the binational
business community influenced the school, most cited a
relative dependent and subordinate relationship. The
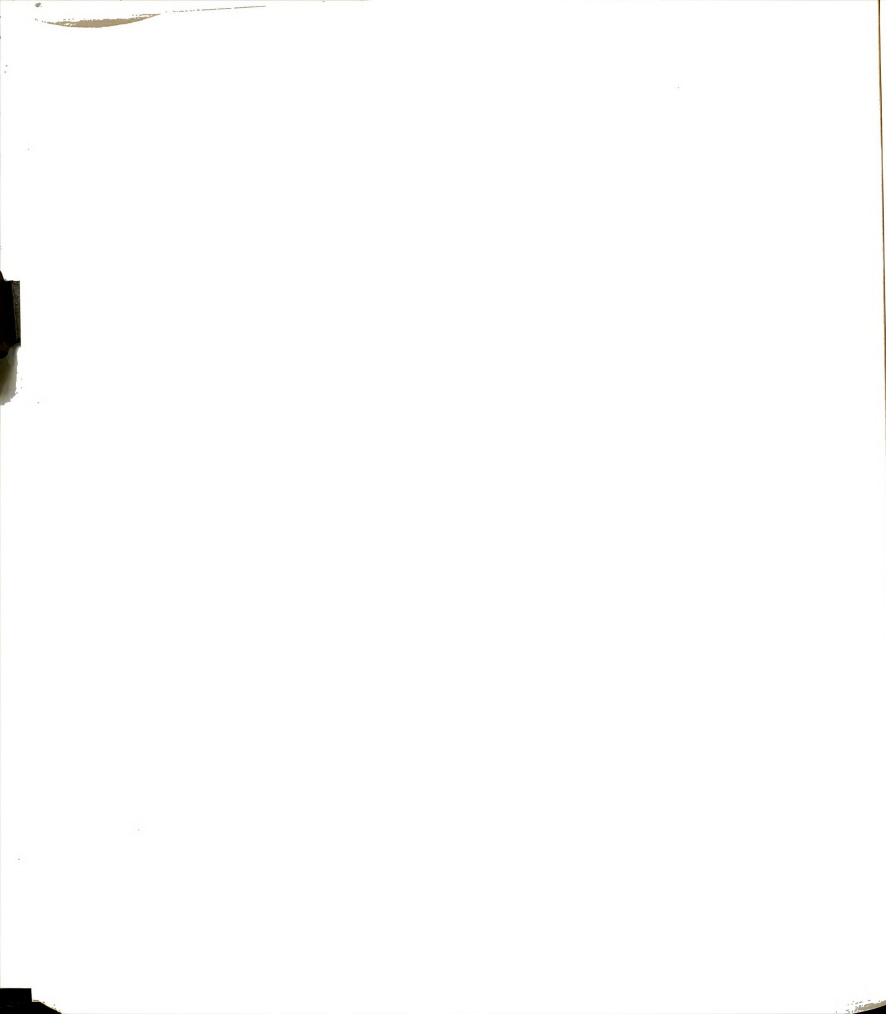
dependency status was in the form of exchange relationship
of providing educational services for the dependents of
those affiliated with the business community in exchange
for the financial resources which were received in tuition
payments. Since the tuition was a financial resource
essential to the survival of the school, the school was
placed in a subordinate position. The data in Table 9.1
help to illustrate this relative dependency upon the seg-
ments of the binational community in the school year 1969-
1970. Since the tuition charged by each school varied
significantly between and among the schools as the data
in Table 4.6 show, so did the actual financial income.
All the administrators, not only those who ranked the
influence of business community, felt the amount of money
derived from tuitions was insufficient to operate what the
chief school administrators perceived as a "quality educa-
tional program." Although most administrators did not
express criticism over the lack of financial assistance
derived from the business community via tuition, one
administrator of a school which enrolled a large percentage
of "business kids" commented:

> The business community really gets its
> money's worth.

The majority of the administrators perceived the
binational community as a "potential" source for securing
additional funds needed to operate the school. The

Table 9.1 Parental work affiliation of American school students as expressed in terms of percent of total student body.

Schools	Region I							Region II					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6
Business													
U.S. or U.S.-affiliated													
U.S. Dependents	-	1	1	5	7	3	32	8	11	4	5	5	4
Host Dependents	6	-	1	2	4	NA	8	6	2	4	-	1	3
T.C. Dependents	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Host or T.C.-affiliated													
U.S. Dependents	-	4	1	12	-	-	9	8	4	2	3	1	-
Host Dependents	14	56	21	9	47	NA	17	30	10	14	23	1	-
T.C. Dependents	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	5	5	1	-	2	-
Total Percentage of students whose parents have business affiliation	20	61	26	28	59	4	70	58	33	26	32	11	8

Source of data: Office of Overseas schools.
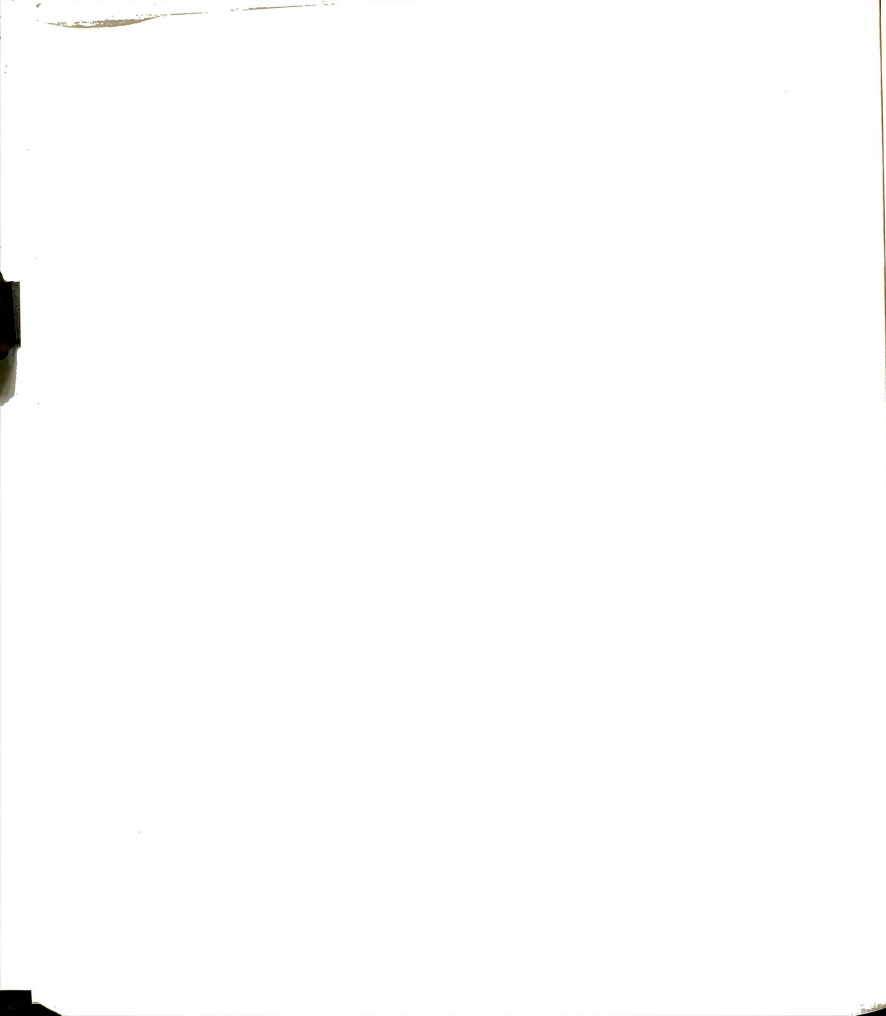
dministrators reported that a significant part of the job

equired concerted efforts to get more financial support

rom the various segments of the binational business com-

unity. Five mentioned seeking additional resources for

cholarships, three for capital expansion, and three for

mproving services.

One administrator described the contractual ar-

angement that his school had made with a local U.S. firm:

> [American firm] needed a school for their
> kids so we worked out a contractual arrangement
> whereby they [company] take over the school's
> financial deficit at the end of the year and in
> addition gives us a donation equal to 50 percent
> scholarships per year.

The dominant pattern, however, was a direct appeal

the various segments of the business community. The

ope and scale of these fund-raising efforts varied sig-

ficantly as the following comments of the two adminis-

ators illustrate. An administrator in a large school

a large city described the school's organized efforts:

> We actively seek funds from the American
> and host national business community here in
> _____ since it is for this community that
> we feel we should maintain a high quality
> education program. But on the other hand,
> going after this money year after year becomes
> almost a full-time endeavor. As a matter of
> fact, we are developing a sophisticated
> organization to try to raise more money locally.

contrast, fund raising in a small school was more likely

ɔe an informal solicitation which required the chief

ɔol administrator to seek financial assistance, such as

administrator described:
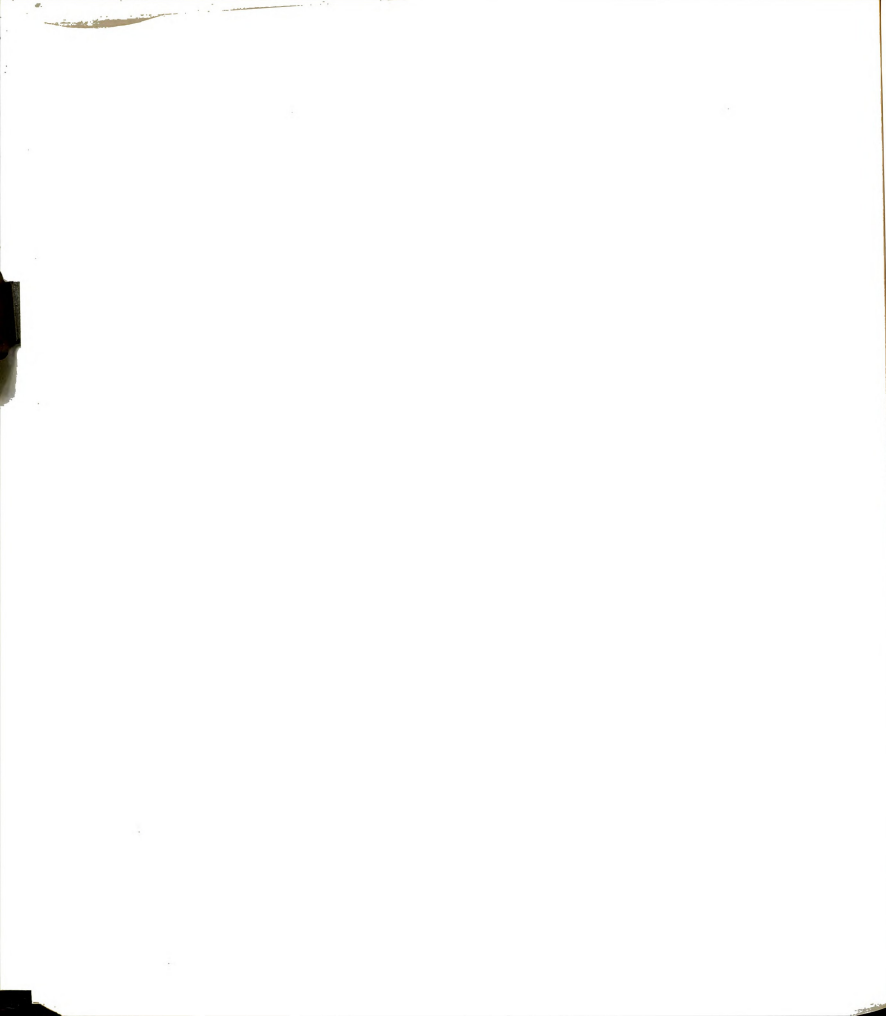
When the school has a raffle to raise
money, I go to some of the stores and ask
them to donate some prizes . . . .

Since many of the U.S. and U.S.-affiliated business

companies had both overseas and stateside operations,

the art of soliciting and securing financial assistance

from these business firms required, the administrators

asserted, insight into the firm's decision-making process

as well as the firm's organizational structure. Nine

administrators reported that the schools had received

assistance in soliciting and securing funds for current

operating expenses through the Overseas School Advisory

Council. The administrators reported that the Overseas

School Advisory Council solicited directly from the home

office of the U.S. firms in behalf of those employees who

had children enrolled in the schools overseas. This

assistance program, designated Fair Share, was perceived as

positive influence by those administrators of schools

that had significant numbers of dependents of U.S. and U.S.-

affiliated business firms in the schools, usually the large

and medium schools. The chief school administrators per-

ceived the amounts of money from the business community

response to the local efforts or through the Overseas

School Advisory Council as "small" but very helpful in

securing educational supplies. However, three administra-

tors commented on the uncertainty of the "Fair Share"

assistance program with the Overseas School Advisory
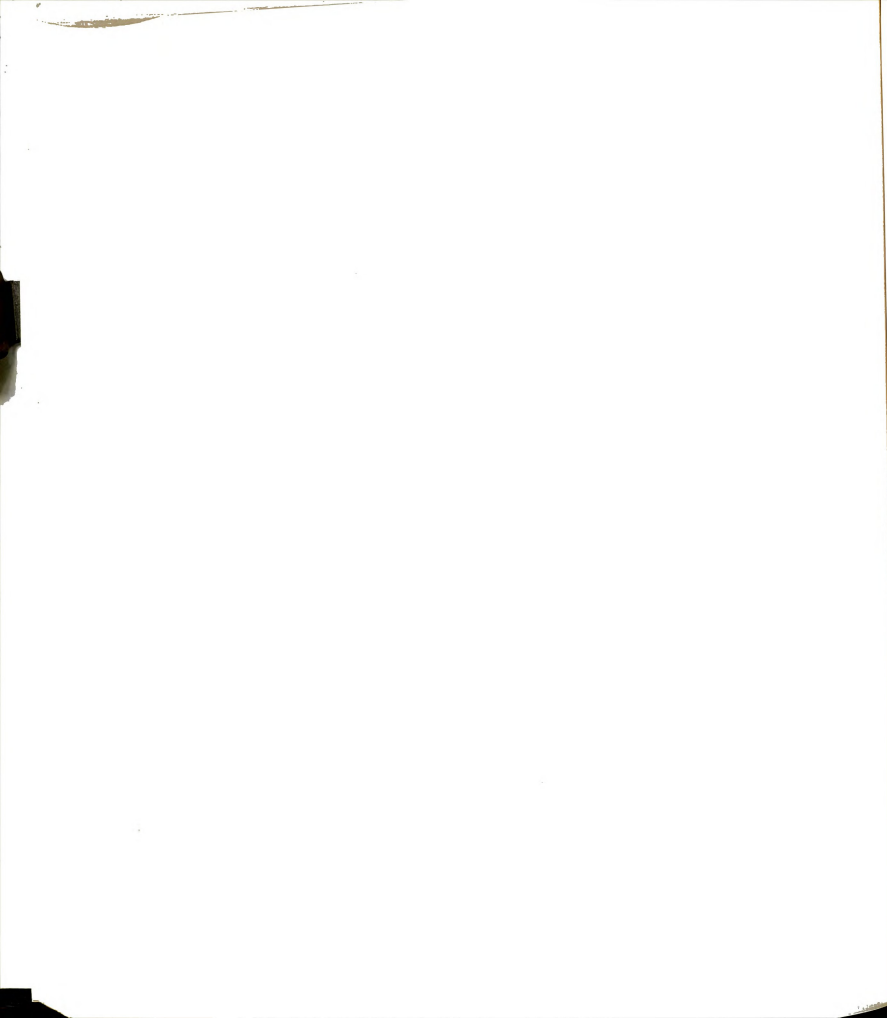
Council since the "fair share" amount was subject to
fluctuation due to the employment policies and practices
as well as the financial policies of the U.S. firms.
However, it was the administrator in the small school,
which in most instances had limited affiliation with the
U.S. and U.S.-affiliated firms, who was less aware of the
"fair share" program and perceived the program's influence
in a negative sense. One commented, "We don't even have
a U.S. firm here in _____, so how can I benefit?"

Despite the size of the school, the administrators
shared a commonality, in that all tended to express a
critical attitude toward the U.S. business community for
the limited financial assistance "the school" had received
in the fund-raising efforts. A possible explanation might
be that the administrator by his training and socialization
in the American culture felt closer to the U.S. business
and could rationally justify their requests. Moreover,
since he could predict the firms' responses, in a sense he
could better manage and control the situation with U.S.
firms than with non-U.S. firms. Thus when little response
to the fund-raising efforts was made by the U.S. firms,
at least as perceived by the administrators, they reacted
negatively.

But regardless of the scope and scale of the fund-
raising enterprises within the school, seventeen of the
respondents asserted that the fund-raising efforts for the
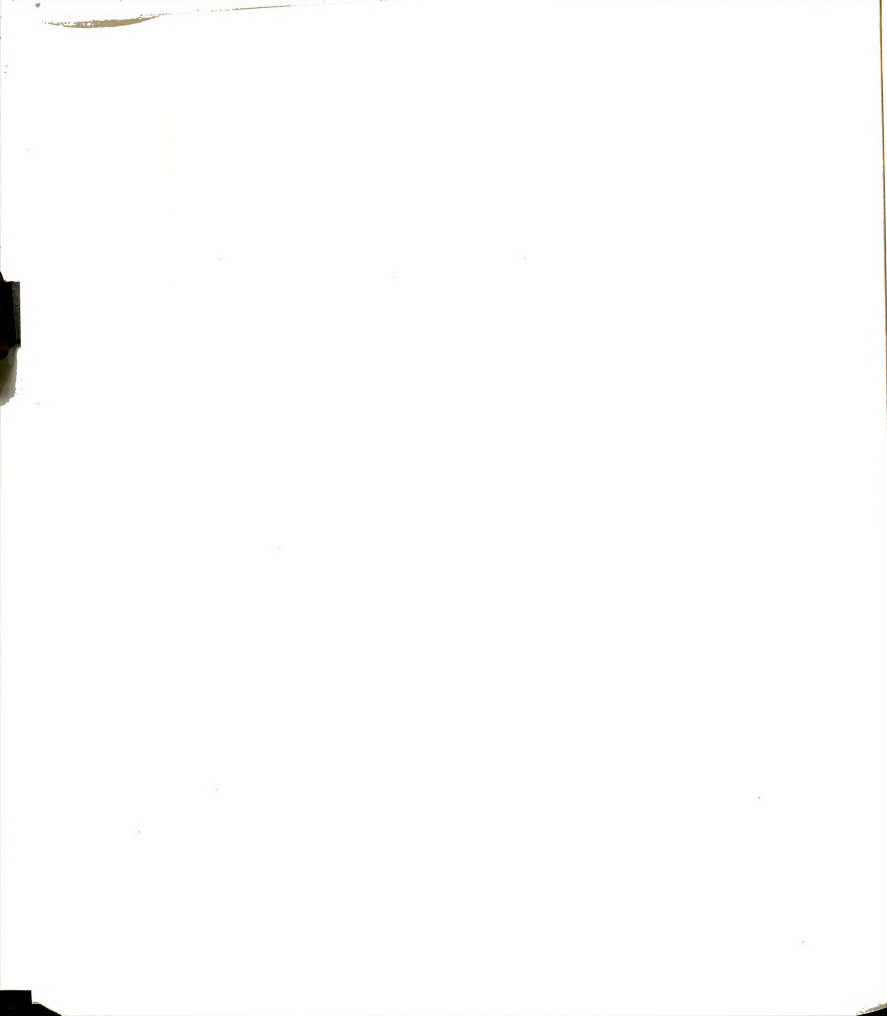
school created personal and professional stress and strain.

Typical comments included:

>   This was the first time I had to do
> anything like this . . . . Our fund-raising
> efforts did not get results. It was
> discouraging. . . .
>   This [asking for money] is the part of
> the job I dislike most . . . .

When queried about their dislike in soliciting

funds, one chief school administrator summarized his

feelings toward raising money:

>   We [the Board and I] could do more in this
> area but with such a small segment of the host
> national business community that is sympathetic
> to our school, it is difficult to go ask for money.

It is interesting to note that only three admin-

istrators commented on the direct approach they had made

to solicit funds from the host segment of the business

community. As indicated in the above comment, soliciting

funds from the host national business was a relationship

which the administrator as well as the board members tended

to avoid, possibly due to a feeling of embarrassment or

possibly for fear of creating a conflict which might arise

over a "foreign" school soliciting funds and thus jeop-

ardizing the "guest" status or the representative role which

the administrators perceived the school as fulfilling.

Since in all but one school, the chief school administrator

is personally responsible for soliciting funds, and since

ly 59 percent of the administrators were highly competent

the Spanish language, it can be inferred that language
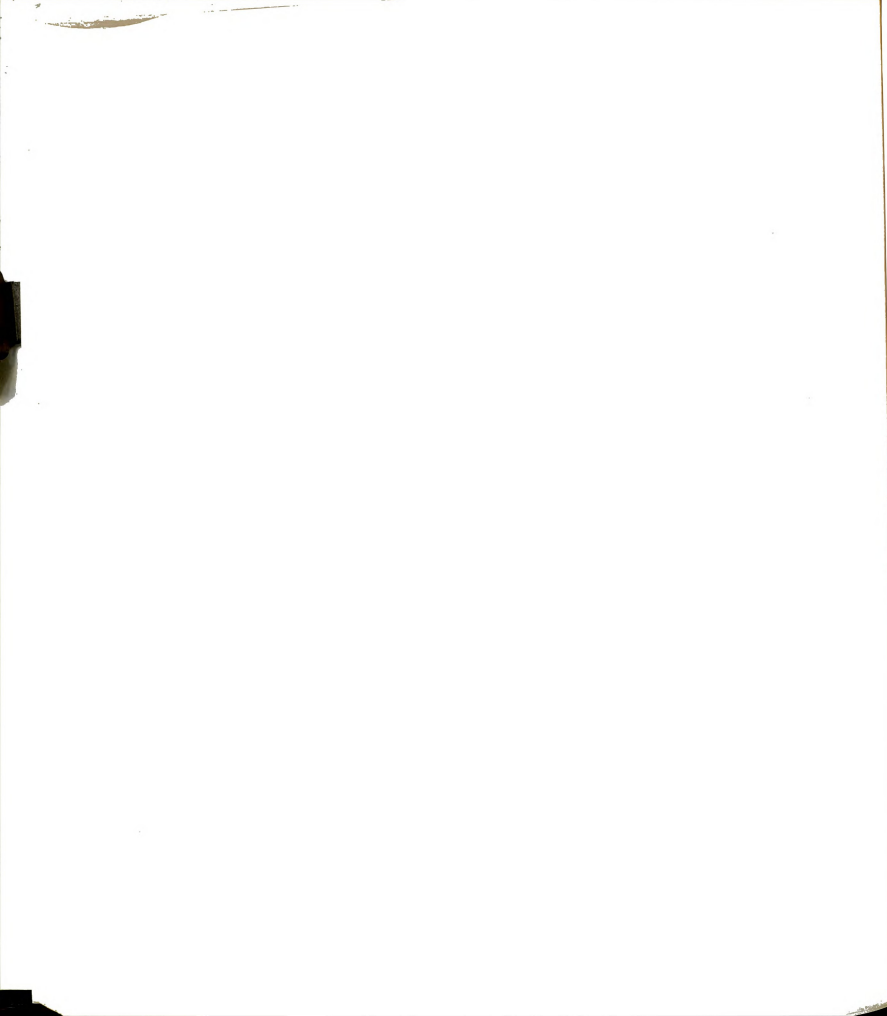
was another factor that might be considered a negative
aspect in soliciting funds from the host national business
community.

Philanthropic Foundations

Another category of institutions that received a
low influence ranking in the systemic linkage system was
the philanthropic foundation. Only eight administrators
ranked this institution: one ranked it first, one ranked
it fourth, one ranked it fifth, two ranked it sixth, and
three ranked it seventh.

Of those administrators who ranked the philan-
thropic foundation as exerting an influence, half were or
had been employed by a school that was affiliated with a
private host national philanthropic foundation. At the
time of the study, for these four individuals, the influence
of the foundation was ascribed to its power to support the
governing board of the school and the financial assistance
that the school reportedly derived from the foundation.
Since the time of the interviews with the four individuals,
the relationship between the school and the foundation
was altered significantly and one chief school administrator
resigned due to the conflicts that were in part due to the
misunderstandings between the school and the foundation
over the administration of the school.
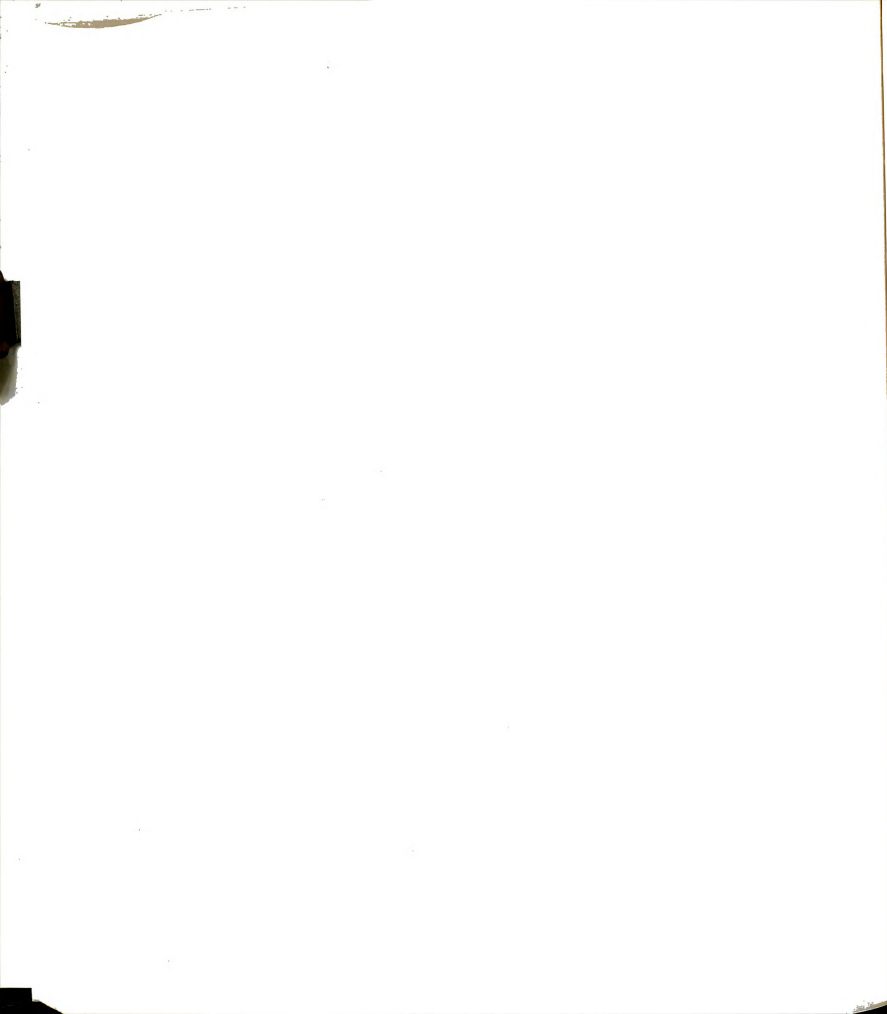
The balance of the administrators cited the influ-
ence of philanthropic foundations as being related to those
U.S. philanthropic organizations that had assisted the
schools either through limited financial or technical
assistance in specialized projects educational research or
curriculum development. In all instances, the adminis-
trators were directly involved in the planning and imple-
menting of this type of activity and found it professionally
and personally rewarding.

Since twelve administrators failed to rank this
organization, it can be inferred that the schools which
those administrators managed did not maintain relationships
with this type of organization and thus, there existed a
less formulated systemic linkage system.

Religious Institutions

Another category of social institutions which the
administrators felt did not play a significant role in the
systemic linkage system of the schools was religious organ-
izations. Only six administrators ranked this institution
in terms of influence: one ranked it first, one ranked
it fifth, three ranked it eighth, and one ranked it ninth.
Fifteen did not rank this category of institutions, and
thus it can be inferred they did not perceive it as having
any significance.
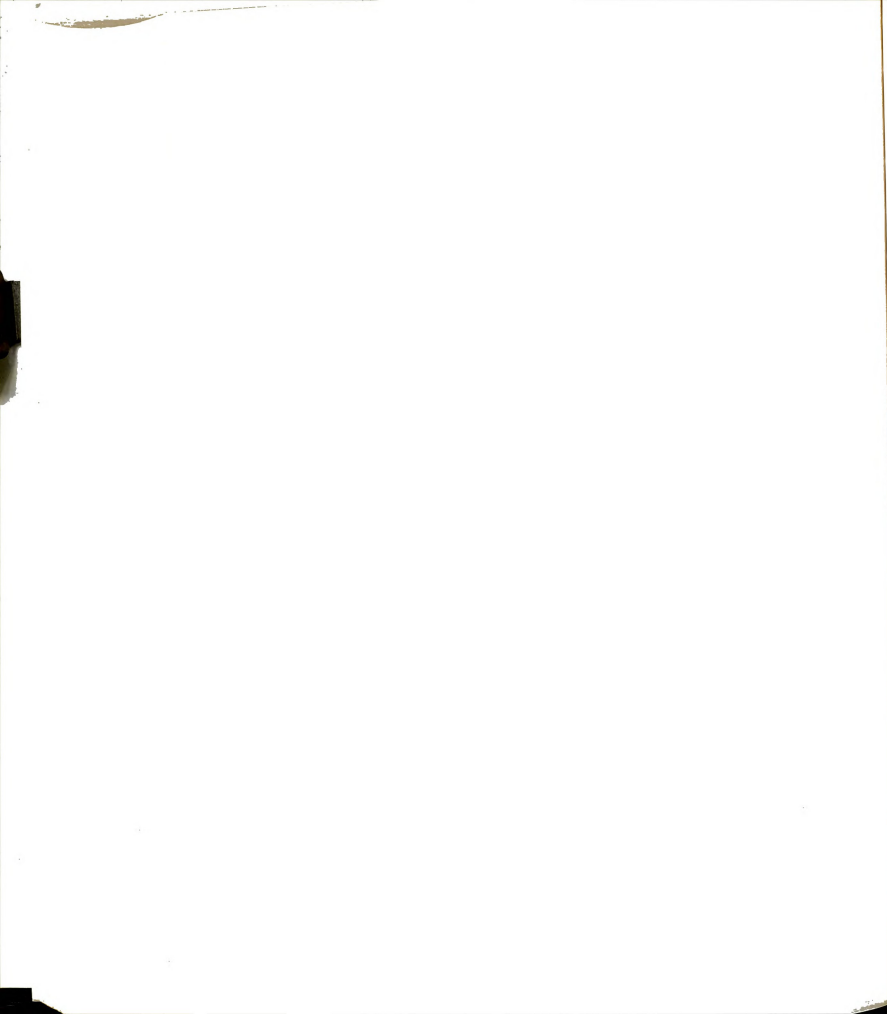
The religious institutions were seen by the majority of the administrators as being an "outside" organization with which the school had no affiliation. Frequently, in the interview, the administrator went to great length to describe what he considered the "nonreligious or in some instances the "nondenominational" character of the school. One cited the reason for his adamant response:

> As you know here in _____ the law requires that schooling remain lica (i.e., free from religious teaching). As an American school, we cannot afford to get caught up in the church-state controversy.

It is significant to note that about 70 percent of the administrators who imputed that religious organizations had any influence, managed schools in communities that were considered by the administrators to be extremely "conservative" and "traditionally Roman Catholic" communities. The administrators reported that they had encountered conflicts that revolved around religious issues. One administrator commented:

> The school is frequently seen by a certain segment of the host national community as being a Protestant school.

Another commented:

> The school endeavors to observe all the religious holidays because we certainly don't want to create a fuss. This means we occasionally are in violation of the education law, but other schools here in _____ follow the same practice as we do.
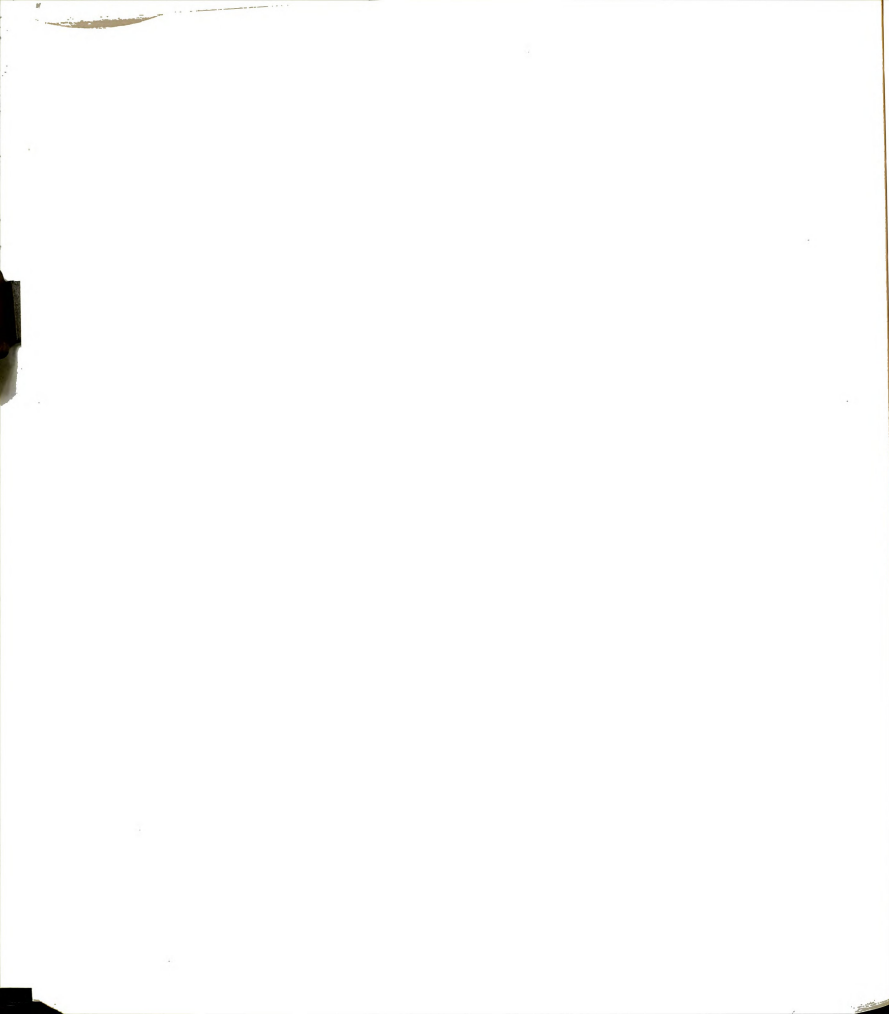
Even though the administrators asserted that the school maintained no formal relationships, seven schools reported that the school did allow religious instruction (Catholic and Protestant) in the school, sometimes during school hours but more often after school.

Although the influence of the religious community was seen in terms of direct relationships, the schools were attended by dependents of Protestant missionaries. Three administrators reported that they had confrontations with these parents over such matters as appropriate dress and school activities.

Other Institutions

The last category of institutions that the chief school administrators ranked in the interinstitutional systemic linkage table was "other" institutions. Only seven administrators gave this category any ranking and of this group two did not specify what institution constituted the "other" institution.

The five did identify and rank the specific intitution. Four gave rankings to educational institutions that were not included in the questionnaire. Significantly, one gave a first ranking to the Michigan State Consultant rogram. One gave a fourth influence ranking to the Texas Education Agency, the accrediting agency for the State of exas, with which this particular school was also accredited.
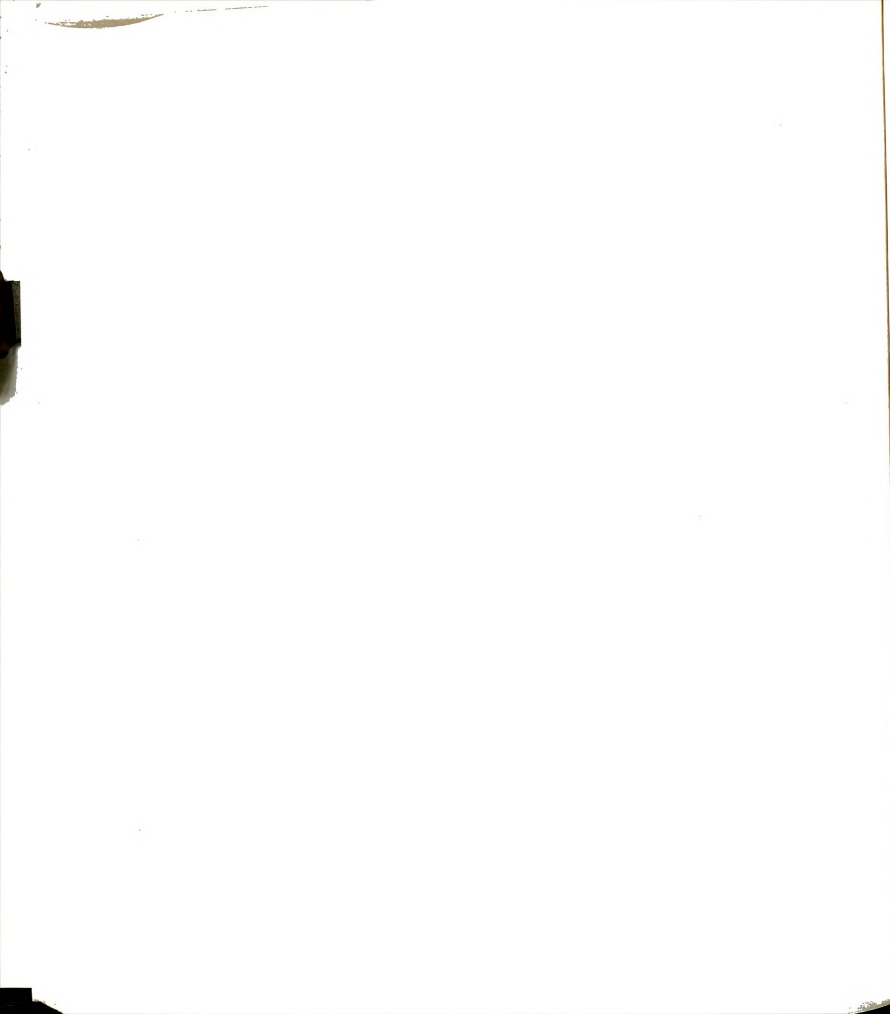
Another administrator gave a fourth influence ranking to
a secondary school located in the U.S. with which the
school was involved in an exchange program. The fourth
individual gave a third influence ranking to the Inter-
Regional Center, a coordinating agency conducted by an
overseas American school for the purpose of assisting the
overseas American schools in the development of curricular
and educational materials. The fifth individual gave an
influence ranking to a host governmental institution,
specifically the state government educational authority
with which the school was accredited.

Since the parameters of the schools' relationships
with educational and governmental institutions were dis-
cussed in detail in previous chapters, the influence of
these relationships will not be discussed.

Summary

The institutions that collectively received a low
influence ranking in terms of the administrators' perceptions
of the institution's influence on the schools were economic
institutions, philanthropic foundations, religious insti-
tutions, and other institutions. The influence of each of
these institutions upon the individual school was frequently
a function of the locale in which the school was located.

The economic institutions were perceived a sig-
nificant influence, if many U.S. and host national
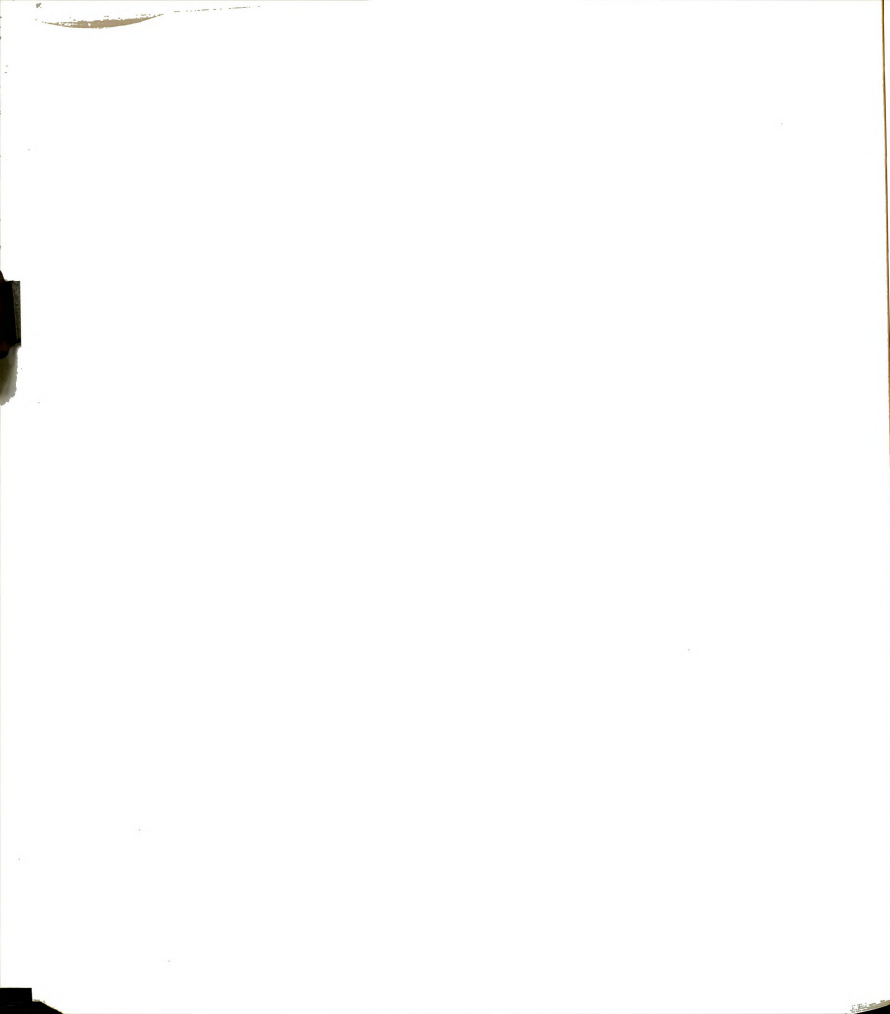
businesses were located in the locale and the dependents
of those employed in these businesses comprised a signif-
icant portion of the student body. Although many admin-
istrators perceived the business community as a "potential"
financial resource, the school's fund-raising efforts varied
from locale to locale and generally were perceived to be
less successful than the chief school administrator had
envisioned.

The influence of the philanthropic foundations was
mediated by the school's contact with foundations, and the
degree to which the foundation provided financial resources
to the school or specialized projects in the school.

The influence of the religious institutions was
again mediated by the norms and behavior patterns of the
larger community in which the school was located. However,
to a lesser degree, it was mediated by the relationships
with the segments of the binational community which sup-
ported the school.

The "other" institutions cited that influenced the
school were generally educational, although one was a
governmental institution which was involved in the educa-
tional programs of the school. These institutions had not
been identified in the educational institutions category
in the interinstitutional systemic linkage table.
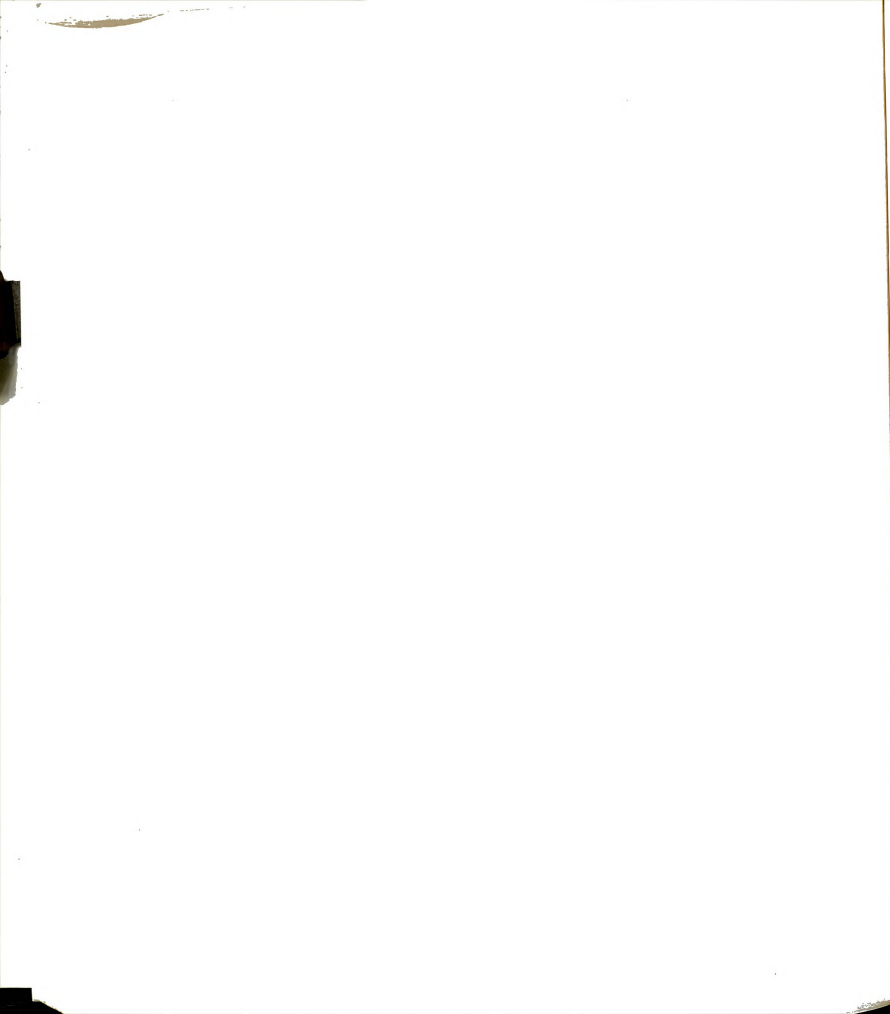
FOOTNOTES, CHAPTER IX

[1]Irving Louis Horowitz, <u>Three Worlds of Develop-</u>
<u>ment</u> (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 39-46.
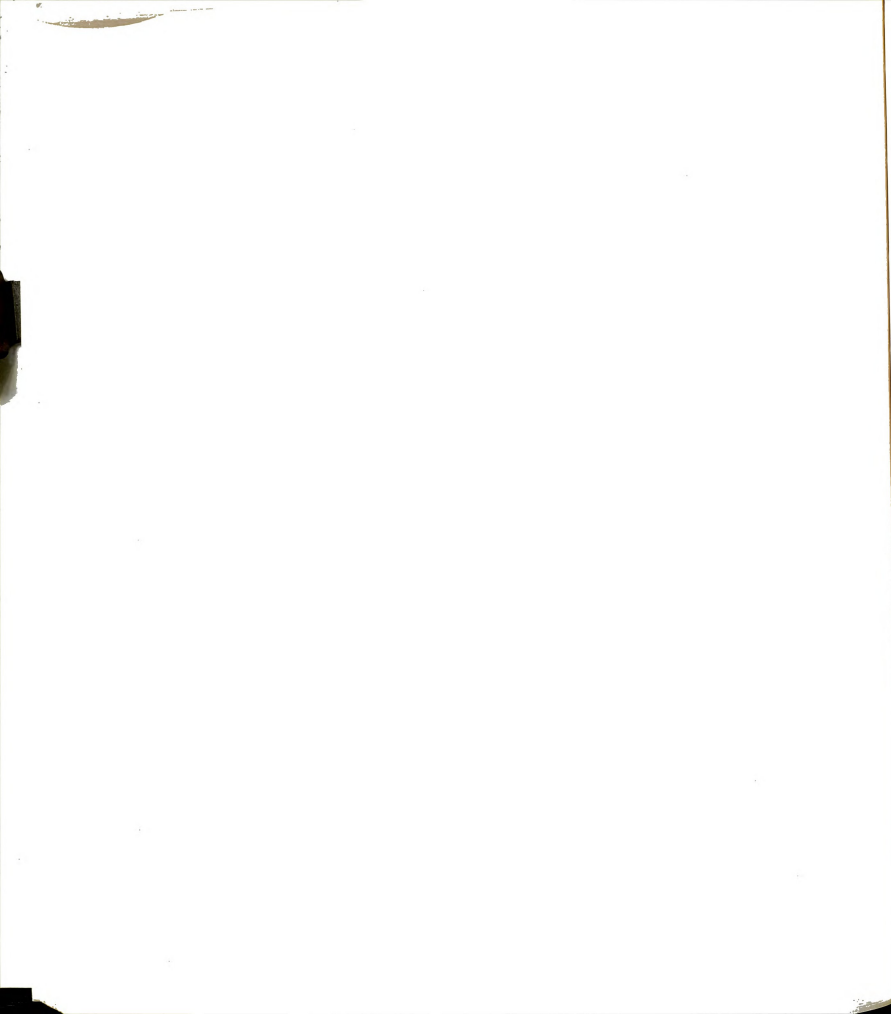
CHAPTER X

COMMONALITIES AMONG THE CHIEF

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

By analyzing the world of work and the individual's
behavior as the individual interacts within the work sit-
uation, we gain knowledge about the individual, and those
associated with the work role. In this study, we observed
how twenty-two Americans with some degree of uniformity
in their personal and professional backgrounds respond in
fairly uniform ways in a cross-cultural environment to
administrative and professional demands imposed on them
while performing the task of chief school administrator
in American-sponsored schools.

However, this study is recognized to possess
limitations due to omissions and commissions in such areas
as method and theory:

1. The sample is small, in that it included only
individuals that were employed in one geographic area.

2. Although the individuals seemed eager to talk
about the experience in managing the school--one individual
even commented, "This is the first time anyone has listened
to my problems"--some found it difficult to identify or
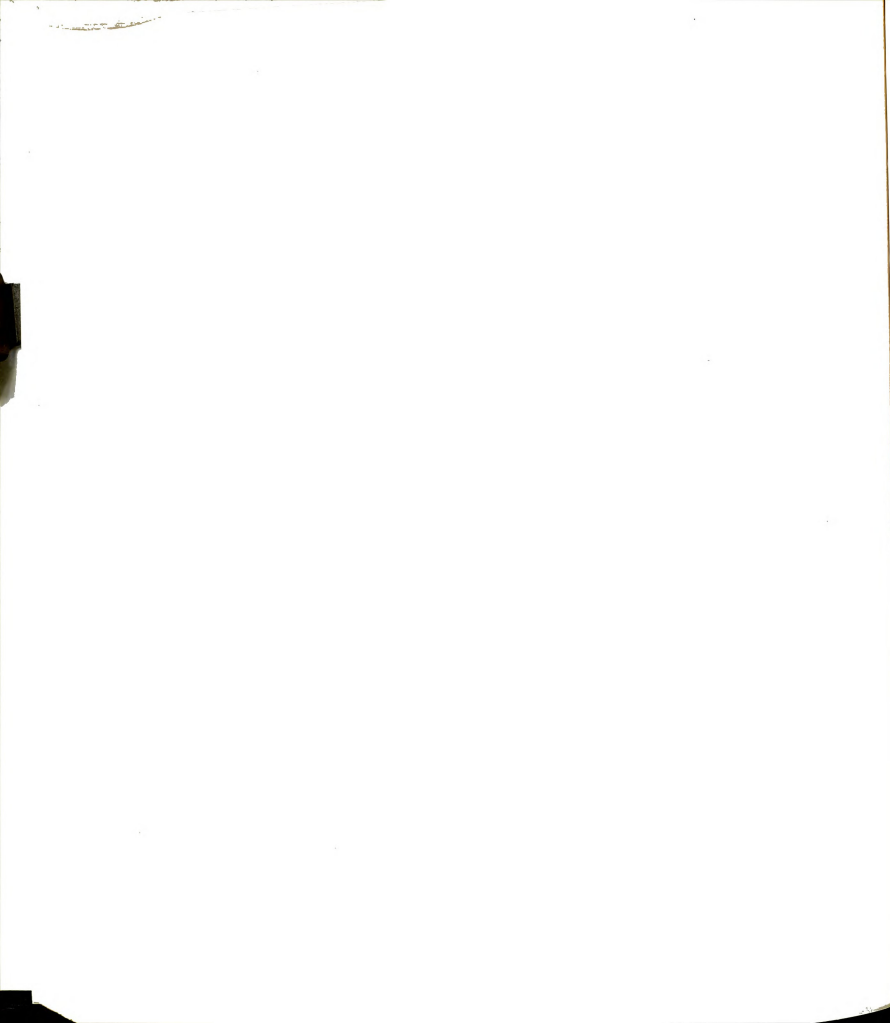
describe why they behaved or reacted as they did. Only
those with the insight of retrospect or years of experience
seemed to have a perception of the forces that impinged
upon them in the position of chief school administrator.

3. Since the study included nine individuals who were
no longer employed as chief school administrators, a portion
of the data was based on recall. However, it was noted
that there was no significant difference in the substantive
responses to the questions.

4. In the absence of any large body of theory
specific enough to deal with the broad spectrum of the
behavioral dimension involved in carrying out a new work
role in the cross-cultural setting, the findings of the
study are suggestive in nature.

In this chapter, we review the commonalities of
behavior and consider implications for further study.

Review of the Commonalities
of Behavior

In this section, we review the complexity of be-
havior and summarize the patterns of behavior presented
in the preceding chapters. We organize it here into two
areas: the pattern of behavior generic to the relationships
with the infrastructure of the work organization and the
systemic linkage system.
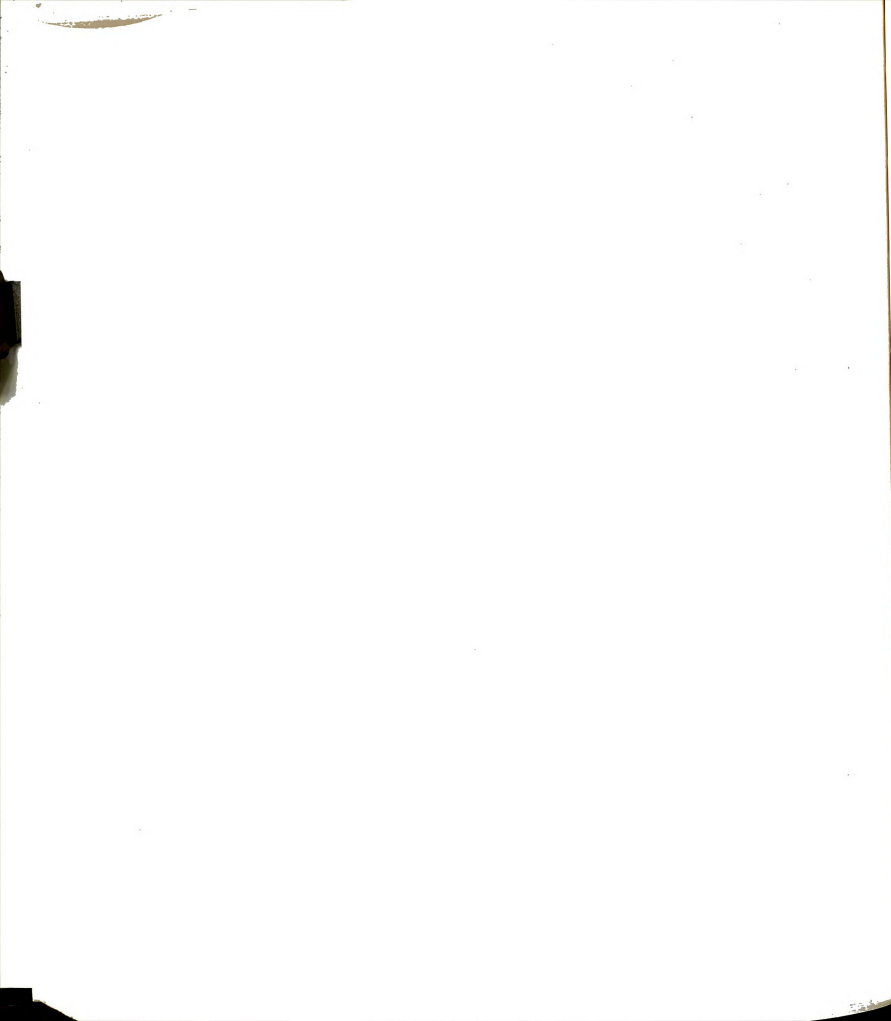
The Patterns of Behavior Generic to Relationships in the Infrastructure of the Work Organization

As the chief school administrator of an American-sponsored school located overseas, the task of managing the administrative and educational affairs of the school required interacting with four major social groups immediately associated with the school: the binational community, the board of governance, the binational or multinational professional staff, and the multinational student body. These social collectivities formed part of the social universe in which the administrators pursued their work. These groups, by establishing the acceptable social norms and practices and eschewing those unacceptable, collectively and individually established the parameters of the administrator's behavior in terms of the way he was expected to relate his personal and professional self to the group, the responsibilities the administrator was required to assume, the way he went about learning in the cross-cultural setting, and the manner of solving problems.

Since all the administrators but one had been reared and educated in the U.S., the task of working among and between groups in an effort to maintain a degree of organizational balance within the school imposed a strain to maintain a degree of consistency with the social-cultural values and norms in the personal and professional life of the administrator. The adjustment process, experienced

by the administrators as they went about their work, cor-
responded to that described by Lambert as "following some
variant of the 'U', 'J', or reverse 'J' curve."[1]

The Binational Community

The interaction pattern of the chief school admin-
istrator with the local binational community appeared as a
function of the community's size and composition, the mobile
nature of the various segments, the different cultural
notions each group held about the appropriate means for
educating children and youth, and the administrator's
bilingual capabilities.

The administrator who felt that he was successful
in working with the binational community recognized and
demonstrated what might be identified as an ability to pre-
sent an acceptable dual social identity that called for
switching behavior patterns when interacting with segments
of the binational community. The young and inexperienced
administrator, not knowing what set of social-cultural
norms to use in a particular situation, often times used in-
appropriate behavior patterns that prompted him to feel
frustrated and alienated from various segments of the local
binational community. This condition at times prompted an
aura of crisis to erupt and not infrequently, the admin-
istrator's resignation.

Board of Governance

The individual, assuming the task of chief school administrator, carried with him notions concerning the appropriate attributes and modes of behavior of those designated to administer educational institutions and perceived himself as being employed by the board to "run the school."

Since most individuals in this study had never held an executive position prior to assuming the position of chief school administrator, the task required learning not only how to conduct the administrative affairs of the school but also how to relate to a highly mobile, binational school board. The task for the administrator in the small school was one of learning how to function as a "generalist" in such areas as finance, construction, personnel, and curricular affairs. In the medium and large school, it meant learning how to become an executive specializing in working with and through the board of governance, which was frequently composed of members like himself who were new to the community and inexperienced in conducting the affairs of a binational school.

However, since many of the boards had no written policy or procedural guidelines and the role expectations not only for the administrator and the board member were ill-defined, crises often erupted over issues of power and
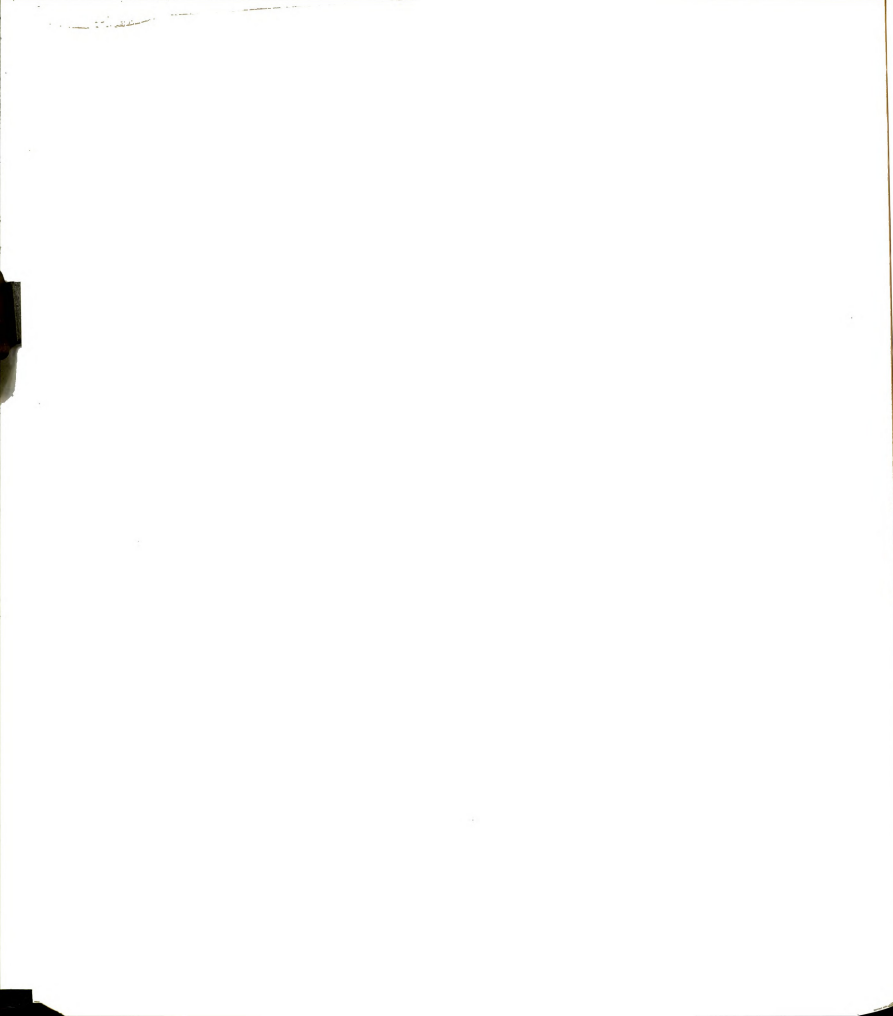
authority as the administrator and the board each attempted to carry out what the other considered "my responsibility."

Most administrators felt their authority within the governing boards was derived from their ability to secure and manage the financial resources, thereby eliminating financial crises for the board. The successful adminis- trator acknowledged a strong sense of identity with the governing board and gained pride and personal satisfaction in solving the administrative problems of the school, often as a "committee of one, but generally through the cooper- ative efforts of the group."

Professional Staff

The managing of the professional staff of the over- seas schools was complex and difficult, in that not only was the chief school administrator involved in the recruit- ment of the staff members but, in addition, was responsible for integrating into a cooperative work organization teachers from two or more societies who brought with them to the work organization not only culturally determined notions concerning the appropriate attributes and modes of behavior of those designated to teach children and youth but also diverse professional training as well.

This set of conditions the chief school adminis- trator felt imposed on both the American and host national teacher, entered the work organization for the first time
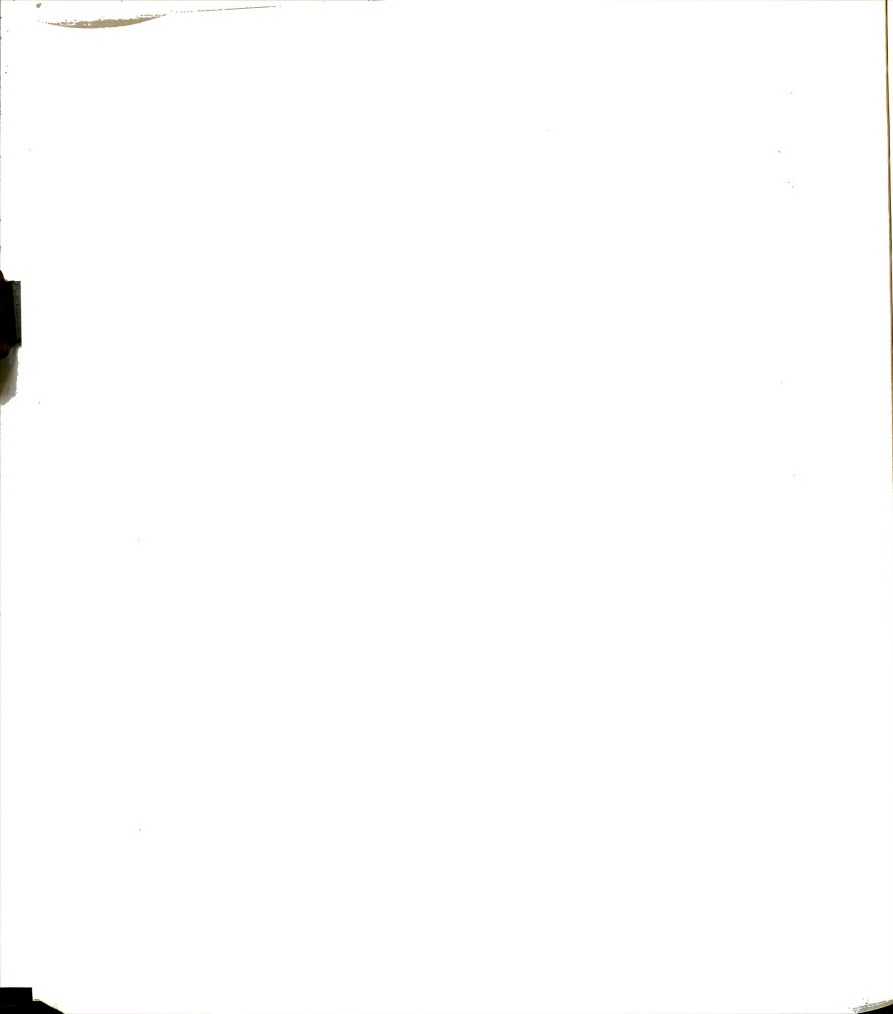
with varying degrees of role shock as each counted bi-
lingual, bicultural education program. Since the chief
school administrators felt that both the American and the
host national teachers were essential elements contributing
to the school's identity as an American and binational
school, the administrators endeavored to help the teachers
adjust to the new teaching situation.

Frequently, this required that the administrator
himself modify his professional behavior pattern. In
working with the American teacher, the modification of be-
havior pattern of the administrators took the form of
assuming, by choice or default, the responsibility for the
teacher's social well being and roles of "in loco parentis"
and confidante. In working with the host national teacher,
the behavior of the administrator was one of accepting the
host national's different professional training and en-
deavoring to expose the host teacher to new concepts of
educational methodology and theory, based on U.S. educa-
tion norms.

The successful administrator found the task of
working with a binational staff required a sensitivity to
the cultural differences of the members of the binational
staff and the ability to separate the individual from the
issue. He was willing to modify his professional behavior
in order to facilitate the integrative process because he
deemed it essential for the school's survival. In contrast,
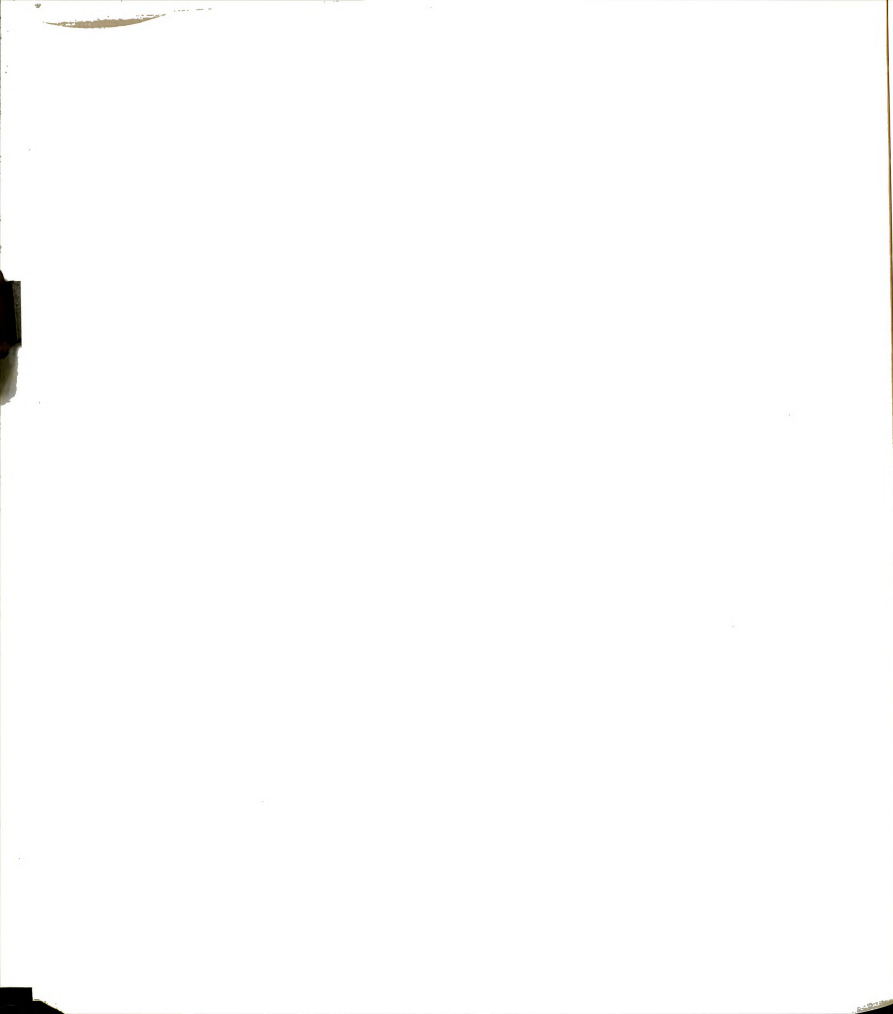
the administrator who was not willing to modify aspects of his professional behavior suffered continuing stress.

Student Body

The matter of being the chief school administrator of an American school overseas enrolling a multinational, coeducational, highly mobile student body was for all the administrators a highly rewarding experience both professionally and personally. Most administrators asserted in tones that often denoted an implied self and institutional pride that "their school" was chosen for the education of dependents of socially, economically, and politically prominent members of the binational community and illustratively cited as criteria of the school's success, cases of former students who had academic success in higher education.

The problems of accommodating and meeting the diverse schooling needs of children and youth from diverse educational and sociocultural backgrounds proved to be a challenge for most administrators despite the often acknowledged lack of experience and professional preparation in administrative and educational matters. The dominant concerns which all the administrators shared, revolved around the social and academic adjustment of the elementary children and secondary youth. The chief school administrator perceived both the American and host national student's

academic adjustment to the bilingual and bicultural education program as being mediated by the student's learning the second language of the school as quickly as possible and attempted to facilitate language learning through special programs. The administrators felt the American students' social adjustment to both the school and the community was particularly stressful and that when these students encountered a dual value norm system, they became disoriented. The administrators were keenly aware of the American youth's rebellion against not only the new culture and social norms but the schooling experience as well, due to their involvement in resolving student-related problems.

The Systemic Linkage System

In addition to the social groups within the work organization of the school with which the administrators interacted, administering the school required maintaining a cluster of relationships with one or more social institutions within the local, national, and international community. The administrators' behavior in linking the bureaucracy of one culture with another bureaucracy in the same culture and in linking a bureaucracy of one culture with an organization in a disparate culture created patterns of behavior that varied among and between the administrators as revealed by the administrators' perceptions and rankings of the systemic network. A
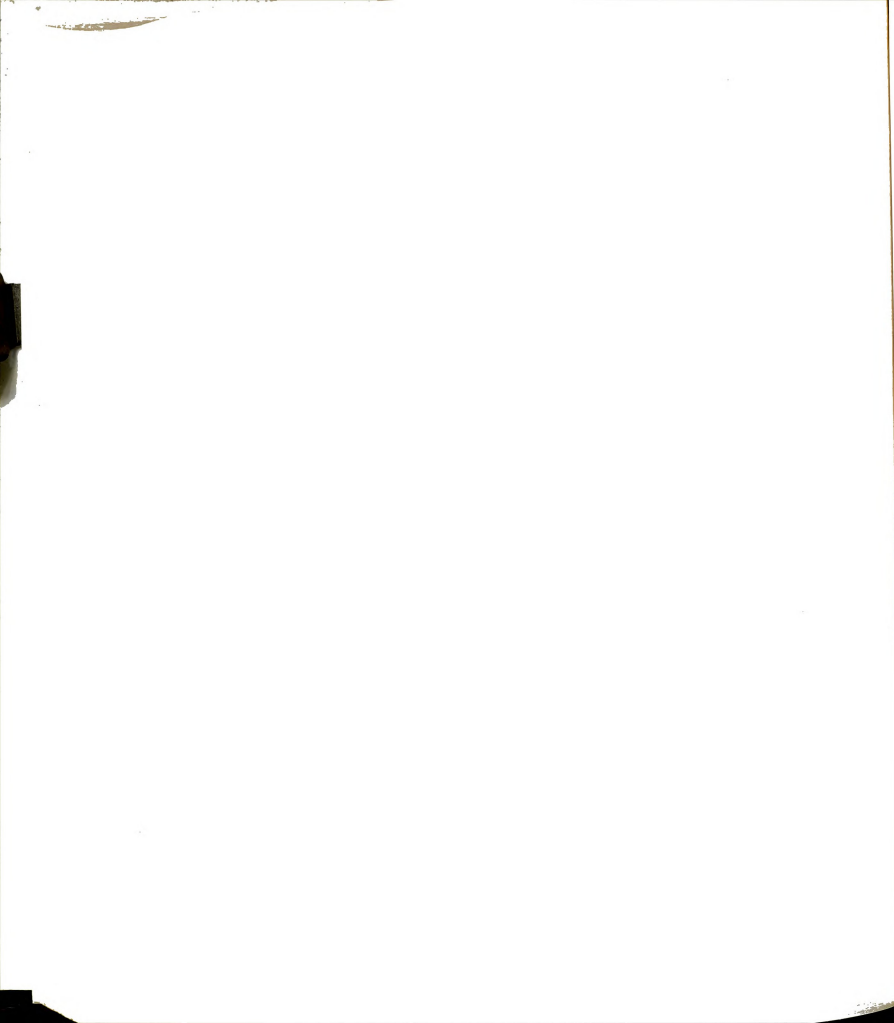
commonality that all the chief school administrators shared
was the belief that institutions in the systemic linkage
system are hierarchical in nature and impinged differentially
upon each school and administrator.

The administrators' descriptions of the systemic
linkage system suggest the following typology:

Type I   --High influence institutions
Type II --Medium influence institutions
Type III--Low influence institutions

Type I--High Influence Institutions

All the administrators perceived two different
national governments as dominating forces in the insti-
tutional lives of the overseas school: the host govern-
ment and the U.S. government. In the first instance, the
school depended upon the host government for its legal and
educational legitimacy. In the second instance, the school
depended upon the U.S. government for financial aid and
the institutional identity which was perceived to be derived
from the aid and other relationships with the U.S. govern-
ment.

The administrator perceived the interaction pattern
with the host government units as one of compliance to the
educational and legal codes required to operate a private
school. Frustrations and problems were experienced by the
administrator by virtue of the unique character of the
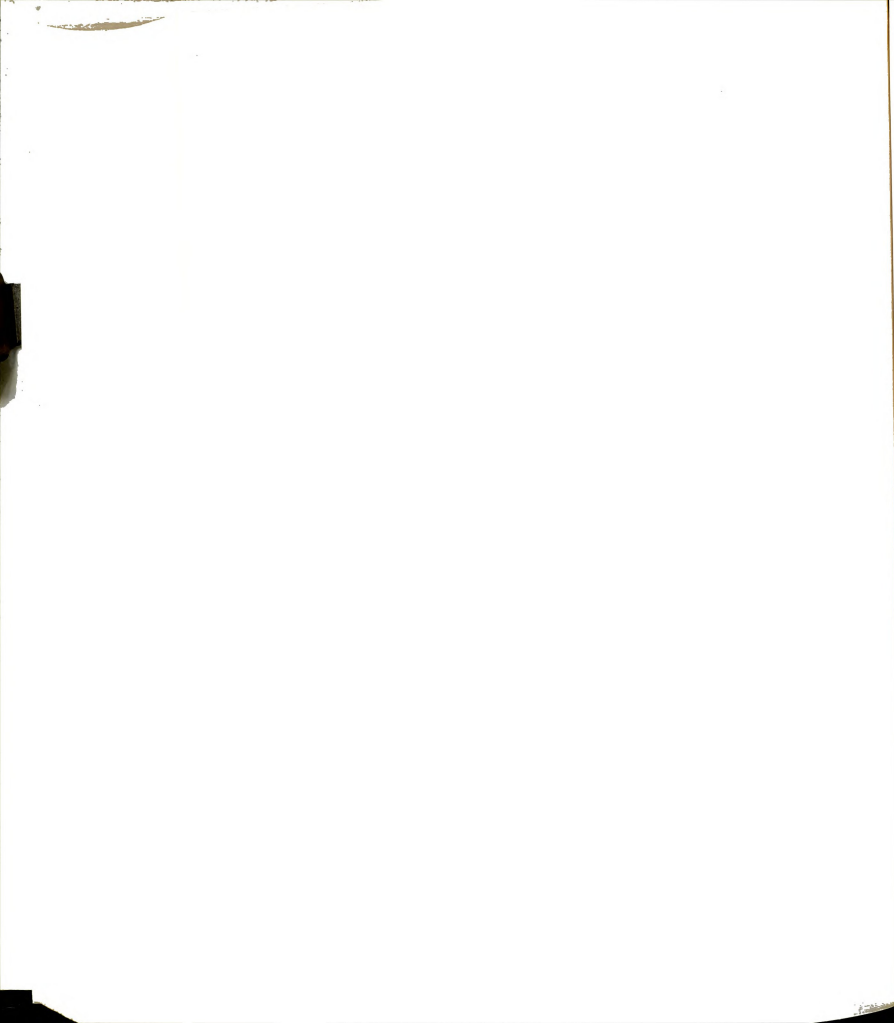
American school as compared to educational institutions
indigenous to the host society. The situation required the
administrator to mediate with the host governmental agencies
to maintain an organizational balance and even the very
survival of the school.

The administrators who perceived they maintained
a relatively satisfactory relationship with the host
government were those who had learned the workings of the
indigenous bureaucracy and how to work in it. Most fre-
quently, these individuals were fluent in Spanish and
sensitive to the culturally acceptable means for conducting
business. In contrast, the sociocultural norms prescribed
by the linking bureaucracy as well as the communication
problems that a lack of fluency in the Spanish language
caused, frequently prompted the less experienced admin-
istrator to see the host government as "something to get
around."

The administrators perceived the influence of the
U.S. government as being basically mediated by the financial
resources which the U.S. government provided the school
via grants-in-aid. The degree to which the school was de-
pendent upon this resource in large measure paralleled
the level of frustrations that the administrators felt in
pursuing the "red tape" process of requesting financial
assistance, as well as the conditions of ambiguity and
uncertainties over the availability of money.

The administrators showed different patterns of behavior in coping with the uncertainties. Some showed despair and resignation; they failed to understand why the U.S. government did not value the school for its purported symbolic value and tended to be very critical. Others, the "long termers," had learned to "live through" the uncertainties and seemingly retained a faith in the perceived mission of the school.

Type II--Medium Influence Institutions

The administrators perceived educational organizations as possessing a "medium" magnitude of control over the school. The educational organizations were U.S.-based or U.S.-oriented institutions, which included the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, a U.S. regional accrediting agency; Michigan State University; and the Association of American Schools, a loosely federated-type organization composed of overseas American schools in Regions I and II. The aggregate effect of these organizations was perceived as providing the overseas American schools with an educational legitimacy as an American institution and also as providing the administrators with a network to the U.S. professional community which helped reduce the professional isolation that most administrators felt in living overseas.

These organizations provided the administrator with a chance to retain his feeling of being a professional educator. The administrators felt it was professionally acceptable to seek advice from these various educational agencies, yet the administrator retained a professional autonomy in terms of evaluating and accepting or rejecting the advice for the school. Most felt free to criticize aspects of the administrative process involved in the relationships, such as communication gaps and program inadequacies.

The long-term administrator tended to evaluate the relationship with the educational institutions more positively since his frame of reference included periods of time when not even an outline of a network existed through which to seek advice and share in education discussion or enrichment. In contrast, the newly arrived or short-term administrator was more likely not to recognize the contributions of the institutions and tended to criticize the institution based on the premise that advice was not what he or his school needed. Rather, he needed substantive and immediate assistance to solve the current crisis.

Type III--Low Influence Institutions

The administrators viewed as low influence those institutions that were economic, philanthropic, and religious in nature.

The administrators perceived the economic institutions or the business community as the most significant of the "low" influence category. They viewed the business community, both local and U.S., as a potential source for securing financial resources, often with unrealized expectations. The discrepancies that often became apparent between the high expectation and the low realization of income from this source caused frustration. The types of fundraising efforts that the chief school administrator felt he could and did conduct in the community were mediated by the local social and cultural customs of what were acceptable means for raising money and the existence or absence of an expansive industrial-business complex in the community.

Those administrators in the large schools were aware of the parameters and influences, both direct and indirect, of the economic community and had learned to use this knowledge, although often in a limited fashion, for the benefit of the school. In contrast, those chief school administrators who demonstrated little awareness of the business community tended to avoid any involvement in fundraising efforts at the local level and were hopeful that financial assistance from outside the community would be forthcoming.

Only those administrators who managed schools that had received assistance from philanthropic foundations
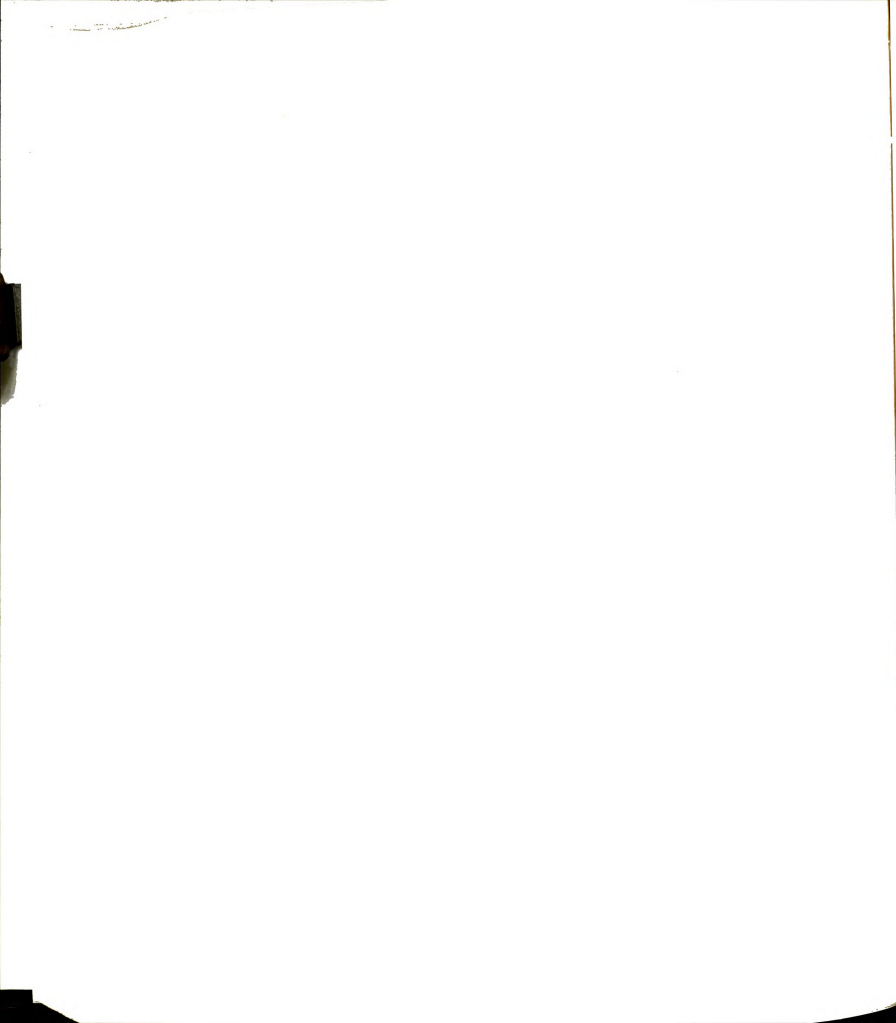
either through direct financial assistance or special projects imputed significance to interaction with philanthropic foundations. Since few schools were involved in this type of relationship, the majority of the administrators viewed this institution as of little significance.

The influence of the religious institutions was often limited to instances of recent conflict between the school and the religious institution. The chief school administrator tended to ignore or evade the presence of the problem, again due to the representational role as an "American" school.

From the descriptions of the patterns of behavior with segments of the infrastructure of the school and the various institutions ranked in influence in the school's systemic linkage system, some commonalities concerning the administrative role have emerged.

The role of chief school administrator was seen by the men not only as being that of an educational leader, but frequently as a mediator or bridge between the social groups and the formal organizations from which the school gained its legal, educational, financial, and social legitimacy. This view was most frequently evidence by those "long termers" who had observed and developed a well-formulated concept of social groups and institutions and how each functioned. The administrator had learned to use this knowledge to the school's advantage in an exchange
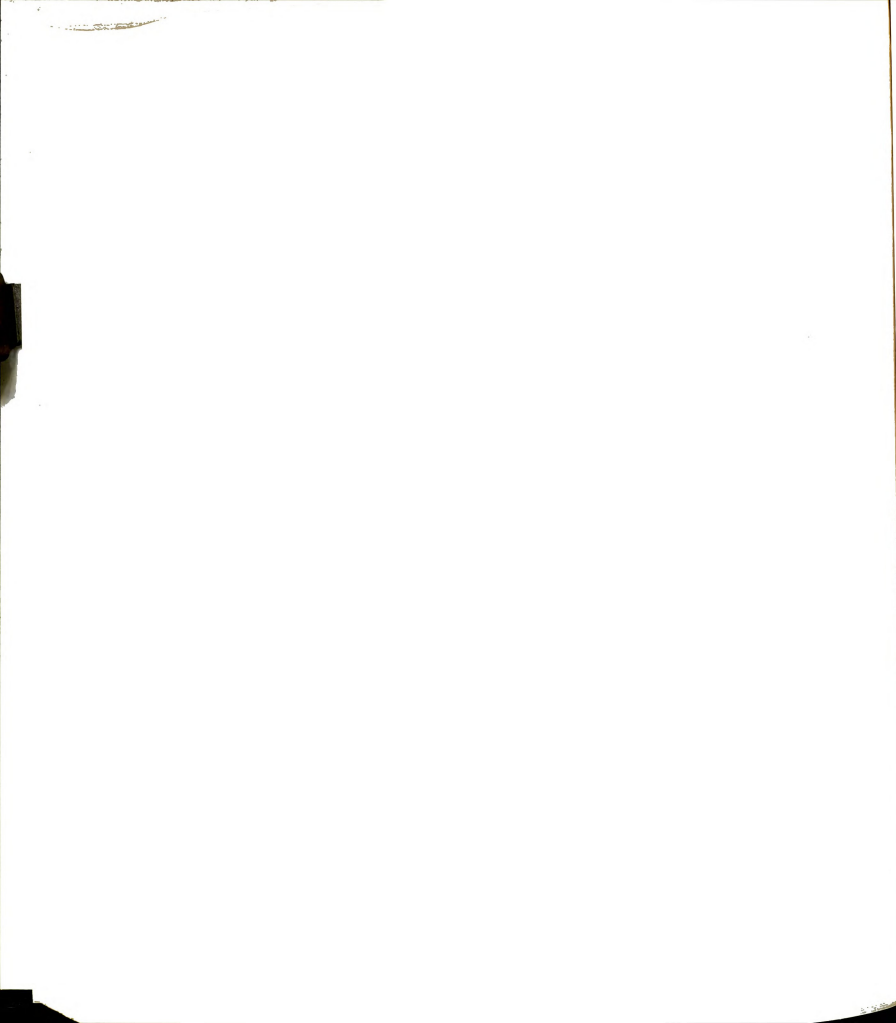
relationship which often required accommodation on principles of management or educational standards, but which the administrator accepted on the assumption that the survival of the school was at stake.

The group of individuals who were able to adapt well to living overseas recognized and accepted the socio-cultural differences, were skillful in the practice and art of compromise. Some had gained a new social, personal, and professional identity set, as well as a set of behavioral patterns that allowed the individual to function satisfactorily in the cross-cultural setting where the norms were not the norms of one society or the other but the norms of the third culture.

Most long-term administrators felt the job was a most personally and professionally rewarding experience. For the most part, the administrators enjoyed the style of life and the accompanying social status of being the chief school administrator of an institution that was seen as deriving its identity from the larger society it represented. Being an American and being the chief school administrator of "The American School" in most instances had meaning that transcended the severity of the frustrations and the conflicts the administrators experienced in their work roles. This was confirmed by the fact that all but two administrators expressed a desire to remain or return to the job of chief school administrator
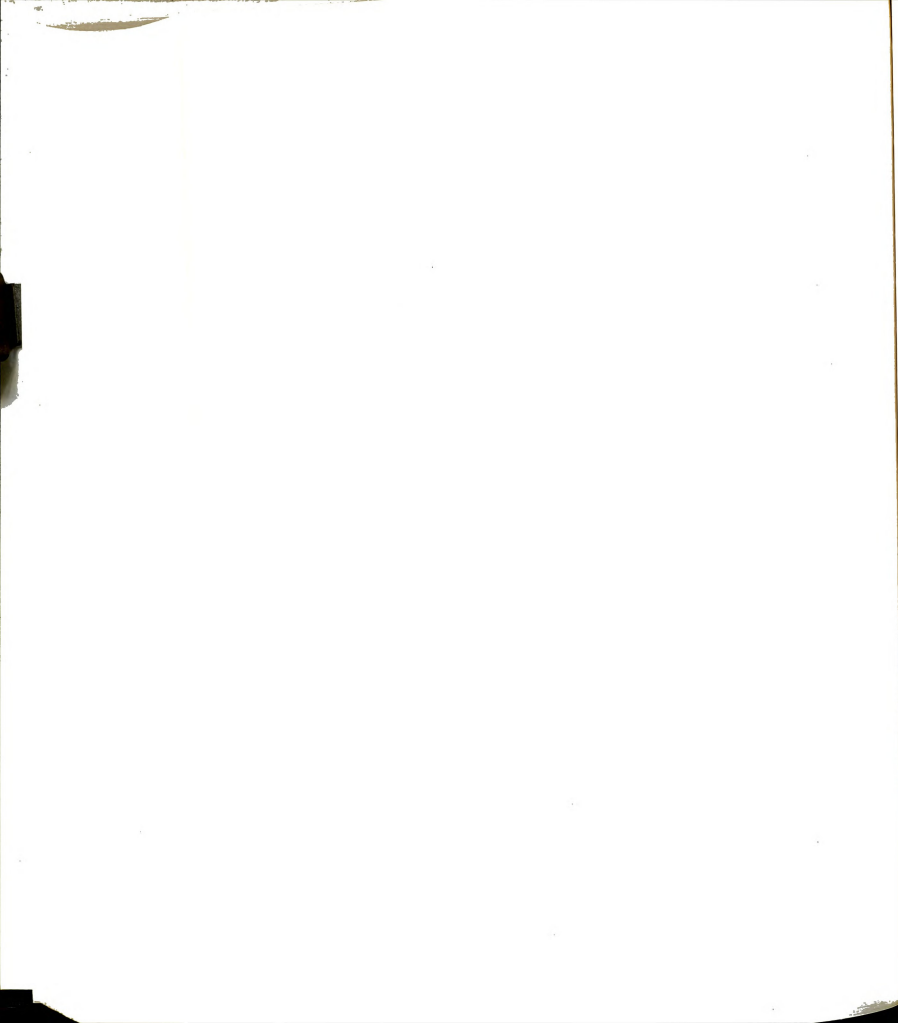
in Latin America or elsewhere in the world. As one man
stated, "This job is so exciting that performing the same
job in the States where you would only have one set of
culture problems would seem so dull and unexciting."

In contrast, another behavior pattern was evidenced
in segments of administrators who were most often "short
termers." These individuals had no concept of the nature
of the American school overseas nor had they had prior
experience. Furthermore, they had assumed the responsi-
bility for managing an American school that frequently
had no recorded history, thus no institutional memory.
Their period as chief school administrator was characterized
by constant conflicts and ever-recurring crises which
ramified into their personal and professional life. In
three instances, administrators resigned after severe pro-
fessional and personal crises.

Implications for Further Study

The universally assumed raison d'etre of any social
organization known as a school is to provide for the educa-
tional and social needs of those it serves. For the overseas
American schools analyzed in this study, the mission was
clearly that of providing for the educational and social
well-being of children and youths of two or more social col-
lectivities. The chief school administrators in this study
played a strategic, direct, and vital part in creating the
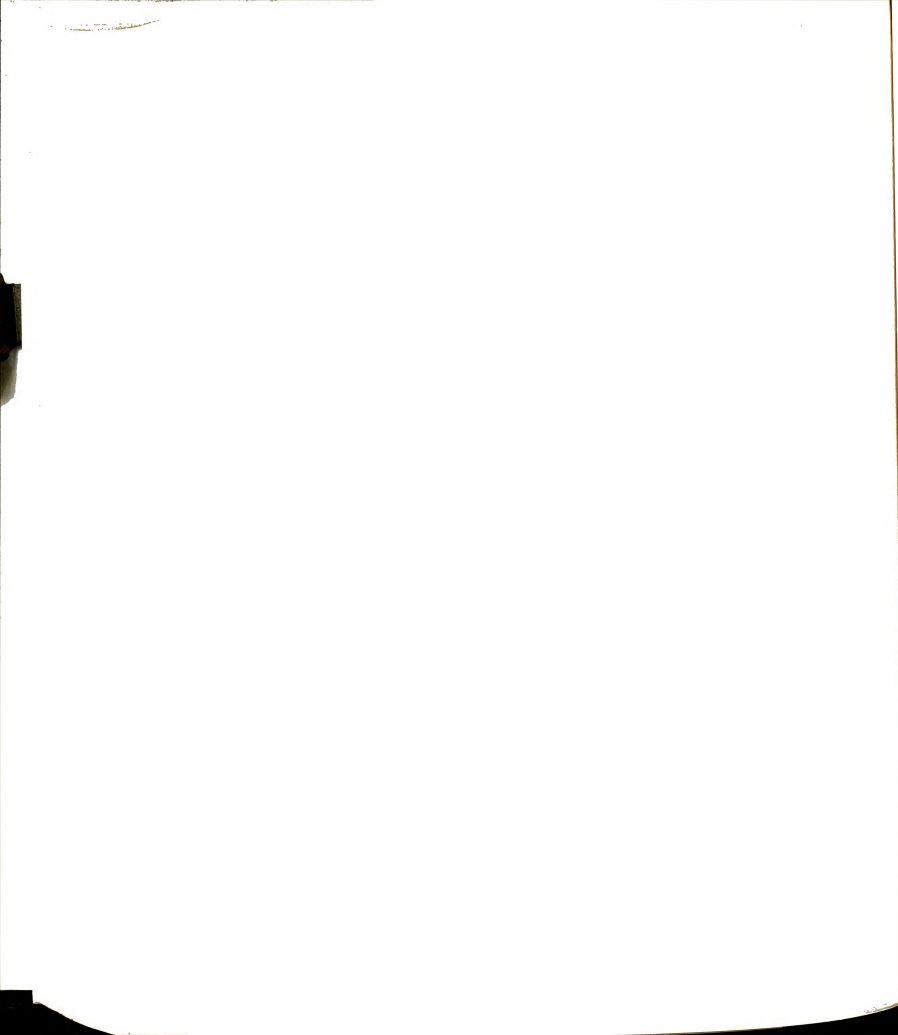
atmosphere wherein the schooling process occurred for the overseas American dependents and dependents of host nationals and third country nationals.

Managing this type of transnational organization was concluded to be a highly complex task. Numerous conditions differentially impinged upon the administrative process and caused varying degrees of organizational instability. These conditions likewise precipitated discontinuities in the academic and social lives of those the school was designed to serve as well as the personal and professional lives of the chief school administrators who were employed to manage these schools.

The data in this study demonstrate that there are wide variations in the organizational infrastructure of these schools and in the systemic linkages that the schools maintained with the various levels of the binational community--local, national, and international. Some schools were more highly institutionalized than others, but each reflected the social contours of the community which it served. This condition helps to confirm Useem's general hypothesis:

> That where ever there exists a viable coordinate third culture, there is greater probability of more effective administration . . . and as a direct result, more successful cross-cultural programs.[2]

From all indications, more American dependents as well as dependents of other nationals will be receiving part or all of their elementary and secondary schooling in
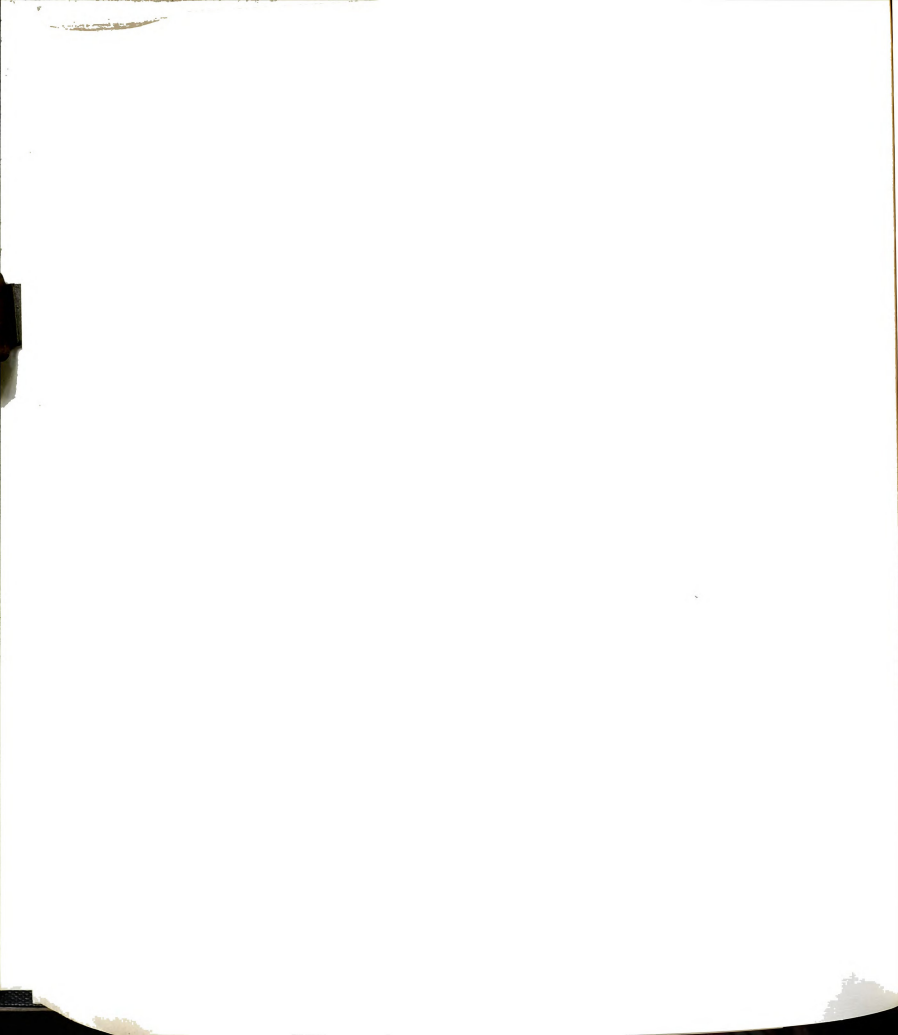
American-sponsored schools in the immediate and long-range future. To date, the American-sponsored schools in this study like their sister institutions located throughout the world have survived the initial effects of the ever-changing socioeconomic and political arenas and the increased interdependency in the developmental and modernization process. However, as the post-modern or post-industrial period dawns, we need to ask questions such as, What type of future will confront these schools? and, What steps should be taken to assure that these schools adequately meet the schooling needs of the current and future generations of highly mobile children and youth of our nation as well as dependents of other nations?

To answer these questions would require that we immediately advance our funds of scientific knowledge about the third culture in general and specifically the functional relationships that all the American-sponsored schools maintain.

It is recommended that a National Overseas Schools Training and Research Laboratory be established. The purpose of this laboratory should be to conduct studies related to the administrative and educational problems associated with the overseas schools. Exploratory studies in administration should include new and improved management techniques and tools, organizational structures, and means for adequately financing the schools. Exploratory studies should also
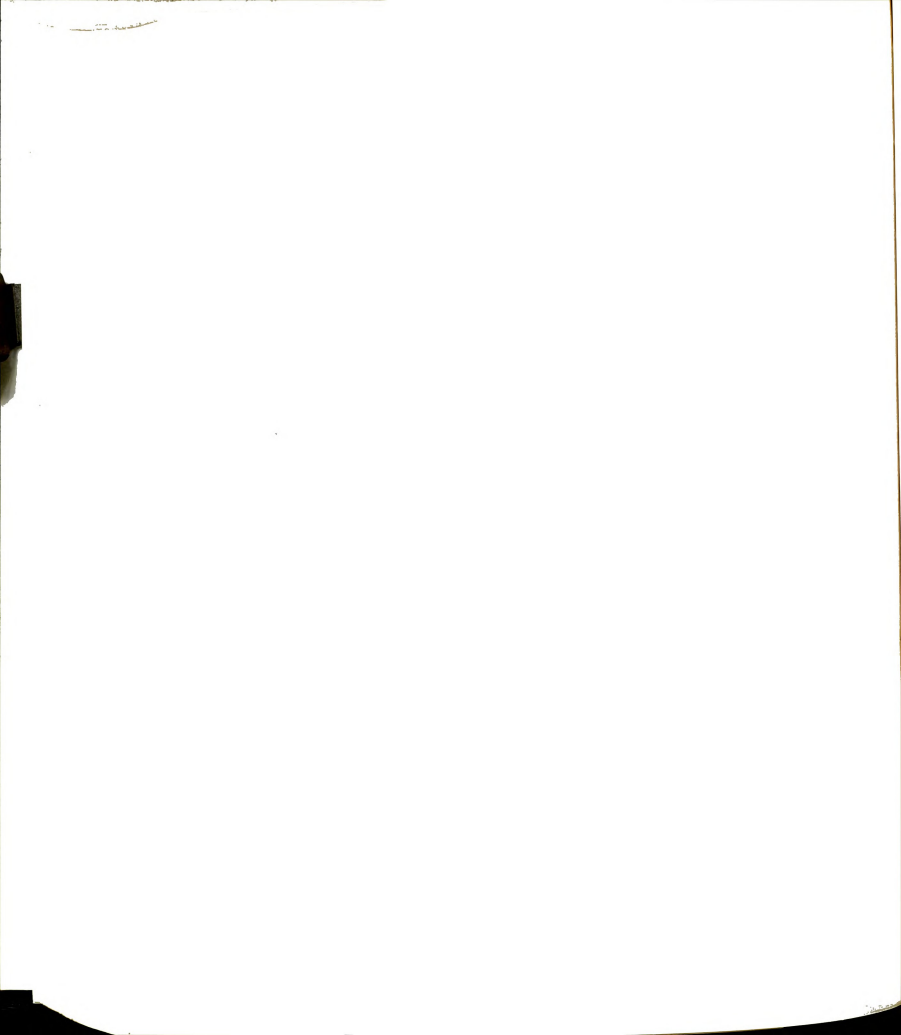
include curricular programs specifically designed for the binational mobile learner. The laboratory could also function to train professional personnel in the art of teaching the highly mobile binational students and to train administrators in the art of managing an overseas school.

Moreover, in order to attract and maintain qualified persons in the positions of responsibility for long periods of time, new means for creating job security are needed. Thought should be given to the formulation of an International Teaching Corps.

For the immediate, however, since the majority of the chief school administrators and teachers in this study experienced a form of role shock once on the job, an initial step to help them overcome the problems would be to provide an orientation program for the new administrator and teachers as well. It would also be helpful if these individuals were given some guidance during the early period of their stay abroad.

The task of coordinating these activities should rest with the Federal Government, since it currently is the primary public agency responsible for the coordination of elementary and secondary schooling needs of dependents overseas. Together in concert with other national and international, public, and private organizations--philanthropic, economic, religious, etc.--the U.S. government must exert whatever means are required to effect the necessary improvements in

the overseas schools. To accomplish this task will require the collective financial and human resources of both public and private sectors if the current generation of American-sponsored schools as well as other modes of schooling yet to be devised are to provide an effective schooling environment for children and youths overseas.
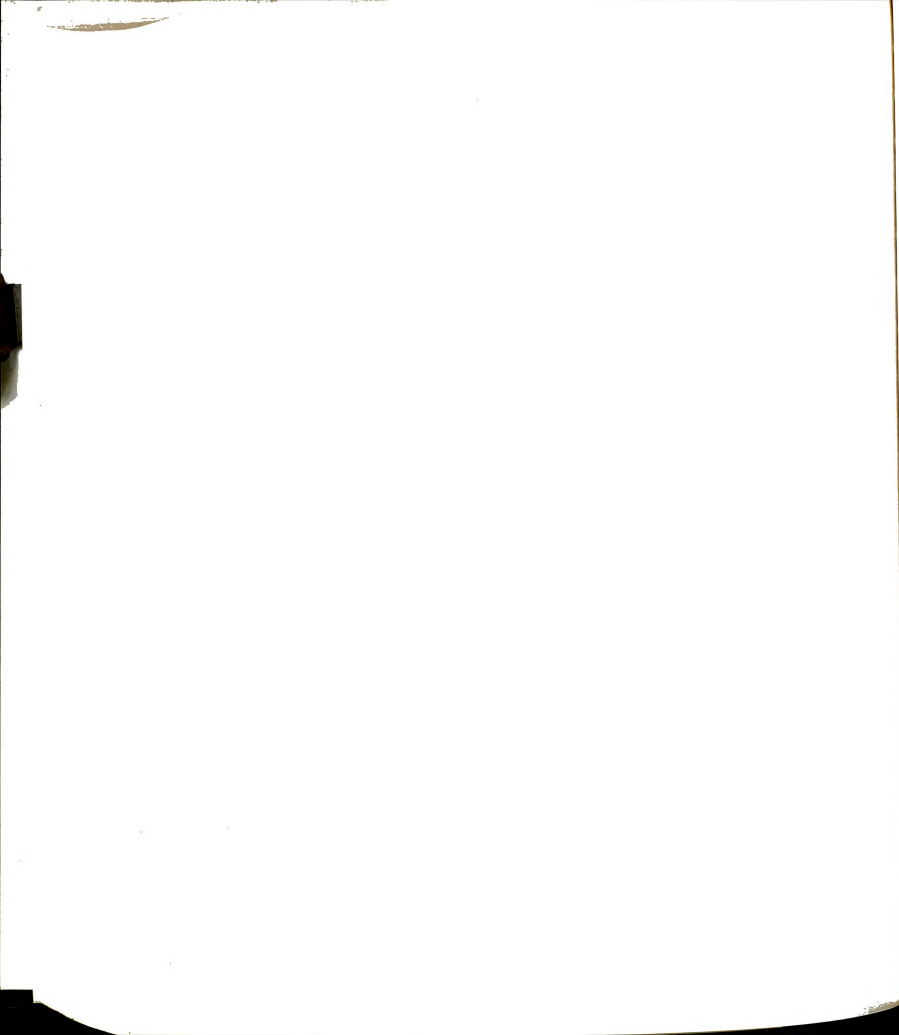
FOOTNOTES, CHAPTER X

[1]Richard D. Lambert, "Some Minor Pathologies in the American Presence in India," The Annuals, Vol. 368 (November, 1966), 158-159.

[2]John Useem, Ruth Useem, and John Donoghue, "Men in the Middle of the Third Culture," p. 17.
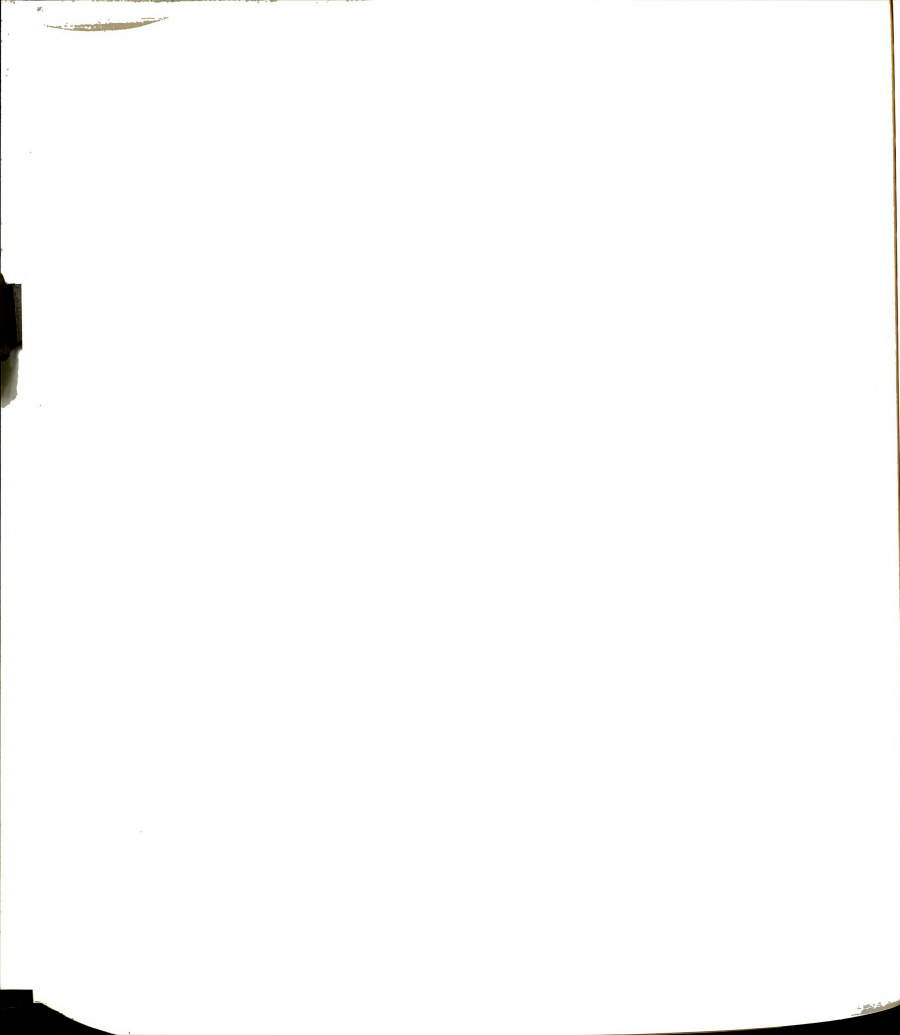
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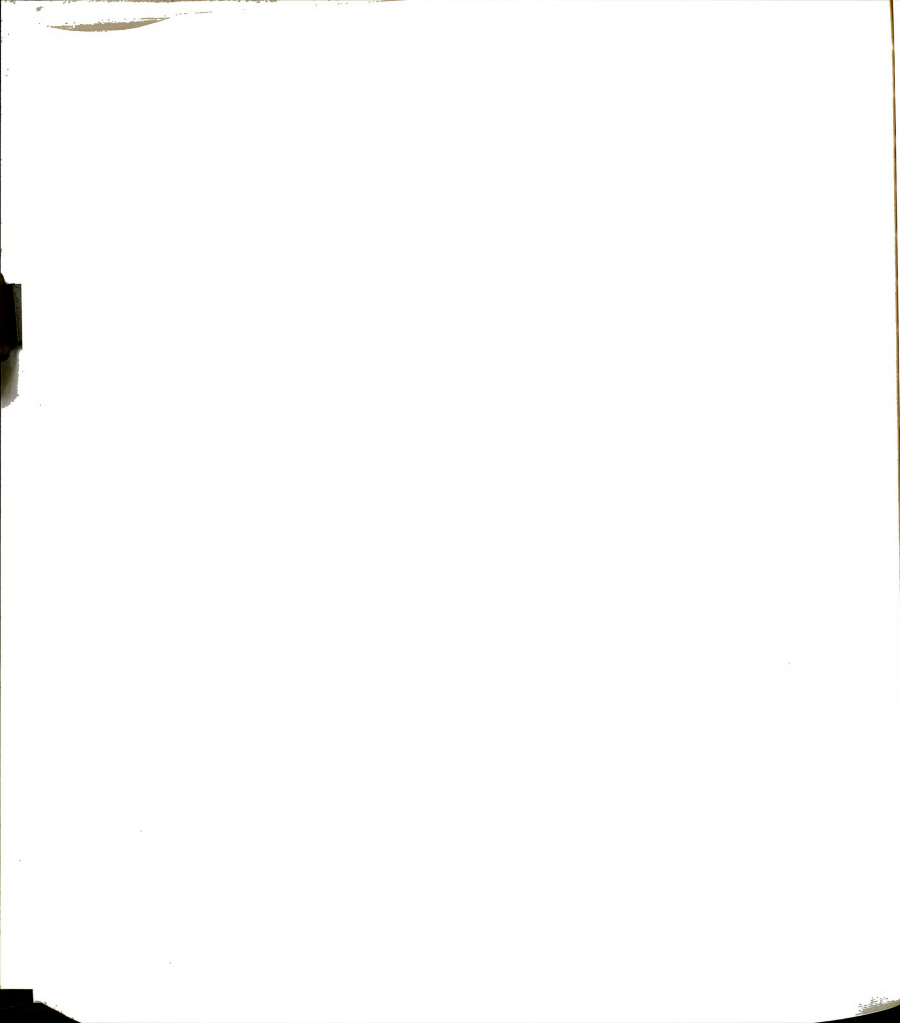
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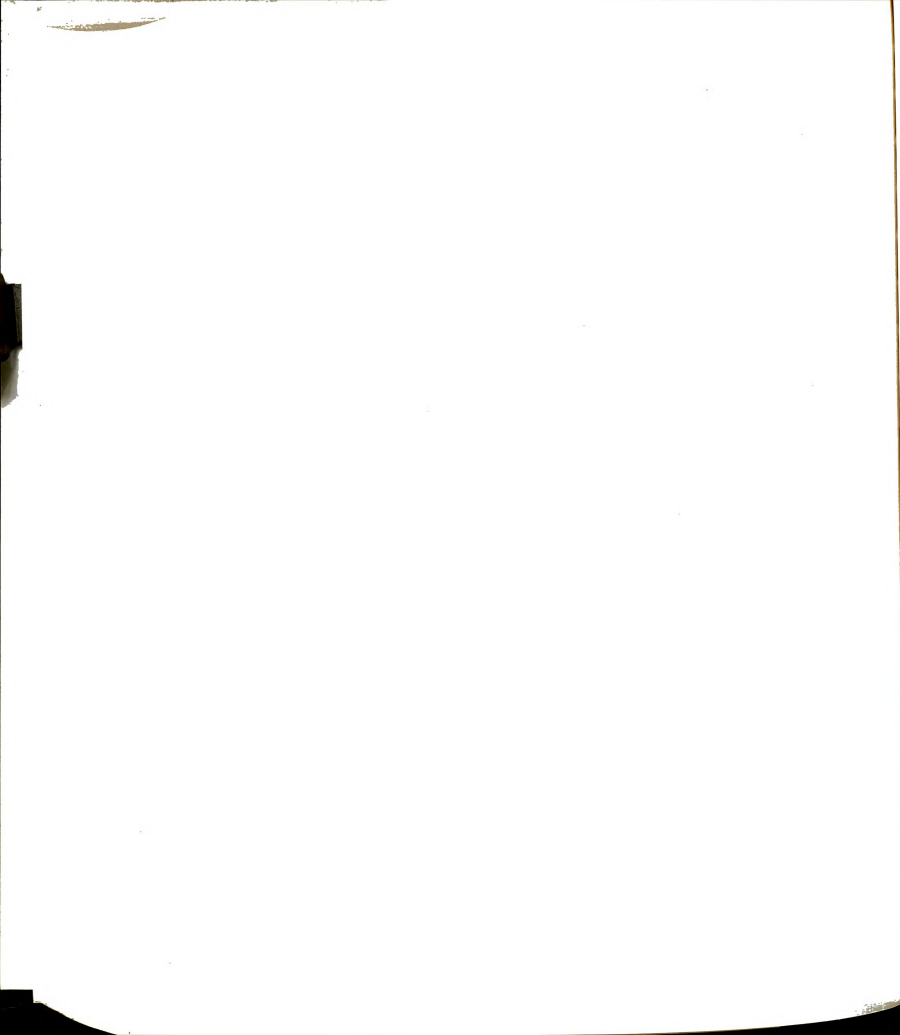
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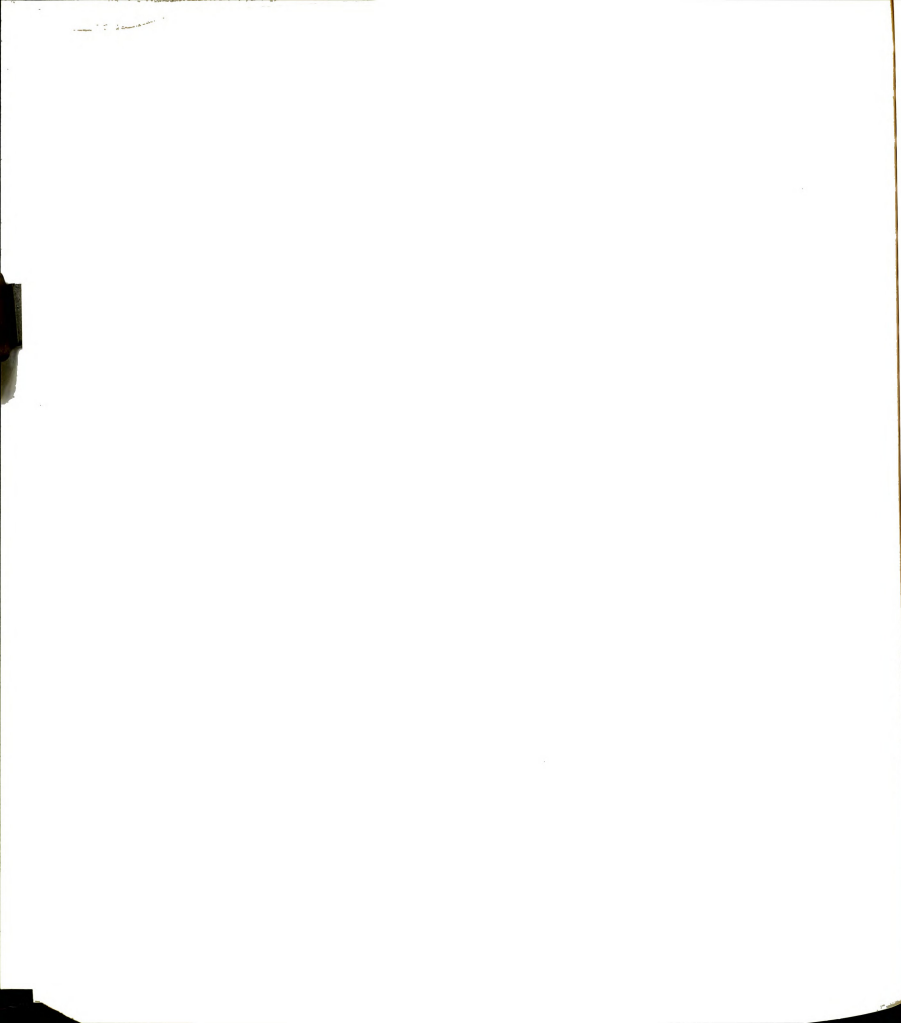
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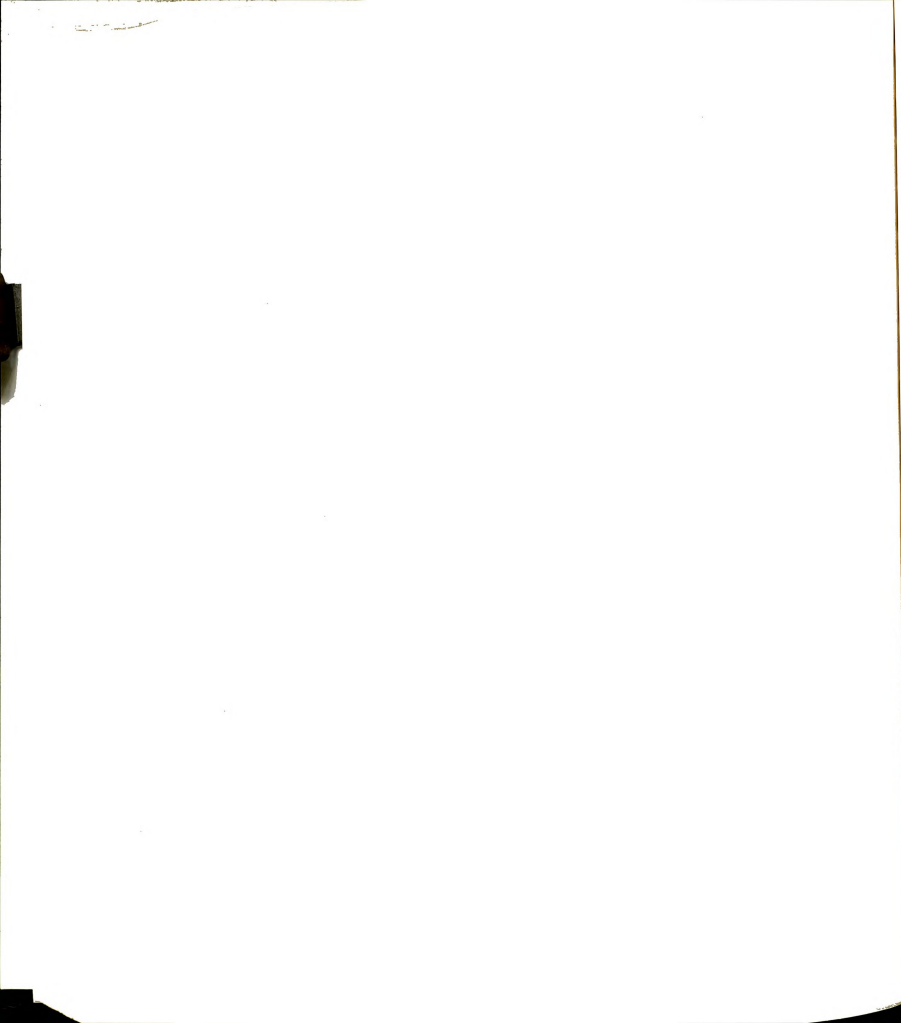
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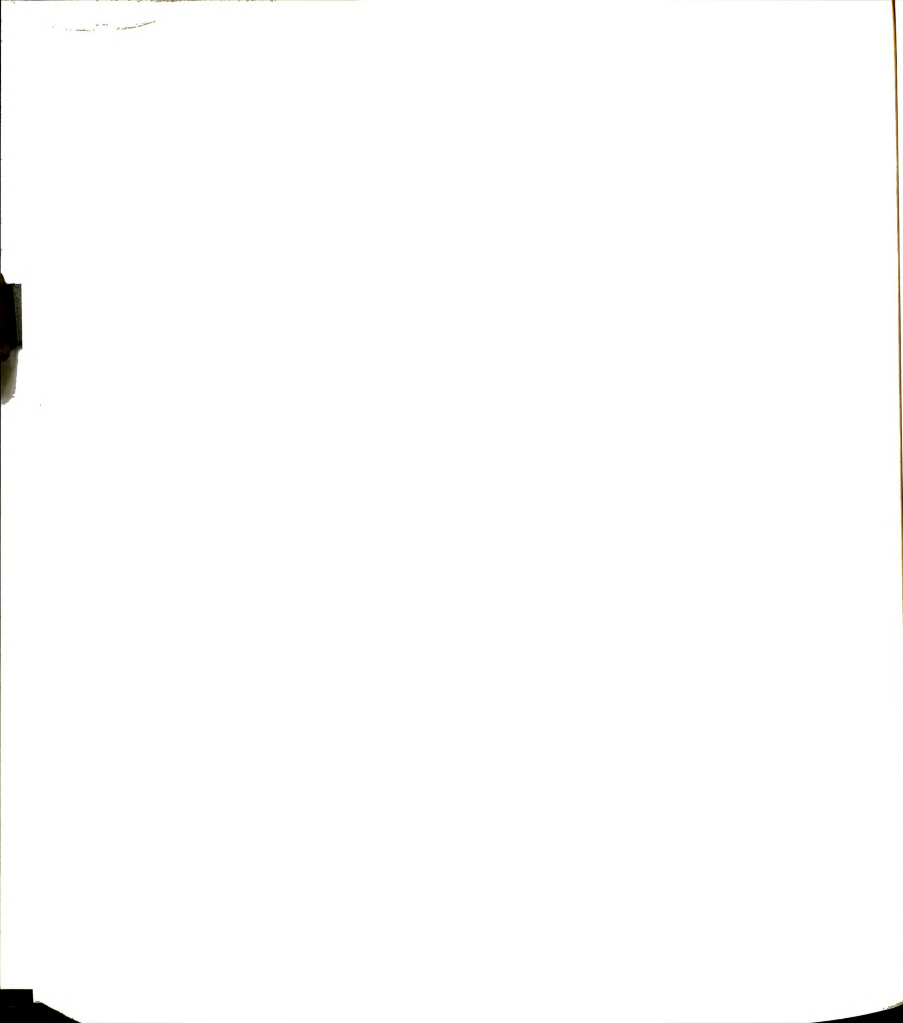
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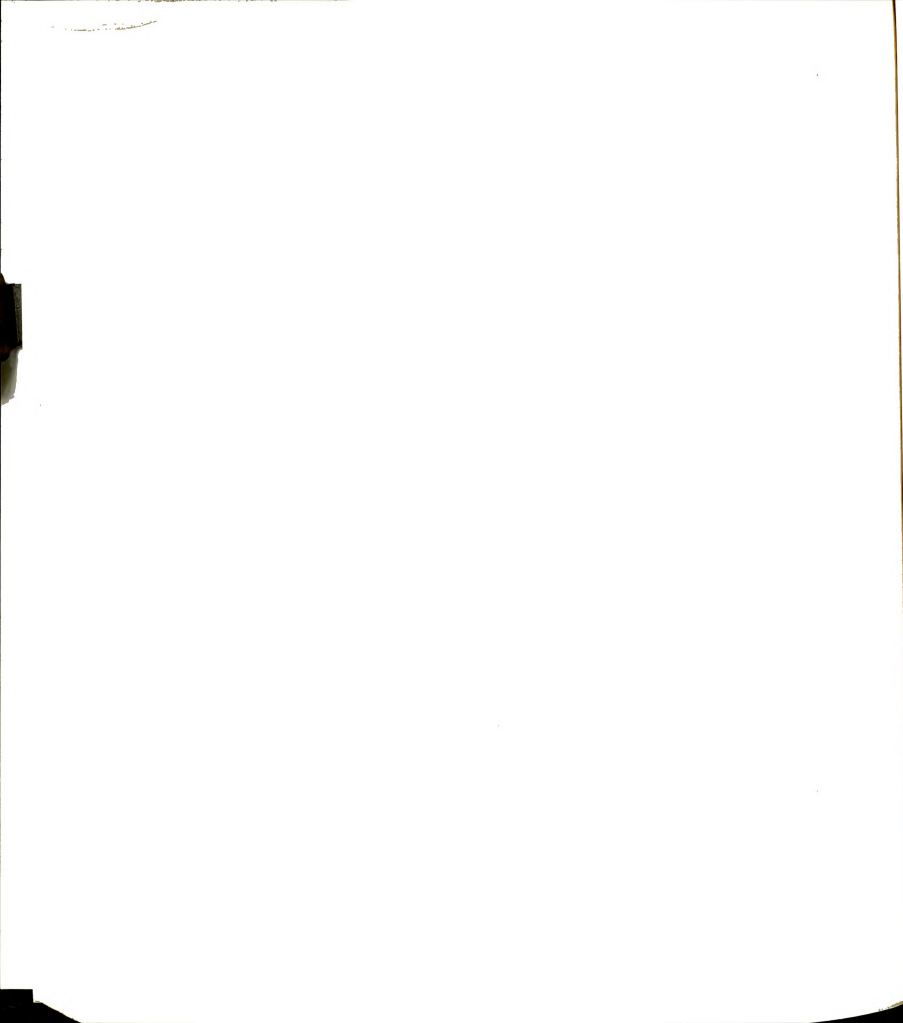
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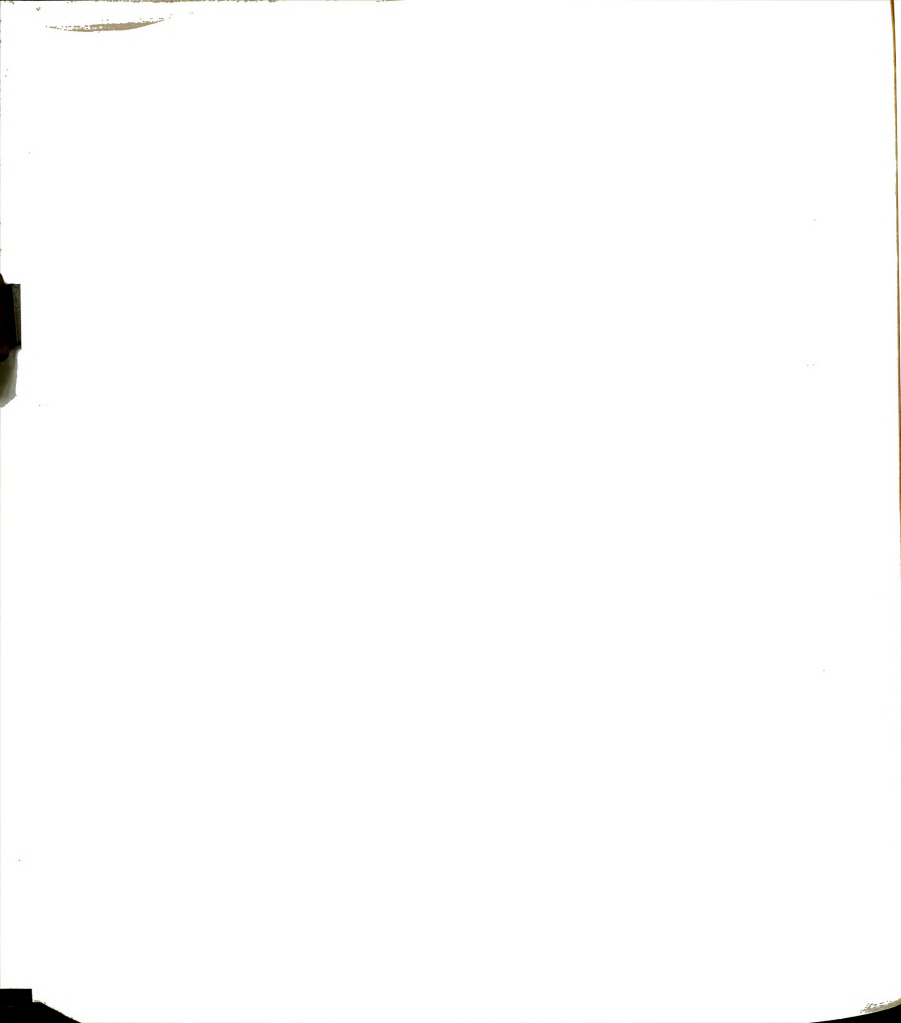   State University, 1968.

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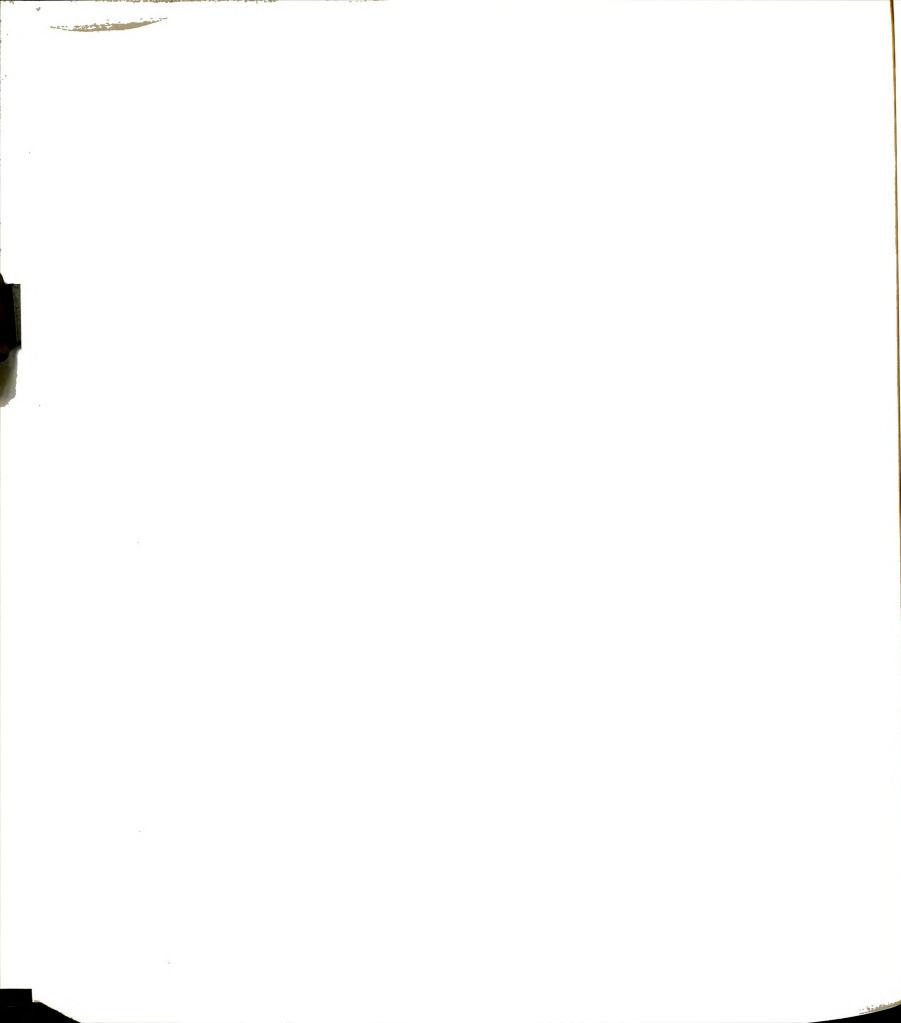
APPENDICES
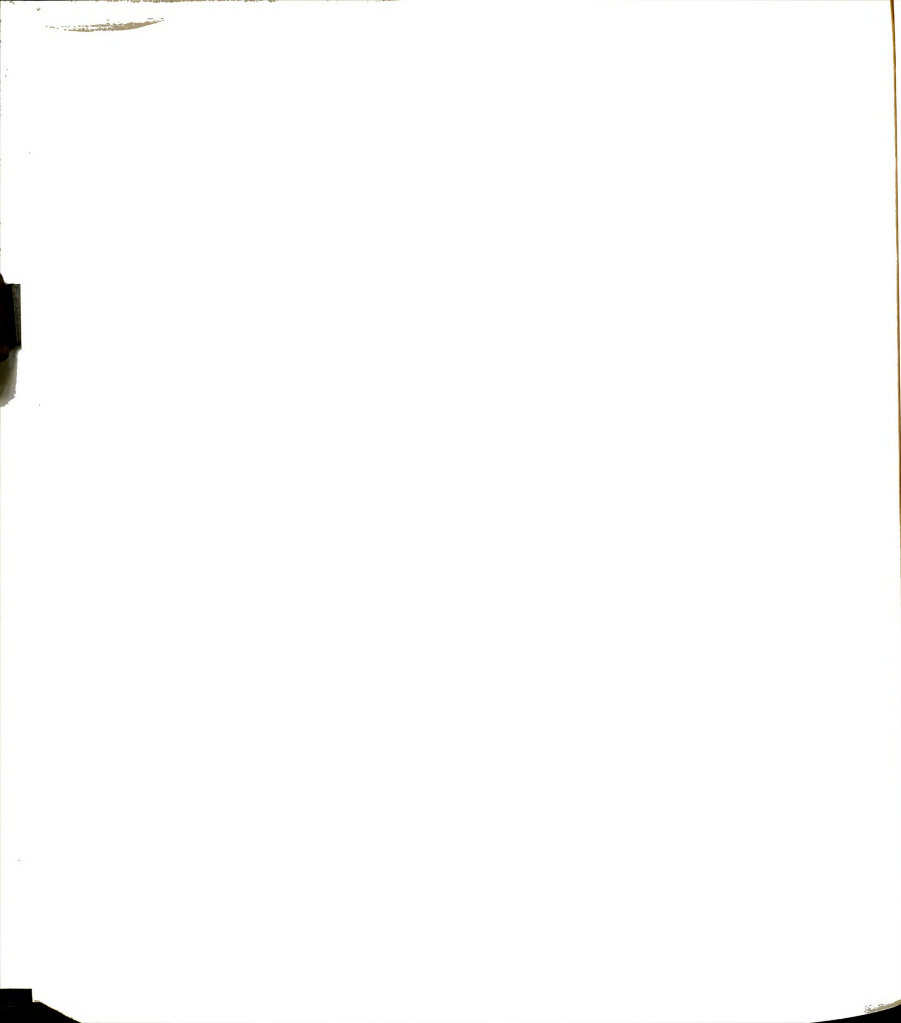
APPENDIX A

600 OVERSEAS SCHOOLS PROGRAM

616   Criteria for Granting Assistance

616.1   Pursuant to the Mutual Educational
        and Cultural Exchange Act

Following are the necessary requirements:

a.   The school must meet a demonstrated need for American-type educational facilities in the community or region and in the case of primary and secondary schools shall be open to the enrollment of qualified American students.

b.   The school must have been founded by or must be operated or sponsored by citizens or nonprofit institutions of the United States, with or without the participation of nationals of other countries.

c.   The school must operate without objection from the national government of the host country, and must be non-political in character.

d.   Authority over policy, finances, and administration must be vested in a competent board of responsible persons, usually including representation of the appropriate U.S. embassy or consulate, but at a minimum to include representation by U.S. citizens. This will vary from school to school depending on local circumstances and on U.S. policy.

e.   The director or principal of the school, wherever practicable, should be a U.S. citizen.

f. There should be a sufficient number of teachers from the United States or teachers trained in American educational methods to assure adequate contact for the students with these methods and the corresponding ideals.

g.   The curriculum and instruction of the school should be of good quality and reflect accepted U.S. theory and practice in education to the greatest extent practicable.

h.   Primary and secondary curricula should provide instruction in the language, literature, geography, and history of the United States and, where practicable, of the country where the school is located. Wherever the needs of American students require it, English shall be used as a language of instruction.

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*Foreign Affairs Manual, Vol. 2, General.
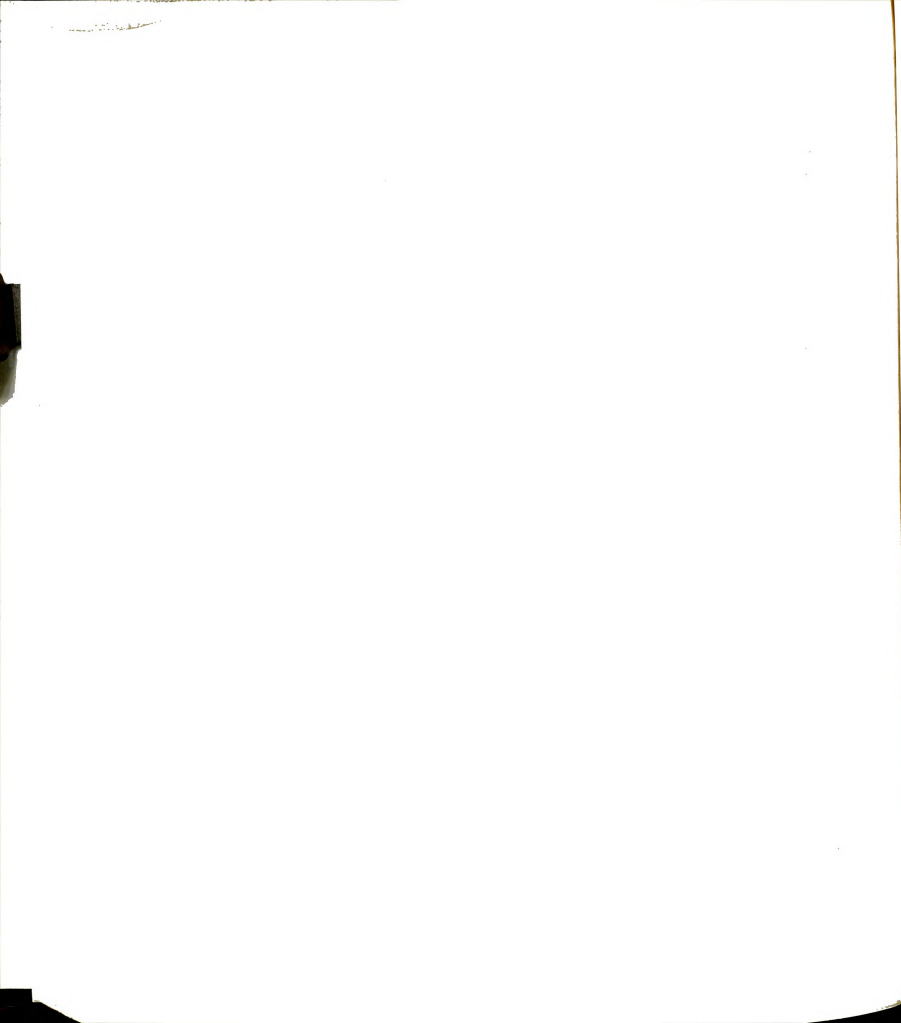
i.   The operation of the school should contribute to mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the peoples of the host country or other countries through such means as enrollment of foreign nationals, the provision of binational extracurricular and community pro- grams, and English-language classes for special students.

j.   The financial plan of the school should provide for continuing recourse to all feasible means of achieving and maintaining its financial independence through an adequate fee structure, endowment, and other forms of private support.

k.   Financial aid will not be given to church-connected schools. Nor will it be given to government, company, or private profit-earning schools unless provision of such assistance would assure educational facilities for American dependents which would not otherwise be available in the area.

616.2 Pursuant to Foreign Service and Foreign Assistance Acts

Following are the necessary requirements:

a.   The post must substantiate a need to provide educa- tional facilities for U.S. dependents:

(1) There should be no adequate elementary or secondary school, in the grades required, at the post or within rea- sonable daily commuting distance.

(2) There must be a sufficient number of U.S. dependent children at the post, or anticipated at the post, to justify the proposed project.

b.   The school, to the extent possible, should:

(1) Provide evidence of a favorable climate of local community support which would be demonstrated by offering personal and financial resources, not only of the U.S. Government community, but of American private business and other national and international elements as well.

(2) Provide evidence of sound policy, finances, and other fundamental aspects of administration of an American- type of education duly vested in a competent board of responsible persons, including appropriate representation by American citizens.
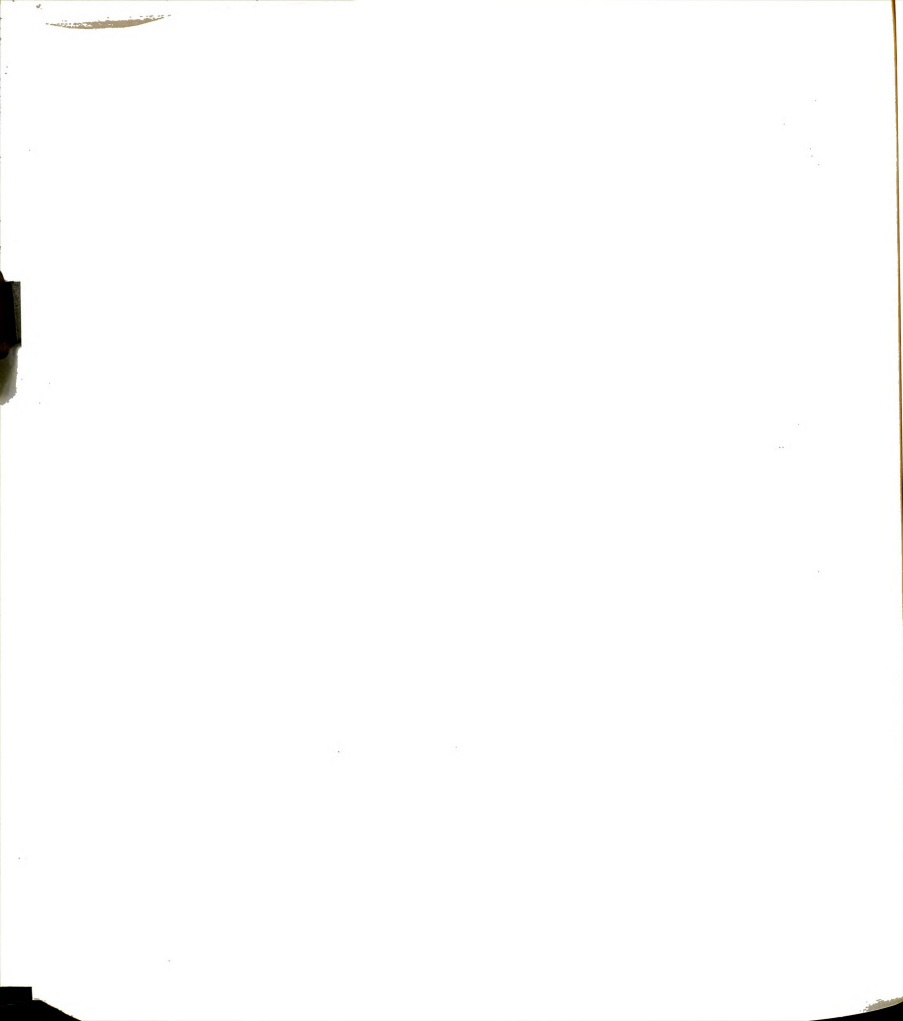
(3) Offer a program of study in which English is the language of instruction.

(4) Offer to the extent practical an American curriculum with American textbooks and materials. The school should be willing to enroll, as a condition in accepting a U.S. Government grant, all dependents of American citizens carrying out programs of the U.S. Government abroad who are able to meet the school's other admission standards.

(5) Maintain teacher and academic standards which are comparable with public elementary or secondary schools in the United States.

(6) Offer the type of curriculum and instruction which reflects U.S. educational methods and practices to the reasonable extent practicable in consideration of (a) the location abroad, and (b) the needs of the student body as a whole.

(7) Provide adequate fiscal and management supervision, and maintain a financial position which gives reasonable certainty that the school is capable of covering recurring operations expenses out of tuition or other school income without continuing direct U.S. Government assistance, *unless because of the school's location abroad, local laws, and regulations, etc., such assistance can be justified.*

(8) Provide evidence that no other feasible means, such as local resources or increase in tuition, are currently available to the school for adequately financing proposed expansion or improvements.


*Revision
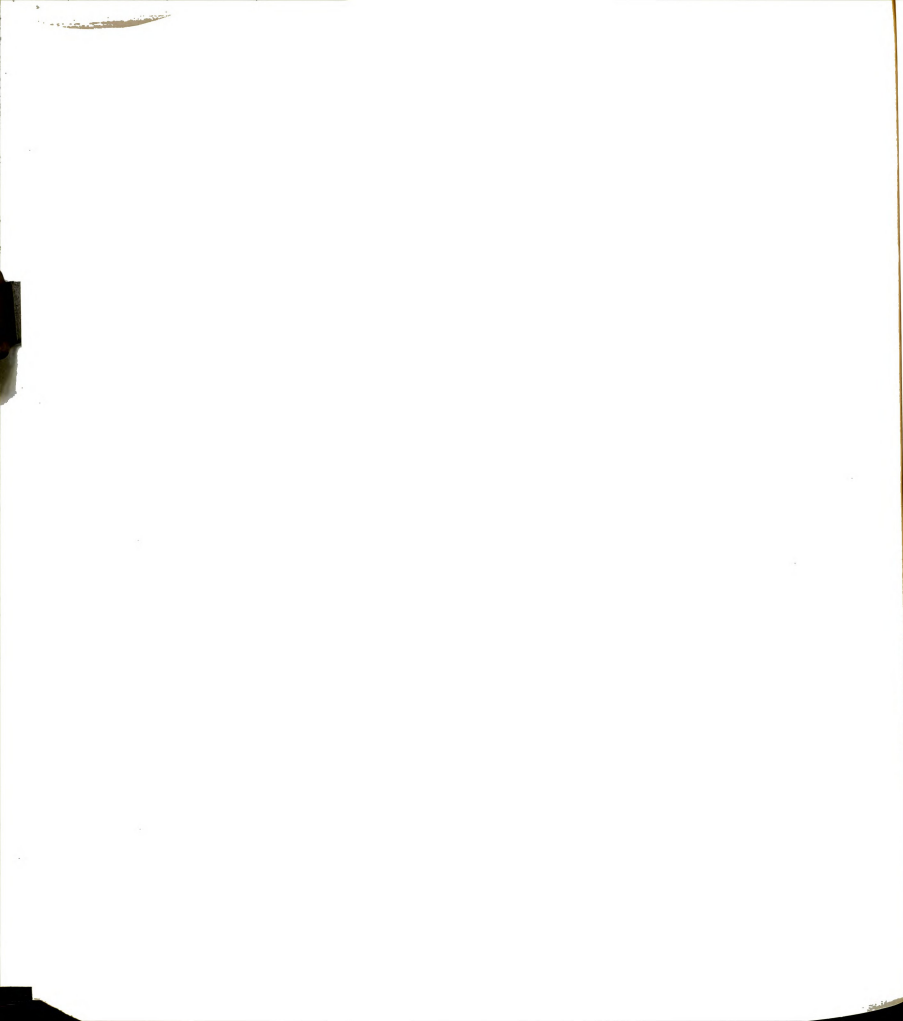
APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE
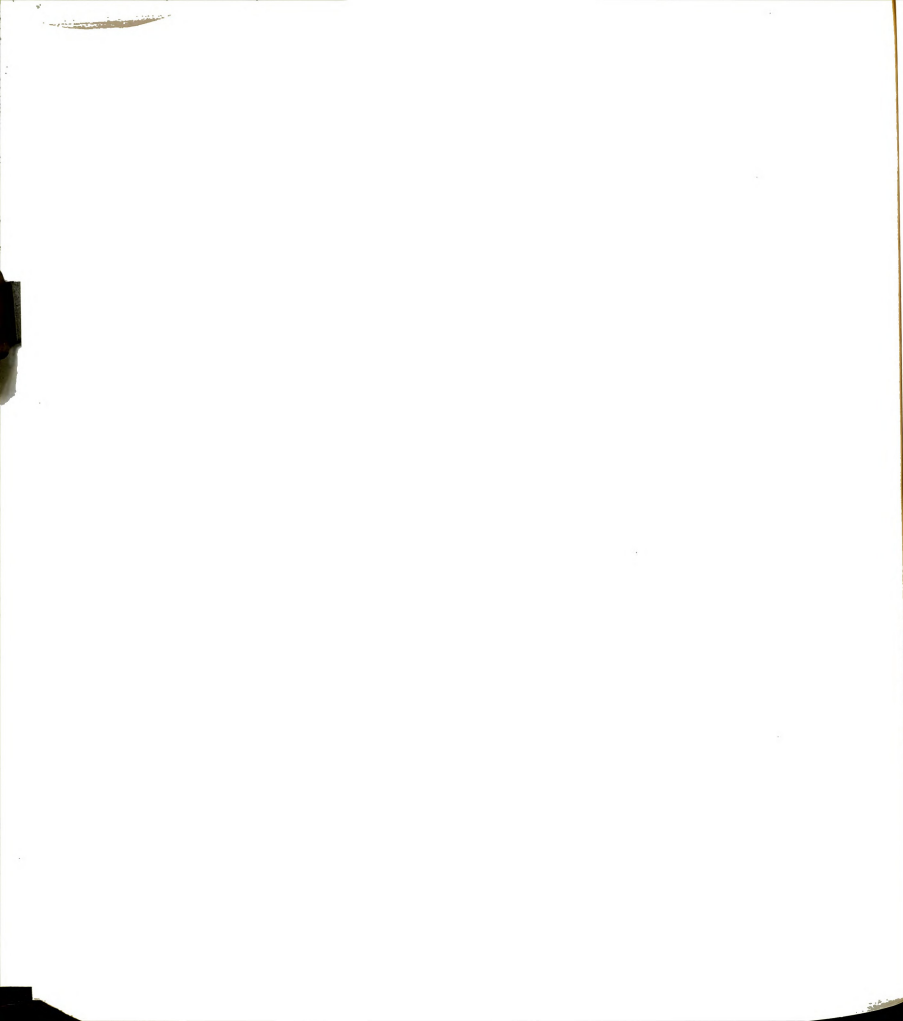
APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

1. How would you describe the American School of _____?

2. What is the legal status of the school?

3. In what way is this school organized differently than other schools here in _____?

4. Does this organization make the job more interesting? (challenge--problems)

5. Does the school serve in a formal or informal capacity as student teaching training center? Yes___ No___

   Describe.

   How do you feel about this? Why?

6. Does the school serve in a formal or informal capacity as community center? Yes___ No___

   Describe.

   How do you feel about this? Why?

7. Does the school serve in a formal or informal capacity as a play area for after-school activities? Yes___ No___

8. Does the school serve in a formal or informal capacity as Adult Education Center? Yes___ No___

   How do you feel about this? Why?

9. Does the school serve in a formal or informal capacity as educational demonstration center for American schools in the country or region? Yes___ No___

   How do you feel about this?

10. Does the school serve in a formal or informal capacity as an educational demonstration center for national schools in the country or region? Yes___ No___

    How do you feel about this?
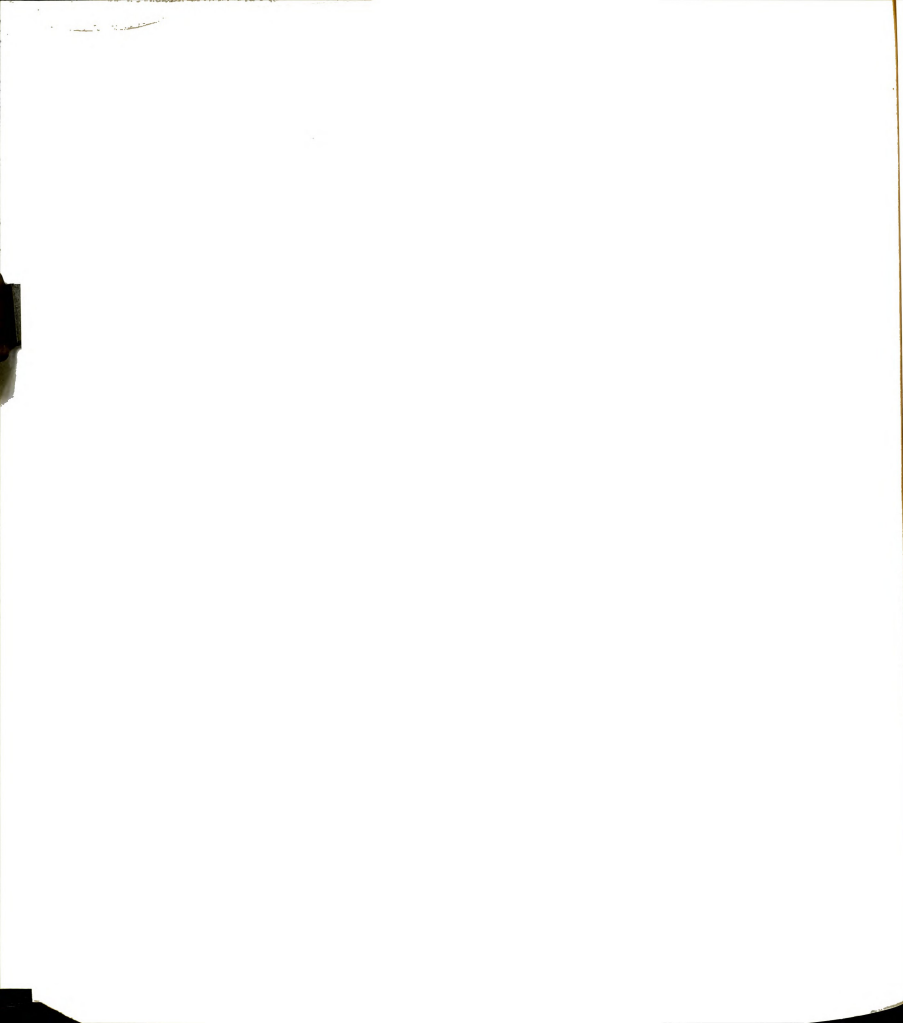
11. Does the school serve in a formal or informal capacity as an educational demonstration center for any other schools in the country or region? Yes___ No___

    How do you feel about this?

12. Does the school serve in a formal or informal capacity as a center for audio-visual aids? Yes___ No___

    How do you feel about this?

13. Does the school serve in a formal or informal capacity as information center for diffusing information about higher education in the U.S. (testing center for English proficiency)? Yes___ No___

    How do you feel about this?

14. Does the school serve in a formal or informal capacity as information center for diffusing information about higher education in the host nation? Yes___ No___

    How do you feel about this?

15. Does the school on a formal or informal basis assist U.S. citizens in distress? Yes___ No___

    How do you feel about this?

16. Does the school on a formal or informal basis assist national citizens in distress? Yes___ No___

    Describe.

    How do you feel about this?

17. Are religious classes conducted in the school? Yes___ No___

    If yes, explain. (Probe for conflicts associated with this.)

18. Does the school have any relationships with national industries? Yes___ No___

    If yes, describe the relationship.

    What impact does this have on the school?

19. Does the school have any relationships with U.S. industries? Yes___ No___

    If yes, describe the relationship.

    What impact does this have on the school?
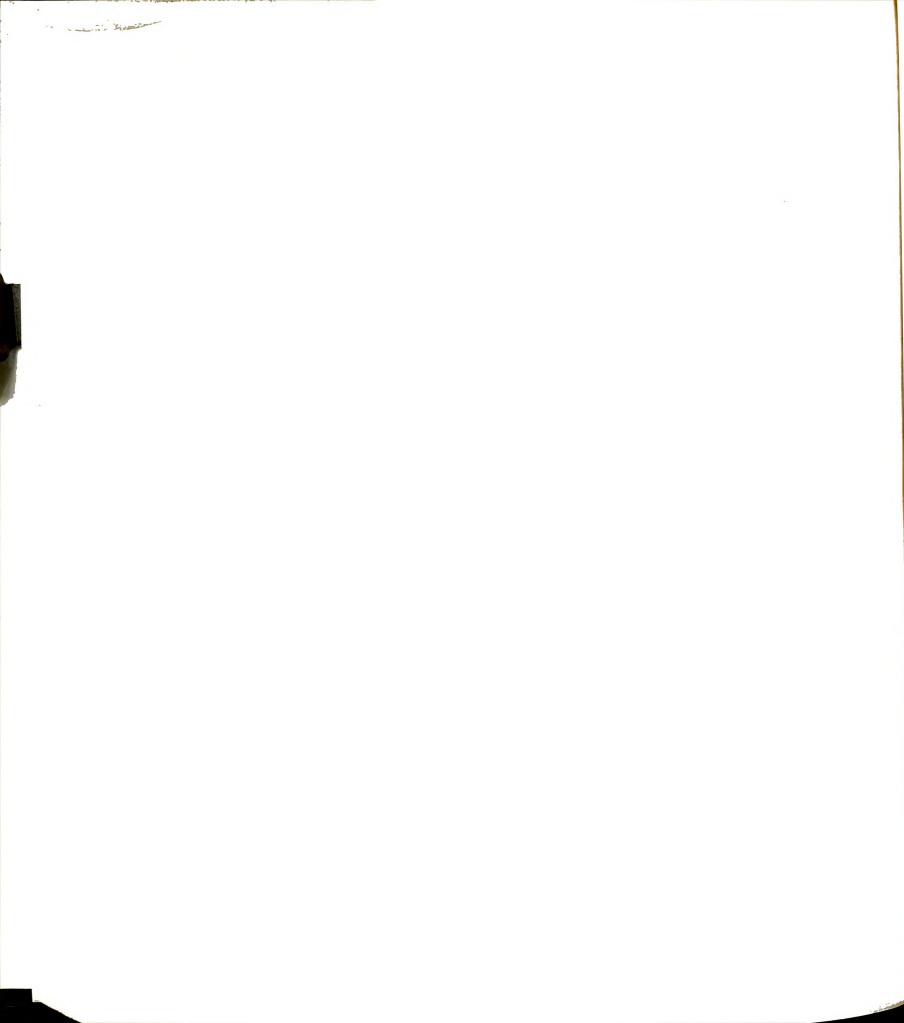
20. Does the school have any relationship with agencies of the national government? Yes___ No___

    If yes, what agencies?

    (Probe--who handles the requests, Director, Secretary or other?)

21. Does the school have any relationships with the U.S. Government? Yes___ No___

    What agency? Describe.

    How did this come about?

    How would you describe the school's relationship with these U.S. agencies? __Very Good __Good __Fair __Poor

    Describe.

    With what U.S. agency do you have the most contact?

22. Does the school have any relationships with philanthropic foundations? Yes___ No___

    If yes, describe.

23. Does the school have any relationships with professional organizations in the host country? Yes___ No___
    Describe.

24. Does the school have any relationships with Third Country Governments? Yes___ No___
    Describe.

25. Does the school have any relationships with any religious organizations? Yes___ No___
    Describe.

26. How would you rank the relative importance of the following in terms of the pressure that each exerts on the school?

    __ National industry

    __ U.S. industry

    __ National Government

    __ U.S. Government

    __ Third Country Government

    __ Philanthropic foundations

___ Association of American Schools

___ Southern Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges

___ Religious organizations

___ Other organizations

How did you find out about this influence?

How long did it take to learn?

Who helped you learn about these pressures?

27. Does the school maintain any relationship with any institutions of higher learning in the U.S.? Yes___ No___

If yes, how would you describe this relationship?

Are there any interchanges of personnel or materials?

How do you feel about it?

28. Does the school maintain any relationship with any institution of higher learning in the host country? Yes___ No___

Describe the relationship.

How do you feel about this?

29. Does the school maintain any relationship with public or private school systems in the U.S.? Yes___ No___

If yes, how would you describe this relationship?

30. Does the school maintain any relationship with public or private school systems in the host country? Yes___ No___

If yes, how would you describe this relationship?

31. Does the school conduct any activities with U.S. business firms? Yes___ No___

If yes, describe.

32. Does the school participate in cooperative endeavors with other overseas American schools? Yes___ No___

What type activities?

How do you feel about it?

Has this been helpful?

33. Do you consider yourself part of an overseas American school network?

34. What other overseas American schools have you visited?

35. Are you involved in any professional activities with:

Other American schools in the country   Yes___ No___

Host Government, local   Yes___ No___
                state   Yes___ No___
                national   Yes___ No___

U.S. Government   Yes___ No___

International organizations   Yes___ No___

Business   Yes___ No___

Civic group   Yes___ No___

36. Do you attend any conferences or workshops conducted by the host country or professional associations?
Yes___ No___

Are these beneficial to you?

37. Do you attend any international conferences or workshops?
Yes___ No___

Are these beneficial to you?

38. Does the school have U.S. accreditation? Yes___ No___

What are the advantages?

Does this present any frustrations?

39. Does the school have national accreditation? Yes___
No___

What are the advantages?

Does this present any "drawbacks" for the school?

Is the school ever inspected by the host country department of education?

40. With what segment of the educational program have you encountered the most headaches? (Probe language, learning)
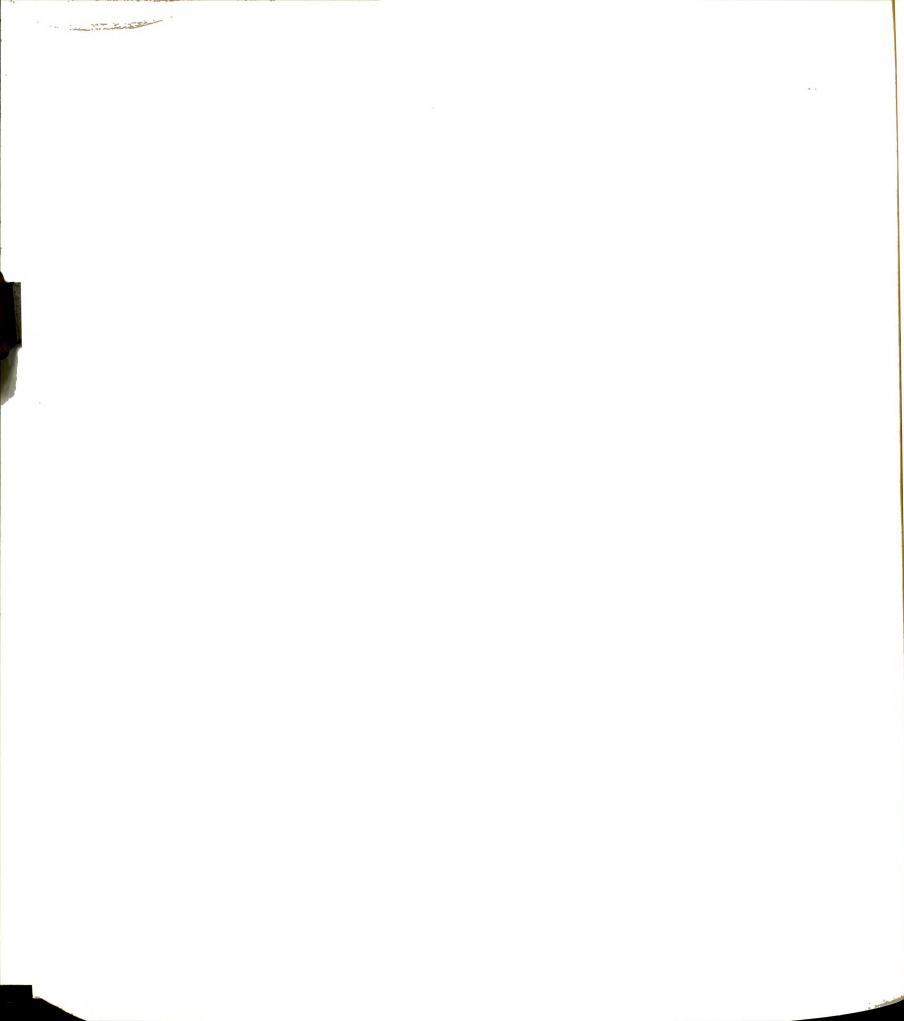
Pre-school

Elementary

Secondary
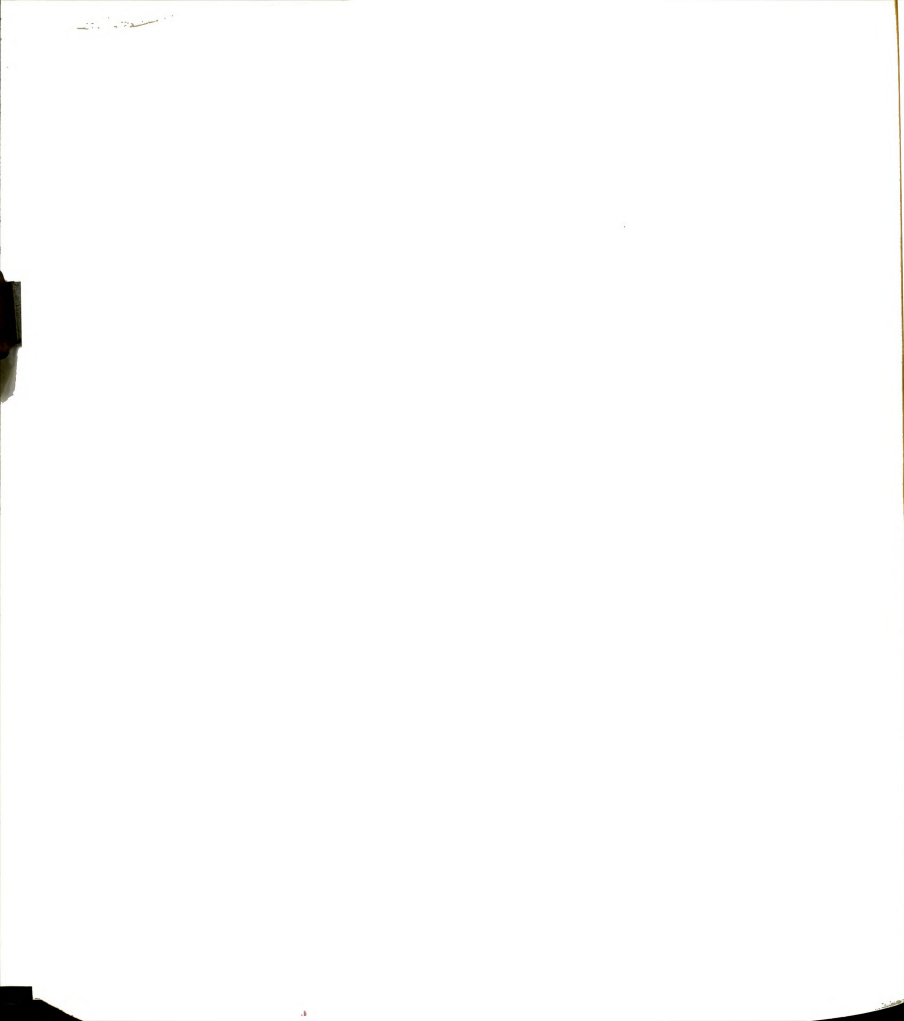
41. With whom do you exchange ideas about these things?

42. Who handles the coordination of the academic program?

43. Are there colleagues within the school with whom you exchange views about the educational program? (Brainstorm)

44. Do you exchange views about the educational program with some staff members? (Probe--select or broad-based group?)

    What relationship?

45. How would you describe the different kinds of students in your school?

46. Have you had to set up any programs for new students?

47. What special consideration do you give new students?

48. Is there anyone in the school or community to whom you can turn for help if you have student problems?

49. Do you have any boarding students? Yes___ No___

    Do you take any special pains with these kids?

50. What language do you use in your professional contacts inside the school (ask only if information has not been secured through observation)?

    With American teachers

    With American parents

    With host national teachers

    With host national parents

    With third country national teachers

    With third country national parents

    With board members at a board meeting

51. Explore the use of interpreter--meaning of the power relation.

52. How did you learn Spanish?
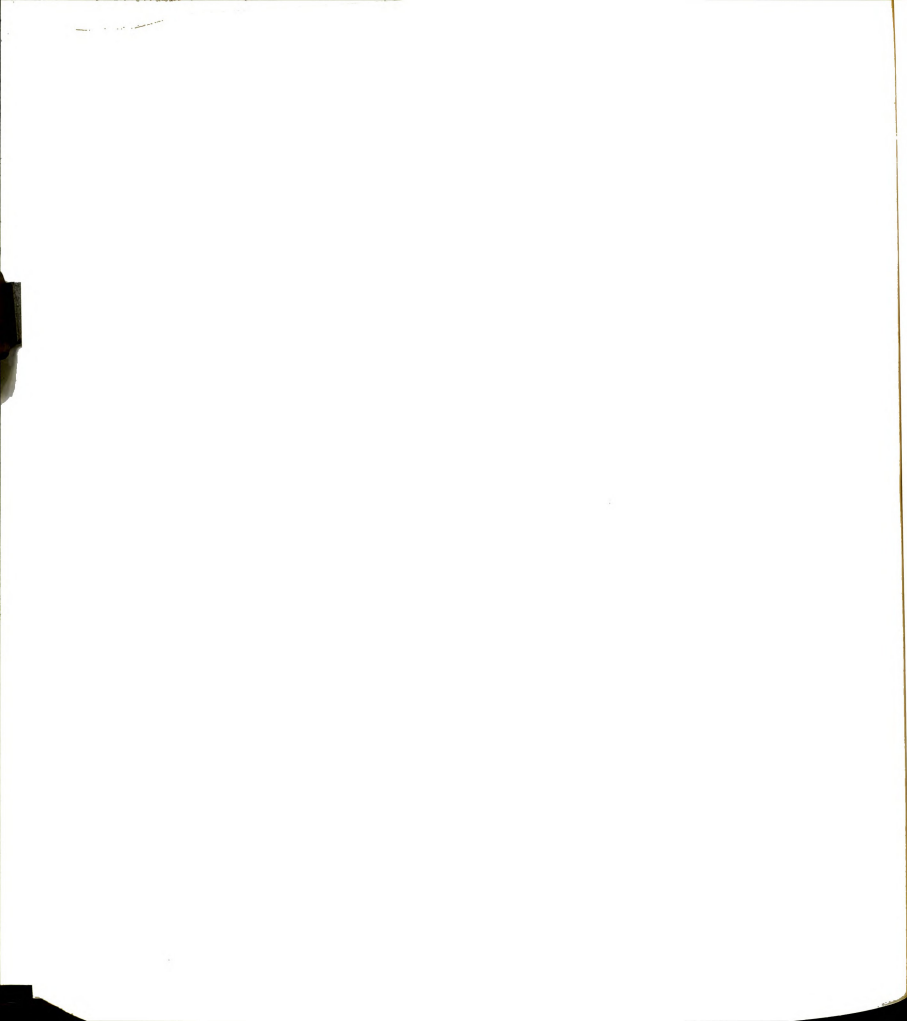
53. In general, how would you describe your relationship with the teaching staff?

U.S. members

Host national members

Third country members

54. How would you describe the U.S. teachers who are employed in this school?

Do you go to the U.S. to recruit teachers?

What are the advantages of having U.S. teachers?

What are the disadvantages of having U.S. teachers?

55. How would you describe the host national teachers who are employed in the school?

How do you secure them?

What are the advantages of having host national teachers?

What are the disadvantages of having host national teachers?

56. How would you describe the third country teachers of your staff?

Are there advantages to having third country teachers?

Are there disadvantages?

57. What kind of "mix" would you like?

58. How would you describe your point of view in solving school-related problems if the problem was brought to your attention?

By an American teacher

By a host national teacher

By a third country teacher

(Probe for administrative style--also observe)

59. Is the supply of U.S. teachers adequate?

(Probe--secondary and elementary level
role of physical education--morality, health
role of school nurse)

60. In general, how would you describe your relationship with the office staff?
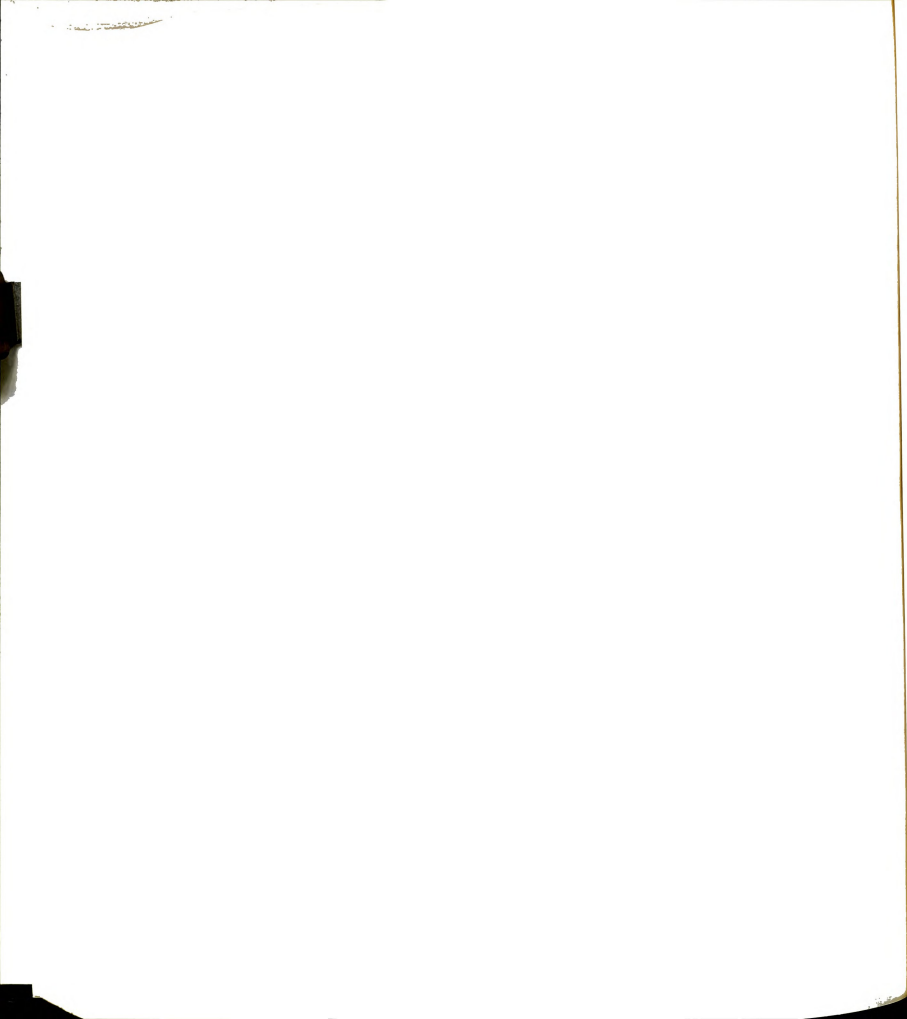
61. What is the process for securing nonprofessional staff members?

62. How is the school financed?

63. Are you responsible for securing the financial resources for the school? Yes___ No___

    If yes, what difficulties have you encountered?

    If no, who is? What is your relationship with him or them?

64. How does the school go about getting financial grants from U.S. governmental agencies? (Process)

65. How does the school go about getting financial aid from the host government?

66. Have you ever tried to get outside funding for the school? Yes___ No___

    If yes, describe.

67. How are expenditures handled?

68. How does the school get its supplies? (Probe resolution)

69. Describe the organizational structure of the school. (Levels of bureaucracy)

70. How are members of the Board of Directors chosen?

    (Probe for formal and informal)

    (Role of ex-officio members)

    (Probe--influence of national, U.S., T.C.)

71. How would you describe your relationship with the Board?

    In session

    Out of session

72. How does the Board settle its disagreements?

    What is your role in these situations?

    Do you provide ideas for solutions?

73. Who would you identify as the key decision maker(s) on matters related to the school?

   (Probe--U.S., host national, third country)

74. Describe a typical day.

75. What do you consider the most difficult part of your work?

76. What aspect of your job do you like the most?

77. What aspects of American values or way of doing things are you most concerned with introducing in the school?

78. What do you believe the future holds for this American school?

79. What was your concept of an American (binational) school before you got to _____?

   What happened once you arrived to confirm or reject this concept?

80. How would you characterize the American community's view of the school? (Probe "old timer" vs. "new-comers")

   Of the role of Director?

81. How would you characterize the __(host)__ community's view of the school?

   The role of the Director?

82. Are there certain customs here in _____ that make your job difficult for you?

   Are there certain customs here in _____ that make your job easy for you?

83. How do you know how well you are doing as director of this school?

84. Was your predecessor still here when you arrived?

   If yes, how long an overlap did you have?

   Did his presence prove advantageous to you?

   What did you learn from your predecessor?

85. What is your immigration status here in _____?

   What does it mean to be on this status?

86. Did you live overseas prior to taking this job?
    Yes___ No___

    Length of time?

    Where and in what capacity (adult or dependent)?

    Was this a help or hindrance here in _____?

87. Since you arrived here in _____, have any changes occurred (only ask "old timers")?

    In the community

    In the school

88. To what extent is your social life mixed with the school work?

89. What do you do for recreation?

90. Do you belong to any civic or service organizations here in _____? Yes___ No___

    If yes, list.

    Why did you join?

    How would you classify yourself in terms of participation in these organizations? __Very Active __Somewhat Active __Not Very Active

    Has your membership been an asset or hindrance to you?

91. Where did you go to college?

    What was your field of specialization?

92. Previous employment.

    Position Institution From To Reason for Change

93. Did you have prior experience in an "executive-type" position before taking over as Director? Yes___ No___ (Ask only if not revealed)

    (Probe for aspects of authority)

    If yes, describe.

94. How did you find out about this job?

    What made you decide to take this job?

    Why do you think the Board hired you?

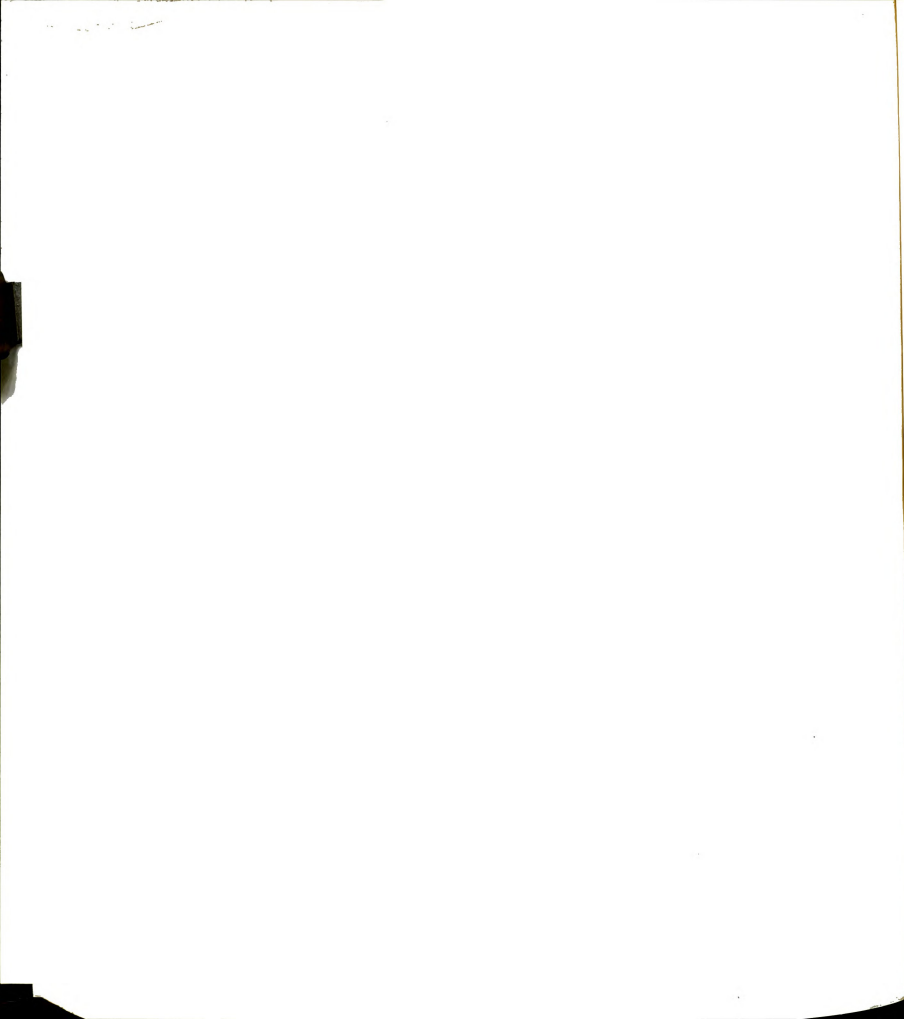   Did the Board give you a written contract? (Do you have a copy of it? Could I see it?)

95. What fringe benefits do you receive with the job? (Car, housing, health insurance, sabbatical leave, travel, tuition, other)

96. Do you receive an outside income (other than salary)?

    Approximately how much?

97. Do you consider this as a permanent job? Yes___ No___

    If no, explain.

98. Would you consider taking the directorship of an American school in another country? If yes

    Is there any place that you would prefer to be?

    Is there any place that you would prefer not to be?

99. Have your career goals or ambitions changed since you took this job? If yes, explain.

100. Has this job enhanced or hindered your career?

101. Once you got on the job here in _____, did you discover that you were called upon to perform certain jobs that were outside your field of training?

102. Professionally speaking, what were (are) the most challenging things about your work?

103. Based on your experience, what skills, abilities, and values should a new director of an American school possess?

104. Did you work for or with minority groups prior to this job?

105. Where were you born?

106. Were you raised there?

107. What was it like in _____?

    Location   From   To

108. How old are you?

109. How large was your family?

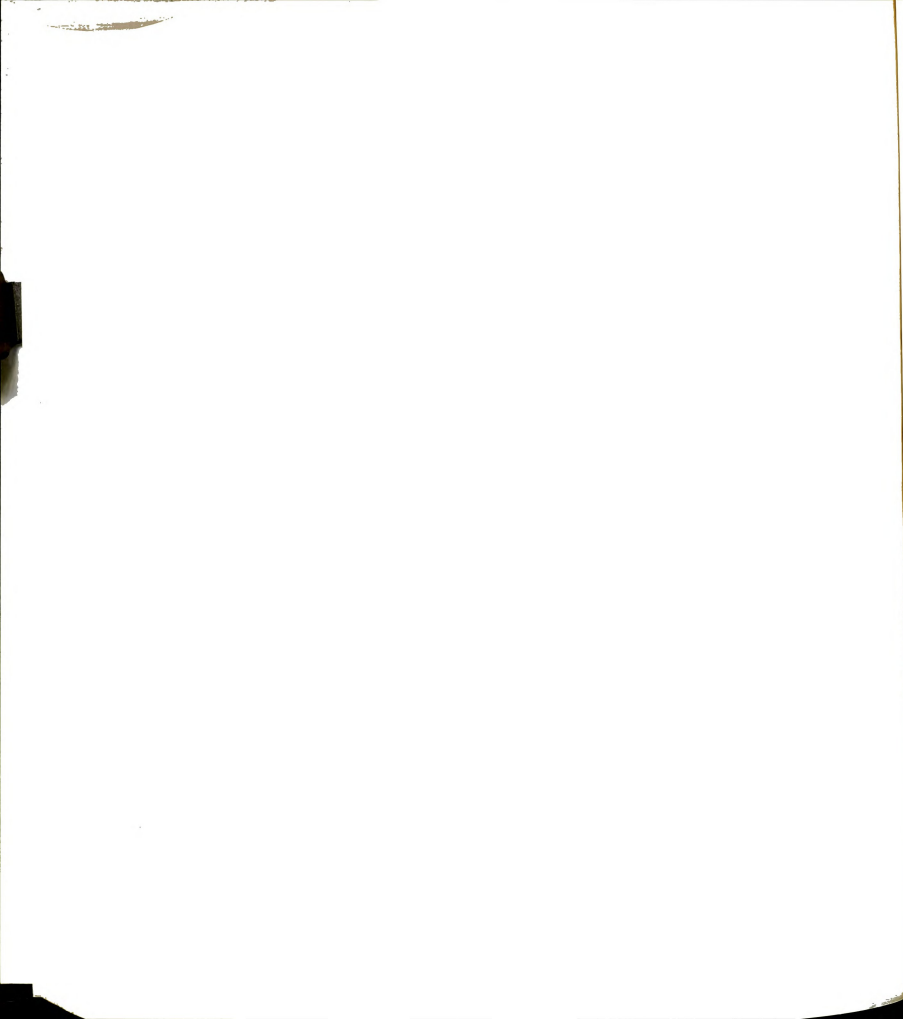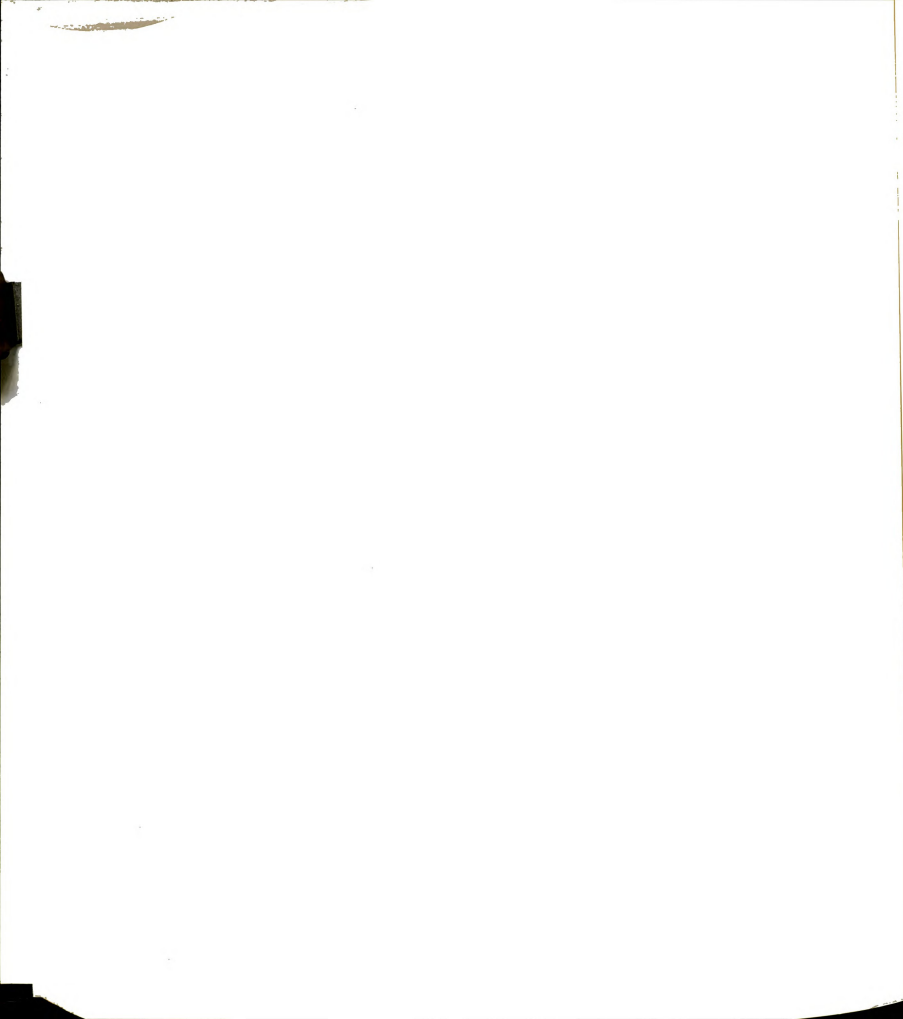   Brothers

    Sisters
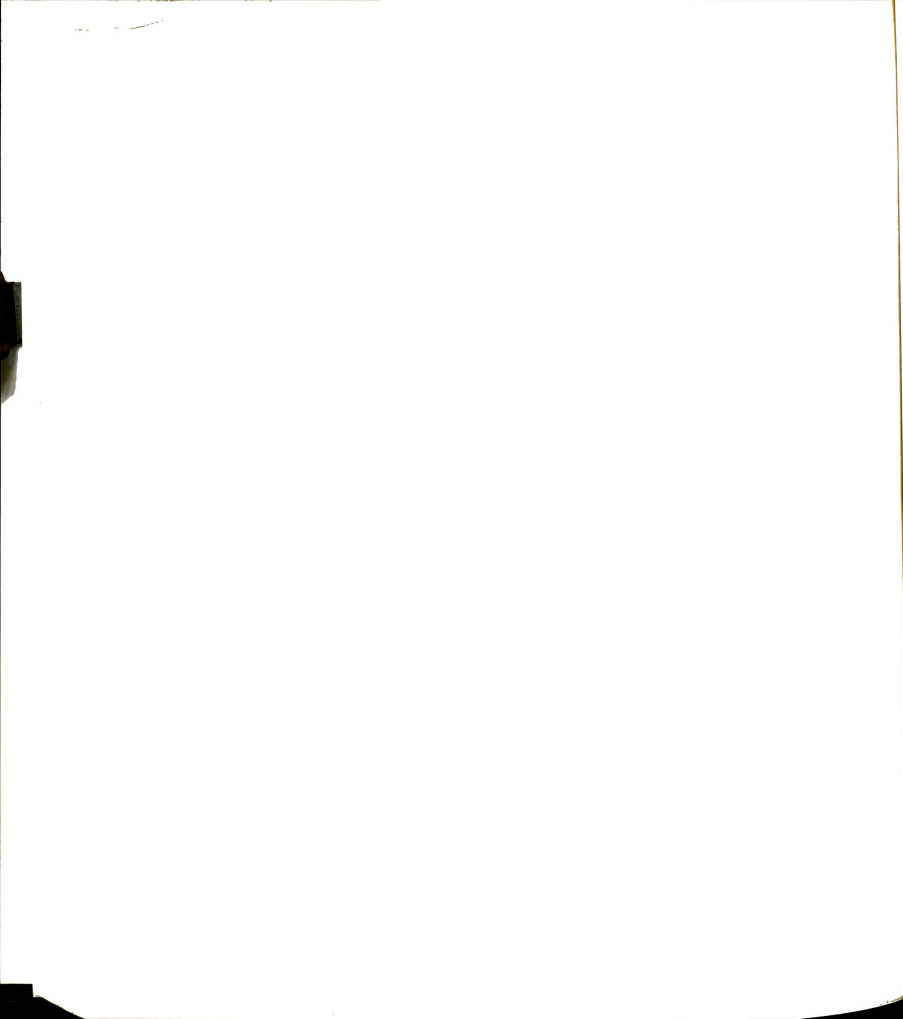
110. How many years schooling have the members of your family completed?

    Mother

    Father

    Brothers

    Sisters

111. How would you describe your religious up-bringing?

    How would you describe your present religious affiliation?

112. How long have you been married?

113. How many children do you have?

    Age   Sex

114. Where was your wife born?

    What is her background?

    What is her educational background?

    Is she employed?   (Do not ask if you know)

    What is the approximate income of your spouse?

    Does she speak any foreign languages? (Do not ask, if you know)

    If yes, what?

    How would you describe her proficiency?

    Read_____   Write_____   Translate_____

    What language(s) do you use in the home?   (Observe)

115. Do you ever talk over your work with your wife?
    (Probe, what aspects do you share with your wife?)

    In what way is your wife helpful in your work as Director?

116. How would you describe the reaction of your _____ to your job as director?

    Children

    Wife

    Relatives
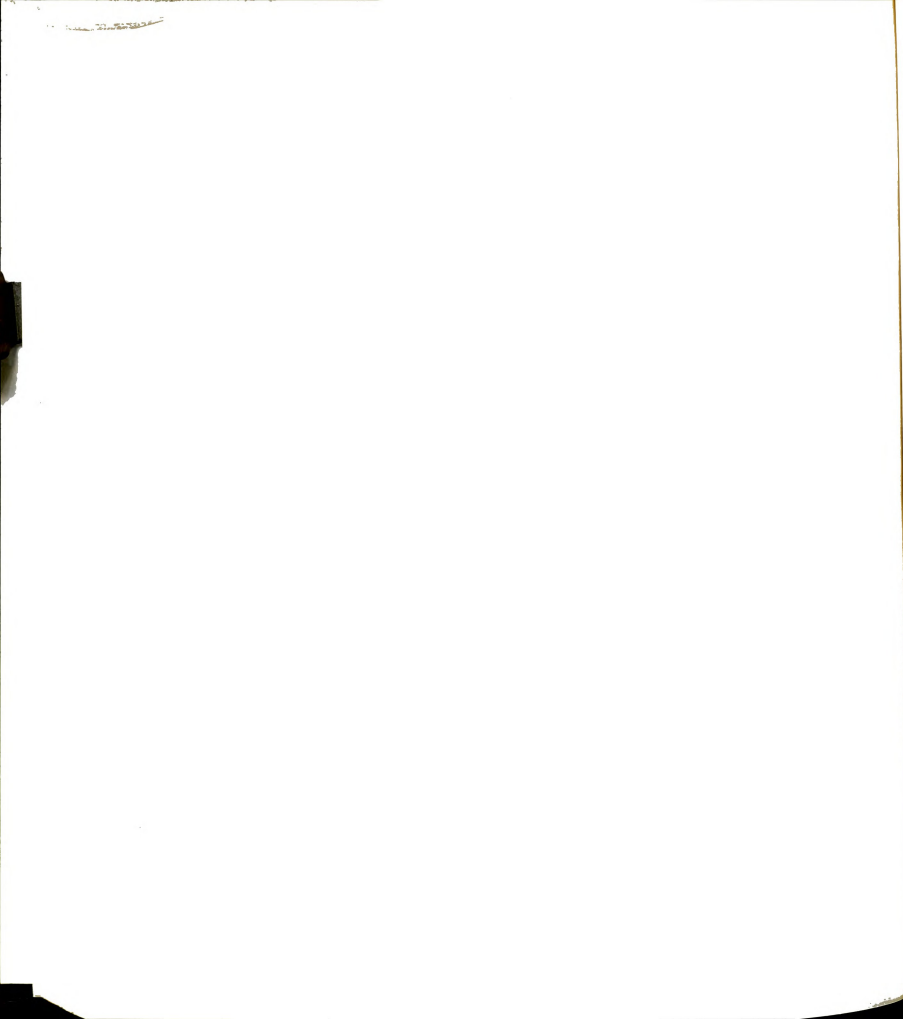
117. In what way is your family life different here than
     it was before becoming the director of the school?

118. What do you think the long-term effects will be?
     (Explore what it means as family)

119. Is there anything else that you would like to tell me
     about your job as director?