

A STUDY OF THE EAST-WEST CENTER GRANTEES' EXPECTATIONS AND SATISFACTION

By
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I. INTRODUCTION

The East-West Center (EWC), formally known as "The Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West," was established in Hawaii by the United States Congress in 1960. As a national educational institution in cooperation with the University of Hawaii, the Center's mandated goal is "to promote better relations and understanding between the United States and the nations of Asia and the Pacific through cooperative study, training and research."

Each year about 2,000 men and women from the United States and some 40 countries and territories of Asia and the Pacific area work and study together with a multi-national East-West Center staff in programs dealing with problems of mutual East-West concern. They include students, mainly at the post-graduate level; Senior Fellows and Fellows with expertise in research and/or practical experience in government and business administration; mid-career professional study and training participants in

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non-degree programs at the teaching and management levels. All supported by the U.S. federal scholarships and grants, these men and women participate in problem-oriented Center programs conducted by the East-West Communication Institute, the East-West Culture Learning Institute, the East-West Food Institute, the East-West Population Institute, and the East-West Technology and Development Institute. In addition, Open Grants are awarded to provide scope for educational and research innovation, including a new program in humanities and the arts.

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For more than a decade, the intercultural community of the East-West Center has offered an array of fruitful implications worthy of cross-cultural communication study. Many variables entailing the East-West Center students' participation in daily Center life and learning activities should have been adequately studied. However, surprisingly, there has not been any serious and systematic investigation so far dealing with psycho-cultural variables that influence the Center students in their personal or collective involvement of Center programs. In an intercultural setting like the East-west Center, where all sorts of cultural input present different sets of blueprints for action, research on interpersonal communication variables across national and cultural boundaries becomes particularly interesting and complex.

The present thesis aims at looking into those variables involving the East-West Center grantees' expectations of

Center programs, and those variables encompassing their level of satisfaction in relation to expectations after a period of time. Specifically, in Part One of the thesis, Q-sort technique will be employed (Chapter II) and factor-analyzed (Chapter III) to identify the EWC grantees' expectation variables. Having obtaining the expectation variables, in Part Two of the thesis, literature will be reviewed to theoretically link expectation with satisfaction, and then hypotheses proposed to investigate the EWC grantees' level of satisfaction (Chapter IV). It is noted that the research instrument of the satisfaction study is constructed on the basis of the expectation variables summed up in the Q-sort study (Chapter V). The results of the satisfaction study with reference to expectation variables will be presented in Chapter VI. In the concluding Chapter VII, a comparison of the results between expectation measure and satisfaction measure will be made, and implications discussed.

Therefore, it ought to be noted, first, that this is an integrated investigation of the EWC grantees' expectations and satisfaction, and in no way an aggregate of two separate, unrelated studies. To illustrate, in the present thesis, variables of the EWC grantees' expectations are identified first in an antecedent study, and given the result of it, research questions are drawn in the follow-up study to investigate the level of satisfaction with respect to each expectation area. The close relationship between the two studies will become clear as the presentation develops, but

it should be borne in mind from the outset.

Next, in the measurements of both expectations and satisfaction, this thesis focuses on those grantees working toward advanced degrees only, taking no professional non-degree training participants into account. To illustrate, among the yearly 2,000 EWC participants, there are three major components: (1) About 300 men and women are regular Center staff, employed by the Center's five Institutes, Open Grants, and other supporting units. Senior Fellows and Fellows are categorized into this group for convenience. (2) About 1,400 persons are short-term, mid-career professional trainees and workshop participants under the sponsorship of the Center's five Institutes and Open Grants. (3) The rest (300 persons) are degree students, mostly on the Master's and Doctoral level. In summary, the present studies are only concerned with these 300 degree students.

Third, the interest of this thesis is focused on collective, rather than individual, behavior. It is concerned with how Asians and Americans, rather than particular individuals, differ in the degree of expectation and satisfaction regarding their stay at the East-West Center.

PART ONE
STUDY OF THE EAST-WEST CENTER
GRANTEES' EXPECTATIONS

II. Q-SORT METHOD AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

The first of the two studies in the present thesis searched for those variables that were imbedded in the East-West Center grantees' expectations when they made the decision to accept the Center grant. Methods and procedures concerning the measurement of expectations variables are presented in this chapter, and the results will follow in the next chapter.

Q-DECK

Q-technique was employed. A collection of 48 self-referent statements constituted the Q-deck. Self-referent statements are those statements a person makes about himself as a self in action, reflection, retrospection, and the like. Self-referent statements, as defined by the inventor of Q methodology, William Stephenson, can be variously categorized as "self-involving, self-reflecting, self-justifying, self-denying, and the like."¹

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The 48 self-referent statements in the present study were modified from a 90-item *Life At The East-West*

Center questionnaire, and derived from available EWC administration documents and the *Contact*, a student magazine published by the EWC Student Association, as well as focused interviews with Center participants. (See Appendix A.) The 48 statements were designed to identify the expectations of new EWC grantees.

ADMINISTRATION

The 48 self-referent statements were randomly shuffled and reproduced on index cards to form a Q-deck. The Q-decks were then given to subjects. The subjects were instructed to sort the cards according to whether they approved or disapproved each statement. For statistical convenience, a subject was asked to put varying numbers of cards in nine piles, the whole making up a quasi-normal distribution.

Here is a Q-sort distribution of 48 items:

Table 1. Q-sort Distribution

二 九 一	Least descriptive of reasons for your coming to the EWC				Neutral				Most descriptive of reasons for your coming to the EWC	
	Score (Rank)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Frequency	2	3	6	8	10	8	6	3	2

This is a rank-order continuum from "Most Descriptive" to "Least Descriptive" with varying degrees of approval or disapproval between the extremes. The numbers above the line are values assigned to the rank, while the numbers below the line indicate how many cards were to be placed on each rank pile. For instance, two cards placed on the extreme left are assigned 0, four cards in the next pile are assigned 1, and so on through the distribution to the two cards at the extreme right, which are assigned 8. The center pile is a neutral pile. A subject was told to put cards he was not certain about into the neutral pile.

The forced sorting (to sort the Q-items into the predetermined normal or quasi-normal distribution) is in part an arbitrary matter. The subject can be allowed to place each item in the pile in which he judges it to belong regardless of the number of items already in that pile. In the latter case, since the sorter is free to make a spontaneous arrangement of items, the final distribution may have any shape and scatter.

Both forced sorting and unforced sorting have their own advantages and disadvantages. The normal or quasi-normal forced distribution has distinct advantages, mainly statistical, that make its use desirable. A majority of the studies using Q-sort technique, including the present one, have used the forced procedures.²

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SUBJECTS

The present study focused on the EWC grantees who arrived in August, 1972, and who also participated in the Kamuela Orientation Camp on the Island of Hawaii. The total group at Kamuela consisted of 110 persons, all working toward their advanced degrees. Out of 110 persons, 61 persons were asked to complete a Q-sort. Among the 61 respondents, 20 were Americans (including 15 males and 5 females), and 41 Asians (including 20 males and 21 females).

The present study did not take students from the Pacific Islands into account on the following two grounds:

1. There were less than five Pacific Islanders (degree students) in the Kamuela Camp.
2. Most of the Pacific Islanders at the Center are under nondegree professional training programs.

III. FACTOR-ANALYSIS OF Q-SORT DATA

As mentioned previously in Chapter II, every subject was instructed to array his Q-sort so as to fit the "forced" frequency distribution in Table 1. Clearly, sorted by different subjects, the same Q-item may receive very different scores. The arrays of such scores for the 61 different subjects were correlated and factored.

Factor analysis is a method for determining the number and nature of the underlying variables among large numbers of measures. It serves the cause of scientific parsimony.

Generally speaking, if two tests measure the same thing, the scores obtained from them can be added together. If, on the other hand, the two tests do not measure the same thing, their scores can not be added together. Factor analysis reveals, in effect, what tests and measures can be added and studied together rather than separately. It thus limits the variables with which the researcher must cope. It also (hopefully) helps the researcher locate and identify unities or fundamental properties underlying tests and measures.³ Traditionally, the intercorrelation and factor-analysis of tests and measures is called R methodology.

In contrast to R methodology, Stephenson proposed Q methodology, which is to correlate and factor analyze persons or the responses of individuals to a measurement instrument rather than the instrument itself.⁴ In the present study, for instance, the 61 persons represented those to be correlated. The correlations were factored, which merely means that a basis was found for classifying the persons. If everyone's approval and disapproval of the Q-statements are completely idiosyncratic, so that no two persons are alike in what they prefer, no significant correlations should appear and, of course, 61 separate factors. In this case, these persons share no common factor variance. There will be significant correlations, however, if different persons tend to approve the same statements.

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Programmed for high-speed computer calculation, four factors were extracted by the principal axis method.⁵ This

Table 2. Rotated Factor Matrix

Person (Subject)	Group (A,U)*	Sex (M,F)**	I	II	III	IV
1	A	M	.27	.44	.39	.13
2	A	F	.30	.57	-.02	.44
3	U	M	.50	.09	.19	.65
4	U	M	.19	.20	.40	.55
5	A	F	.60	.25	.57	.05
6	A	F	.20	.47	.16	.18
7	A	F	.29	.18	.38	.19
8	A	M	-.35	-.43	.03	.07
9	A	M	.33	.70	.31	.07
10	U	M	.43	.31	.08	.62
11	U	M	.26	.29	.24	.69
12	A	M	.49	.10	.48	.34
13	U	M	.46	.24	.03	.68
14	U	M	.33	-.05	.41	.54
15	U	F	.36	.08	.13	.80
16	U	F	.19	.33	.46	.45
17	A	M	.19	.41	.00	.13
18	U	M	.34	.28	.25	.67
19	U	M	.08	.27	.20	.66
20	A	F	.56	.14	.22	.46
21	U	F	.20	.26	.37	.57
22	A	F	.26	.47	.46	.05
23	A	F	.65	.30	.21	.32
24	A	F	.46	.26	-.01	.61
25	A	M	.45	.30	.69	.15
26	U	M	.30	-.08	.55	.46
27	A	F	.16	.74	.19	-.08
28	A	F	.68	.15	.06	.26
29	U	M	.25	-.05	.27	.72
30	A	M	.43	.34	.43	.28
31	U	F	.54	.32	.32	.38
32	U	M	.14	.44	.30	.54
33	A	F	.03	.24	.07	.64
34	U	M	-.04	-.06	.70	.25
35	A	M	.25	.43	-.06	.50
36	A	F	.44	.34	.22	.54
37	A	M	.68	.32	.41	.11
38	A	M	.68	.15	.08	.37
39	A	M	.09	.70	.19	.40
40	A	M	.72	.37	-.06	.19

(Continued)

Person (Subject)	Group (A,U)*	Sex (M,F)**	I	II	III	IV
41	A	F	.31	.32	.61	.42
42	U	M	.32	.42	.04	.31
43	A	M	.40	.53	.25	.38
44	A	F	.10	.57	.33	.43
45	A	F	.51	.20	.30	.10
46	A	F	-.05	.32	.70	-.05
47	U	M	.05	.42	.46	.47
48	A	M	.70	.36	.20	.38
49	U	F	.43	.36	.30	.53
50	A	F	.54	.48	.14	.28
51	A	F	.09	.51	.07	.47
52	A	F	.49	.03	.12	.35
53	U	M	.46	.01	.46	.45
54	A	M	.68	.34	-.04	.15
55	A	M	.60	.52	.21	.20
56	A	M	.44	.39	.33	.20
57	A	F	.23	.48	.42	.22
58	A	M	.73	-.02	.32	.29
59	A	M	.20	.40	.39	.37
60	A	F	.68	.18	.24	.12
61	A	F	.65	.44	.09	.18

* A-Asian, U-U.S.

** M-Males, F-Females

Table 3. A Comparative Percentage Table of Factor Loadings Between Asians and Americans

Factors	Americans	Asians
Factor I	30% (n=6)	56% (n=23)
Factor II	15% (n=3)	41% (n=17)
Factor III	35% (n=7)	21% (n=7)
Factor IV	85% (n=17)	24% (n=10)

N of Americans=20, N of Asians=41

method is mathematically satisfying because it extracts a maximum amount of variance as each factor is calculated. In other words, the Q-factor matrix is expressed in the smallest number of factors by the method. Its principal shortcoming in the past has been its computational laboriousness. With the availability of modern high-speed electronic computers, however, laboriousness of computation is no longer an obstacle.⁶

Table 4. A Comparative Percentage Table of Factor Loadings Between Males and Females

Factors	Male	Female
Factor I	50% (n=17)	46% (n=12)
Factor II	29% (n=10)	34% (n=9)
Factor III	29% (n=10)	23% (n=6)
Factor IV	44% (n=15)	46% (n=12)

N of Males=34; N of Females=26

FACTOR MATRIX

Table 2 presents one of the final outcomes of the factor analysis called a factor matrix. It is a table of coefficients that expresses the relations between the persons and underlying factors. For instance, Subject 1 in the present study has a loading of .27 on Factor I, .43 on

Factor II, and so on. The range of factor loadings is between -1.0 through 0 to $+1.0$.

There were four factors, designated I, II, III, IV. The rotated factor loadings for Factor I through Factor IV were generated from the 48 statements by 61 subject matrix. No sampling distribution for factor loadings exist, and so the significance of a given coefficient is an arbitrary matter. In this study, 40 , was used as a base cut-off point. See Table 2. The number of Asians or Americans, males or females, who loaded on the four factors is presented in Table 3, and Table 4, respectively.

An inspection of Table 3 reveals that Factor I and Factor II were factors of concern to Asians, whereas Factor III and Factor IV were factors of concern to Americans. In Table 4, however, there seemed to be no significant difference between males and females on all four factors.

FACTOR SCORES

As Stephenson argues, the ultimate concern in Q, unlike R, is not with tables of factors and their loadings, but with tables of factor scores.⁷ Factor scores indicate which statements make up each factor. They are the scores gained by each Q-statement, for each factor in turn, and are expressed as z-scores ($\text{mean}=0$, $\text{S.D.}=1.00$).⁸ The necessary calculations were also performed by computer.

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Since the question of differences in expectations centers on the acceptance and rejection patterns of Americans

and Asians, their responses to statements across factors were compared and those in a particular factor which at least .50 above or below the other factor scores were noted. Those above indicated acceptance by that factor, those below indicated rejection. This analysis is useful for differentiating one factor from all others.

Table 5 presents the Factor Scores of the present study. Using a cutoff at .50, a number of statements that differentiate factors were tabulated and presented in Table 6. For instance, the factor score (1.29) of Item one on Factor IV was above .50 standard deviations from Item one's second largest score (.54) on Factor III. Thus Item one was discriminating for Factor IV; and since it is positive, it indicates that Item one was accepted by subjects loading on Factor IV.

Fifteen of the 48 statements (5, 9, 13, 18, 19, 22, 25, 26, 27, 37, 41, 42, 44, 47, 48) were consensus items. That is, for none of the four factors did a particular statement deviate from all of the other scores by a .50 standard deviation. The other 33 statements provide four distinguishable factor types.

FOUR FACTOR TYPES

Factor Type I—This factor contained 30% of American grantees and 56% of Asian grantees, 50% of males compared with 46% of females. They expressed a preference for the following Q-statements that dealt with the unique

Table 5. Q Factor Score Table (Z-Scores)

Item*	Factor I	II	III	IV
1	.03	.46	.54	1.29
2	-1.09	.39	.49	-1.65
3	.40	-.55	.60	-.32
4	1.79	-.08	-.53	.22
5	1.15	-.31	.18	-.75
6	-1.73	.52	1.47	.56
7	.28	-.64	-.96	1.09
8	-.97	.41	-.67	2.15
9	-1.11	.44	-.75	.74
10	-1.72	1.67	-.91	-.41
11	1.02	1.31	-.01	-.53
12	.43	.26	-1.13	1.06
13	-.73	-.81	-1.01	-1.46
14	1.03	-.20	-.95	.51
15	-.42	-.38	.02	1.36
16	-.74	1.78	1.21	-.31
17	1.90	.06	.65	1.00
18	.53	.25	-.13	.21
19	.03	-.30	.44	-.80
20	-.22	-1.67	1.09	-.03
21	1.21	.02	-1.59	.98
22	-.33	-.50	-.27	-.53
23	-1.20	.33	1.15	-1.05
24	-.46	-1.40	1.17	.52
25	-1.30	-1.19	-1.91	-.38
26	.01	1.12	-1.02	-1.11
27	.17	.32	-.24	.04
28	-2.16	-.66	-1.30	.28
29	-.21	.76	-.86	-1.43
30	-.51	-1.33	.56	.40
31	.61	-.31	-2.07	-1.54
32	.68	.31	-.50	.29
33	1.07	-.81	1.83	.15
34	1.76	.86	2.06	-1.19
35	1.68	.38	-.76	.69
36	-.42	-.09	.22	2.39
37	-.05	.65	.70	-.51
38	-.81	.68	1.40	1.83
39	-2.05	-1.50	.17	.30
40	1.02	.71	.47	-.56

(Continued)

Item*	Factor I	II	III	IV
41	-.11	-.16	1.42	.72
42	1.14	.39	-.19	1.61
43	1.89	.63	.01	.09
44	-.98	-.93	-.14	-.74
45	-1.27	1.74	.21	-1.42
46	.43	-.04	-.02	-2.75
47	.46	-.57	-.11	-.58
48	-.10	-1.39	.94	-.38

* For item description, refer to Appendix A

Table 6. Number of Statements that Differentiate Factors

Variable Factor	Variables	
	Acception	Rejection
Factor I	4, 14, 17, 31, 35, 43	10, 28, 38, 39, 6
Factor II	10, 16, 26, 29, 45	20, 24, 30, 33, 48
Factor III	6, 20, 23, 34, 38	12, 14, 21, 31, 35
Factor IV	1, 7, 8, 12, 15, 36	2, 11, 34, 40, 46

.50 standard deviation as a cut-off

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characteristics of the EWC:

- 4 Specific research projects that I know getting under way at the Center interest me.
- 14 I think I can meet more world renowned scholars in my area of study at the East-West Center than anywhere else.

- 17 I thought the Center was a place that promotes intercultural understanding.
- 31 My parents encouraged me to the Center in order to develop myself socially.
- 35 I hope to develop the capacity for decision-making in multi-cultural situations.
- 43 At the East-West Center I can learn another culture without losing the identity of my own.

They rejected the following statements:

- 10 I hope to get a pay raise by means of coming to the Center.
- 28 I think this is a good way to get away from home.
- 38 I was attracted by the East-West Center grant scholarship.
- 39 I failed to get admitted to other universities but was accepted by the East-West Center.
- 6 I came to the Center because I did not want to lose the chance.

Factor Type II—This factor accounted for 15% of American grantees and 41% of Asian grantees, 29% of males compared with 34% of females. They accepted the following Q-statements which described the self-actualization:

- 10 I hope to get a pay raise by means of coming to the Center.
- 16 I have to get a higher degree.
- 26 The fact that the East-West Center is a U. S. educational institution appealed to me.

- 29 I want to increase the reputation of my family.
45 Anticipation of promotion in rank prompted me to come to the Center.

They rejected the following Q-items which described peer's influence:

- 20 My former teachers or their friends were EWC alumni.
24 I happened to get acquainted with someone who associates with EWC or the University of Hawaii.
30 I was encouraged by other applicants to apply.
33 Former professors thought I was a good candidate for a graduate degree at the Center and the University of Hawaii.
48 My friend is now at the East-West Center.

Factor Type III—This factor portrayed 35% of American grantees and 22% of Asian grantees, 29% of males compared with 23% of females. They accepted the following Q-statements that dealt with academic pursuit:

- 6 I came to the Center because I did not want to lose the chance.
20 My former teachers or their friends were EWC alumni.
23 Most of my friends are going on for advanced studies.
34 I enjoy studying and want to continue academic work.
38 I was attracted by the East-West Center grant

scholarship.

They rejected the following Q-items which dealt with capacity development:

- 12 EWC allows for personal involvement in real life rather than academic, text-book situation.
- 14 I think I can meet more world renowned scholars in my area of study at the East-West Center than anywhere else.
- 21 I came to the East-West Center because it pays more attention to the social change in developing countries than any other institutions.
- 31 My parents encouraged me to come to the Center in order to develop myself socially.
- 35 I hope to develop the capacity for decision-making in multicultural situations.

Factor Type IV—This factor was characterized by 85% of American grantees and 22% of Asian grantees, most discriminative among the four factor types. Also accounting for 44% of males and 46% of females, this factor did not significantly discriminate so far as sex is concerned. People on this factor favored the following statements:

- 1 EWC's programs fit my prior experience and future ambition best.
- 7 I am particularly interested in race relations in Hawaii as well as among the East and West.
- 8 I feel that Center acquaintances and contacts will prove advantageous in finding a position after

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graduation.

- 12 The East-West Center is an ideal place for language learning.
- 36 I am interested in seeking solutions to the real life problems of mutual concern to the peoples of the U.S., Asia and the Pacific area.

They rejected the following statements:

- 2 I have been told at times how romantic Hawaii (the Aloha State) is.
- 11 I anticipate upgrading my professional capacities so as to contribute better to my society.
- 34 I enjoy studying and want to continue academic work.
- 40 I feel I can be a good representative of my country.
- 46 It is deemed desirable by my government for me to pursue advanced studies at the Center.

FINDINGS

It should be noted that the labelling of factor types is arbitrary and tentative. It serves primarily for the cause of descriptive parsimony. Factor Type I, as presented in the preceding section, appears to cluster around the EWC's overall merits that distinguish it from other academic institutions. Factor Type I is thus labelled as *Center Merits*. Factor Type II seems to be describable as *Social Desirability* factor. Factor Type III can be summed up as *Academic*

Pursuit factor. Factor Type IV is labelled as *Intercultural Interaction* factor.

To summarize the Part One of the present thesis, Q-sort methodology was first employed to investigate the EWC grantees' expectations of the Center programs. The Q-sort data were then subject to a Q factor analysis, from which four major factors were extracted. They are: Center Merits factor, Social Desirability factor, Academic Pursuit factor, and Intercultural Interaction factor.

The inspection of Table 3 reveals that:

1. With respect to the Center Merits factor, there is a higher percentage of Asian respondents than Americans loading above .40.

2. With respect to Social Desirability factor, there is a higher percentage of Asian respondents than Americans loading above .40.

3. With respect to Academic Pursuit factor, there is a higher percentage of American respondents than Asians loading above .40.

4. With respect to Intercultural Interaction factor, there is a higher percentage of American respondents than Asians loading above .40.

It is concluded that the Center Merits and Social Desirability are factors of concern to Asians, while Academic Pursuit and Intercultural Interaction are factors of concern to Americans.

The inspection of Table 4 reveals that there seems to

be no difference with respect to all four factor types between males and females.

PART TWO

STUDY OF THE EAST-WEST CENTER GRANTEES' SATISFACTION

IV. HYPOTHESES AND RATIONALE

The second of the two studies in the present thesis attempts to tap the difference in level of satisfaction between Asian grantees and American grantees with reference to expectations that emerged from the factor-analysis of Q-sort data. In fact, Part One is a hypothesis generating effort, and Part Two aims at testing hypotheses.

In Part One, variables pertaining to the EWC grantees' expectations have been identified. In the present chapter, hypotheses will be proposed to investigate the EWC grantees' satisfaction in relation to their expectation variables. Prior to the presentation of hypotheses, literature will be reviewed to link the difference in expectation areas between Asians and Americans with their social characters, and also to clarify the interactive relationship of expectation and satisfaction. A rationale for the hypotheses will also be provided at the end of the chapter.

Research methods, procedures, and results of the sati-

sfaction study will be treated in the following chapters.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

It is concluded in Part One that Asian grantees are more concerned with the EWC merits and social desirability, while American grantees are more interested in academic pursuit and intercultural interaction factors. These differences in areas of expectations are theoretically linkable to the differences of social characters between Asians and Americans through review of Riesman's exposition. However, in talking about Riesman's categorization of social characters, it is fruitful to look at a demographic transition model.

A theory of Demographic Transition assumes that pre-modern populations maintain stability of numbers by balancing high death rates with high birth rates.⁹ As they begin to experience the effects of modernization, improvements in nutritional and health standards reduce mortality while fertility remains high and rapid growth ensues. Later, urbanization and other social changes associated with the more "mature" stages of industrialism create pressures favoring smaller families, and the birth rate falls, once again approaching balance with the death rate but at low rather than high levels.

According to this theory, only the fully modernized societies of Western Europe, Japan, and North America have reached the final stage; most of Africa is still at the initial stage of high mortality and fertility. The other

regions of the world, including most of the Asian countries represented at the East-West Center, will fit into Stage Two of the demographic transition period.

Essentially, the Transition Theory generalized from the historical pattern of population growth followed by Western Europe in the past three centuries, holding that contemporary underdeveloped areas will recapitulate this pattern as they experience economic progress. Regardless of some of its shortcomings in explaining certain cases,¹⁰ this conception of world population has been widely regarded as a genuine theory.

Riesman's classification of social characters is based on this demographic transition model. According to his contention, since most of the countries in Asia, except Japan, either still have very high fertility and mortality or are in the "transitional growth" period of demography, Asian peoples tend to have "tradition-directed" or "inner-directed" social characters. He also maintains that there has been a change in the character of the American people--from the "inner-directed" to the "other-directed" character.

11711
In this light, by Riesman's own explanations, the inner-directed Asians' source of direction is implanted early in life by the elders and directed toward generalized but nonetheless inescapably destined goals. To other-directed Americans the source of direction is their contemporaries. An Asian becomes capable of maintaining a delicate balance between the demands upon him of his life goal and the

buffetings of his external environment.¹¹ An American, on the other hand, pays close attention to the signals from others; this leads to the mode of keeping in touch with others.¹²

To illustrate, the inner-directed Asian grantees at the East-West Center, while making the decision to accept the grant, may strive to balance their own life goals with social conformity; American grantees may be more concerned with seeking new human relations.

In a psychiatric analysis of Far Eastern student subcultures at the University of Wisconsin, it is concluded that for a student from the Far East, his professional advancement is a fulfillment of family expectations and a contribution to family or social status. But for American students, even at the graduate level, professional training is often secondary to individuation, self-realization and self-fulfillment.¹³

In another study, Meredith proposes that Asian-Pacific grantees at the East-West Center place considerable emphasis on *work values*, noted by interest in the payoff value of higher education. American grantees, in contrast, follow an *individuality* model, with stress on understanding.¹⁴

The relationship expectations and satisfaction is interactive, interdependent, and intercomplimentary. Studies of concern in this section treat "anomie" in cultural norms, "relative deprivation" in social movements, and "revolution of rising expectation" as opposed to "revolution of rising

frustration” in international development. All these studies, among numerous others, point to the same conclusion: expectation, if not satisfactorily met, will work to one’s disadvantage. The conditional phrase, “if not satisfactorily met,” is of special interest to the present discussion.

1. “Anomie”: The concept of “anomie” was first introduced in 1897 by Durkheim, a French sociologist, to study suicide rates. Later, Merton extended this concept to account for the disparity between cultural goals and approved means. A society, according to Merton, defines those norms that set goals and those norms that indicate means. The goals constitute the frame of aspirational reference; they are the things “worth striving for.” The means encompass the allowable procedure for moving toward these objectives. Anomie--the conflict between norms--occurs when there are certain culturally stressed goals without correspondingly approved means for realizing the goals.¹⁵ In addition to having recourse to legitimate means, illegitimate means may likewise be taken by some people. Other possible reactions to anomie involve rebellion, retreatism, deviancy, and so forth. To conclude, dissatisfaction takes place when people have culturally stressed goals to strive for but institutionalized means for materializing the goals are unavailable.

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2. “Relative Deprivation”: It is commonplace to use “relative deprivation” as a central variable in the explanation of social movements. In relative deprivation theory, a person not only desires a given goal, but he also feels

that he has a *right* to obtain that goal, that he deserves it, at least under certain conditions. One will generate discontent when there is a negative discrepancy between what he legitimately expects and what he perceives as a high probability of blockage.¹⁶ Meanwhile, dissatisfaction occurs when one perceives oneself as being deprived, compared relatively with one's reference group. The current Negro and Indian revolts in the U. S. society might be explained from this kind of psychological complex. They are frustrated because compared with the whites they think there is high probability of blockage to their legitimate goals, regardless of the fact that their social status is improving and is much better than that of their grandparents.

The crucial point of relative deprivation theory lies in the gap between expected level of satisfaction and actual level of satisfaction. The wider the gap, the more dissatisfied one is. Therefore, revolutions are most likely to occur, according to Davies, when a prolonged period of social and economic improvement is followed by a short period of sharp reversal. Davies says:

The all-important effect on the minds of people in a particular society is to produce, during the former period (improvement), an expectation of continued ability to satisfy needs--which continue to rise--during the latter (reversal), a mental state of anxiety and frustration when manifest reality breaks away from anticipated reality. The actual state of socio-economic development is less

significant than the expectation that past progress, now blocked, can and must continue in the future.¹⁷

3. "Revolution of Rising Expectations versus Revolution of Rising Frustration": Lerner, as a result of his Middle East nations study, put forward empathy--an ability to transfer oneself in ways suitable to one's new situation--as the central role of social change and modernization. During the 1950's, when Lerner conducted his research, the developing nations were widely characterized as experiencing a "revolution of rising expectations," due largely to the development of mass media. People throughout the developing nations suddenly acquired the sense--they empathized--that a better life was possible for them. However, aspirations are more easily aroused than satisfied. Their expectations gradually died and frustration was substituted during the 1960's.¹⁸

The frustration in developing areas can be seen, according to Lerner, as the outcome of a deep imbalance between achievement and aspiration. In simple terms, this situation is when "people in a society want far more than they can hope to get." Lerner further postulates that an individual's level of satisfaction is always a ratio between what he wants and what he gets, i.e., between his aspirations and his achievement. The proposed relationship is expressed by the following equation:

$$\text{Satisfaction} = \frac{\text{Achievement}}{\text{Aspiration}}$$

Finally, Lerner concludes that the challenge to communication, which already has taught so many of the peoples

of the developing regions to *want*, is now to teach them to *get*.¹⁹

After reviewing the literature, it is concluded that there is a common theme underlying these studies: when a high perceived probability of blockage exists, satisfaction tends to be negatively related to expectations. Expectation is positively related to satisfaction only when the former can be satisfactorily met.

HYPOTHESES

Having examined the expectation factors of concern to Asians and Americans, and the relationship between expectation and satisfaction, it is hypothesized that:

1. Asian grantees at the East-West Center have a lower degree of satisfaction than American grantees with respect to the Center's overall merits as compared with other academic institutions on the U. S. mainland.
2. Asian grantees at the East-West Center have a higher degree of satisfaction than American grantees with respect to the social desirability of the EWC as a result of coming to the Center.
3. Asian grantees at the East-West Center have a higher degree of satisfaction than American grantees with respect to academic pursuits that the Center provides.
4. Asian grantees at the East-West Center have a higher degree of satisfaction than American grantees with respect to intercultural interaction at the Center.

RATIONALE

In the theoretical context of an expectation-satisfaction relationship, it is assumed that higher expectation leads to higher satisfaction provided that reality or actual achievement is compatible with expectations. When expectations cannot actually be achieved, then higher expectations yield higher frustration. In both instances, the intervening variable (reality) between two psychological states ought to be carefully looked at. In the event of a happy marriage between reality and expectations, one is satisfied; otherwise, one is frustrated.

In this study, the latter stance is taken. It is believed that due to its rather short span of history, the East-West Center may still be short of the experimentations and innovations needed for fully accomplishing its lofty but extremely complicated mandate. Granted, the newness of the East-West Center allows for its wide-ranging development and for ingenious designs or operations in promoting intercultural exchange. But, in the meantime, it should be realistically admitted that lack of time and experience may also inhibit the Center's actual performance in achieving its own mandated goals. And much of the grantees' expectations are derived from these mandated goals and ideals, rather than from reality. As a result, grantees are more likely to over-expect with respect to the Center goals; they forget to take reality into account. The failure to recognize reality or process, unfortunately, may very

likely lead to one's perceived incompatibility of expectations and achievement. Under such circumstances, the odds are that expectations have a *negative*, rather than positive, relationship to satisfaction so far as the East-West Center goes.

It should be recalled that the Center merits and social desirability factors are areas of expectations for Asians, while academic pursuit and intercultural interaction factors are areas of concern to Americans. (See Table 3.) Given the negative relationship between expectations and satisfaction, it is hypothesized that Asians are likely to have a lower level of satisfaction with respect to Center merits (Hypothesis 1.), but likely to have a higher level of satisfaction than Americans with respect to academic pursuit (Hypothesis 3.) and intercultural interaction factors (Hypothesis 4.).

Hypothesis 2 is proposed otherwise on the ground that the level of satisfaction with reference to social desirability is less contingent upon the grantee's actual encounter with daily life at the Center. In fact, the behavior of coming to the Center itself is *de facto*: expectations regarding self-actualization and meeting social desirability are spontaneously and automatically satisfied or rewarded as they arrive at the Center. In short, there can never be any negative relationship so far as expectation of attending the East-West Center and meeting the social desirability goal are concerned. Therefore, it is hypothesized that Asian grantees are more likely to have a higher level of satisfaction than American grantees with regard to social desira-

bility factor (Hypothesis 2.).

V. METHODS AND PROCEDURES

To test the proposed hypotheses, a questionnaire was structured according to four expectation factor types. The present chapter contains a discussion of the methods and procedures, while the results will be presented in the next chapter.

QUESTIONNAIRE

An initial questionnaire consisting of 37 items was designed to measure the level of satisfaction of Asian students versus American students at the East-West Center. All items were constructed on the basis of four expectation areas that emerged from the factor-analysis of Q-sort data.

Pretest versions of the questionnaire were administered to twenty earlier-arrived East-West Center grantees. Their judgment through consensus served to determine which items were to be ultimately included in the questionnaire. The final version contained twenty items agreed to as pertinent to the measurement of satisfaction in relation to the EWC grantees' expectations.

Specifically, the twenty items were classed into the following four dimensions:

1. The East-West Center's Merits (1 item). This

factor type is typified by the question: "If now accepted by other good mainland universities, would you remain at the East-West Center, or would you prefer to attend mainland universities?"

2. Social Desirability (1 item). The item in this category was intended to measure the perceived level of helpfulness the East-West Center will provide after graduation to the grantees' obtaining of a pay raise, a rank promotion, or a good reputation for his family.

3. Academic Pursuit (5 items). The items in this category were intended to measure the perceived helpfulness of the Center's problem-oriented institute programs and staff to the grantee's graduate study, the perceived academic role of the Center, the academic cooperation between the EWC and the University of Hawaii, and the level of satisfaction in comparison with previous expectations.

4. Intercultural Interaction (9 items). The items in this category were intended to measure the grantee's friendship patterns, participation in intercultural activities, the perceived contribution of the East-West Center Student Association and various national student associations to the aims of intercultural exchange, the characteristics of the general communication climate among the grantees, the increase in understanding of one's own country and other countries, and the comparison of satisfaction with previous expectations. In addition, qualitative statements were elicited as to the most serious factors that prevented grantees from attending more intercultural activities.

Most of the items were designed in attitude-scale form, ranging from 1 being the most satisfied, through 2 (satisfied), 3 (neutral), 4 (dissatisfied), to 5 being the most dissatisfied. Besides, four questions were included to elicit the subject's background information. (See Appendix B.)

SUBJECTS

All members of the group (N=110) at the 1972 Kamuela Orientation Camp were asked to respond to the questionnaire. Seventy-four copies were returned, the response rate being 67%.

The subjects were evenly divided into two groups (Asians and Americans), each consisting of 37 cases. There were 47 males (including 22 Asians and 25 Americans) and 27 females (including 15 Asians and 12 Americans). The present study compared the difference in level of satisfaction between Asians and Americans. A comparison between males and females was not attempted due to the failure in the previous Q-sort study of expectations to find any significant difference with respect to sex.

Some background data concerning the 74 subjects, obtained from the questionnaire, characterize the sample:

1. When asked about their interest in accepting the East-West Center grant, 70% (n=52) of the subjects expressed a *strong* interest, about 30% (n=21) expressed a *mild* interest, whereas only one person expressed little interest. (See Table 7A)

2. Before arriving at the East-West Center, half of the subjects had never traveled abroad. About one-third had one foreign travel experience. For most of the people, the East-West Center in Honolulu was their first foreign destination. (See Table 7B.)

3. When they were applying for the grant, only six persons knew *very* much about the East-West Center and 11 persons knew *very* little. Those who knew *much* about the Center accounted for about 30% of the subjects (n=22), whereas roughly one-third knew *little*. Eight persons were not sure. The startling discovery perhaps is that American students did not necessarily know more about the Center than did their Asian counterparts. (See Table 7C.)

Table 7. Background Data of Subjects in the Satisfaction Study

7A. "In making the decision to accept the EWC grant, how did you feel?"

Group	Had strong interest	Had some interest	Had little interest	Total
Asians	22	14	1	• 37
Americans	30	7	0	37
Total	52	21	1	74

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7B. "How many times had you traveled abroad before you came to the EWC?"

Group	None	Once	Twice	Three times	Four times and more	Total
Asians	19	10	5	2	1	37
Americans	11	11	3	3	9	37
Total	30	21	8	5	10	74

7C. "How much did you know about the EWC while applying?"

Group	Very much	Much	Not sure	Little	Very little	Total
Asians	3	10	6	14	4	37
Americans	3	11	2	14	7	37
Total	6	21	8	28	11	74

ADMINISTRATION

The questionnaire was distributed via the East-West Center mail service to the subjects in the first week of spring semester, 1973. The time interval between the satisfaction study and expectations study was six months. The 74 questionnaires were collected within one week.

The subjects were assured that the information obtained would remain strictly confidential. They were urged to keep their response anonymous if they felt more comfortable doing so. Further, it was pointed out that the basis of analysis in this study was Asians and Americans, rather

than any particular individual or national group. The effort, in effect, was made to remove the subject's possible fear of being utilized to work against "me" or "my" country.

In addition to quantifiable attitude-scale items, subjects were also requested to feel free to supply any qualitative statements further explaining their response.

VI. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The response elicited from the satisfaction questionnaire was subject to two statistical tests. The purpose was to test statistically whether there was a difference in level of satisfaction between Asians and Americans, and the significance of the difference, with reference to each of the four factor types obtained from the expectation measure.

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

A two-way analysis of variance was first utilized to assign the variation in level of satisfaction to its known sources. In the present study, two bases of classification were employed: group identification and factor type. There were two groups and four expectation factor types, yielding eight ($2 \times 4 = 8$) combinations of conditions. Thirty-seven subjects were allocated to each condition, indicated as a cell in the following paradigm.

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Table 8. Analysis of Variance Design of the Satisfaction Study

	Factor Types			
Group	The EWC Merits	Social Desirability	Academic Pursuit	Intercultural Interaction
Asians	n=37	n=37	n=37	n=37
Americans	n=37	n=37	n=37	n=37

The data were arranged in the above table containing two rows and four columns. The rows corresponded to group identification, the columns to factor types.

The two-way analysis of variance was to break the total variance down to between-rows, between-columns, row-column interaction effect, and the variation within cells (or error variance),

Table 9 summarizes the analysis of variance in level of satisfaction between Asians and Americans regarding four expectation factor types.

Table 9. Two-way Analysis of Variance of the Satisfaction Measure*

Source	Sum of Squares	df	Variance Estimate
Rows (Groups)	1.30	R-1=1	1.30
Columns (Factors)	27.93	C-1=3	12.64
Interaction	24.64	(R-1)(C-1)=3	8.21
Within Cells (Error)	240.15	nRC-RC=288	.84
Total	304.02	nRC-1=295	1.03

$F_{rc} = 8.21 / .84 = 9.77^{**}$ $F_c = 12.64 / .84 = 15.05^{**}$ $F_r = 1.30 / .84 = 1.55$
* $n=37$, $R=2$, $C=4$.

**Significant at the .001 level.

The sums of squares and resulting variance estimates are brought together in Table 9. There are four variance estimates which for the given situation are all estimates of the same population variance under a null hypothesis: no row effect, and no column effect, and no interaction effect.

The F for interaction, $F_{rc}=9.77$, is significant at the .001 level.

The F for column means, $F_c=15.05$ is significant at the .001 level.

t TESTS

Once the significance of F was ascertained, t-tests were applied to look into the significance of difference between the two means of Asians and Americans on *each* factor type.

Table 10 summarizes the results of the t-tests.

Table 10 is an outcome of the aforementioned attitude-scale questionnaire designed to tap the difference in level of satisfaction between Asians and Americans. In the questionnaire, 1 stands for "very satisfied," 2 for "satisfied," 3 for neutral, 4 "dissatisfied," and 5 for "very dissatisfied." For this reason, the more satisfied group should yield a smaller group mean in the t-tests.

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Keeping this in mind, the inspection of Table 10 will reveal that:

1. For Factor Type I, the Asian group mean is 2.62, compared with the American mean of 1.86, $t=2.45$. It is inferred that Asians are less satisfied with respect to the East-West Center's overall merits. Hypothesis I is confirmed at the .01 level of significance, one-tailed test.

Table 10. t-tests of the Satisfaction Study

Factors	Groups	N	Means	S. D.	df	t
I	Asians	37	2.62	1.50	72	2.45**
	Americans	37	1.86	1.11		
II	Asians	37	2.68	.90	72	3.86***
	Americans	37	3.53	.96		
III	Asians	37	2.83	.76	72	1.47*
	Americans	37	3.08	.60		
IV	Asians	37	2.34	.63	72	1.42*
	Americans	37	2.51	.34		

* $P < .10$ ** $P < .01$ *** $P < .001$

2. For Factor Type II, the Asian group mean is 2.68, the American group mean 3.53, $t=3.86$. It is concluded that Asian grantees are more satisfied than American grantees with respect to the social desirability factor. Hypothesis II is confirmed at the .001 level of significance, one-tailed test.

3. For Factor Type III, the Asian group mean is 2.83, American group mean 3.08, $t=1.47$. It is concluded that Asian grantees are more satisfied than American grantees.

with reference to academic pursuit factor. Hypothesis III is confirmed at the .10 level of significance, one-tailed test.

4. For Factor Type IV, the Asian group mean is 2.34, compared with the American group's 2.51, $t=1.42$. It is concluded that Asian grantees are more satisfied than American grantees with regard to intercultural interaction factor. Hypothesis IV is confirmed at the .10 level of significance, one-tailed test.

VII. DISCUSSION

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize and compare the expectation measure (Part One) and the satisfaction measure (Part Two). Implications of the present thesis will also be presented at the end of the chapter.

HYPOTHESIS 1. THE EWC'S MERITS

In the expectation measure, 56% of the Asian respondents versus 30% of the American respondents loaded above .40 on Factor 1. It was hypothesized that Asians had a lower level of satisfaction than Americans with respect to the EWC's merits. This hypothesis was confirmed ($t=2.45$, $p<.01$). In other words, Americans expressed a firmer desire to stay at the Center even if they were accepted by other good mainland universities at the time this study was underway.

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It is clear that for the majority of American grantees coming originally from the U. S. mainland, Hawaii is midway between East and West, and the East-West Center is one of the few places in the United States that allows them to study Asia and Asians from daily personal involvement. However, for Asian grantees, Hawaii is hardly an authentic America. Says one Asian respondent:

This is a place that a foreign student from Asia feels quite at home.

The comfort of feeling at home is to the advantage of Asian students, especially during the period of initial adjustment and accommodation to a new environment. But it may quickly work against Asians' desire to stay at the East-West Center after a while. This kind of feeling is characterized by the following remark:

I wish my class were a real American university one.

Many American grantees do see some future in the East-West Center and are unwilling to make any move at present. An American excitedly reports that he has discovered an entire ethnic group--one from the Pacific Islands--that he never was familiar with before. Another American comments:

One of the cultural ethics of my American generation is that we stand responsible for the consequences of our decisions.

HYPOTHESIS II. SOCIAL DESIRABILITY

In the expectation measure, 41% of the Asian grantees as opposed to 15% of the American grantees loaded above .40 on Factor II. The hypothesis was confirmed that Asian grantees had a higher level of satisfaction than Americans with respect to the social desirability factor ($t=3.86$, $p<.001$).

The results can be interpreted by the rationale that to attend the EWC is self-rewarding in meeting the goal of social desirability. The opportunity to attend is independent of the grantees' actual daily encounter with the Center programs and activities. Therefore higher expectations yield higher levels of satisfaction for Asians.

More importantly, throughout Asia, with the exception of Japan, earning an advanced degree from the United States means attainment of a higher social status and also a more comfortable income. Historically, the traditional Chinese society was divided into four classes, in the following order of importance: the scholars, the farmers, the artisans and the merchants. As Mencius (372-289? B. C.) said, when he was defining the distinction between the gentleman (intellectual) and the common man, "without the gentleman there would be no one to *rule* the common people, and without the common people there would be no one to *feed* the gentleman." Still predominant in today's

Taiwan as it has been for centuries is the idea that one who earns his living by his *head* is superior to one who must earn his living by his *hands* .

Of course, the Chinese case is not alone. Perhaps in most of human history, educational background has been one of the most distinct symbols of the elitists. However, a continuum of values might reveal that an academic degree is far more highly valued in the Asian cultures than it is in the United States. In extreme cases, one's educational level even equates with his personal integrity, intelligence, and ability to run public affairs. As a consequence, Mencius's remarks back in ancient China may still be applicable to many countries in Asia today.

For many Asians, however, it is argued that to earn an academic degree is not primarily for the purpose of satisfying one's intellectual curiosity, but of meeting social expectations. To them, an advanced degree from a U. S. federal institution like the EWC is in a large part to get them a pay raise, a promotion in rank, and a good reputation for their family. In summary, the theme of social desirability associated with the Asian graduate student is echoed in Riesman's theoretical postulates concerning social characters, Meredith's previous EWC observation, and a psychiatric analysis of Far Eastern student subcultures at the University of Wisconsin campus. (See Chapter IV.)

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HYPOTHESIS III. ACADEMIC PURSUIT

In the expectation study, 35% of the American subjects

as against 21% of the Asian subjects loaded above .40 on Factor III. The satisfaction measure showed that Asian grantees had a higher level of satisfaction than did Americans with respect to the academic pursuit factor ($t=1.47, p<.10$).

Why Asians have a higher level of satisfaction than do Americans with regard to the academic pursuit factor can be interpreted from the following dimensions:

1. Asians had a lower expectation concerning the academic pursuit factor to begin with. As it has been shown, Asians are more concerned with the payoff value of graduate study, rather than the pure knowledge pursuit per se. Therefore, Asians can be more easily satisfied on this factor.

2. To most Asian grantees, the East-West Center poses a new challenge. In effect, Asians are exposed to a set of new philosophies, policies, and programs at the Center as far as graduate study is concerned. They are widening their horizons of vision and opening their eye to the American educational system, one quite different from the more traditional system they had at home. The challenge of receiving academic training in a foreign culture is believed to sustain, if not enhance, their level of satisfaction in this regard. Furthermore, many Asian grantees consider the caliber of academic study as well as the learning facilities they have at the Center as more advanced than what is available in their home countries.

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However, it should be noted that the East-West Center does not grant any academic degrees. As a matter of fact, the Center awards grants for grantees to pursue their advanced studies at the University of Hawaii. Applicants for the EWC grant must be accepted first by the University of Hawaii Graduate School and the department in which the degree study will be undertaken. The Center's problem-oriented institutes conduct programs, besides training non-degree-seeking professional participants, to supplement the grantee's learning activities. But these programs are independent of the University operation, and the participation in these programs is not a degree requirement either.

Having realized this cooperative degree program arrangement, American grantee's lower level of satisfaction regarding academic pursuit can be thus in part interpreted by the fact that many Americans thought some faculty members in their departments at the University of Hawaii were not competent, compared with those in other schools they had attended on the U. S. mainland. (Running through their responses on the questionnaires, it was discovered that those Americans majoring in Asian languages, history, or related disciplines always showed a rather higher level of satisfaction than other Americans.) On the other hand, Americans had a higher level of expectation with respect to the academic pursuit factor to begin with, and therefore were hard put to achieve their expectation. In conclusion, taken together, Asians have a higher level of satisfaction than Americans on Factor III.

HYPOTHESIS IV. INTERCULTURAL INTERACTION

In contrast to 24% of Asian subjects, 85% of American subjects loaded above .49 on Factor IV in the expectation study. The satisfaction measure showed that Asian grantees had a higher level of satisfaction than American grantees concerning the intercultural interaction factor ($t=1.42$, $p<.10$).

It is clear that Asian grantees had a lower expectation on this factor to begin with. They had been exposed to the highly cosmetic image of the American way of life and social customs through the mass media, even before their arrival at the Center. However, this was an imprecise, indirect, and blurred stereotype about America and her people. As for their Asian neighbors, worse yet, many grantees report that they did not even have a chance to see, much less to interact with, any people from certain neighbor countries in Asia. As a result, when asked to write her feeling about the intercultural interaction at the East-West Center, one Asian grantee wrote:

I had heard the saying, "It takes all sorts of people to make the world"; here for the first time I am really seeing it.

Another Asian grantee writes:

Multi-cultural experience interests me in the sense that it is not a common thing in my country.

It should be emphasized that a distinction is made between the level of satisfaction yielded from comparison of the EWC with other environments and that from comparison of the EWC with an ideal state. Speaking of the former, the EWC is the first, if not the only, venture for intercultural exchange. So both Asian grantees and American grantees tend to cherish and feel more or less satisfied with the multi-cultural environment at the Center, further evidenced by the statements that follow:

It has again confirmed my belief that there are no Asian, no American, only *people*, differentiated perhaps by color and language or differently emphasized social customs shared by all to some extent.

I am especially glad for an Asian roommate, too, and Asian professors. I shall never assume that we Americans have the answers to all problems, without asking the Asian view.

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However, since Americans had a very high level of expectation on this factor to begin with, it became very hard for them to achieve their perceived expectation. So regardless of how they feel, Americans still have a lower level of satisfaction than Asians regarding the intercultural interaction factor.

On the other hand, when comparing the EWC with an ideal state, most grantees think that they should have attended more intercultural activities. In the questionnaire, it is revealed that about 70% of the subjects attend inter-

cultural activities once a week on the average. Among the 74 respondents, 60% consider academic load and about 19% consider unwillingness on the part of grantees as the most serious reasons that prevent grantees from attending more intercultural activities. About 8% of the subjects are critical that these activities at the EWC are usually "artificial, superficial, and unproductive." One American grantee is especially critical of the Center's "lack of sincere attempt to involve grantees in the planning of such activities, or even to solicit their desires concerning these activities." He expresses his frustration with the "extremely heavy influence of American thinking with respect to goals and functions of such activities." Other reasons given include some grantees' language difficulty and the Center's housing shortage, which forces most of the married grantees to live off the campus.

More seriously, there is an accusation made by Americans of the Asian's fear of losing national identities, and the counter-accusation made by Asians of Americans' lack of depth in friendship. Since both accusations are vitally important to intercultural interaction, they will be taken up here.

Americans criticize the Asians for tending to gather with their national groups, as typified by the following statement:

I have been generally unable to build up a friendship with anyone who is not American. I have

been disappointed in not being able to more warmly embrace a non-American as a friend.....

The ease of communicating with people who share mutual subcultural language, same way of thinking, and similarity in personal and social characteristics and so forth, is readily recognized.²⁰ The association with national groups is not an absolute thing, either for Asians or for Americans. What differs is the magnitude. Plotting on a continuum, Asians may be farther away from the center, meaning that Asians are more visibly with their national groups.

The ease of communication, the fear of losing national identities, and the size of the academic load can only partially account for the inadequacy of interaction. Above all, some Asians in turn accuse Americans of unwillingness to make a friendly move. This kind of complaint is typified by the following statements:

I find it easy and pleasant to make friends with other Asian people, but very hard to become really good friends with Americans.

Americans are always so preoccupied with themselves. With them, there is no depth at all.

Consequently, when an Asian made a friendly gesture, it was claimed, or was too shy to make such a gesture but waiting for the initiative from Americans and met with a cool reaction, then it was natural for him to withdraw to his national group for supportive communication or psycho-

logical shelter. This kind of situation also occurs elsewhere:

You hear about a university mixer, but it takes a lot of guts to go. So you call an Indian friend and see what he's doing instead. We are more comfortable among ourselves.²¹

The impression of American superficiality probably stems from the difference in meaning of friendship defined by Asians and Americans. The difference can be summarized succinctly, as observed in the Wisconsin study: the Asians want to "stay close" with friends, and the Americans want to "stay loose."²² With the peer group Asian students develop a high level of intimacy and interdependence. But, the study analyzes, relationships between the American peer group seem highly transitory and shallow, which to Asians is painful and puzzling. The Wisconsin psychiatrists conclude that when an Asian makes a "friend," it is for life; when an American makes a "friend," it is for an occasion.

Occasionally, the cultural ethnocentrism has a tendency to hinder the free flow of intercultural interaction too. As stated by a grantee from the Near East:

We Asians may come from poor countries, but most of our values are richer than the values we find here.

In conclusion, when compared with the ideal state, intercultural interaction at the East-West Center is by no means ideal. And this perhaps is the source of possible dissatisfaction for some grantees, as demonstrated by two

accusations between Asians and Americans. However, compared with other environments, most grantees, on the whole, are satisfied to a certain extent because, while intercultural interaction at the East-West Center is not ideal, it provides for a very important experimentation which is unavailable at other institutions on the mainland. And most important of all, when comparison is made between the level of satisfaction of Asians and Americans with respect to intercultural interaction, Asians have a higher level of satisfaction than Americans--because Americans had a relatively high expectation regarding intercultural interaction to begin with.

IMPLICATIONS

Lastly, future research needed in this area is proposed to close and complement the present thesis.

The time interval between the expectation measure and the satisfaction measure in the present thesis was six months. In other words, the Q-sort study was administered to grantees during their Orientation programs. And the satisfaction questionnaire survey was followed up after they had been at the Center for half a year.

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It would yield fruitful comparison if further studies could be administered several times at the following phases of the grantees' Center participation: (1) Orientation; (2) after six months of critical adjustment in a new environment (which is particularly important for Asians); (3) after one year of stay, by the time the EWC grantees are ready to

go to the U. S. mainland and/or the Asia-Pacific area for field education; (4) at the start of the second fall semester, by the time they have returned from field education; (5) at the end of the fourth semester, by the time they are about to graduate and leave the Center; and (6) one year after they have gone home.

It should be pointed out that the different stages of Center experience are so important that they always affect the grantees' perceived level of satisfaction. For instance, if the study is administered one year after their stay, the grantees are likely to have become familiar with the environment and thus feel no longer so excited as when they first arrive. In contrast, on the point of going back home, their reactions are quite likely to be more favorable toward the East-West Center.

Technical difficulty in recruiting subjects is expected. Therefore, two alternatives can be considered. One is to use two different groups among the Center grantees for the measure of expectation and satisfaction. This does not provide a fair baseline for comparison, though. The other is to supplement the expectation-satisfaction measures with sporadic checks by less obtrusive participant observation, or wide-ranging informal interviews.

Furthermore, with the knowledge of intercultural interaction as the most discriminative factor, it is possible to use this factor as an independent variable to predict many other variables. For one thing, a secondary analysis can be done to correlate a grantee's level of satisfaction with

his activeness in Center activities. It can be hypothesized that those grantees with a higher level of satisfaction with regard to intercultural interaction tend to attend more intercultural activities, and to exert more leadership in student organizations. For another, with the understanding of the Center's special function and purpose--to promote cultural interchange--it would be interesting to correlate the relative attractiveness of the four expectation variables that emerged in the Q-sort study. Since both social desirability and academic pursuit associated with higher education are common things to all academic institutes, while intercultural interaction is uniquely present at the East-West Center, it is reasonable to hypothesize that those having a higher level of satisfaction with respect to intercultural interaction tend to be more resolute and willing to stay at the Center even if admitted to other good universities on the mainland. On the contrary, those having a lower level of satisfaction regarding intercultural interaction, regardless of their level of satisfaction with social desirability and academic pursuit factors, tend to express more explicit desire to leave the Center.

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The purpose, in sum, is to provide a continuous and clear picture as to the EWC grantees' expectations and satisfaction. This can contribute a great deal to the understanding of variables involving human interaction across national borders, as well as serve as a very important educational guide for the East-West Center in designing its programs for future growth and development.

NOTES

1. William Stephenson, *The Play Theory of Mass Communication*, 1967, University of Chicago Press, p. 14.
2. William Brooks, Q-Sort Technique, in Philip Emmert and William Brooks (ed.), *Methods of Research in Communication*, 1970, p. 171.
3. Fred N. Kerlinger, *Foundations of Behavioral Research*, 1964, p. 650.
4. William Stephenson, *The Study of Behavior* 1964, pp. 9-10.
5. For the logic of the principal factors method, see G. Thomson, *The Factorial Analysis of Human Ability*, 1965, Chapter VII.
6. Kerlinger, *op. cit.*, p. 661.
 "In fact, factor analysis is going through an important transitional period. The increasing availability of highspeed computers and computing programs for factor analysis is making some of the methods obsolete. Thurston's well-known centroid method, for example, will, in a few years, probably be little used. It is a computational compromise, Thurston said, to avoid the excessive computational labor of more satisfactory solutions." (*Ibid.* p. 659.)
7. Stephenson, *op. cit.*, 1967, p. 26.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Dennis Wrong, *Population and Society*, 1967, pp. 17-24.
10. For instance, Ronald Freedman considers Taiwan as a country which now may be entering the late phases of transition. Nevertheless, this model does not fit Taiwan's case very well. For one thing, fertility in premodern Europe might be markedly lower than in Taiwan today. It appears that Taiwan's high fertility has been a result of family organization centered on kinship, as compared to the European family norm cherishing

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small size with the married pair as its center. For another, due to the very many children of the present population and the adoption of public health practices and medical technology from the West, Taiwan's mortality is only half of the U. S.

11. David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd*, 1950, p. 30.
12. *Ibid.* pp. 37-38.
13. Majorie H. Klein, and others, "Far Eastern Students in a Big University--Subcultures Within a Subculture," in *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, Jan. 1971.
14. Gerald Meredith, The Two Cultures of EWC, a speech delivered at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Honolulu, Hawaii, Feb. 1969.
15. Robert Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structures*, 1965, Chapters iv and v. Also, James W. Vander Zanden, *Sociology: A Systematic Approach*, 1965, pp. 48-61.
16. Denton E. Morrison, "Some Notes Toward Theory on Relative Deprivation, Social Movements, and Social Change," in *American Behavioral Scientist*, 1971, Vol. 14, No. 5. Also, James A. Geschwender, "Explorations in the Theory of Social Movements and Revolutions," in *Social Forces*, Dec. 1968, pp. 127-135.
17. James C. Davies, "Toward A Theory of Revolution," in *American Sociological Review*, Feb. 1962, Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 5-19 (Parentheses are mine)
18. Daniel Lerner, "Toward a Communication Theory of Modernization," in Lucien Pye, ed., *Communication and Political Development*, 1963.
19. Daniel Lerner, "Communication and the Prospects of Innovative Development," in Lerner and Wilbur Schramm, ed., *Communication and Change in the Developing Countries*, 1967.
20. For a discussion on the variables of homophily and heterophily in human communication, see Everett M. Rogers and Floyd Shoemaker, *Communication of Innovations*, 1970, pp. 210-214.

Also, Rogers and Dilip K. Bhowmik, "Homophily-Hetrophily: Relational Concepts for Communication Research," in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Winter, 1970-1971.

21. *Newsweek*, "The Aliens," Dec. 11, 1972.
22. Klein and others, *op. cit.*

1140