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Suggestions for Research

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INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGES IN EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND CULTURE

Suggestions for Research

by
OTTO KLINEBERG

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The present paper is based on a number of documents prepared by the UNESCO Secretariat, on an earlier working paper prepared for UNESCO by Rector De Vries together with the comments on it by the members of the ISSC, and on an extensive but by no means complete examination of published materials, largely but not exclusively of American origin, in which the writer was greatly helped by Mr. P. Wald, working under the auspices of the Laboratoire de Psychologie Sociale of the University of Paris. An earlier version was presented as a First Draft to which the participants in the meeting * at Herzliah, Israel, on April 8-10, 1964, were invited to make suggestions for improvement through changes and additions designed to make the paper as complete and useful as possible, in order to fulfill its two major purposes : first, to prepare the way for proposals to be made to universities and other research institutions and organizations regarding investigations and inquiries which are needed in this field, and second, to present for the consideration of UNESCO certain suggestions for its own activities which, in the judgment of the participants, might add to the value and interest of what is already a significant and far-reaching programme. The present version owes a great deal to the constructive comments and criticisms of the participants.

* For further details, see p. 43-44.

The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in July 1960 adopted a resolution directed to UNESCO which includes the affirmation "that contacts between peoples and knowledge of each other's ways of life and thinking are a prerequisite for peace and improvement of international cooperation", and further "that exchanges in the fields of education, science and culture are an essential factor for economic and social development". A proposed draft text of a resolution sent to the governments and member states of UNESCO on March 20, 1963 states "that international relations are among the *more important means* (underlining supplied) of creating conditions necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among peoples". UNESCO document 12c/PRG/13 (1962) also, however, refers to the need for very much more study of "methods and techniques of evaluating the effectiveness of international exchange programmes in relation to goals".

These statements furnish sufficient proof of the importance attached within the UN family to the topic under consideration ; when we keep in mind the tremendous investment not only in international but also in bilateral, regional and multilateral programmes, the challenge to make a contribution toward increasing the effectiveness of this gigantic enterprise becomes all the more imperative. We shall be particularly concerned with this challenge as it affects the social sciences.

The essence of the problem for the social scientist may be exemplified by a comment made in connection with the effects on foreign nationals of a period of training in the United States (Lesser and Peter, 1957). During the early post-war period, the casual assumption was made "that any international educational exchange would almost automatically produce desirable results". Later it was recognized that "this assumption was too optimistic and that the wrong kind of training may do more harm than good". One of the goals of the exchange programme was to develop friendly feelings toward the United States ; in some cases, however, anti-American attitudes were intensified. In a more recent survey by Selltiz and Cook (1962) the authors write that "it is an oversimplification to expect that a period of study in a foreign country will uniformly result in more favorable attitudes toward that country". If contacts between peoples are truly, as in the ECOSOC resolution, "a prerequisite for peace", there is a very real responsibility placed upon those who encourage and facilitate such contacts to do so in a manner most likely to produce the desired results. The same problem arises in connection with exchange of information, where even greater scepticism has been expressed. One analysis, not specifically international in its implications, speaks of "psychological barriers to communications" (Katz, 1947) ; we must inquire into the nature of such barriers, and as to the manner in which they may possibly be overcome. Another paper discusses "why information campaigns fail" (Hyman and Sheatsley, 1947) ; one may legitimately ask, however, whether they must necessarily fail, and whether there are not in existence methods and techniques which may make such campaigns more likely to

succeed. These are questions for the social scientist ; they are questions which are not easy to answer.

There are in fact several sources of difficulty, some of which will be discussed in greater detail below. First, there is the large variety of possible exchanges ; second, the differences in conditions (political, economic, cultural) in which the exchanges take place ; third, lack of clarity as to the goals; fourth, variation in the time-span of the programmes; fifth, the limited nature of available research findings. Under these circumstances, it is not too surprising that when asked his advice about the kinds and conditions of exchanges which should be developed, the social scientist may have to answer, "I don't know". He should be able to add, however, at least in some cases, "but I can find out".

It was this scepticism regarding what we know, coupled with optimism regarding our means of learning more, that inspired the action of UNESCO and the ISSC in bringing together a number of essays on Evaluation Techniques, published in the International Social Science Bulletin (1955). Since that time, interest in evaluation has grown; more and more administrators are concerned with the effects of their programmes, and eager to improve those programmes by taking the effects into account. Evaluation in the strict sense, however, is not enough. Where exchange of persons is concerned, for example, selection and training may be of at least equal importance, and may justify fully as much effort. Some of the research conducted on communication within small experimental groups, or in dealing with the spread of information in a whole community may have relevance to tactics that should be tried out in communication programmes at the international level. The present memorandum is therefore directed not to evaluation alone, but to the wider topic of what social scientists have been doing and what they might still do, in the field of international exchanges.

Goals

A word is needed about the goals of such exchanges; these have not always been formulated with sufficient clarity or definiteness to give the social scientist guidance as to the direction which his research should follow. Sometimes the goal may appear to be sincerely humanitarian, and the programme designed to bring help to those who need it; the question then arises as to what they need and how they may best be helped. An educational programme aimed at developing an elite which can aid in the administration and the government of a "new" nation may require a different structure from that designed to improve the educational level of a whole community. Sometimes the goal will be more specifically industrial or economic, aimed at increasing production and raising the standard of living; in other cases there may be greater concern with developing scientific or artistic skills. Abrams (1960), for example, has listed three major goals of exchange of persons : 1) the intellectual and professional development of the student in his specialized field of study; 2) the general education of the student; and 3) the furthering of interna-

tional understanding. Students themselves appear to rank as their important objective, success in academic undertakings and professional development, whereas the sponsors of the programme usually have broader social goals in mind (Coelho, 1962). In programmes under UN or UNESCO auspices, the goal may usually be expressed in terms of potential contributions to peaceful cooperation and the improvement of international understanding; in bilateral or regional programmes it may be both *for* better relations among the peoples concerned, and *against* other nations or groups of nations. There may as a consequence be a contradiction between the goals of bilateral programmes on the one hand, and "omnilateral" or international programmes, on the other. It is important to raise the question as to the possibility of transforming bilateral into truly international programmes in the face of the current global political situation. One of the major difficulties with previous research is that it has usually been conducted in the framework of programmes developed within one nation for its own (not necessary evil) purposes. We shall have to contend with this difficulty in the present paper, since our concern is primarily with the contribution of exchanges to improved international rather than bilateral relations, and the extrapolation from one set of circumstances to the other may not always be justified.

A number of formulations of goals have been suggested, in addition to the one attributed to Abrams above. At the meeting in Herzliah, one participant in the Conference proposed the following tri-partite division into (a) international cooperation and understanding on a global scale, (b) national or other interests of the countries or blocs concerned, and (c) furtherance of specific innovation and change. In connection with the last it is obvious that innovation and change may affect a number of different activities and institutions, — economic standards, technical competence, habits of hygiene, administrative skills, social and political patterns, esthetic values, ideological orientation, or general "Westernization". A second participant spoke in terms of (a) creation of solidarity and friendship among peoples, (b) improvement in social and economic conditions, and (c) sharing of ideas and experiences in academic disciplines. Still another thought that four sets of goals should be distinguished, (a) an international goal, such as is represented by UNESCO, (b) the goal of the donor country, (c) that of the recipient country, and (d) the personal goal of the individual beneficiary. This classification indicates the locus of the goals but not their content. The same applies to the suggestion to keep in mind changes in (a) individuals, (b) ideas, and (c) institutions. This is helpful ; it would be more so if we were in a position to agree on the kinds of changes that are desired. The changes in the case of individuals apply to the acquisition of information, skills, experience, attitudes ; those referring to ideas may be regarded as dealing with the important problem of communications and the spread of innovations; as for institutions, the important task would appear to be that of creating mechanisms for the reinforcement of the change process.

In any case, what is still very much needed is a clear statement of the goals of international exchanges. It is frequently stated that this is not really the province of the social scientist, but rather of the adminis-

trator, yet without such clarification the contributions of the social scientist will be greatly limited. He may still be able to apply his research skills to a description of a programme and of at least some of its effects, but since he can never describe or measure everything, he can fulfill his role of investigator successfully only if he knows what is desired. Both the general purposes or goals of the programme, and the specific purposes of particular projects require clarification. In what follows, it is assumed that the ultimate goal of international exchanges is to contribute to friendly and peaceful relations among the peoples of the world, but that many more immediate goals relating to technical cooperation, changes in institutions, success in academic training, increased knowledge about foreign cultures, preparation for a useful career, readiness to cooperate in international undertakings, etc., may all require consideration. The problem of goals or values runs through a great deal of what follows.

For purposes of the ensuing discussion, a distinction will be drawn between two forms of international exchange, the first involving contact between *people,* the second consisting of transmission of materials or *things.* Both of these may be further broken down. The first will include such diverse forms of contact as the presence of foreign students or professors in a university, the brief and casual visits of tourists, the still briefer but not so casual contact on a playing field between teams representing two different nations, etc. The second may be exemplified by the sending of books or paintings, the transmission of television or radio programmes, the export of films or scientific exhibits, etc. There can be no hard line between those two varieties of exchanges, since a visiting professor may bring along his books, or a biologist accompany the exhibit, but the distinction is a convenient one for our purposes. We turn first to exchanges involving people.

I

International Exchanges Involving Contact Between Persons

1. *Studying Abroad.*

Student exchanges represent one of the most active of the programmes to be considered, and certainly the one in connection with which the greatest amount of research has been conducted. The nature and extent of such exchanges are well documented in the series of UNESCO publications, *Study Abroad.* The research has been directed mainly, though by no means exclusively, toward the attempt to discover the effects of such study on foreign nationals who have attended colleges and universities in the United States, both from the point of view of modifications in attitude toward the host country, and also in terms of the changes in the personality of the students themselves. The major contributions to research are

included in a series of investigations sponsored by the Social Science Research Council of the United States or stimulated by the initiative taken by the Council. In several cases the publications in this series have concerned themselves not only with the sojourn in the United States, but also with a follow-up of the careers and experiences of these students after they returned home. The publications consulted include those by Bennett *et al.* (1958) on the Japanese ; Useem and Useem (1955), Lambert and Bressler (1956) and Coelho (1958) on Indians ; Scott (1956) and Sewell and Davidson (1961) on Scandinavians; Watson and Lippitt (1955) on Germans; Beals and Humphrey (1957) on Mexicans; and one extended to a variety of nationalities by Morris (1960). Mention should also be made in this context of the issue of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for September 1954, and to the Journal of Social Issues for 1956, No. 1, and 1963, No. 3. In addition, the study by Aich (1962) on colored students in Germany, Breitenbach's (1963) critical review of the literature in this field, and the proposals for research and action by Kelman (1962) and Jacobson (1962) were found particularly useful. What follows in this section has made use of these publications mainly with the aim of discovering leads for needed research and study in the future; as a consequence, no attempt will be made to summarize their contents except as these are relevant for this purpose. The review by Selltiz and Cook (1962) of their own and related research was found to be especially valuable in this connection; a more extensive survey by Selltiz *et al.* (1963) has recently been published.

A statement by Selltiz and Cook gives an indication of the scope of the problem. "In order to assess more realistically what effects the cross-cultural experience is likely to have on attitudes toward the host country, we need to think about the question more analytically : to take into account the fact that there is no such thing as "*the* foreign student", but a large number of individuals who differ among themselves in many ways; that the experiences they have in the host country may vary widely; that a country presents many different aspects about which a visitor may gain impressions or make evaluations...". What are some of the hypotheses which emerge from the published research, and what is still required ?

a) *Personal Contacts and Interpersonal Relations.*

Although the results are not entirely consistent, there appears to be a relation between having one or more close friends in the country of sojourn on the one hand, and liking that country, on the other. This simple and apparently obvious statement raises a number of difficult questions. In the first place, the causal connection is far from clear; one may like the country because one has made a friend, or one may be more ready to make friends because one starts out with a warm and accepting attitude toward the country. In addition, there is involved here the whole issue of the nature and meaning of friendship in different countries and in different circumstances. There is, for example, a widely held stereotype to the effect that Americans are friendly but rarely become true friends. The study by Useem and Useem (*op. cit.*) was able to make

certain comparisons between the reactions of Indian students in the United States and the United Kingdom ; the consensus appeared to be that it was indeed more difficult to get to know an Englishman, but when one succeeded, the friendship was deeper and more real. The study by N'Diaye (1962) of African students in France speaks of the superficiality of contacts with French students in the majority of cases, and of the fact that most of their newly formed friendships appear to be with other Africans. Friendships may seem to be too personal a matter to be influenced by the results of research, but further information regarding them may be of value. Some of the problems which have arisen may be due to a failure to read the cultural signs correctly. The use of first names, for example, denotes considerably more intimacy in certain countries than in others; when an Italian or a Netherlander is called by his first name by an Anglo-Saxon acquaintance, he may attribute to this fact a degree of intimacy which was not intended, and serious disillusionment may follow. Conversely, a German or American who is accustomed to opening his home readily to a stranger, may be disturbed by not receiving an invitation to visit the home of acquaintances in Mexico or France; he may attribute to this fact a degree of rejection which was not intended. An investigation of the experiences of foreign students at a British university (Eldridge, 1960) indicates the importance of differences in the sense of humour. What was stated as a joke by an English student was taken seriously and literally by the foreigner, with considerable embarrassment as a consequence. Of course there will be marked individual variations in these as in other aspects of behavior.

One participant, with regard to the experience of the British Council in connection with its scholarships for foreigners, referred to the practice of giving introductory courses, either in London or in the country of origin, devoted to an understanding of life in Britain. When the foreign scholars arrive they are given trips through the country, with visits to British homes, and contacts with people; the instruction even extends to the nature of British food and the manner in which it is eaten. Such experience undoubtedly reduces the likelihood of misunderstandings of the quality of interpersonal relations, as well as preparing the way for more effective handling of the more material aspects of the culture. Unfortunately, however, there are a great many foreign students in the United Kingdom who do not have the benefit of the preparatory orientation furnished by the British Council for the recipients of its own scholarships.

If friendships are as important as the research appears to indicate, could not more be done to discover the friendship patterns which prevail, to inform foreign students of the behavior which they are likely to encounter, and to acquaint them with its meaning ? Could the local student populations be informed of the misunderstandings to which their behavior may give rise ? In more general terms, would increased knowledge, on both sides, of the cultures which come into contact, aid the process of adaptation and friendship formation ? It would be helpful to have an account of what is actually done in various countries to make foreign students feel at home socially; what provisions are made by governments, universities,

religious groups and other private agencies to create the possibilities for such students to "make friends".

b) *The Impact of Academic Success or Failure.*

Over and over again the research indicates that when students get what they come for (specific training, a degree, publication of a research paper, etc.), their attitudes to the host country tend to become more favorable. Conversely, failure in school or university work may not only develop unfriendly attitudes, but may even cause personal difficulties which sour the student with regard to the whole foreign sojourn. This raises the question as to how foreign students are selected or screened from the point of view of academic preparation. A recent study in the United States by the Center of Information on America and published in *Vital Issues* (reported in the New York Herald Tribune, Paris Edition, Jan. 11, 1964), estimates that currently about one-third of the foreign students are carefully screened, one-third only partially, and one-third not screened at all with regard to their chances for satisfactory academic and personal adjustment. Even this relatively modest estimate has been challenged as being too optimistic regarding the proportion of students who have received even a moderate amount of screening. It would be interesting to compare cross-nationally the procedures used in the selection of students going *from* various countries *to* various countries, with some evaluation of the relative success of those who have been selected by official government agencies, by private institutions, and by a process of self-selection, respectively.

The problem is highlighted in the report by Aich (1962, 1963) that about 80 per cent of the colored students (Asian and African) fail in intermediate, and 40 per cent, in final examinations. These difficulties may be due in part to the limited qualifications of these students on arrival in Germany, explained by the fact that most of the foreign students are in Germany because they could not gain admission to their own universities. Whether this would be equally true of foreign students in other countries is as yet unknown. It should not be forgotten, however, that some of the cases of non-admittance may be due to over-crowding in the home universities rather than to incompetence.

Banham (1958) speaks of the disturbing proportion of mental breakdown among Nigerian students in the United Kingdom, whose concern about their personal prestige and feelings of responsibility may push them in the direction of choosing programmes which are so difficult as to require an effort which may only be described as superhuman. Where an English student could start over again along different lines, the Nigerian student cannot allow himself that luxury, and the admission of failure may be a pill which he cannot easily swallow.

Here again the experience of the British Council is relevant. Its scholarships are normally given to older people (aged 25-35), carefully selected for personality factors as well as for academic competence, usually already settled in university posts ; they are *not* given to students for the purpose of obtaining degrees. This undoubtedly reduces the stresses

which may otherwise accompany a sojourn in a foreign university. Once again, however, we must remind ourselves that the British Council procedure affects only a minority of the foreign students in the United Kingdom.

The whole question of success or failure among foreign students requires further and more complete study.

Can we get from the universities of the world some indication of the incidence and varieties of academic achievement among foreign students ? Can we discover the extent to which failures are due to poor selection, inadequate previous training, language deficiency, or ignorance of what is expected of them in the foreign environment ? To what degree may this be the result of differences in the nature of higher education (many Europeans criticize the "highschool" atmosphere of American universities, with frequent examinations, required attendance at lectures, etc.) in the country of origin and the country of sojourn ? Can the failures be reduced by better orientation ? Could UNESCO set up a machinery for collecting and comparing such experiences in different countries ?

c) *The Course of the Experience.*

One of the most dramatic and striking research findings in connection with an academic sojourn abroad relates to the fact that the experiences of the students frequently follow a pattern which has been characterized as a U-curve. This was first reported by Lysgaard (1955) in his study of Norwegian Fulbright grantees in the United States, but is mentioned in a number of succeeding publications. In their review of the relevant literature, Hollis and Peter (*op. cit.*) describe the curve as follows. When the foreign student or scholar arrives, he usually goes through a "spectator" stage, in which he "is simply observing the new sights and experiences which come his way, and having an exciting adventure". He then enters a second phase, that of "involvement", during which many problems may arise, and a number of disappointments may be experienced. This period can be one of disillusionment and even of depression, but according to many of the research findings, it is one through which a large number of visitors must pass. It is usually followed by a third phase, in which the visitor "comes to terms with himself, the United States and the training experience". The U-shaped curve thus includes a relatively happy first phase, then a trough in the curve as the visitor becomes involved in various difficulties, and as he gradually faces his problems; then again a relatively high point as he succeeds in the process and prepares for his departure.

Some investigators have added complications to this analysis. Jacobson (1963), for example, suggests a further breakdown of the sojourn into nine phases. Morris (*op. cit.*) has verified the presence of the U-curve in the degree of satisfaction shown by foreign students, especially Scandinavians enrolled at an American university, but adds that in a substantial number of cases the curve, instead of continuing to rise after the trough has been overcome, begins to descend again after a sojourn of fifty months. Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) on the basis of extensive interviews with Americans whose awards took them to all areas of the world, believe

that the reactions described above "occur not only when a sojourner attempts to adjust to an alien social system; they also recur with varying intensities when the sojourners return to their home environment". They propose, therefore, as a more accurate model of what actually happens, a W-curve; or a double U-curve, one describing the experience abroad, the other the process of reacculturation back home. Some of the difficulties of such readjustment are described by Pfeffer (1961) in the case of returned Pakistanis after a stay in Germany, although he indicates that it was difficult to get them to talk freely about their problems of fitting again into the old environment. Selltiz and Cook (*op. cit.*) express the need for further data relating to follow-up after students have returned home, to assess the long term effects on their attitudes and to describe specifically their problems of readjustment.

The many references to the U-curve and its variants in the published literature raise a number of important research problems. To the extent that it is an accurate representation of what occurs, it seems clear that any evaluation of the success of the sojourn in improving attitudes to the host country will in part be determined by the particular point in the curve at which the attitudes are measured.

Is there any consistency in the time-span covered by the curve; in other words, is there relative consistency or great variation in the time it takes to descend into the trough, and that needed for the ascent to a more favorable position ? To the extent that there is consistency, would it be advisable to terminate the sojourn either relatively early or relatively late, since departure during the trough phase would mean leaving with a bad impression ? Is the trough inevitable ? It appears, for example, that no such trough developed in the experience of many of the foreign students investigated in Germany by Breitenbach (personal communication); is this an exceptional case, or can it be duplicated elsewhere ? Can the trough be removed by appropriate measures, including greater attention to the needs of foreign students at the period when the trough would usually develop ? Why, and under what conditions, does the curve begin to descend a second time ? Does this mean that students should not stay beyond the period of fifty months mentioned in the Morris study ? An early investigation by Loomis and Schuler (1948) indicated that in the case of Latin Americans in the United States a period of about one year is least favorable for the development of friendly attitudes; a sojourn of considerably less or considerably more than one year gave better results. Is this finding specific to this particular situation ?

N'Diaye (*op. cit.*) found that favorable judgments of the French increased during the first four years of sojourn, then underwent a sharp drop. In the United States, Veroff (1963) reports that some judgments of Americans by African students became more favorable with time, others decidedly less so. Aich (1962) states that the longer colored students stay in Germany, the stronger their anti-Western attitude. This he believes to be due to the personal difficulties encountered by the students, which create in them a general feeling of frustration with consequent negative reactions. It may also be related to their academic problems, mentioned

above. He believes that one year is the optimum period. African students in France (N'Diaye), when asked from what countries they would like their own nations to receive technical assistance, and also what countries they admired most, place the USSR rather than France first in both these categories. It is probable that such changes of attitude were not those considered desirable by the government sponsoring the exchange of students ! Representative samples of young Africans questioned in their own countries were not nearly so friendly toward the Soviet Union according to a study by Hoffman (1962).

We know that the effect does not always work in reverse, but how frequently does this occur ? And after what length of time ? When, and under what conditions, does the experience have a boomerang effect ? The whole issue of optimum length of time of a foreign sojourn is in need of scientific cross-cultural study.

Further, how serious and important is the second U in the W-curve, and whom does it mostly affect ? Gullahorn and Gullahorn (*op. cit.*) indicate that it may be more important in the case of returning professors than in that of returning students; what about chiefs of mission in a technical assistance project, or members of an embassy staff, or a UN secretariat ? Is it found more frequently when the return is to certain home countries rather than others ? These questions can be answered, but only if comparable studies can be carried out under different conditions and in different countries. Universities and research institutes can contribute greatly, but only if there is some degree of coordination and organization, presumably by UNESCO.

Another way of looking at the course of the experience is represented by a series of studies by Schild (1962) and Herman and Schild (1960) on foreign (usually Jewish) students in Israel. They believe that the analysis of this experience should be undertaken by seeing the visiting student a) as a person in a new psychological situation, b) as a person on the periphery of the host society, c) as a person in overlapping situations, influenced by the norms of both the home and the host cultures, and d) a person with a limited time perspective in regard to his stay. This last point appears to be particularly important. Some of the aspects of the "curves" described above may possibly be related to the student's feeling that he has very little time, that he must finish his course or get his degree in a hurry; his distress or unhappiness (the trough in the U-curve) might be less pronounced if only he had more time !

Finally, it has been suggested that in many cases the "curve" may rather approximate the usual learning curve described in the course of a great many psychological experiments. This curve is not U-shaped, but starts low, with the beginning of the experience representing the most difficult period; there is then a gradual but irregular rise, sometimes interrupted by a plateau, but usually moving upward with time. Perhaps for every individual there are at least two curves denoting the course of the experience, one for learning, another for adjustment. Perhaps there is a whole series of curves, depending on the individual and his particular situation, rather than a typical sojourn experience.

Clearly the course of the experience requires much more research, in a wider variety of contexts, with closer attention to the complexity of the factors involved.

d) *Returnees versus Immigrants.*

A serious problem arises in connection with exchanges when the persons involved remain in the host country, thus undermining at least some of the goals of the exchange of persons programme. This issue becomes particularly important in connection with students and specialists from the developing countries, which often are in serious need of the talents resulting from overseas study, and can ill afford to lose them. This point is emphasized in the OECD Report V (1962) which states that "one particular aspect of this problem arises in connection with students from the underdeveloped countries who do not return home, and who, in effect, constitute a drainage of talent and skill from their own countries. This is a matter which is preoccupying a number of underdeveloped countries, particularly India and Iran". The same report indicates that "Of Turkey's 9,000 doctors, 2,000 have stayed on in the United States of America, after training there, notwithstanding immigration regulations, and there are also many engineers in the same case, especially the most competent engineers, who constitute a very valuable source of manpower". This whole matter was the topic of a discussion by the Committee on Educational Interchange Policy, which met in New York in May 1958, and the account of which includes a report on the extent of the phenomenon and the reasons for remaining in the United States together with recommendations for ways of encouraging students to return to their original homeland. This meeting dealt exclusively with the situation as far as remaining in the United States is concerned ; it is quite probable that the problem is acute not only in the United States. Also, several years have elapsed since that particular report was written, and specific applications to the present state of affairs may therefore be inappropriate. The recent study in Germany by Aich (*op. cit.*) indicates that many of the colored students are unwilling to return home after the completion of their education; they have become "alienated". In fact, Aich regards alienation as the major problem in foreign education.

The issue is a complicated one, and as with other forms of immigration may be related both to the "pull" of the new country and the "push" out of the old. It is highly probable that the differences in salaries or living conditions play an important rôle in this phenomenon, but it is also likely that psychological conditions and even ideological reactions exert an influence. Useem and Useem (*op. cit.*) indicate that Indian returnees from the United States and the United Kingdom experience great difficulty in this respect; only 10 per cent of their respondents indicated that they had obtained a position or employment for which their overseas studies had precisely equipped them; at least 55 per cent were not employed in the work for which they were sent abroad for training.

How widespread is this situation ? Can it be modified by the use of different criteria for the selection of students, with available work

opportunities serving as one means of deciding who should be sent abroad ? Could governments play a more active part in directing existing talents into appropriate work channels, instead of leaving so much of the reacculturation process to chance ? One thing seems to be clear, namely, that the problem can not be fully solved by obtaining legal or moral commitments from exchange students to return to their home country after training; such constraints are not always effective, and when they are, they may contribute to the formation of a disgruntled élite. The approach must be in terms of positive measures aimed at better and more effective reintegration. A collection of the experiences of a number of different countries, both those which receive and those which send students, might make it possible to arrive at conclusions which would have specific practical implications.

So far the discussion of the problem of "immigrants vs. returnees" has proceeded on the apparent assumption that the return home is desirable, and that permanent residence in the host country should be discouraged. From the point of view of those who administer fellowships, this assumption is certainly understandable and to a certain extent justified. Only to a certain extent, however; if an Indian student remains, let us say, in Holland and makes a definite contribution to science in that country (as in a case reported by a participant in the Herzliah conference), he is not only adding effectively to the sum of knowledge in the world, but is presumably adding also to the respect of Netherlanders for Indian scholarship. He is thereby making two important contributions, both of which should be regarded as significant whether the sponsoring organization is international (like UNESCO) or the government of India. In addition, from the point of view of the individual student concerned, remaining in the host country may sometimes be the best, if not the only, solution to the problem of finding a job which corresponds to his talent and training. As has already been indicated, Useem and Useem (*op. cit*) report that Indian returnees find it difficult to obtain jobs; Aich (*op. cit.*) amends this statement slightly by indicating that they can find jobs, but often below the level for which they are now qualified. In either case, their refusal to return is understandable, and perhaps justified. Similarly, an African from a developing country who has spent years in London or Paris may discover that there is no opening at home where what he has learned can be effectively applied.

An international or cross-national study of non-returnees, their background, their motivations, the nature of their training, the relevant situation in their home country, and their impact upon the host country, would appear to be highly desirable. Is the problem of non-returnees more acute in certain fields than in others--medicine as compared with engineering, natural science as compared with social science, and so forth ?

e) *Racial and Ethnic Aspects of Exchanges.*

Recent newspaper accounts of complaints and even of rioting on the part of African students in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union raise the

question of the extent and variety of the prejudice and discrimination experienced by non-whites in different host countries. The problem appears to be widespread, and it is a serious one. It is obvious that most if not all of the hoped-for benefits from student exchanges may be jeopardized under these conditions. Studies in Western countries, especially in the United States, have indicated how important this problem may be, and what complex ramifications it may have. Davis *et al.* (1961) in their investigation of African students in the United States report that many of them mentioned discriminations of various types allegedly due to their skin colour. They commonly reported also that racial discrimination was worse than they had expected both in the North and in the South. Veroff (*op. cit.*) in his critical analysis of this and related materials in the case of African students in the United States, indicates that "non-academic problems did cloud their perspective on their experiences in this country". Sometimes it is not so much the personal experiences of the students themselves as their observation of the racial situation in general that produce a negative reaction. This was apparently the case in the judgments made by the Latin American students investigated by Loomis and Schuler (*op. cit.*), and also in that of Indian students in the United States and the United Kingdom, interviewed by Useem and Useem; fewer than one-fourth of these students had themselves been the subjects of discrimination, but more than three-fourths were familiar with the situation generally, and were upset about it. Even if the acts in question did not concern the person of the student himself, they were often interpreted as being directed against *his* status as "Indian student", as a violation of *his* rights, etc. It should be added that both in the United States and the United Kingdom (though there are differences in reactions relating to former British colonialism and to American domestic problems, respectively) the incidents to which reference is made rarely occur in the university setting, but almost universally relate to experiences outside, in connection with housing, hotel and restaurant service, entertainment, etc. The race problem enters also into the judgments of the United States by a number of Japanese students (Passin and Bennett, 1954) ; Mexican students (Beals, 1954) reported relatively little discrimination against themselves, but at the same time were often greatly disturbed by the Negro situation generally. In Germany Aich reports that colored students reacted to discrimination against others even when they had no such experiences themselves.

The whole issue of "race" in connection with student exchanges is intertwined with the question of national status, particularly as related to whether the status ascribed by the host country to the national groups represented by the foreign students is lower than that which the students expect, or believe they are entitled to receive. In their analysis of the reactions of Indian students, Lambert and Bressler (1956) make the point that high status countries (as far as Americans are concerned) are usually European, with a long period of national independence, universally recognized as powerful or as having made important contributions to world civilization, and with a population that is visibly and unmistakably Caucasian. Low status countries include those which are non-European, have achieved their independence only recently, and have a non-Caucasian

or colored population. The relationship of "status" in connection with the attitudes of foreign students has been more fully explored by Morris (1956, 1960), who suggests that hostile criticisms of the United States are more likely to be found among students who feel that Americans ascribe a lower status to their country than they would themselves, and less so among those who feel secure about the status of their own nation, both in their own eyes and in those of Americans. Selltiz and Cook (*op. cit.*) regard this factor of national status as important, but suggest that it may not always function in the manner which Morris suggests.

Studies of non-white students in other Western countries raise similar questions, although the problem is not usually considered to be as serious as it frequently is in the United States. Mac Farlane (1958) in discussing the welfare of Commonwealth students in the United Kingdom speaks of the importance of the kind of reception which the British public gives to such students, and the possibilities they may have to enter into the social or cultural life of Britain ; he underlines the importance of public opinion and public attitudes toward race in this connection. In France the study by N'Diaye includes "racism, often latent" among the criticisms leveled by African students against the host country, but one gets the impression that this does not play an important rôle in the attitudes of these students toward France. Aich refers both to discrimination and to the problem of national status in the case of colored students in Germany ; he uses the expression "status shock" in connection with this phenomenon. Many students, from India for example, come from high strata of their own population, and have enjoyed high status until the time of their sojourn in the host country. There they are lost in the mass of foreign students, regarded as similar to all the others, their presumably higher status completely unrecognized. What may look to them like racial or ethnic discrimination may in many cases, according to Aich, really be due to the unwillingness of the hosts to grant these students the status to which the latter consider themselves to be entitled.

Query ; is this a widespread phenomenon ? How are status shock and alleged racial discrimination interrelated ? Under what conditions is status shock important ?

In spite of all that has been said and written about the influence of racial and ethnic hostilities on relations between exchange students and the host population, it seems evident that more research is needed.

In the first place, we know too little from the comparative viewpoint ; how different (or similar) is the situation in the United States and the USSR, in France and the United Kingdom, in Switzerland and Germany, from this viewpoint ? Second, what is the specific relation between the amount of prejudice or discrimination and the attitudes which develop toward the host country ? Do such experiences have a predominant influence or are they less important in their effects than academic success or adequate preparation for the desired career at home ? Third, what is the bearing of race on the question of national status, and how important is national status in this connection ? Fourth, what can be done about the whole issue of race ? Does preliminary briefing of non-white students

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as to what to expect reduce the traumatic effect of such experiences ? Can the public be alerted to the harmful effects of current practices ? Is there any practical action which governments could take ? Would particular care in solving problems of housing, for example, remove a major source of irritation ? Finally, how much racial discrimination is actually experienced and how much is imagined ? Are feelings *too* easily hurt ? Does failure to invite an African student into a home in New York or Paris or London really occur more frequently than in the case of students from Norway or Holland ? Is hostility against an individual mistaken for hostility against a whole nation or racial group ? We know that there will be increased sensitivity on the part of certain groups, but we do not know to what degree such sensitivity contributes to an imagined experience, rather than representing real discrimination.

f) *Other Issues in Student Exchanges.*

There remain a number of aspects of student exchanges which do not seem as yet to have received the attention they deserve, and which are here briefly presented as possible research areas.

1. What are the effects of such exchanges on the host country ? What proportion of students at a particular university have any degree of contact with the foreign students ? What kinds of contact, and with what students ? How about the community, apart from the university ? The study by James and Tenen (1953) has indicated the extent to which the attitudes of school children in London could be changed by the presence of two African schoolteachers. What of the presence of two or three African students on a small college campus in the American midwest ? In connection with the reported rioting of Ghanaian students in Moscow, most of the speculation has been about the reaction of the Ghanaians. What about the reactions of the Soviet students, before, during and after the demonstration ? If attitude change in the direction of friendlier international relations is important, surely the attitudes on both sides should be considered.

2. Are there any measurable effects on people in the home country apart from the effects on the exchange students themselves ? The published studies contain several references to the attitudes of the people at home toward the returnees, for example, that Indian students (Useem and Useem, *op. cit.*) have become "too American" or "too British" ; sometimes, on the other hand, the behavior that has been imported may be copied by others, or the information obtained transmitted to a relatively wide circle. Does this happen with any frequency ? Under what conditions and to what extent ? Does the process differ in different countries, and does it depend on the degree of similarity or difference between the two cultures involved, or on the political relationships, or on national status ?

Breitenbach (1963) stresses particularly the desirability of learning more about the influence of the foreign student on his acquaintances and associates after his return to the country of origin, and UNESCO is at present engaged in a study of the rôle of returnees to India, Iran and the United Arab Republic as intermediaries between the cultures of the

countries they have visited on the one hand (in this case the German Federal Republic, the United Kingdom and the United States), and their own national cultures on the other. The study by Danckwortt (1959) was especially focussed on the readaptation of the returnee, occupationally and socially, but also dealt with his role as a transmitter of cultural values. In his general discussion of overseas students in the United Kingdom, Livingstone (1960, 1964) devotes special attention to "the return home" both in terms of the satisfactions and failures experienced by the students themselves, and the reactions encountered among those with whom they come into contact. This appears to be an important area for further research.

3. It has been suggested that in this form of contact, as in many others, the best results will be obtained when there are opportunities for involvement in an on-going enterprise, when the visitor can become a full-fledged participant, when he can be treated as a regular member, though a temporary one, of a group doing a job (Kelman, *op. cit.*). This idea appears to be a good one, but may be difficult to realize except in a small number of cases.

Can techniques be developed to facilitate such involvement ? Can one rely entirely on enterprises which have developed in the natural course of events at a university or a research institution, or would one have to create special enterprises for this purpose ? How could one handle the great discrepancy in previous training that is often found between the exchange student and the group already involved in the enterprise ? What kinds of enterprise would be most effective in connection with attitude change ?

4. The age or level of educational attainment at which a foreign sojourn would have the most favorable results has been discussed in many of the research reports. Aich (*op. cit.*) is strongly of the opinion that it would be preferable to admit only those students who have already terminated their studies at home and wish to obtain specialized training abroad, or those who are already embarked on a career such as teaching, and feel the need for supplementary experience or instruction. He regards this as the best way to protect the foreign student against that alienation from his own culture that is likely to occur if he leaves his home relatively early in life.

A collection of experiences from many universities which have received both graduate and undergraduate foreign students would help to determine whether the results of the German study can safely be generalized.

Note : There could perhaps be another section at this point, parallel to the one above, entitled *Teaching Abroad,* and possibly also one on *Research Abroad,* to deal with more advanced scholars of the type supported by the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt programmes in the United States, by similar programmes under the auspices of the British, French and other governments and occasionally by UNESCO, etc. It seems highly probable, however, that many of the problems involved would be similar to those already discussed in connection with student exchanges, and in fact "professors" have occasionally been mentioned in the preceding analysis.

For this reason, it was decided not to deal specifically with the older group in this context, especially as they enter also into the consideration of Technical Cooperation, to which we now turn. There is, however, one aspect of Teaching Abroad which requires special comment, and which may serve as a bridge between this section and the next.

One of the participants in the Herzliah conference, with a rich and varied experience in sending teaching personnel abroad, spoke of the programme conducted under the auspices of the Conference Board of the Associated Research Councils in the United States; this Board cooperates in the administration of the Fulbright Programme. The two major problems which the Board has had to face are, first, the selection and recruitment of personnel which should be adequate both in quality and quantity, and second, the proper utilization of such personnel when it is recruited. In connection with both of these a profound change in orientation has occurred as a consequence of the shift in emphasis from sending American professors to Europe, to a concern with the newly-developing countries and the goal of technical aid or cooperation. In the earlier programme, the emphasis was placed on academic distinction and a high level of scholarly competence; it appears that for the newer orientation, given a modest but acceptable level of scholarship, it is more important to choose people who are good teachers and have the ability to establish good personal relationships with the people to whom they are sent. Attempts are now being made to assess the qualities which make for success in this new situation, but the task is not an easy one. Essentially the goal here is to fit a particular kind of person to a particular kind of situation, rather than insisting on excellence as such.

It would seem to be highly desirable to make a careful study of the American experience along these lines, and to compare with it the results obtained by other countries which must also strike a balance, in their programmes, between sending to different parts of the world scholars who vary greatly in eminence and achievement, in teaching ability, and in the qualities of their personality.

2. *Personal Contacts Involved in Technical Cooperation.*

The personal contacts involved in the process of technical cooperation (formerly referred to as Technical Assistance) represent a form of international exchange which obviously has far-reaching implications and has been the subject of a great deal of thinking and also of a substantial amount of research. The Agency for International Development of the United States (AID) and its predecessor, the International Cooperation Administration (ICA) have undertaken a series of follow-up evaluative studies of programmes concerned with the training of foreign nationals, as well as with the performance of Americans who have been sent abroad as part of these same programmes. As examples of such studies may be mentioned those by AID on the Participant Training Program in Jamaica (1962) and Nicaragua (1962), the reports by Bremseth on Iran (1956) and Taiwan (1959) and the ICA studies in Indonesia (1959) and the Philippines

(1960). The Israel Institute of Applied Social Research has made an evaluative survey of Israeli participants in the AID Training Program (1962); Stabler and Mogannam (1957) have reported on Egyptian technicians who received training in the United States; the Instituto de Pesquisas de Opinião has evaluated the Point IV Training Program in Brazil (1959). As far as other bilateral programmes are concerned (Pfeffer, *op. cit.*) a study was made of Pakistanis returned from training in Germany; Danckwortt (1958, 1959) has concerned himself with the effect of a sojourn in Germany on nationals from a number of developing countries, particularly from Asia and Africa; the Carl Duisberg-Gesellschaft (1960) has been particularly interested in Egyptians who have received training in Germany. There are a number of problems in this area which still appear to be in need of considerable research.

a) *Technical Cooperation rather than Technical Assistance.*

This change in terminology represents an attempt at a change in orientation and policy from the earlier concept of help being given by a more developed to less developed nation, industrially and technically speaking, to the newer goal of cooperation, either at the bilateral or multilateral level as has already been indicated. Kelman (*op. cit.*) lays particular stress on the cooperative aspects of this process, on the need to establish a give-and-take relationship, on the importance of equal status contacts, on finding ways of enhancing the recipient's status while bringing him technical aid. On the question of the selection and preparation of aid-personnel, Kelman urges that special attention be paid to developing in the "foreign expert" a genuine interest in what the receiving country has to offer him; "the donor has to pay deliberate attention not only to what and how he can give, but also to what and how he can take". This point, in one form or another, has been made by a number of investigators, particularly by Flack (1964) and his colleagues. It is exceedingly important, but it is not easy to implement.

What more can be done, beyond substituting the expression Technical Cooperation for that of Technical Assistance ? How can the process be interpreted as something different from bringing aid *to* a country that needs it ?

It may be helpful to distinguish three varieties of possible technical cooperation. The first, which is the most difficult to organize in terms of true cooperation, is represented by the usual technical assistance mission, in which one or more experts (engineers, doctors, public opinion specialists) are sent from one country to another which has asked for that particular form of assistance. Here a deliberate attempt may have to be made to find ways of ensuring equal-status cooperation, by setting up situations in which the local population has a rôle to play, in which the visiting expert depends upon them for success. A semi-fictional account of such a project is given in the "The Ugly American" by Lederer and Burdick (1958). The problem may sometimes have to be a simple one, directly related to local needs, in which local knowledge is essential for its solution,

and one which in a reasonably short time can be taken over by the local population. (This is frequently mentioned as a desideratum of all technical assistance projects, but it is not always realized in practice).

Would it be possible to collect the international experience of such projects in which cooperation has really occurred, as a guide to setting up future projects along similar lines ? Could some degree of guidance in this respect be made available to the foreign experts ?

In the second variety, there may be cooperation between nationals of two countries in bringing needed aid to a third. Although such cooperation should wherever possible extend also to the recipient country, there is an additional kind of cooperation here which may have a favorable effect on international understanding.

If Russian and American doctors or public health experts work together on malaria eradication in Africa, or German and French educators on a campaign against illiteracy in a Latin American country, what happens to the people involved, and to their attitudes to each other's nation, as well as to the recipient country ? Could such experiences also be collected and analyzed ?

The third category of technical cooperation is represented by what Sherif *et al.* (1961) have called "superordinate goals", that is, goals which are common to two groups (in this case, nations), which cannot be achieved by either one working separately, but can be reached by both working together and interdependently. After demonstrating that this process may remove hostilities and develop friendly attitudes among boys in a summer camp, Sherif suggests that it should function similarly on the broader international level. A number of other psychologists (for example, Deutsch, 1961) have echoed this proposal, and have even called upon nations to multiply the occasions on which such cooperation in the attainment of common or superordinate goals becomes possible. As between the United States and the Soviet Union, joint activities in connection with the International Geophysical Year and the explorations in Antarctica have been mentioned as examples, and the proposal for a combined expedition to the moon may one day represent another.

There are two important research issues involved here. The first is to collect information regarding such projects in the past, and the second, to determine how well they have actually worked in improving the relations among the nationals involved. There may be cases in which the international cooperative ventures may boomerang, for example, if they fail to reach their goals, and if both parties to the enterprise blame the other for the failure. Sherif's extrapolation to international affairs seems highly probable, but more information is needed before we can be certain of its entire applicability.

In this whole area, it has been suggested (Lundstedt, 1961) that insufficient attention has been paid to the interpersonal dimension, the relations between the human beings involved in the technical operations. There is a lack of systematic studies of the underlying psychological processes which directly govern sucess or failure; Lundstedt stresses the need for research along these lines.

b) *Selection and Training of Personnel.*

The problem of how to select and to train those who go abroad on "missions" has already attracted so much attention that it is not easy to decide what remains to be done in this area. Reference has already been made to selection and orientation or training in connection with student exchanges and the sending of scholars at the professorial level; this represents an important aspect of the issue under consideration. A volume on *The Selection of Personnel for International Service,* edited by Mottram Torre (1963) gives an account of some of the problems involved, and some of the techniques used in order to resolve them; it is concerned almost exclusively with selection, however, and only incidentally with training. Some of the complications in both the selection and training processes are brought out in an investigation of Peace Corps teachers in Ghana by M.B. Smith *et al.* (1963), who indicate how difficult it is to anticipate just what stresses the volunteers would experience, and as a consequence to predict their effectiveness. This particular study was concerned mainly with the level of morale among these teachers, and the relationship (which turned out to be negligible) between morale and the judged effectiveness of the work accomplished. Such a surprising result suggests the need for replication of studies of this and related topics in connection with both selection and training.

What kinds of selection have been attempted ? How well have they succeeded ? What relation is there between methods of selection and effectiveness of results ? Is it all a matter of chance, or a consequence of variables that cannot easily be measured ? The same questions should be directed to the problem of training. Now that the idea of a Peace Corps has spread from the United States to Norway and other countries, there may be opportunity here for comparative studies of different national groups which might yield results of very real significance in a difficult field.

3. *Other Forms of Personal Contact at the International Level.*

There are many other forms of personal contact that could be studied; they are presented in brief form below.

a) *Tourism.*

Research on tourism is being actively encouraged in Germany under the auspices of the Studienkreis für Tourismus, founded in Bonn in January 1961 with Heinz Hahn as coordinator. Hahn and his colleagues have published a number of reports on German tourists, youths and adults, who visited Italy, Yugoslavia, France, Switzerland, Spain, etc.; most of these accounts are descriptive in character, with occasional references, however, to their potential and actual contribution to international understanding. This problem has also been examined at a conference under the auspices of the UNESCO Youth Institute in Gauting (1960). It seems clear from general observation that tourism can work both ways,

either to increase or decrease friendliness on the part of either travellers or their hosts, or both. The German studies have made a beginning in this direction, but a more systematic and more international approach is needed. In this field there are many stereotypes regarding the nature of tourists from particular countries, referring to their often critical attitudes toward the hosts, their complaints, their stinginess or their extravagance, their insistence on transplanting their native folkways to foreign soil, the noise they make, their degree of insensitivity to local religious or cultural customs, and so forth.

How widespread are these stereotypes ? What is their content ? How strongly are they held ? Do they contain any truth ? Do they have an effect ? Are they confirmed or corrected by actual experience ?

b) *Sport.*

As far as contact through sport is concerned, the writer of this paper could find no systematic attempt to answer the question as to the effects of international athletic contact (and competition) on international friendliness. Newspaper accounts of rioting after a football game sometimes give the impression that the net effect is negative, but it is clear that unpleasant events may receive a degree of publicity out of all proportion to their frequency.

How common are they in reality ? What is the usual effect of international contact on the playing field, — on the participants, and on the spectators ? Are national animosities usually reduced or intensified ? Are the results different in the case of team efforts (as in football or hockey) from those found in individual competition as in boxing or tennis ? We know almost nothing about the answers to these questions. It should not be too difficult to find out.

c) *Immigration.*

It is clear that immigration may sometimes function as a mechanism for facilitating cultural exchanges. The published literature dealing with immigration is enormous, and will probably continue to grow in the future. UNESCO has in the past studied the Cultural Contributions of Immigrants, but has not yet answered the question as to whether, and in what manner, such contributions are appreciated by the receiving country.

To start with what may appear to be a trivial example, is the adoption of the kinds of foods imported by immigrants associated with a friendly attitude toward the people responsible ? What about other contributions of a more "serious" nature; what effects do they have ? The problem of temporary migrants as in the case of Italian workers in Germany or Belgium, or Mexicans in the United States, or of Spanish workers in France, should also be considered in this connection.

d) *International Non-governmental Organizations.*

Meetings of NGO's, as well as meetings of governmental representatives, bring together a substantial number of people, frequently of fairly high intellectual level, sometimes with considerable prestige and influence in their home communities.

How many people are reached in this manner ? What kinds of people ? Is the impression justified that it is the *same* people who meet over and over again ? What are the effects of this particular kind of contact ?

e) *The Military.*

The rôle of contacts with the military, whether as occupiers of the country, or as allies, or as the bearers of technical assistance to (or cooperation with) the local armed forces, may represent a very important change agent. Not only is technology transmitted, but the attendant contacts may serve to acquaint certain segments of the population with new ways of life, new values, new goals, and may in time affect the population generally. More directly (as in the case of Israel) the army may serve as a significant educational institution, contributing to the more rapid acculturation of immigrants, and producing far-reaching changes in attitudes and behaviour. In the latter case we are dealing with intra-national rather than international contacts, but from the point of view of communication and culture-contact the process in the two cases may not be so very different.

A comparison of the influence of the military in various kinds of culture contact and in various parts of the world as agents of technical change would seem to be worth making.

II

International exchanges not involving personal contacts

As has already been indicated, it is difficult to draw a sharp line of separation between international exchanges which do, and those which do not involve personal contact. At the same time the distinction is useful and important, because in what follows the emphasis is placed on the possible contribution to international friendship or cooperation of materials which can be sent from one country to another without personal intermediaries. This whole area suffers from a relative lack of research as compared with that of exchange of persons, particularly student exchanges, but for that very reason it may be even more important to indicate some of the lines of investigation which appear to be needed.

1. *Information and Attitude Change.*

Reference has already been made to a development in this area which parallels in several respects that which has occurred in connection with the effects of contact; the earlier hopes have been replaced by considerable scepticism. Everything seems to depend, as in the well-known formulation, on "who says what to whom under what conditions and with what effect". The analysis by Hyman and Sheatsley (*op. cit.*) indicates the extent to which information campaigns may fail to reach their goals because the targets of such campaigns make their own selection out of what is presented to them, as well as their own interpretation of what they see or hear. Is the scepticism fully justified ?

In a field closely allied to that of international understanding, namely, ethnic or "race" relations, Rose (1948) a number of years ago surveyed the results of before-and-after investigations of the effects of school courses on attitudes, and reported that out of eleven studies, a change occurred in the desired direction in six cases, no change in four, and ambiguous results in the remaining one. This survey, which should be brought up to date, indicates that in the majority of cases information does indeed have an influence on attitudes, but in these studies we are dealing with "captive audiences", and the strictures made by Hyman and Sheatsley regarding the more usual type of information campaign may still be valid. (Of course, even captive audiences may show selective attention and inattention, though not as easily as when the radio or TV set may be turned off at will). At the same time it must not be forgotten that there are many opportunities, at trade union meetings, at conventions and congresses, to reach an audience which remains at least temporarily "captive", and that therefore the results of the type reported by Rose should not be dismissed too lightly.

Kelman (*op. cit.*) has summarized the results of a number of important studies in the field of communication. He believes that what we now know is that it is necessary to devise communications that are relevant to the needs and concerns of the target population, that have meaning and importance for them; that a communication from a source which has "low credibility" will probably be dismissed as biased and as consisting solely as propaganda; that the more distant the advocated position from the position of the audience the less effective will be the communication, and so forth. The investigations on which these conclusions are based have nearly all been conducted in the United States, and usually on student populations, and the first query must be as to whether they would hold in other countries and with other types of audience.

This last point is emphasized by Jacobson (1963), who urges the need for research to determine the special characteristics of information flow in various communities. As an example he refers to the study by Anderson and Melen (1959), who indicate that in Sweden the two-step flow of information, reported by Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) does not always operate in the same manner. Katz and Lazarsfeld showed that information is usually received by a small group in the population, then disseminated by them to neighboring individuals, who pass it further

along; the Swedish study shows that this process may vary as a function of the occupational structures of the community. Another important relevant finding is that of Eisenstadt (1956, 1962), who found different styles of communication among various immigrant groups in Israel; those from Arabia showed an information flow from persons of senior status to those below; those from northern Europe had a much more rapid spread through all levels ; among migrants from North Africa the lead was taken by individuals who were formally identified as having that responsibility. These examples are perhaps sufficient to justify the emphasis on the importance of setting up comparative cross cultural research on the information process.

A related problem is that concerned with the characteristics of the "innovators", those who initiate the process of change by being the first to accept or promulgate a new idea or a new technique, particularly in the field of technological development. There have been a number of suggestions regarding the kinds of persons who fulfill this role. McClelland and his associates (1961), for example, find the explanation in a high degree of the "achievement motive"; Lerner (1958), on the basis of research in Turkey, regards the essential quality as one of "empathy", defined as the ability to imagine oneself into someone else's position, particularly the position of leadership or authority.

The question arises as to whether innovators represent the same kind of people in different contexts, with regard to different types of innovation, varying cultural and national settings, etc. A cross-national study of the nature of the innovator would appear highly desirable. The book by Everett Rogers (1962) gives a number of leads to such investigations.

Kelman makes three specific suggestions for shaping the content of the communication in a manner designed to overcome the barriers or resistances presented by the target group; although his proposals relate more directly to bilateral than to multilateral or international communication, they are relevant at this point. Information, first, should reveal that the sending country has taken a position or an action on an issue that is in line with that favored by the target audience; second, that it should be about events and activities that are inherently interesting to the target audience; and third, that it should include general information relevant to the concerns and interests of that audience. A somewhat similar point is made by Bronfenbrenner (1962), who states that "effective communication is most likely to occur if carried out in a context in which there has been prior recognition, and where possible, acceptance of some values cherished by the other party". These suggestions may appear to be obvious, but they are not easy to implement, and a careful look at the information campaigns actually being conducted would probably indicate that they fall very far short of satisfying these criteria.

An examination of this kind relating both to bilateral and international information programmes would seem to be highly desirable. It should explore the nature of those programmes which have been found most palatable by the recipients, to determine to what extent the suggestions made by Kelman and Bronfenbrenner could play a part in adding to their effectiveness.

2. *The Rôle of the Mass Media.*

The exchange of books — educational, scientific, literary — will be discussed in the next section; here we are especially concerned with such mass media as the press, the cinema, radio and TV. In this connection a number of important issues are raised in the International Social Science Journal, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1962), relating to factors determining the nature of mass communications in various countries. Although what has been said above regarding the relationship between information and attitudes is relevant at this point as well, two other problems will be raised, both of which richly deserve the attention of investigators.

The first relates to the rôle of the mass media in exchanges proper, that is, where there is an effort, usually bilateral in character, to use the mass media in communicating to another country (which does the same thing) information regarding national culture, scientific or artistic achievements, way of life, values, etc. In order to understand the nature of such exchanges and their effectiveness, a number of questions require to be answered.

What is actually transmitted and how is it received ? What is liked, what is disliked ? What is the image of the sending country which is gained by the audience ? (One thinks of the portrayal in the American cinema of life in the United States, and of the rôle of Brigitte Bardot in films of French origin). To what extent are the national portrayals "mirror images", or do they differ, and if so, in what respects ? What is expected of them by the target audience — education, information, entertainment, propaganda ? How many people are reached by the various mass media, and in what ways ? Extensive case studies, using in part the methods of public opinion research, would be needed in order to supply the relevant information.

The second research problem refers to the mass media as factors in inducing and facilitating technological development, or technological cooperation between "developed" and "developing" countries. UNESCO document 12C/PRG/14 (1962) includes the statement that "programmes of technical change for the purpose of economic development, which have assumed great importance in recent years, are concerned to a great extent with the communication of knowledge and ideas between nations". This problem is treated in detail in a recent publication by Schramm (1964), in which the statement is made that mass communication may soon play "a key part in the greatest social revolution of all time — the economic and social uplift of two-thirds of the world's people". He regards the mass media as undoubtedly major potential agents of change.

To what extent do French radio and TV programmes alter the values and attitudes, and contribute to the training of nationals in French-speaking Africa ? The same question applies to the use of American or British programmes in India and Pakistan. To what extent are the mass media used in a deliberate attempt to bring about change, or are the changes accidental by-products of the entertainment process ? Are certain kinds of change more easily transmitted than others ? How does this differ from

country to country ? Here, too, detailed national case studies would be required.

3. *The Exporting of Textbooks.*

Under this heading we refer to the sending of serious books, including school and university texts, from one country to another, or by UNESCO to countries requesting help along these lines. The question has been raised on many occasions as to the extent to which such exports fulfill the purposes expected of them, and as to whether they are really adapted to their new environment. In the field of science and technology, the problem usually is one of level rather than of orientation, although even here the books are often unsuitable, both because they assume knowledge and background which may be non-existent, and also because they may require apparatus which is unavailable. At times they may relate to conditions which cannot be duplicated. Agriculture in Iowa or Yorkshire is not the same as in Nigeria or the Andean highlands. The problem is of course much more serious in the social sciences, since books on sociology, economics, political science and social psychology are often remote in both theory and application from the local situation in the receiving country. The examples cited in such texts may be unrelated to the experience of students and other readers, and the orientation alien and inappropriate. Over and over again the suggestion has been made to write new textbooks or at least to modify and adapt existing ones to the new requirements. (This point is emphasized by De Vries). So far, however, little has been done along these lines. Among the few examples known to the present writer may be mentioned the text by T. B. Bottomore (1963) on Sociology for use in India. A volume on International Relations is now being prepared by M. J. Flack and Grady Nunn, with a view to making this field directly useful and applicable at certain West African universities.

This seems a proper time to review and extend the idea, and to initiate a pilot programme of production, revision or adaptation of texts. A suitable technique might be to take one standard text in each of the social sciences, and have the author revise as necessary in close collaboration with someone who is familiar both with the relevant discipline and with the country or region concerned. In other cases the text might be written by nationals of the developing countries. Some of these exist already; there are, for example, sociology texts written in Portuguese by Brazilians, and these might be examined from this viewpoint (although in this respect at least Brazil might more properly be considered a "developed" country).

There is here an important underlying problem as to how much of the content of the individual social sciences may be regarded as universal in its application, and how much will vary according to the specific social situation. In some cases, even the natural sciences may have to be investigated from this standpoint.

4. *The Social Sciences in Countries of Varying Economic and Social Systems.*

A special instance of this problem, but one which is far-reaching in its implications, relates to the nature of the social sciences in the political East and West, respectively. An American sociologist reading the article by Mshvenieradze and Osipov (1962) on *Sociology in the USSR* would discover that the "study of the laws governing the transition from socialism to communism is acquiring a decisive part in the work of Soviet sociologists", and he might well ask himself whether what is called sociology in the USSR has anything in common with what goes by the same name in the United States. If he reads a little further, however, he will note that another major task is the "study of the concrete processes of the all-round development of the personality", and this he might consider to be rather close to some of his own preoccupations. Perhaps in such a case the theoretical approach would differ but the underlying observations turn out to be quite similar; possibly in some instances variations in terminology might hide a substantial amount of agreement regarding the facts. It has been suggested, for example, that in the field of psychology, Freud and Pavlov resemble each other much more than is usually realized, and that many aspects of the theory of each can easily be restated in the terminology of the other. This kind of statement may be truer of cultural anthropology than of economics or political science, but so far no one has really attempted a systematic exploration of the amount and nature of the divergences as compared with the areas of overlapping and agreement. Especially because of the direct relationship of the social sciences to significant human problems (both American and Soviet sociologists state their interest in relations between ethnic groups, factors leading to peace or war, the effects of automation, etc.) such an experiment should be exceedingly valuable.

It is suggested that a pilot project be undertaken along these lines for one social science, through a working party consisting of specialists from countries of differing economic and political systems, who would attempt to answer for their discipline the questions here raised. This should be a friendly and pleasant operation, since the goal would not be to convince or convert the other side but rather to discover what the two sides have in common.

5. *Exchanges in Literature and other Arts.*

If little is known definitely about the effects of the various kinds of exchanges discussed above, it must be admitted that still less has been discovered about the exchanges which are the topic of this section. There is some relevant information with regard to the influence of motion pictures on attitudes. The early studies of Peterson and Thurstone (1933) indicated that certain films having content relevant to ethnic groups such as Negroes or Chinese were capable of affecting significantly the attitudes of the American highschool children to whom they were shown, and that these

effects remained over a relatively long period (up to two years in some cases). Much more recently Mitnick and McGinnies (1958) showed a film on racial tolerance to highschool children and found that prejudice was apparently reduced as a consequence. In both this and the previous investigations, however, we are dealing with films with content directly related to the improvement of ethnic attitudes. It is difficult to find any direct evidence to indicate that films or any other artistic productions which are reflections of the "culture" of one nation will favorably influence the attitudes of those from another nation who are exposed to them. Long ago Chen (1933) found that oral propaganda in favor of the Chinese and Japanese, respectively, changed the attitudes of American students, but exhibits of the art of these two groups had no demonstrable effect. De Vries states that "audio-visual influences are particularly great when they are accompanied by admiration of the cultural achievements of others".

Do we have any evidence that such admiration generates respect and friendliness in fields other than those specifically related to the arts in question ? Many white southerners who enjoyed Negro spirituals did not change their attitude toward the Negro as a consequence.

An important unpublished UNESCO study in the Netherlands under the supervision of Duijker is described in a memorandum by Jacobson on cross-cultural communication (1962). Two films about India were shown to highschool students in Amsterdam. The first provided background on the industrial progress of India and the change in Indian society accompanying the development of India's industrial production. The second presented the traditional aspects of India, focussing on religious customs, the rural economy, and indigenous arts and architecture. The first film resulted in more favorable attitudes on the part of Netherlands children toward Indians in 17 out of the 20 schools studied ; the second produced *less* favorable attitudes in 15 out of the 20 schools. It should be added that in both instances the effects were shortlived). Jacobson's conclusions regarding this study appear to be very pertinent : "The Dutch studies tend to support the position that information about a strange culture that emphasizes the difference in that culture is less likely to produce positive attitudes, than communication that emphasizes cultural similarity and provides a basis for assumptions about common characteristics". If this is really so (and the study should be replicated with other groups of subjects and other kinds of material), a very real problem is created for those who are engaged in extensive programmes of cultural exchanges in the fields of literature and the arts.

In view of the "involvement", psychologically and materially speaking, of so many people with faith in such programmes, extensive and systematic studies of the impact of different kinds of material would appear to be indicated. What American cultural products, for example, are welcomed, on the one hand by the Soviet Union, and on the other, in Nigeria ? What is liked — jazz, rock and roll, the New York Philharmonic ; what novels, what plays ? Is it true that there is a preference for artistic products that reflect the seamier, less attractive side of American life, as in some of the books by Steinbeck or Faulkner ? What plays which are successful on the London

stage succeed, or fail, in Paris, and why ? At the time of writing, France and Germany have just concluded an extensive cultural exchange agreement. What criteria are used for deciding what to exchange ? Who decides ? Who is consulted ? Can we devise research which would enable administrators to be more certain of the effectiveness of their programmes in reaching the desired goals ?

III

Additional possibilities for research

This paper is already long, and the topics suggested for research and enquiry, either by UNESCO or by other institutions, probably cover too large a variety of fields. At the same time a great deal has been left out, and a more complete survey of research possibilities would at least include the following topics :

1. *The Rôle of Governments.*

UNESCO has already devoted considerable attention to the rules and regulations which govern, which facilitate or which interfere with exchanges, but there appears to be a difference of opinion as to whether the net effect of governmental regulations is positive or negative. More detailed information is needed as to how the regulations actually function. Thompson (1963), referring to the situation in New Zealand, states that students from Fiji have a three-year limit imposed on their scholarships by the Fijian authorities, and that failure to obtain one additional year prevents many of them from completing their degree requirements. He also points out that these students may encounter occasional personal snubs from New Zealand landladies ; this represents an unofficial form of behavior governments can with difficulty control, but they should be able to do more at the official or semi-official level. For example, on their arrival at New Zealand airports, the Fijian students may be asked to wait until the last white Europeans are given their clearance, "a practice which leaves the students shamed and resentful".

How widespread is this tendency in the airports of the world ? What can be done to make the important first impressions of a new country more pleasant and palatable ? Many significant aspects of this problem are discussed by De Vries under the heading of "Obstacles to the flow of knowledge and culture", but the present writer is not convinced that the legal-political obstacles are of "relatively minor incidence". They may have an impact on all varieties of exchanges, personal and impersonal, and the nature and extent of this impact should be fully understood as a preliminary to making such exchanges more effective.

These few remarks represent only a tiny fraction of the problem of the rôle of governments in exchanges, a problem which requires the most careful consideration. There is not only a process, a *physiology* of exchanges ; there is also a structure, a *morphology,* and this latter is determined mainly by the policies of governments. (Intergovernmental organizations are after all primarily associations of governments, and subject to the rules and regulations introduced and accepted by governments). In recent times governments have entered this field on an increasingly large scale, and the official machinery set up to deal with its ramifications has in many instances become exceedingly complex and extensive. The effects of this structure are seen in broad national policies and programmes, but also in specific acts of choice of the particular students or professors who are sent abroad, or who are invited for a sojourn ; they are shaped by considerations of politics, by the nature of the individuals involved in decision-making, by views of what is needed at home and abroad — and often also by factors of personal preference and even nepotism. Thompson and Laves (1963) regard cultural relations and exchanges as having significant implications for the foreign policy of a government. Transnational cultural activities are important "for the conduct of United States foreign policy because they contribute to the advancement of knowledge, to economic, social, and political growth, to the development of understanding, and to the promotion of a sense of world community". In carrying out such a program successfully, they believe it to be essential that governments recognize the central importance of cultural activities and that sound organizational and administrative procedures be developed. There is need also for an effective working relationship and coordination between governmental and private efforts, a guarantee of constancy and sufficient magnitude of effort, and insistence on first-rate quality in content and personnel. The cultural dimension "is indispensable as a longer-range means of creating the genuine world community of values and experience that our ever-growing interdependence requires". A good deal is known (or can easily be discovered) as to how governments operate at the official level : much less is known about how such operations hinder or facilitate the success of particular exchange operations at the level of individuals. Comparative research on this issue would appear to be of fundamental importance if it could succeed in uniting considerations of process and structure, of physiology and morphology, as interdependent phenomena. This approach would be interdisciplinary *par excellence,* since it would necessitate the cooperation of political scientists, psychologists, sociologists, and probably historians and economists as well.

The essential questions might be the following : what kinds of governmental machinery have been created ? How do they function ? How do they affect the individual exchanges — of persons or things — between nations ? What historical changes or trends can be discerned ? What are the prospects for the future ? How do governments shape intergovernmental programmes ? Is it possible to evaluate varying governmental policies from the point of view of their effectiveness ?

2. *The Rôle of Language.*

Over and over again in the research literature reference is made to the difficulties encountered because of failure to communicate adequately. The issue arises in connection with foreign students whose handicaps in this respect may be fatal to success in their studies. It also plays a part in international meetings of all kinds ; even simultaneous translation does not eliminate the difficulty of establishing informal contacts outside the regular sessions, nor does it always bring much comfort to those whose native tongue is not one of those which is officially recognized by the organizations responsible for the conduct of the meetings. In the international exchanges involved in a technical assistance mission or in attending to the affairs of an embassy or legation, the ability of the foreigners to speak the language of the host country has frequently been regarded as crucial to success. Too little is as yet known about the actual effects of language competence or its absence in these situations. The nature of foreign language teaching in various countries, the steps taken to encourage it, the languages taught, the methods used — all of these are problems not only for the educator, but also, because of their implications, for social scientists concerned with international relations.

Recent research by W. Lambert (unpublished) indicates that those who feel friendly toward a particular nation or culture learn that people's language more easily as a consequence. Does the reverse hold true ; that those who have learned the language feel more friendly to the people who speak it ?

The question of a universal second language, either an artificial or an existing one, as a bridge between peoples, facilitating contact and cooperation, is also one which might be approached more systematically and scientifically than has been done so far. The construction of the language to be used is a problem for the linguist, but it is the task of the social scientist to determine the attitudes toward its use, the resistances that must be overcome, the nature of the objections raised, as well as the existing positive attitudes which favor its development and use.

3. *Problems of Policy.*

The OECD report on Internal Flows of Students (1962) raises a number of important policy questions which research may be able, at least in part, to answer. Is it better to have special universities for foreign students (as in Moscow) or to integrate them into existing institutions ? Could information be obtained as to how well the two systems work, how they compare in terms of academic achievement on the one hand, and the development of friendly relations on the other ? An important policy question raised in the OECD report relates to the "balance to be struck between providing educational facilities for students from underdeveloped countries in the advanced countries and building up the educational systems of the underdeveloped countries by providing them with necessary finance and teachers".

What is known about relevant experiences along these two different lines ? Will the decision as to which is preferable vary according to whether younger or older, more advanced students are involved ? Finally, in this context, how relevant is the education offered abroad to the needs and the opportunities in the country of origin ? To what extent do foreign students obtain training which unfits them for the situation back home ? *Can* anything be done to provide greater concordance between fellowship programmes and the actual pattern of growth in the countries concerned ? *Should* anything be done along these lines, in view of the danger that under these conditions the work of students may be squeezed into existing molds, instead of being free to lead into new varieties of contribution ? What can we discover about the manner in which existing fellowship and exchange programmes work from this point of view ?

4. *Conditions in the Recipient Countries.*

Implicit (but perhaps not sufficiently explicit) in the foregoing discussion has been a recognition of the need to take into specific account the situations in the countries which receive foreign professors, technical specialists, or other personnel sent in connection with exchange programmes. The assumption frequently made that such personnel will always be welcomed with open arms is certainly not justified. Even if such personnel is desired by governments, it by no means follows that they will be wholeheartedly accepted by the people concerned. Special problems arise in connection with exchanges between newly-emancipated nations and their former colonial rulers. Here one may encounter ambivalent attitudes ; on the one hand a degree of acceptance based on knowledge of the language and culture involved, as well as a realization that those who colonized do understand the problems involved ; on the other hand, rejection of all reminders of former colonial status, including those who were its representatives. This latter attitude may induce resistance, often unconscious, to the change process when it is identified with a particular donor. There may also be a more general resistance to change based on the desire to retain the indigenous culture, or at least its main features, together with fear of what the importation of persons or things may involve in the way of destruction of traditional values.

This situation certainly differs greatly in various recipient countries, due to many factors — historical, economic, political, psychological. In some cases, the former colonial power and its liberated colony may be on the best of terms, with a consequent acceptance of change coming from that direction ; in other cases the reverse may be true.

Would it be possible to collect the relevant experiences from various situations in the recipient countries ? Do any regularities emerge ? Is the outcome related to historical and political factors, or to the patterns of interpersonal relations which have developed, or to a combination of these ? Are there other factors (the political situation, or the presence or absence of the achievement motive : see McClelland, *op. cit.*) which are more significant as explanations of the resistance to change or its acceptance ?

Even this supplementary listing by no means exhausts the research possibilities, but the discussion will be terminated at this point. Enough projects have been mentioned to keep many investigators busy for many years. Most of them require a comparative, cross-national approach. The importance of such an approach is recognized in the Draft Resolution proposed by UNESCO on March 20, 1963, which includes the suggestion that "All possible assistance should be given to further study, teaching and research projects, *especially when undertaken jointly in more than one country*, concerning international relations and exchanges in the fields of education, science and culture" (underlining ours). Selltiz and Cook (*op. cit.*) after reviewing research on student exchanges in the United States, urge the need for "comparable investigations of foreign students in countries other than the United States, to check the extent to which findings represent responses to the specific experience of studying in a particular country".

For some of the proposals made in this paper, there may be published materials with which the present writer is unfamiliar ; in connection with others there may be no publications because relevant research is too difficult or has been regarded as unimportant. It is a fact certain opinion polls have been made for official bodies (like those conducted by IFOP for the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs), which have not yet been rendered public, and for that reason are not available for research. It would be very worthwhile if the sponsors of these studies could be pursuaded to communicate their results, in view of their potential value for scientific purposes.

IV

Concluding comments

1. *Teaching about International Exchanges.*

This paper deals with research, and the question of teaching may at first glance appear to be outside its province. The fact remains that research and teaching are so intertwined that it is difficult to consider one without the other. If, as this report has tried to document, research on an increasing scale — international as well as interdisciplinary — is badly needed in order to answer the questions raised, and to aid in improving the efficacy of exchange programmes, interest in such research must be stimulated. One of the ways by which this can be done is obviously to bring these problems to the attention of students in colleges and universities throughout the world.

The present writer can testify to this conclusion on the basis of a personal experience. During the past year one of his courses at the Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines at the University of Paris dealt with *Social Psychology and Intergroup Relations* ; several lectures were devoted

to the topic of *Students Abroad* along the lines discussed above. The interest shown appeared to be considerable, perhaps because so many of the students were themselves foreigners, and presumably had had personal experiences not too far removed from those that had been investigated. More important, however, was the fact that several of them expressed the intention of doing research on the subject themselves.

The subject is so clearly interdisciplinary in character that it is difficult to decide where in a university curriculum it should be inserted. There are probably few institutions where whole courses are devoted to the topic, although this possibility should not be neglected. More probably it may be included, depending on the interests of the teacher, in instruction given in departments of education, political science (including international relations), social psychology and sociology ; it could certainly enter into the treatment of problems relating to technological change in developing countries, and therefore into economics ; it has historical and legal aspects ; it is relevant to ethnology or applied anthropology as well.

Two practical steps suggest themselves. The first is to discover in what fields and in what institutions this material is now to be found. The second is to aid (perhaps through an interdisciplinary meeting convened by UNESCO) in preparing guide-lines for the content and subject-matter which might be included in the courses concerned, and the techniques that might be of help in making teaching most effective.

2. *The Problem of Training.*

As part of the Notes on this topic prepared by the UNESCO Secretariat the statement is made that training programs lie close to the center of UNESCO's interest. "In the years to come it is expected to increase arrangements for *seminars and training courses concerned with international relations and exchanges* in the fields of education, science and culture. Projects of this type could include the training of national officials concerned with international exchanges, the briefing of Secretaries of National Commissions for UNESCO, and of fellows and technical assistance experts".

This is an interesting and important project which should certainly be encouraged. It is of course related to the question of teaching which was discussed above, although conducted by different methods and directed to practitioners rather than to students and potential research scholars. It obviously will vary in form and content depending on the target to which it is aimed, although it should be possible to develop certain basic materials and principles which will be more widely applicable.

Training, if broadly conceived, may have many significant ramifications. To take the one case of a technical assistance mission and the expert or experts attached to it, the approach, to be complete, will require also to be complex. The people involved, apart from the expert himself, will include those who determine policy at the governmental level in both donor and recipient countries (or at the inter-governmental level in multilateral or international programmes) ; administrative officers at various

levels ; the counterpart personnel ; far from least important the wife, and possibly even the children, of the expert. The content, too, of the training will be complex, since it will need to touch on many aspects of the culture of the recipient country, including the administrative and bureaucratic structure with which the expert will have to contend, as well as the prevailing attitudes and values of the population.

Enough experience has now been collected, however, in various parts of the world and under varying conditions to make it worthwhile to analyze and evaluate what has been done, and what can be done, to make training as effective as possible. An international seminar on this topic would be highly desirable.

Among other suggestions made in connection with training, the following would appear to be worthy of special attention. 1) There should be a seminar which would focus on the *trainers,* those who will be responsible for the training process at various levels. 2) The training programme should be especially concerned with the development of leaders and administrators (*cadres*) in the developing countries. This was regarded by a number of participants in the Conference as having very high priority in any exchange programme.

3. *Case Studies.*

In any planning for future research, one fruitful approach would appear to be through case studies of successful (and possibly also of unsuccessful) international exchanges. Such case studies might be concentrated on specific programmes, for example, exchanges between a university in the United States and one in Norway or Nigeria ; or it might extend more widely, as in the study of the exchanges relating to university education generally in a particular country ; or it might attempt the difficult task of looking at a country programme as a whole, with the complete chain of actions and reactions involved.

A start should probably be made with more specific projects which are considered by all concerned to have been successful, and discover if possible what made them so.

4. *The Approach through Depth Psychology.*

Although this document is probably too psychological already, due to the professional bias of the writer, a number of suggestions have been made for an extension of the psychological approach. One proposal was to undertake a deeper analysis of the causes of personal maladaptation among foreign students ; this might be accomplished through interviews conducted by a psychiatrist or psychoanalyst, and which would probe beneath the immediate conscious levels of the personality. The problem of adjustment was stressed, with the suggestion that the difficulties faced by a student in a foreign country might be simply one aspect of a more general problem, that of adjustment to social change, to modern technology,

which may not be easy even for the person who stays home. Still another approach might be to the motives, conscious and unconscious, which lead students and others to desire foreign experience, and it was suggested that the nature of the operating motive might have a great deal to do with success or failure. It was also considered important to understand the student's reaction to his own ethnic identity, which might change both in salience (prominence in is mind) and valence (attached value) in the course of the experience (Herman and Schild, *op. cit.*).

5. *Theoretical Formulation.*

The late Kurt Lewin once said, "There is nothing so practical as a good theory". As the writer looks back over the content of this paper, he finds many theoretical points but no theoretical framework. It has been suggested that this is now badly needed in this whole area, rather than the attempt to contribute short answers to particular questions. This would involve a thorough stock-taking, a systematic identification of the categories of problems involved, and of the manner in which they are inter-related. One of the steps would be a balder and bolder statement of the hypotheses which appear to emerge with enough probability to warrant further research and investigation.

More specifically, it was urged that a working group be convened in the reasonably near future to "conceptualize" the field.

The task would not be an easy one. Changes in the individual require the approach of psychology, psychiatry and social psychology ; changes in ideas touch on the areas of communication theory, economics, education ; changes in institutions involve sociology, political science, ethnology. Inter-disciplinary (and international) conceptualization at this level of complexity is indeed difficult, but it is worth trying.

Further discussion and exchange of views will presumably indicate which of the proposals made here should have immediate priority and which should be postponed to a later day, or even abandoned. The major function of this memorandum is to provide a basis for such discussion.

APPENDIX

The following persons participated in the Round Table on Research in the field of International Exchanges in Education, Science and Culture at Herzliah, Israel, 8th-10th April 1964.

Experts and representatives of the host country :

Professor B. Akzin (Hebrew University, Jerusalem).
Professor S.N. Eisenstadt (Hebrew University, Jerusalem).
Mr. A. Freedman (The Technion, Haifa).
Professor J. Gross (Hebrew University, Jerusalem).

Professor E. Guttman (Hebrew University, Jerusalem).
Dr. Herman (Hebrew University, Jerusalem).
Professor D. Patinkin (Hebrew University, Jerusalem).
Mr. A. Remez (Head of Division of International Assistance, Foreign Ministry, Jerusalem).
Dr. H. Rosenfeld (Hebrew University, Jerusalem).
Dr. S. Tuval (Hebrew University, Jerusalem).

Experts from other countries :

Dr. P. Aich (Cologne University, G.F.R., Indian).
Mr. F. N'Sougan Agblemagnon (Togo, at present Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris).
Dr. D. Breitenbach (University of the Saar, G.F.R.).
Professor S. Groenman (University of Utrecht, Holland).
Mr. E. de Grolier (Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers, France).
Dr. Pendleton Herring (Director, Social Science Research Council, New York, U.S.A., Vice-President, ISSC).
Professor O. Klineberg (U.S.A., at present University of Paris, France).
Mr. N. Sutcliffe (UK, at present representative of British Council in Israel).
Dr. F. Young (Associated Research Councils, Conference Board, U.S.A.).

Secretariat of ISSC :

Mr. K. Szczerba-Likiernik (Secretary-General).

Observers :

Dr. M. Avidor (President, Israel National Commission for UNESCO).
Mr. K.E. Dejean (Ambassador of the Central African Republic in Israel).
Mr. A. Elliott (Chief of Division of International Relations and Exchanges, International Exchange Service, UNESCO, Paris).
Mrs. A.M. Lambert (Foreign Ministry, Jerusalem).
Mr. J. d'Ormesson (Conseil International de Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines, Paris).
Dr. H. Yahil (Director General, Foreign Ministry, Jerusalem).
Mr. W. Zyss (Social Science Department, UNESCO, Paris) — Representing Professor A. Bertrand, Director of Social Science Department.

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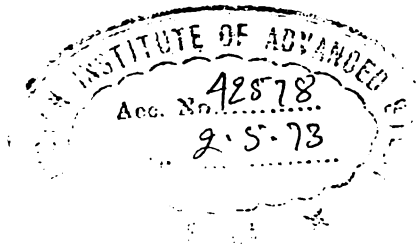

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