

Political Socialization Through Cross-Cultural Education

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The political socialization of the young invariably interests those who desire to understand the youth's role in nation-building. This process requires no less than the proper training and education of the young in the norms and principles of the nation.

Almond and Coleman define political socialization as the process of induction into the political culture and the acquisition of a set of values, standards, feelings and attitudes.¹ Broadly speaking, the process encompasses all political and non-political learning, whether formal or informal, deliberate or unplanned, at every stage of the life cycle that affects political behavior and politically relevant personality characteristics.² It involves both emotional learning and political indoctrination effected by the participants and the experiences of the individual.³ Political socialization is strictly known as politicization, a deliberate inculcation of political information, values and practices by instructional agents charged with this responsibility.

Authorities claim that there is a point in one's stage of development when political learning can contribute to the stability of adult political behavior. The desire to pinpoint this stage has led political scientists particularly in politically-developed countries to examine when political images and orientation are formed in the young. It was bared in one of the studies that at an early stage of the child's development, there is a congruence with and transfer of values and image from one authority figure to another (father and the president) which reduces as the child develops and acquires more information about the specific role demands of a given political authority.⁴ The proposition that what is learned early in the life cycle is hard to displace, although debatable, has led to the continuing interest in inquiring about the political content and significance of the orientations and experiences of the young and

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how such can serve as future political support. Scholars never run out of zeal in examining various aspects of this fascinating area. Efforts have been made, for instance, to relate such things as extra-curricular activities among the students, the role of peer groups, the quality of civic education reflected in the content of textbooks used, and images of one's homeland and other countries to the political indoctrination of the young.⁵

General Agents of Political Socialization

One significant dimension in political socialization research concerns the agents or sources of political learning. There are many of them and they influence the formation of varied political attitudes and orientations. Agents need not be structured or institutionalized, they may be as unstructured as a series of events and highly-dramatic experiences that further one's political learning. Dawson and Prewitt classify the agents of political socialization into: 1) those that engage in full-time manifest political socialization; 2) occupational associations and fraternal organizations in part-time political education; and 3) groups which perform political socialization as a less formal and programmed activity.⁶ Various social agents like the family, school, church, the mass media and political organizations have also been examined as to the political orientation they inculcate and their effects on the political socialization of the young.

Content of Political Socialization

The political orientations, values and behavior studied, while determined to a large extent by the nature and objective of the socializing agent, do not exclude effects contrary to the ones expected and not supportive of the political system. However, such deviations do not negate the moralistic undertone of the need for social order, harmony and political integrity as the value expressions underlying empirical research on political socialization. The efforts, however, have not yet produced a generally agreed framework, much less a codified body of knowledge. An attempt was made by Jack Dennis to conceptualize different dimensions in political socialization research like its system relevance, agent, content, the learning process, the maturation, and cross-cultural variations to further understand the phenomena.⁷ Developing countries are now catching up with the Western developed states in unravelling the impact of these known agents on the young, and further exploring other sources of political orientation.⁸

Usually, these agents work in and for the system, unless identified otherwise. The process is basically a conservative force in society but it does not preclude the occurrence of forces that may bring about the opposite effect.⁹ This is because much of this process is informal and the individual's learning from the socializing agents and experiences may all be indirectly linked to the formal political system. Possibly, in some cases, the process of social change may transform the individual's situation within a short time, requiring from him certain new learning. Among the social changes that can influence the process of political learning include depression and famine, war and revolution as well as geographic and cultural dislocation.¹⁰ A concomitant dilemma in the growing body of political socialization research is the controversy on whether it is a gradual, incremental process that proceeds in a set sequence and proceeds over a life span, or one that is subject to abrupt changes that exhibit latency, deactivation or desocialization.¹¹

The Impact of Educational Travel

While political socialization is traditionally understood to take place within the homegrounds of the individual, mediated by various societal agents, the process of socialization may be extended beyond the confines of national boundaries, where the young are asked to live and observe a way of life different from what they have been used to. The individual's travel and education abroad become a significant aspect in this life-long process which may serve to enhance the political dimension in one's personal development, affecting the viability of a given political system to which the person concerned is situated by giving or withdrawing his support. Such possibility intensifies when the experience is encountered at a stage when changes effected upon the individual are meant to be profound and lasting.

This belief may very well underlie the interest in cross-cultural contacts as an avenue of political socialization. Ronald Inglehart once noted the possible important changes in the political socialization of young Europeans through the post-war developments: increases in trade and exchange of persons.¹² The expansion of the world, population-wise, and its rapid shrinkage, space-wise, have enhanced the kind of political orientations and attitudes supportive of the recognized objects of political socialization — the political community and the regime. This is manifest in the exchange of persons program sponsored by different states aiming at the

prevention of another global catastrophe through the promotion of international peace and understanding. The standard and traditional procedures of diplomacy and trade relations conducted among states on the official level are now supplemented with a host of cultural and social programs among nations to ensure not only the stability of the local internal political system but the global system as well. Governmental support for international agencies devoted to cultural exchange are all premised on the assumption that increased cultural contact among peoples would result in the promotion of international understanding.

The exchange of persons program most conducive to the political socialization of the young involves the experience of cross-cultural education on the part of the adolescents. M. Brewster Smith defines this unique type of education as the process of learning and adjustment when individuals sojourn for educational purposes in a society that is culturally foreign to them, normally returning to their own society after a limited period.¹³ The student exchange program that bears implication on political socialization is not simply the one carried with an end in view of general education, intellectual growth and professional development of the student, but also that with the idea of "rapprochement" between nations.

The United States readily recognized the implication of this type of endeavor to its foreign policy objective when the U.S. Congress passed in 1947 the Fulbright Act to undertake exchange in high-level educational pursuits. In 1948, the same body passed the Smith-Mundt Act (Educational Exchange Act). Through the latter, the U.S. government aims to "promote a better understanding of the U.S. in other countries, and to increase mutual understanding between the peoples of the U.S. and other countries."¹⁴ Another important purpose of these international exchanges is to help develop leadership to deal with the basic problems of the world's peoples. In the same vein, the Philippines, influenced by the U.S. for a long time in the principles and techniques of education, recognizes the worth and importance of this undertaking. This is seen in a series of educational exchange acts passed and supported by the two governments.¹⁵

An underlying assumption of this exchange of persons is the idea that a lasting world peace requires that changes must come internally. Utmost tact and understanding are required to stimulate and encourage this process. It is generally recognized that school children who are sent to visit to foreign countries are given an opportunity of coming into contact with another culture and of

establishing personal bonds or friendships which will ultimately contribute to the development of a spirit of goodwill and understanding of peoples. Guy Metraux expressed the philosophy of student exchange in terms of: 1) the usefulness of knowing other nations and their ways of life and 2) the testing of one's own comportment in different environments.¹⁶ The adolescents are regarded as ideal beneficiaries of this type of experience due to their flexibility, sufficient amount of comprehension, willingness and openness of mind to try new ideas and habits difficult for those either too young or too old to give it a try.

The goal of international understanding, which has acquired an institutional and national character, rather than individual, has become prominent in the 20th century history of student exchange programs. This is because of the intention to influence and modify the climate of opinion in the host country where the educational sojourn is made and in the native country as well.

The significance of this mode to the political socialization process is well expressed by the late U Thant, then U.N. Secretary General, in the 1968 Annual Conference of the Non-Governmental Organizations:

The second essential ingredient in a sound and sensible system of education is what I would call the social aspect . . . In other words, we have to train our youth on how to be good citizens — that is education for citizenship. And when I say that, I do not mean that the child should be trained to be a good citizen of only the U.S. or any other country. He must be trained to be a good citizen of the whole human community. I think that is essential in these times when we are living under the shadow of the bomb.¹⁷

The quality of political learning is thus intensified in this situation of student exchange, in a process of goal-seeking, coping and defense that affects its outcome. The highly-dramatic situation in which the student finds himself arises from major problems of adjustment, temporary cutting off of interpersonal network, and the risky involvement of self-esteem in their role as "unofficial ambassadors."

But one may further ask: to what extent does the student exchange fulfill its political function? What in this type of activity may be functional or dysfunctional, supportive or disintegrative to political systems which allow their young to pass into this process? As there are numerous exchange programs operating in the Philippines, the writer chose to focus attention on one international student exchange program mainly undertaken in the high school level where

the country has participated for nearly twenty years. This is the American Field Service International Scholarships (AFS) in which nearly a thousand Filipino adolescents at various periods have participated.

The typical Filipino exchange student under this type of program meets the criteria set by the organization regarding certain aspects of personality development (maturity, desire to learn, keen awareness of and interest in others), health, age (within the 16-18 age bracket, with occasional exceptions) and above-average academic competence. While abroad, he, ordinarily, lives for one school year with a typical American host family, attends a typical American high school in the host community, and participates in community activities. At the end of the year, he gets a bonus in the form of a cross-country tour with fellow exchange students from different countries, savoring their friendships and the variety of life and culture in the host country. Opportunities for political learning are indeed great when foreign counterparts to the political socialization process earlier received by the student in his home country are replicated in the host family, host school, host community and even host peer groups.

Under the unique situation of cross-cultural education, there is the overlapping of cultural socialization and political socialization. The social training and development of the exchange student can influence different aspects of his behavior including the political. A study conducted in 1971 by Pilar Natividad Ramos on two groups of Filipino AFS exchange students — one already exposed to the foreign experience, the other about to leave — found a significant difference between them as regards their attitude towards parental authority.¹⁸ Those exposed to the experience showed a greater degree of personal independence, sense of equality and self-assertion as regards choices of profession, marriage partner and economic expectations. The exposed students likewise scored more negatively on one-way communication and obedience than their non-exposed counterparts. While some of these traits may already be latent or even present in the student, prior to his exposure to the foreign situation considering the criteria used for the recruitment of participants, the experiment nevertheless indicated the possibility of reinforcing the democratic mien in the young individual's life.

The process of political socialization manifests clearly in the foreign situation where activities and speaking engagements are arranged for the students to comply with throughout the year. Meeting with government officials and other school and community

leaders, participation in school and local projects are meant to increase the student's awareness and interest, with the aim of developing the same upon his return home. One misgiving, though, expressed by participant countries is the fear of denationalization of the young citizens while in the foreign country. Added to this is the interpretation of the program as to its utility and value to the developing state. A number of them desire manpower training for their young citizens than the vague ideal of leadership training and promotion of harmonious relations among peoples as cultural exchanges purportedly achieve.¹⁹

A study of two groups of Filipino AFS exchange students made in 1973 and 1974 sought to test the denationalization hypothesis in terms of determining the affect of nationalism in the exposed and non-exposed students. The first group composed of 29 students who had just returned from the U.S. in 1973 responded to the questionnaire ascertaining their affects and perceptions on the significant aspects of the exchange year, including the intensification or reduction of nationalistic feelings during the year. There was a unanimous expression among them of a greater appreciation for the home country as a result of the foreign exposure. Appreciation of one's country includes highly favorable attitudes towards its socio-cultural values like strength of family ties. The prevailing condition just right after the proclamation of martial law prevented the instrument used from directly ascertaining the student's opinion on the political system. This was deliberately done to avoid any unfounded suspicion among the students as to the nature of the study. One statement used looked into the possibility of young participants to be enticed to live abroad than in their own country. This is often considered as the Achilles' heel of exchange programs carried out for the young. The fear, however, may rest on shifty grounds, since the study found no definite connection between the desire to live in another country and the affect developed for the home country. A good number who desired to live abroad someday registered high high affects for the Philippines. We surmise that the former desire could be due to their deep, impressionable characteristics. The instrument was not able to pinpoint in what capacity they desire to live abroad. Those who expressed such desire were also the ones who opted to go with other nationals than their own.

Another instrument was administered to a second group of exposed students and a non-exposed group in 1974 (a total of 28 students this time). The second instrument ascertained the student's

domestic and foreign policy orientations. There is the emergence of a pattern fully compatible with the development and enhancement of nationalistic orientation among the students who underwent the experience of study abroad. To one item involving the issue of national existence and national relations, the experimental group unanimously stressed a sense of independence and self-reliance for the Philippines to take, and a number among them manifested confidence in the capacity of their own political system. Apparently, certain external conditions prevailing in the host country at that time somehow influenced their political image of the host country. A majority of the students in the group sent abroad indicated that the Watergate scandal, the graft and corruption they read about, heard and saw are components of the political image they had of the U.S. during the year. Such perception seems significant in the face of the new political order in the country. Parenthetically, this group departed from the country in 1973 with the new order already in existence and returned to the same order; the knowledge of the new order and the exposure to another system with no constraints did not seem to affect the answers of the majority.

One salient manifestation of the posture of self-reliance was in their response to an item on food shortage. A greater number of exchange students favor mobilization of resources than wait for other countries' aid in a critical condition than what was observed in the control group. This self-reliance, however, is not incompatible with a spirit of cooperation among the exchange students, since they also favor economic and technical assistance to hasten the country's economic development. There was, however, the qualification that economic aid should do away with special privileges.

In general, while their exposure resulted in improvements of their view of the American political system, a significant portion of the group did not improve their view of the system. Of 14 exchange students studied, eight reported improved perceptions of the American political system and six reported no improvement. Those who had an improved perception did not exactly favor the system but only expressed a better understanding of how and why the system works. This is significant as it tends to reinforce the finding on the first group of students studied who, though possessing a generally favorable view of the American political system, was not enthusiastic in its adoption as a permanent pattern for the Philippine government, despite awareness of the new order in the country.

The findings of the study further suggest that the feeling of

nationalism can be enhanced as a result of this temporary cultural uprooting and transplanting in a foreign country. Herbert Kelman in one of his articles²⁰ averred that awareness of one's national status becomes acute in a foreign situation where the student is thrust with the role of an unofficial ambassador for his own country which can determine the formation of attitudes towards definite political objects. This was the case in a study conducted by Lambert and Bressler among Indian foreign students who developed strong negative attitudes towards the host country because of what they feel was the downgrading of their national status while there.²¹ Richard Morris also looked into the perceptions and images of foreign students in the U.S. and found an inverse relationship – i.e., the student's image of the host country (the U.S.) is inversely related to the image of his own country and vice-versa.²² Such tendencies is manifest in the responses of the first group of students studied. A majority of them perceived their national status to have been accorded with high or fair amount of respect while abroad. Those who perceived their nationality as highly regarded developed more positive attitudes, e.g., less prejudice and more interaction with their hosts than those who perceived "low" respect for the same, and who consequently developed negative attitudes towards the host society and less favorable disposition towards involvement during the year.

In general, the Filipino students who participated in the program viewed the year spent abroad as an opportunity for the appraisal, rediscovery, and appreciation of the value of their own country. This view is derived from their writes-up on the significant aspects of their exchange year. One confessed how happy she was whenever giving speeches because that was where she talked about the Philippines and how the people manage with their culture. Another regarded representing the Philippines in a foreign country as the highest honor she aspired for and attained.

The Value of International Understanding

A significant aspect of the study involved the attitude to international understanding which is the primary objective of the international agency undertaking the exchange program. Within the perspective of its operation, the Malaysian Minister of Sports, Youth and Culture, Datuk Hamzah bin Haji Abu Samah, once described the exchange visits which have implications for the concern of political

socialization as a "series of multiple transplants" where, in the Malaysian Minister's own words:

They travel not as tourists living in the superficial edge of a strange country but are really implanted into the life of another country . . . experience and benefit from a complete involvement in another culture and another life style. I can think of no better way of integrating the world than through the reality of bringing people close to each other at the heart of family life.

The programs seek to identify outstanding members of our youthful communities because of their leadership qualities — in the hope of making them citizens of the world so that when their time comes to influence the destinies of their own countries, they will do so with a truly international perspective.²³

The meaning of international understanding as a constantly recurring phrase in statements of purpose for foreign study has always been assumed rather than carefully defined, thus the difficulty of its exact measurement. From an ideal viewpoint, the phrase means a disposition towards internationalism. "Internationalism" as a value supportive of a definite global order, however, encounters difficulties vis-a-vis limiting it to certain structures and institutions that partake of a political character. The realization of a world order as idealized is still dreams away from us, although social scientists are putting their heads together in defining what John Burton may very well describe as "streams of transaction and communication" in the international system.²⁴

More often than not, the concept of international understanding under this type of activity has come to mean, according to Irwin Abrams, the development of favorable attitudes towards other nations, particularly the host country.²⁵ It is often assumed that exchange of persons inevitably results in the improvement of relations between peoples as a consequence of increased contact, where knowledge gained is a necessary, if not a sufficient condition for friendliness. This includes the removal of biased negative attitudes or stereotyped prejudices. Concern about this does not intend to mean the naive elevation of efforts gained in this field to areas of national interests and interstate relations. As Kelman puts it, reduction of hostile attitudes among peoples does not necessarily result in the abandonment of competitive quest for national security and power.²⁶ There are indications, however, that such experiences can, and usually do, produce some very important changes — like change in the cognitive structure of the country's image which may be more meaningful in the long run than total approval of the

country would be; they can lead to a greater richness and refinement of images and a greater understanding of another society in its own terms. It can result in an awareness that bears relevance to their growth and development while in another country. Personal contacts established by the exchange students within the defined range of settings can develop personal ties to the other country and to certain individuals within it, and thus a sense of personal involvement in its fate. This may in the long run create greater openness in the individual's attitude towards the other nation, contributing to create conditions for peace and an atmosphere of mutual trust whereby disarmament agreements and political settlement in the level of *realpolitik* can be possibly negotiated.

Empirical studies on the attainment of the value of international understanding in this context and through this venue reveal contradictory findings. Some findings showed increased favorableness towards the host country by the visitor. A study of Dr. Fred Hague among AFS exchange students in the U.S. in 1963 (1,000 of them in his sample) showed that while there are significant changes during the year, on the whole, a greater understanding of the host country ensues as a result of one's physical contact with it, leading to greater tolerance and approval of it.²⁷ Hilda Taba in her study of 45 American students on a European study tour found, however, the concept of international-mindedness more complex than what studies tend to assume. She clarified that actual exposure to a foreign setting may enhance or hinder the development of an international outlook — thus the need for an extensive and intensive study of the travel made and programs' objectives and inquiry into experiences to facilitate interpretation and use of comprehensive evaluation plans.²⁸ But some studies show decreased favorableness towards the host country.²⁹

The differing results and interpretations may be due to several parameters surrounding the travel made. Factors such as the purpose of travel, length of sojourn, circumstances of one's native milieu and foreign placement, kind of personnel experiences such as close and personal friendly relations established abroad, type of activities undertaken, and the home country's foreign policy vis-a-vis the host country all influence the development of attitude towards international understanding in terms of favorable perceptions and affects of the host country.³⁰ These variables were considered in interpreting the responses of the students to the instrument developed for the purpose.

Some of our findings reveal what scientists contend earlier as the difficulty of measuring the concept. Within the specific methodology developed for this study,³¹ we found that the view of the American political system is better for those exposed than the non-exposed. However, the exposed students do not unanimously attribute the success of American democracy to the factor of popular support as many of them disagreed on that point. In general, though, the association of American democracy with popular support is still strong among a number of them (the closed structure of the questionnaire failed to pursue the point further). It was observed, however, that the favorable perception developed towards the host country's political system does not coincide with the same quality of affect. The exposed students are consistent in rejecting the American system as a pattern for the Philippine government to follow.

The favorableness of attitude, however, is not consistently carried out in their perceptions of American life, society, culture and its accompanying values. Filipino students not yet exposed to the experience have less negative expectations of American society. Those exposed revealed a more egalitarian outlook, less readily impressed by the avowed superiority of the American society and its people, and tend to be more realistic in their assessment of American society. In some it coincides with the development of American society. In some it coincides with the development of a certain amount of sympathy with the Americans. They, on the whole, agree that American students are ordinarily, not aware of other peoples and lands and lament the apparent one-sided arrangements during the year when exchange students are expected to study a lot on the host country's government and history without the commensurate effort on the part of the hosts. The negative impressions of the host country cluster on its quality of permissiveness and extreme informality on student-teacher relations observed which disturbs somehow the factor of authoritarianism (both in parent-child and teacher-pupil relations) that is typical of Filipino early political socialization. The exchange student, being no longer a "tabula rasa" at this stage of his political development quickly learns and unlearns a number of things taught by the foreign situation.

The reinforcement or non-reinforcement of stereotyped attitudes towards other peoples serves as pertinent index of the degree of international understanding achieved among the participants as a result of the exchange year. The study has shown though that negative stereotyped attitudes towards the American youth are

reinforced upon exposure. This illuminates the fact that cross-cultural contact has the twin tendency of reinforcing or eliminating prejudices towards foreign people. Surely, contact does not always result in the formation of favorable attitudes towards people encountered. There is, however, a varying intensity of likability of foreigners noted among the respondents. Thus they registered very negative attitudes towards Latin-American youth, less negative prejudice towards British youngsters, and the nearly total absence of negative prejudice (also true of the control group) towards black and colored people (e.g., Asians). While specific negative stereotyped content is not eliminated as a result of the process of cross-cultural contact among the adolescents, in more general terms, the students who had already gone into the exchange program manifested a greater degree of tolerance indicated by the absence of discrimination in choosing friends among foreign nationals, something which cannot be said of the more inhibited, if not discriminating non-exposed group.

It is likewise claimed that international understanding in terms of the development of favorable attitudes towards other countries initially starts with understanding the host country (viewed within the rationale of this type of program). This is better achieved when democratic norms are emphasized in the student's interaction and participation in the host's activities throughout the year. Kelman suggests two types of opportunities that must be provided if the exchange of persons program as an international activity must realize the full potential for promoting its given end.³² First is an opportunity for genuine involvement in an ongoing enterprise, and second is an opportunity for interpersonal involvement in the host country. We thus conceive the experience to stress the values of communication, association, and involvement in view of the program's objective.

The quality of personal interaction and the development of favorable personal interrelationships tend to influence the attitudes of the students towards the host country in general. Those with a higher degree of communication and association through the exchange year developed more favorable attitudes towards the American political system and society, and have lower stereotype scores than those who did not. Paradoxically, it was observed that those with high scores on involvement in community activities were also low in their assessment of the host country. Exposed students were also more realistic and objective in viewing their host country

than the more idealistic non-exposed group who only desired to see things out to impress them.

On the level of general information on international affairs, there seems to be no substantial difference between exchange and ordinary high school students found in the study, as far as objective information is concerned. Exchange students tend to reflect in their cognitions some of the stereotyped notions reflected in the mass media and derived from the foreign policy orientations of the host country about a third country (e.g., the American notion of aggression in the Soviet foreign policy). They also tend to be more critical of the host country's foreign policy in the general rather than in the specific level.

Conclusion

The above represents a fragmentary presentation of the results from a study made on select Filipino exchange students who are participants in a specific type of exchange program. The data were analyzed by means of political socialization as the major framework and cross-cultural education as a feasible instrument in which to view the process. The study thus attempts to expand the dimension of political socialization by taking note of the unique agent, content, and system relevance of this type of program. The study has found out that despite some misgivings in the experience, to result in the denationalization of the young participants, their nationalistic orientations were enhanced during the year. While this did not always manifest itself in a clear support for the indigenous political system, as some findings had indicated, neither did it reflect desperation nor hopelessness in the system for those who seemed dissatisfied.

Likewise, political socialization for international understanding carried out in the program, as surmised, does not become invalidated in the face of negative or neutral affects towards the host country and other significant objects that have relevance to its goal. While not everybody can achieve international understanding initially in terms of favorable perceptions and affects towards the host country, their very exposure to a foreign culture and country results in an awareness that bears relevance to their growth and development while in another country. The training they get from their role as exchange students — giving speeches, involvement in school and community activities, getting published in school and community papers — does not only find counterparts in adult political life but is

highly useful in the discharge of their future responsibilities as full-fledged citizens of their nation and the world.

Considering the increasing interdependence among the peoples in a rapidly shrinking world in various areas of human endeavor, it is well to note the impact of cross-cultural education and other types of contact in the level of youth vis-a-vis the process and content of political socialization. This inquiry is by no means exhaustive; it viewed the process from a single point (the select Filipino exchange students') and was unable to examine the attitudes of the hosts to see if they correspond with those of the exchange students'. Neither did it examine foreign students sent by the program to the Philippines. It does not pretend to represent the totality of student exchange programs undertaking the process of cross-cultural education. Studies more extensive and general than this may be resorted to with adequate time and logistic allocation. The study is simply an exercise to further the theoretical bounds of political socialization research by locating it within the perspective of post-war trends of cultural exchanges and the developing area of cross-cultural education research.

NOTES

¹Gabriel Almond and James Coleman, *The Politics of the Developing Areas* (Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 27.

²Fred Greenstein, "Political Socialization" in *International Encyclopedia of Social Science* (Crowell, Collier and Macmillan, 1968), p. 551.

³Herbert Hyman paraphrased in Almond and Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

⁴Robert D. Hess and David Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (vol. 24, 1960), pp. 632-644.

⁵Some of these works include Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy", *American Political Science Review* (vol. 61, March 1967), pp. 25-38; Easton and Hess, "The Child's Political World", *Midwest Journal of Political Science* (vol. 6, no. 3), pp. 229-246; Edgar Litt, "Civic Education, Community Norms and Political Indoctrination", *American Sociological Review* (vol. 28, no. 1), pp. 69-76; David Ziblatt, "High School Extra-Curricular Activities and Political Participation", *Annals* (September 1965), pp. 10-31; Kenneth P. Langton, "Peer Groups and School and Political Socialization", *APSR* (vol. 61, no. 1), pp. 751-758 and Jean Piaget and Anne Marie West, "The Developments in Children of the Idea of the Homeland in Relation with Other Countries", *International Social Science Bulletin* (UNESCO, vol. 3, no. 3), pp. 561-578.

⁶Richard Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, *Political Socialization: An Analytic Study* (Little, Brown and Company, 1969), pp. 187-188.

⁷Jack Dennis, "Problems of Political Socialization Research", *MJPS* (vol. 12, no. 1), pp. 105 ff.

⁸A representative of such work in the Philippines is by Loretta Makasiar-Sicat, *The Political Attitudes of Young Filipinos: A Study in Political Socialization* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1970).

⁹Makasiar-Sicat found out the attitude of political cynicism prevalent among the respondents who had reached high school, but such is not global in character.

¹⁰Greenstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 553-555.

¹¹Dennis, *loc. cit.*

¹²Ronald Inglehart, "An End to European Integration?" *APSR* (vol. 61, March 1967), pp. 91-105.

¹³M. Brewster Smith, "Cross-Cultural Education as a Research Area", *Journal of Social Issues* (vol. 12, no. 1, 1956).

¹⁴*United States Statutes at Large Containing the Laws and Concurrent Resolutions Enacted During the Second Session of the Eightieth Congress of the United States of America* (vol. 62, 1948), in three parts.

¹⁵The first of these agreements was signed between the governments of the Philippines and the United States of America on March 3, 1948. It was amended on March 23, 1963 and March 19, 1969, the latter through exchange of notes between the two governments. The early agreement established the U.S. Educational Foundation in the Philippines. It was subsequently changed to Philippine-American Educational Foundation. See Documents *U.S.A.-29, U.S.A.-30, O.L.A.-226, Agreement for Financing Certain Educational Exchange Programs*, Office of Legal Affairs Division, Department of Foreign Affairs, Manila.

¹⁶Guy Metraux, "Introduction to Cross-Cultural Education and Educational Travel", *ISSB* (vol. 8, no. 4, 1956), p. 579.

¹⁷"The Mentors Speak", *Our World*, AFS International Quarterly (vol. 20, no. 3, 1968), pp. 8-9.

¹⁸Pilar Natividad Ramos, "Filipino AFS Students' Attitude Towards Parental Authority", Unpublished M.A. thesis in sociology (Asian Social Institute, 1971).

¹⁹Gordon Hansen, "Coming to Terms with the Term Developing Country", *Our World* (Issue no. 2, 1971), pp. 40-43.

²⁰Herbert Kelman, "Changing Attitudes Through International Activities", *JSI* (vol. 18, no. 1, 1962), pp. 68-87.

²¹R. Lambert and M. Bressler, *Indian Students on an American Campus* (University of Minnesota Press, 1956).

²²Richard Morris, *The Two-Way Mirror: National Status in Foreign Students' Adjustment* (University of Minnesota Press, 1960).

²³Asian Leader Calls AFS World Life Belt" (Message Delivered before AFS Asia-Pacific Conference held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, March 12, 1973), *AFS World Review* (vol. 2, no. 1, 1973), p. 3.

²⁴John W. Burton, *World Society* (Cambridge University Press, 1972).

²⁵Irwin Abrams, *Study Abroad: New Dimensions in Higher Education* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1960).

²⁶Kelman, *op. cit.*

²⁷George Edgell, "The Hague Report", *Our World* (Issue no. 65, 1965), pp. 2-32. The article is a commentary on a doctoral dissertation written for the University of Pittsburgh Graduate School on attitude change among 1,451 AFS students to the U.S.

²⁸Hilda Taba, *Cultural Attitudes and International Understanding: An Evaluation of an International Study Tour* (Institute of International Education, 1934).

²⁹See O.W. Riegel, "Residual Effects of Exchange of Persons", *POQ* (Fall 1953), pp. 319-327; Jeanne Watson and R. Lippitt, *Learning Across Cultures: A Study of Germans Visiting America* (University of Michigan Institute for Social Research, 1955); Claire Sellitz and Stuart Cook, "Factors Influencing Attitudes of Foreign Students Towards the Host Country", *JST* (vol. 18, no. 7, 1962), pp. 7-11.

³⁰These factors were cited by Ithiel de Sola Pool, "Effects of Cross-National Contact on National and International Images" in Kelman, *International Behavior* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), pp. 106-128.

³¹The first questionnaire ascertained the exchange students' attitude towards their place of sojourn (host country), and the exchange year in general terms of the following dimensions: favorableness or unfavorableness to the political and social aspects of life, the extent of negative stereotype prejudices, attitudes towards hosts in particular in the major

levels of contact — family, school, and community. It likewise ascertained the degree of democratic norms of communication, association and involvement observed at this level of participation. These dimensions were broken down into specific statements drawn into a Likert type of scale which registered answers ranging from strongly agree to disagree intensities. Weights were assigned corresponding to what would coincide with a feeling of international understanding as defined. Results were tabulated, then compared with the responses of a control group to similarly stated items in the control question. Mean score, the descriptive power and standard deviation for each used statement, were computed.

³²Kelman, " Changing Attitudes Through. . ." *op. cit.*, p. 77.