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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF Gwendolyn Marie Harris Pierce
for the Master of Arts in Anthropology presented
December 15, 1971.

Title: An Exploration into the Applicability of a
Psychological Technique for Anthropological
Research.

APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:

Shirley M. Kennedy, Chairman

Jacob Fried

Thomas M. Newman

This thesis purports to explore and describe the types of information that would be obtainable to the anthropological researcher if he used the minimally structured small group (MDMS-SG) technique with members of a selected ethnic group. The approach was tried on Japanese Portland State University students and also on Saudi Arab Portland State University students for six sessions each. They were told that a graduate anthropology student wanted to get to know them and learn what they thought she should know about their countries.

The sessions were taped and notes written after each session. This corpus of material was analyzed using the closed corpus technique which necessitates use of the entire corpus and only the corpus. Post-categorization was used, it being especially appropriate in pilot studies and/or in original exploratory research where the emphasis is on induction rather than deduction.

The verbal and other behavioral phenomena exhibited by the two "cultural" groups was compared and an attempt made to isolate that which was distinctively Arab or Japanese. Presence-absence counts and the relative frequency with which behavioral items were exhibited determined whether or not an item was differentiating.

Those differences occurred in six major areas which included responses to the constants of the total situation, patterns of organization, paralinguistic phenomena exhibited, interaction patterns displayed, emotions expressed and finally the subject matter discussed. These then are areas for or aspects about which the anthropological investigator can expect to obtain data if he uses the MDMS-SG with "cultural" groups.

These differences were then compared with information gathered about Arab and Japanese cultures from other sources.

The working hypothesis that the Arab group would spontaneously exhibit significant behavioral differences

from the Japanese group under MDMS-SG conditions and that these differences would be related to the ethnic background of that larger population of which they are a part was utilized.

The two groups were substantially different and these differences were in the direction of the differences between the two ethnic groups from which they come. Therefore the assumption, while not proved, was substantially strengthened.

In the Arab and Japanese groups, it was found that the group reactions to the total situation--the physical surroundings, the investigator, the fact of meeting at all, etc.--almost all coincided with the written literature. It would seem therefore that the MDMS-SG could be used prior to field work with an unstudied group.

Organizational patterns are ideally and easily studied through the use of the MDMS-SG. It could be a part of every ethnology besides having practical significance (i.e. in facilitating international communication) but is only rarely studied now.

Paralinguistic phenomena can be easily observed in the MDMS-SG. Work in this field is usually limited to observation of a single individual rather than of one individual at a time in a group setting. This thesis represents an innovation in this respect.

Interaction patterns and emotional expression in

groups have not been traditionally studied by anthropologists. They are at least in part culturally conditioned and could legitimately become a part of every new standard ethnography. The MDMS-SG provides a convenient beginning for anyone interested.

The content material, i.e. the subjects discussed were for the most part clearly identifiable as either Japanese or Arab. The MDMS-SG seemingly reflected the cultural conditioning of the groups concerned. However, material gathered was incomplete.

An anthropologist could not hope to limit himself to the MDMS-SG solely. It is a supplementary technique to be used by anthropologists interested in obtaining the type of data it can provide.

**AN EXPLORATION INTO THE APPLICABILITY
OF A PSYCHOLOGICAL TECHNIQUE FOR
ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH**

by

GWENDOLYN MARIE HARRIS PIERCE

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of**

**MASTER OF ARTS
in
ANTHROPOLOGY**

**Portland State University
1971**

TO THE OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES:

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December 15, 1971

This work is dedicated to

my mother and father,

Ernal Melius Harris and Balphe Andre Harris

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I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to the Arab and Japanese students at Portland State University who participated in the project and without whose cooperation it would have been impossible.

I wish to thank members of the audio-visual services and of the International Education Office, especially Mrs. Marguerite Marks and Mr. John Crique for their assistance. I am also appreciative of the efforts of my committee, particularly my thesis director, Dr. Shirley M. Kennedy.

In the words of a Japanese proverb,

"Muika no ayame, Tooka no kiku."

Gwendolyn Pierce

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. AIM

In broadest terms, the purpose behind the writing of this thesis is to report on an experiment with a new-to-anthropology technique for gaining anthropological insight. A modified psychological method, the minimally-directed, minimally-structured, small group is used to collect data. These data are then isolated as a unit, and within the unit, referred to as a closed corpus, comparisons are made and the data analyzed. The approach was tested on small groups of PSU students from Japan and other small groups of students from Saudi Arabia.

It is the plan of the thesis to report on the history of the method, describe the method itself, present the data and analysis and include within the body of the presentation definitions of specific terms used. Because this is a new-to-anthropology technique, a section will be included to show the relationship of the findings to previously published anthropological research so that comparison can be made between what was found using minimally-directed, minimally-structured small groups and what is found using

more traditional anthropological techniques.

More specifically this paper describes the behavior, principally the verbal behavior, both content and structure, of two samples of students from two different ethnic groups, Arab and Japanese, in order to see what differences between the two samples make themselves apparent when the investigator utilizes stringent techniques (developed in clinical psychology) to minimize his influence on the group, i.e. to prevent himself from directing, controlling or limiting possible responses.

This study concerns an investigation of the potentials of the minimally-directed, minimally-structured small group technique as a data-eliciting device for anthropological research. This study involves the application of this technique to understand the behavioral phenomena exhibited by two cultural groups.

The present study provides a demonstration of a tool. It is technically not an experiment or a laboratory test; it can, however, be considered a test of a method, if the term test is defined broadly.

That behavior which is distinctive and that which is similar in the two groups will be isolated using a method frequently utilized in anthropological linguistics, the closed corpus technique, and those differences thus differentiated, will then be related when possible to findings of anthropologists studying the cultures of the ethnic groups

involved by different means, in order to compare the types of data elicited.

In the following subsections of the introductory chapter, a short history of ethnological data collection methods will be presented followed by a description of the specific psychological technique employed in the present study. A discussion of the basic concepts minimal-direction, minimal-structure and small group will be included. Because of the close relationship between the concepts minimal structure and projective techniques a short discussion about this relationship will be interspersed between sections of this chapter devoted to the discussion of minimal structure and that of the small group. The chapter will close with a broad statement of the problem.

II. A BRIEF SURVEY OF ETHNOLOGICAL DATA COLLECTING METHODS

Various methods have been employed for obtaining different types of data in different types of situations in the field of anthropology. More specifically, in the field of ethnology, wherein this study lies, field techniques invariably include the individual informal interview, direct observation and/or participant observation, the latter incorporating the former. Often, in addition, inventories, questionnaires, census taking,

records analysis and the histories of informants are used.

The field of "psychological anthropology," to which this study is related, has, since its inception, utilized many methods to obtain and interpret data. These include, in addition to the ones listed above, the use of projective techniques, especially the Rorschach, and the TAT (with and without modification), and the analysis of dreams, myths and art objects. Important research in the field includes that of Hallowell (1942, 1945, 1949), DeVos (1960), Caudill (1949), Henry (1947), Spindler (1958) and more recently, Wallace (1970). Kaplan (1961), Hunt (1967) and Hsu (1961) each edited collections of studies in the personality and culture field, illustrating and discussing these methods.

In the past those engaged in psychological anthropology have for the most part used psychological techniques and psychological theories to explain anthropological phenomena. The present study follows this tradition in that the technique used for the collection of the record is indeed derived from psychological research. However, the method of analysis is not based on psychological theory but developed to meet the anthropological goals. Malinowski in his classic discussion of methods, stated as the final goal of the ethnologist "to grasp the natives point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of the world." This is as well the general goal of the old language and culture studies (Sapir 1921, Whorf 1956) which were later termed

ethnolinguistics (Hymes 1962), then ethnoscience (Sturtevant 1964, Spradley 1969, Goodenough 1956) and now cognitive anthropology (Tyler 1969, Romney and D'Andrade 1964). One of the objectives is to discover and describe both what is perceived as significant for the people of some culture and how it is organized. As Tyler (1969:11) states in his Introduction to Cognitive Anthropology.

. . . the anthropologist must avoid imposing his own semantic categories on what he perceives. He must attempt to discover the semantic world in which these people live. There are, then, two ways of bringing order out of apparent chaos--impose a preexisting order on it, or discover the order underlying it. Nearly all of earlier anthropology was characterized by the first method.

Cognitive anthropology and the present study are characterized by the latter goal, that of avoiding the imposition of external categories on the data and of searching for the order underlying it. The present study differs from the cognitive studies in that the specific methodological techniques of cognitive anthropology are not used.

III. DESCRIPTION OF PSYCHOLOGICAL TECHNIQUE EMPLOYED

The specific psychological technique used in this study is the minimally-directed, minimally-structured small group (here-in-after referred to as MDMS-SG).

There are no publications that can orient the reader to the anthropological use of the MDMS-SG as this is an

exploratory venture. However, for background on the philosophy behind minimal direction, the writings of William Snyder (1947) and Carl Rogers (1948) on the non-directive approach to the individual interview and the client-centered approach can be consulted. Gorolow, Heeh and Telsehow (1952) wrote on the nature of non-directive group psychotherapy. They echo Frake, Goodenough, Sapir and the modern ethnoscientists in their appeal to get at the structure and classification systems of the people or peoples being studied rather than superimposing the categories of the investigator onto the data studied. For clarification the labels 'minimally-directed, minimally-structured and small group' will be discussed below in that order.

Minimal Direction

The term minimally-directed has been substituted for the recognized psychological term non-directive because it more accurately describes what happens. Minimal-direction was selected primarily so that the participants being observed had the greatest possible freedom of choice of content as well as mode of interaction. Snyder and Rogers are clinical psychologists interested in therapy. They and their followers trained others to be non-directive. It takes effort and practice to be non-directive. A genuine interest, self discipline and restraint, and maintenance of

a non-judgmental attitude and a set toward objectivity and neutrality, all contribute to success in being non-directive.

Non-directiveness is used here to describe the behavior of the investigator whether he works with one individual at a time or several simultaneously. Although non-directiveness was historically associated with therapy, the connection is not a necessary one and in this case is unrelated.

Minimal Structure

The minimal-structure aspect in clinical psychology is treated by Gardiner Lindzey (1961) in his book Projective Techniques and Cross-Cultural Research in a chapter discussing theoretical foundations.

Use of the Term Minimal Structure Explained. The term structure is used here in a psychological sense, i.e. a picture of a human being or a tree or chair is more structured than a picture of an ink blot. The irregular edges, texture, color, shape, etc. of the ink-blot are open to a larger variety of interpretations and meanings than is the picture of a more identifiable object (i.e. in this culture, a picture of a straight-backed chair.) It would be expected that a business meeting with an agenda would be highly structured whereas if a few of the members of the same group who had attended the meeting later had coffee

together and talked about whatever they felt like talking about, they as a small group would exhibit much less structure. The more limited the structure, the more the participating viewer is required to expose his way of viewing as well as what he sees. This inverse relationship is basic to this research. Every projective technique used by psychologists utilizes the principle of the limitation of structure.

"Minimally-structured" is also an attribute which is to a great extent under the direct control of the investigator. It is a purposely manipulated ambiguity. It involves waiting for leadership to arise when it would be easier for all concerned if the investigator simply took over. He must facilitate communication yet vest the other participants with the responsibility for direction. It involves more than sitting in the background and listening. It means risking boredom and/or a rise of anxiety in others as well as in himself. It sometimes involves not asking questions or suggesting topics for discussion in order to see what topics arise when the participants are not prompted.

The Relationship Between the MDMS-SG and Other Techniques for Data Collecting Involving Limited Structure.
The literature of psychological anthropology abounds with the applications of various projective techniques, all employing limitations of structure, i.e. Rorschach,

Draw-a-man test, T.A.T., complete-a-sentence, etc., so limiting structure per se is not new (Lindzey 1961).

This investigation, however, is different from most investigations involving the concepts "limitation of structure" and "projective technique" in that the MDMS-SG in and of itself is treated as a projective device. The projective device is the situation itself rather than, for example, a set of stimuli on pieces of paper, e.g. Rorschach, T.A.T., etc.

The MDMS-SG is also related to the open-ended question technique. The MDMS-SG can properly be considered as an extension and modification of the previously mentioned complete-a-sentence technique (Goldberg 1965) and the open-ended question technique both of which involve the limitation of structure, and are in a broad sense projective in nature.

Sherif and Cantrel (1947:47) formulated the following working hypothesis,

. . . all other things being equal, the role played by internal and social factors decreases with the stability, clarity or structuredness of the stimulus situation and with the strength of frames or points of reference already established.

This and its converse is now generally accepted.

Psychologists, however, usually assume that it is primarily the individual internal factors which are making themselves evident in minimally structured situations.

The role played by social and cultural factors is generally minimized as specifics learned by individuals. Psychologists are usually interested in the individual, the norm, or the process.

The anthropologist, on the other hand, as a participant observer, is primarily interested in the social or cultural factors. He may unconsciously use the manipulation of degree of structure and benefit from the use but not label it. He also may use it specifically as in the present investigation as a tool to discover culturally relevant data.

The use of the MDMS-3G or any other projective device cannot of course separate these factors for the investigator. It is one of the objects of this study to suggest a research design which would separate the individual or internal psychological factors from the social or cultural ones.

Small Group

While projective techniques are usually, but not always, administered and responded to individually, in this study the responses to the situation are the responses of several people gathered simultaneously.

Definition of Small Group. The term small group is used here in its broad sense to describe a gathering of from three to approximately twenty people, including the

participoant observer, which results in something happening. The number of meetings, the number of people and what happens are all irrelevant to the definition. This definition is similar to that given by Bales (1950:33),

A small group is defined as any number of persons engaged in interaction with each other in a single face-to-face meeting or a series of meetings, in which each member receives enough impression or perception of each other member distinct enough so that he can, either at the time or in later questioning, give some reaction to each of the others as an individual person, even though it be only to recall that the other person was present.

Basic Sources for Additional Information on Small Group. For additional information on research on the small group, one might also consult, McGrath and Altman's (1966), Small Group Research, a Synthesis and Critique of the Field, and Hare's (1962), Handbook of Small Group Research. The former lists 2,108 separate examples of small group research and gives the purpose, procedure, results and study variables if these are relevant, to each of the studies. The latter lists 1,385 group studies under "References." McGrath and Altman are psychologists. Hare is a sociologist.

IV. HISTORY OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SMALL GROUP

Not much formal small group research has been done in anthropology as yet. The term formal small group research is used to differentiate it from the process of simply

casually talking to several people at the same time in the general course of data gathering in the standard ethnographic situation.

Ekvall (1963b), Schwab (1970) and Spradley (1969) have all formed groups for anthropological purposes. Their selection of members, their purposes, their procedures and their results all differ significantly from the MDMS-SG but they are alike in that selection of individual representatives of a larger ethnic group or culture are relied upon to provide information of interest to ethnographers.

Robert B. Ekvall (1963) in the fall of 1960 under the auspices of a Rockefeller Foundation grant brought a group of Tibetans to the University of Washington for a three year period. Ekvall used the small group approach in his research. He conducted a seminar in which the participants, he and four Tibetans, introduced, discussed and classified various aspects of Tibetan society and culture. Dr. Ekvall (1963b:368) states,

Group discussion, in which themes and problems are posed and debated by those who have been made to know that they are equals in collaboration (and who thus become vitally interested in the results of the process and the success of the project) is an extremely effective form of elicitation. In such discussion, no one's opinion is sacrosanct, but each one's idea receives due respect and consideration.

Ekvall, as a result of his work with this group was able to write a book on Tibetan religious themes and

problems (1963a), a subject of paramount interest to the participants. His was the first published anthropological research which the investigator found in the literature published associated with the formal use of small group methodology. Researchers from various disciplines became interested and joined the seminar from time to time.

James F. Downs, an anthropologist who joined the group in the summer of 1963, published on the role of animals and on water utilization and rule in Tibet, as a result of his contact with Ekvall's group (1962, 1963). Together they also studied trade, animal husbandry techniques, nomadism and kinship.

Unlike the MDMS-SG Ekvall's group was composed of his former field informants known to be reliable, knowledgeable and prestigious. It was structured apparently in that a joint decision was made concerning topics to be delved into and efforts were successfully directed toward achieving this objective cooperatively. It will be noted that this objective as well as the method differ from that of this study.

In 1970, William B. Schwab used small group procedures among Guelo in Africa. In his Field Techniques in Urban Research in Africa he recounts how he and his research team, after they had taken a census and interviewed a random sample, established a panel group made up of twenty Africans who were educated, rich, important,

successful and respected to operate as a sounding board to test ideas and review questionnaires. Participation in the group had the social effect of giving the group members added prestige and raising their social status. They met twice weekly and Dr. Schnab's function was to get the group to start talking and then withdraw only to enter again if there was a lull in the conversation. He was unable to record the discussions as the Africans feared repercussions if the records fell into the wrong hands.

Schnab was distrusted by the white Rhodesian European population and black Africans alike and was very restricted in his activities. Despite this, he reports,

I was able to form close relationships with the panel group, who met with me regularly. They were a verbal and cooperative group whose insights guided me in formulating hypotheses and questionnaires. Without the help and insights of this group, the study would have been much more difficult to carry out. (1970:109).

He also said, "They knew the values and problems of their people and often had invaluable suggestions and leads for they possessed insights and knowledge that were quite different from the field assistants' and that often opened up for us new areas of investigations." (1970:115). He believed that the combination of small group technique and the interview and questionnaire technique supplemented each other and yielded more than either method could have alone.

Schwab, it will be noted, also used a select, non-representative, non-random sample for his group. His behavior with his group was apparently sometimes that of MDMS-small group convener or facilitator. At other times, however, he elicited needed information and help from them.

James P. Spradley in his ethnoscience study of the adaptive strategies of urban nomads asked groups of informants to discuss certain topics such as "experiences of making a flop," (1969). In such situations the individuals often talked among themselves rather than to the researcher. Tape recordings of these meetings were the raw materials for a cognitive category systems study.

V. BROAD STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

As we have mentioned the clinical psychologist and cultural anthropologist tend to view behavior differently. The psychologist tends to view behavioral differences as reflecting conscious or unconscious motivations or needs of specific individuals while the anthropologist tends to concentrate on those differences observed in behavior which are primarily associated with cultural conditioning. In this study a psychological technique is borrowed but the view of behavior is that of a cultural anthropologist primarily. The present study involves observation and analysis of the observed behavior, principally the verbal behavior, of small groups of persons from Saudi Arabia and

small groups of persons from Japan. The behavior exhibited in the Arab groups was compared to that in the Japanese groups in order to determine which acts of behavior were different and seemed to be related to that which was specifically cultural and therefore of anthropological concern.

The behavior within the Arab groups and the behavior within the Japanese groups was also noted incidentally in order to determine that which was due to an individual's private learning history or individual maze-way (Wallace, 1963), i.e. of special concern to psychologists. Individual differences within each group (within each group as opposed to between groups) although noted as being of interest to psychologists were not interpreted or analyzed.

A third category of behavior, that behavior common to both groups was assumed to be related to some variable presumably in the present, affecting both groups, rather than being considered as behavior related specifically to psychological or cultural differences. As was previously described the MDMS-SG was used with both groups so both the situation and the investigator were the same. The group membership requirements were held constant also. When both groups displayed the same kind of behavior, that behavior was considered associated with one or more of the constants (the MDMS-SG situation, the investigator, the biological human-ness of the participants or the fact of their all

being Portland State University foreign students, etc.).

The exact manner in which the behavior of the Japanese and Saudi Arabs would be alike or different from each other was not possible to predict. Given the two selections of individuals from two ethnic groups, certain fundamental differences would be expected, but what and to what extent, only the actual doing of the exercise could reveal.

It is assumed that all ethnic groups display certain basic attributes of their cultures. One would expect that even a haphazard selection of members of a given ethnic group would reflect something of that larger ethnic group of which they are a part, and that these distinguishing attributes would be exhibited in the form of behavioral differences between the two groups. These differences in behavior between the two samples then were related to the findings of those anthropologists who have studied the ethnic groups involved by different means.

It makes sense to interpret many of the behavior patterns observable in small groups of the type led by psychologists, educators and other group facilitators today as both the result of and a part of the greater cultural background of the individuals involved, rather than only in terms of individual and specific small group needs. An anthropologist will say that reflection of one's cultural background would be obvious in any small group but

many investigators fail to note its significance.

In non-anthropological research it has been usually ignored or considered as one of the uncontrolled variables while in reality it could be one of the major contributing factors in understanding human behavior.

When one considers the vast number of small group studies, i.e., research employing small group methodologies, one sees that there are virtually no small group studies in the available literature to either substantiate or reject the notion that differences in group behavior as such are associated with differences in ethnic background. For example, McGrath and Altman (1966:107) in studying in detail every seventh small group research study from a corpus of 2,000 small group research studies found that in none of the 250 studies reviewed was there any attempt to examine ethnic differences. Hare (1962) cites only two researchers who have concerned themselves with ethnic background: Strodbeck (1951), in his study of husband-wife interaction in decision making in three cultures, and Gyr (1951), in his pilot study of cultural differences in an analysis of committee member's behavior in four cultures.

Thus, this present study may serve to partially fill this lacuna.

VI. SUMMARY

To summarize it will be noted that in this

introductory chapter it has been stated that this investigation purports to explore the MDMS-SG as an anthropological tool. The MDMS-SG has been described as a situation in which the investigator inhibits himself from directing the group participants. The situation itself is ambiguous or of limited structure, i.e. there is no agenda so that the group participants are forced to draw upon their personal individuality and cultural background in order to respond. Their behavior is then observed and categorized into; 1) that behavior which is the same between the two groups, 2) that behavior which differentiates one group from the other and 3) idiosyncratic behavior appearing within one group or the other and assumed to be related to some individual peculiarity.

That behavior common to or accepted by members of one group but different from behavior common to or accepted by members of the other group is then further examined as being of anthropological interest. This behavior which differentiates the two groups is then related when possible to data on the characteristics of the two cultures of origin of the small group participants.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

It is difficult to formulate any testable hypothesis until adequate preliminary work has been done. Simple, objective exploratory research is a prerequisite and the present study represents that phase.

In the following pages the methodology for both the collection of data and its analysis will be discussed in a topical sequence reflecting the chronological steps by which the study was done. Special uses of particular terms and the rationale surrounding the specific choices in methodology will be explained. Difficulties encountered will also be discussed.

I. THE SAMPLE SELECTION

It is in order here to discuss first the selection of the sample. The term sample is used here in a strictly mathematical sense, i.e. as some of a population. There was no attempt to select randomly or representatively Saudi Arabs or Japanese in this study. The Saudi Arabs and Japanese were selected in the first place because all the other ethnic groups represented at all at Portland State University were represented in such limited numbers that it

was impractical to attempt to form a small group of any ethnic group other than Arabs and Japanese.

By working directly with Mrs. M. and Mr. C. of International Programs at Portland State University, fifteen Saudi Arabs and fifteen Japanese attending Portland State University who: (1) could speak English, and (2) were not enrolled in some Portland State University class at the meeting time (after 4:00 p.m.) were contacted by letter. The Japanese were told that a Mrs. Pierce, a graduate student in anthropology was writing her master's thesis and was interested in meeting the Japanese students at Portland State University. She wanted to get to know them and was interested in anything they thought would be a good idea for her to know about Japan. The Saudi Arabs were told the same thing, but the words Saudi Arabian and Saudi Arabia were substituted for Japanese and Japan. They were told they would meet weekly for an hour for six weeks at 4:00 p.m. in a specific room. They were also told that this was not required of them by the school.

The Japanese who participated in the first meeting will be referred to as small group J-1, the J for Japanese, the 1 for the first session. Similarly, the Arabs selected for the first meeting will be referred to collectively as small group A-1, A for Arab and 1 for the first session. (A-2 would then refer to Arab group, second session, etc.)

The Arab small groups had specific characteristics

which distinguished them from the Japanese small groups. There were also certain characteristics which characterized both groups. These are charted in Table I.

All of the Saudi Arabs knew each other before coming to the small group sessions; they considered themselves to be Arabs; they were all born in Saudi Arabia and they were raised by Arab parents. Some were city bred and some were of nomadic background but all were insistent on the fact that they were united and Arab. All of the Japanese knew each other before coming to the small group sessions; they considered themselves to be Japanese; they were born in Japan in cities and raised by Japanese parents. All of the students involved in the project had been in the United States of America between one month and three years, all of them expected to return to their native land so they all were temporary residents here on student visas. None of either group lived with their families, and all from both groups had been or were enrolled in special English for Foreign Student programs at Portland State University. All were between the ages of eighteen and twenty-six.

Actual attendance however of particular individuals varied from week to week. In fact twice the Arabs brought guests. They brought a Mexican student to the fifth session, and they brought an Arab from Kuwait to one of the meetings. Mr. C. a member of the administrative staff and instrumental in securing the Arab informants requested

TABLE I

MULTIVARIATE DISTRIBUTION CHART DEPICTING THE SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES
IN THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ARAB AND JAPANESE SMALL GROUPS

MEMBERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS	CHARACTERISTICS PRESENT IN SMALL GROUPS		
	Only Arab	Both Arab and Japanese Groups	Only Japanese Groups
1) All were students at PSU		X	
2) All were or had been enrolled in the PSU English for foreigners program		X	
3) All in each group knew each other before coming to the small group sessions		X	
4) All considered themselves to be of the same ethnic group that the investigator considered them to be, i.e. Japanese or Arab		X	
5) All in each group were born in the same country and reared in that country by parents of the same ethnic group		X	
6) All in each group were native speakers of the same language, i.e. Japanese or Arabic		X	
7) All were between the ages of 18 and 26		X	
8) All were temporary residents of the U.S. here on student visas and each expected to return to his native land		X	
9) Both males and females attended			X
10) Only males attended			X

permission to observe part time during some of the Arab sessions. This request was granted. The effect his presence had on the data must remain an unknown. His verbal participation was minimal, and no particular change associated with his appearing or leaving could be noted by the investigator.

Since all Arab students at Portland State University knew about the session (whether they had been specifically invited or not), and all Japanese knew about the Japanese sessions, any of either group who met the requirements of ethnic membership was admitted. The actual number of people attending sessions varied from a minimum of four to a maximum of sixteen.

Underlying the acceptance of the fact of intermittent membership is the assumption that individuals within any ethnic group are mutually substitutable for each other if all individuals conform to the requirements of membership for the small group.

It happened that no Arab female would consent to come. The foreign student roster at Portland State University for the Spring of 1969 showed that less than one-ninth of the Arabs were female and more than one-third of the Japanese were female, so one might predict this possibility. This feature too, however, could be interpreted as due to cultural conditioning as unmarried Arab men and women are rarely seen together in public in

Saudi Arabia.

The fact remains that an additional uncontrolled variable was unavoidably added--that of having the Arab small group all male, except for the investigator and the Japanese small group mixed. It is unfortunate, but in this case an unavoidable happening which only further research can correct.

It is important to examine these similarities and differences which will in the future be termed membership requirements because later they will be contrasted to the similarities and differences encountered in the verbal behavior between the two groups.

II. THE PHYSICAL SETTING: THE LOCATION, FREQUENCY, AND HOUR OF MEETING

Empty rooms at Portland State University were scarce at the time the research was conducted. The room finally assigned was in the basement of the International Programs building, a building about to be torn down. It was about twelve feet square with a door at one side and a window facing out on a busy street on the other side. It was unused except for storage, consequently it was noisy, cluttered and dirty. Its principal advantage was its proximity to the International Programs office with which all the foreign students were familiar.

The question of how often they should meet was

related to the choice of method of analysis. A body of material was needed. If it were too big it would be unwieldy, and if it were too small it would not provide adequate data. There was no way to determine the optimal number of sessions prior to completion of the project. It was decided that six meetings would be held with the Japanese and Arabs respectively and that six meetings each would offer a repetitive check. A precaution was thus taken by doing it six times. Any mistake that occurred which might ruin a single meeting would not necessarily ruin the project.

As with the use of any projective technique, there was a wide latitude in response expected. Repetition of the situation seemed a more effective way of increasing this latitude, thereby providing the investigator with a broader view of the phenomenological world of those involved. Thus there was both a larger volume of information and a greater range and variety of information available for analysis without resort to specific elicitation. The hour between 4:00 and 5:00 p.m. was suggested because conflicting class schedules were least likely to occur at that hour. If it had been later, the audio-visual aids department would have been unduly inconvenienced, and students probably would have encountered difficulties with eating arrangements and transportation.

In actuality these groups of Arabs and Japanese were

studied in the Spring term, 1969. The sessions were approximately one hour each. Each Japanese group session was at least a week apart and twice the weekly sessions were postponed or cancelled, once because only one person came and once at the request of the participants for personal academic reasons. Similarly, the Arabs' six group sessions extended over an eight week period. Six sessions were recorded for each group. In each case all but the fifth session took place in the Portland State University International Programs building, room B, basement level. The fifth session took place in the home of the investigator at the suggestion of the International Programs administrative staff as a token of appreciation to the students involved. On that occasion a typical group session was held, but before and after the session the participants were entertained and served refreshments.

III. RECORDING THE MATERIAL

Five of the six sessions were recorded by Portland State University's audio-visual department. This involved the presence of an extra person with recording equipment and microphones. In each case the technician did not interact with the group members during the recording sessions. On the one occasion with each group when the meeting was held in the investigator's home, the recording was handled by the group facilitator rather than by the audio-visual

department.

Recordings were considered necessary in order to reduce the inevitable distortion that occurs through selective memory. They also rendered it possible for others to check the investigator's accuracy and objectivity. It should be noted here that despite precautions taken the tapes were not totally intelligible. Background noises, the fact of several people talking simultaneously, difficulties on the part of the students in using English, and in one case a malfunction of recording apparatus all contributed to this difficulty. Eleven of the twelve tapes were between 95 and 98 percent transcribable, but the tape of the fourth Japanese session was almost totally incomprehensible. The tapes were not new and the recording head in this case failed to erase all of what had previously been recorded. The tape had contained the recording of symphony and the exact words of the Japanese group members were barely audible through the music. The malfunction was not discovered until the investigator was transcribing the tapes several weeks after the actual recording had been made. Extensive notes had been taken as usual immediately after the session in question and proved invaluable in reconstructing the lost material. The facilitator's memory of this session was checked in later conversations with three of the group participants.

Immediately following every session the convenor

wrote up what had occurred within the group setting. Originally the note taking activity was designed for the immediate on-going personal use of the investigator. Since a tape recorder was not readily available for listening to the tapes between sessions it was to the facilitator's advantage to have a readily accessible convenient set of notes to refer to prior to each session, about previous sessions, especially the immediately preceding one. The notes included statements about who was there, and who said what or acted in what way. Sometimes a description of the physical characteristics which distinguished one group member from another in the eyes of the investigator was included. This helped her remember the participants as individuals. Topics talked about, the emotions shown, anything that impressed the investigator as either worthy of note or as something to look into or check on was jotted down. Sometimes the notes simply duplicated what was later to be transcribed from the tapes. Occasionally non-vocal behavior or verbal behavior related to the session but occurring immediately prior to what was being recorded or immediately following it was included. Thus, these notes and the tape recordings constituted the total record or corpus of material utilized as data in this investigation.

IV. SMALL GROUP CHARACTERISTICS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE ROLE AND/OR BEHAVIOR OF THE GROUP FACILITATOR IN THE MDMS-SG SITUATION

The relationship between the facilitator's behavior and minimal direction-minimal structure have been discussed briefly in Chapter I. The only times direction and structuring were attempted (and then minimally) in this study was when the anxiety or infrequently the curiosity of the investigator made it seemingly impossible to refrain from it. For example, when things were so boring that the investigator feared the group members who did come would not return, she would structure in the psychological sense of the term and say something like, "Talk about anything you'd like to talk about, anything about yourselves or your country that you think I should know or would be interested in," or "Talk about what you talk about usually, only talk in English."

It will be noted that in small group work there are a number of variables or characteristics which can be influenced and partially manipulated by the group convenor or facilitator. He can influence the level of participation, i.e. he can subtly or obviously shift the level from abstract to concrete or from intellectual to emotional or vice versa. Many current groups strive for what is sometimes referred to as "gut-level" participation. For example, both the old and new style Rogerian groups and the groups patterned after Hill's Interaction Matrix (Hill, 1962) place special value on expressing feeling and on getting more personally involved or getting into deeper

more "meaningful" material. There was no attempt made with either the Arabs or Japanese to achieve any particular level in this study. Instead the investigator noted the level and did not make any attempt to change it. Existentially oriented groups (Buber 1959, May 1959) today tend to stress the "here and now." The earlier psychoanalytical groups (Wolf 1949) stressed the past, especially as it related to the present. In the present study, both the Arabs and Japanese were told that the investigator wanted to get to know them and to learn about their country of origin. They were asked to just talk. Limiting topics of speech to discussion of actions occurring in any specific time period such as the present, future or past was considered inappropriate because it might be too western-culture oriented.

Intensity and universality of involvement are two other characteristics which can be influenced by the facilitator. The new Intercultural Communication Workshop training groups (ICWs) (Clark 1970) have as one of their goals the involvement of each and every participant in a group. Sensitivity groups differ in that usually participants decide for themselves if and when they will verbally participate. In both the Arab and Japanese small groups, group members were encouraged to participate but participation was not an objective. The investigator might nod at a particularly quiet member and say ". . .and would you like to add anything?" or "Have you had an experience like

that?" While strong resistance to participation was respected, participation was not left entirely to the discretion of the group member. If these present MDNS-SQ's were to be ranked along with sensitivity groups on the left of the scale and ICW's at the right, they would fall to the right of the middle.

There was no attempt made on the part of the group facilitator to intensify the involvement of the participants. Levels of anxiety can sometimes be purposely increased or decreased by the group facilitator by using various techniques. When anxiety was aroused in response to actions of the facilitator, it was generally for the purpose of allowing the responsibility for the topics of conversation to stem from the group members. In general the behavior of the group facilitator was warm, accepting and mildly supportive. Such things as "yes, I believe I can understand that" and "Don't worry about your English, it's O.K." were said.

The building of trust and friendship among group members is considered as an important objective in ICW groups and National Training Laboratory (NTL) groups, as anyone who reads their journal, Explorations in Human Relations: Training and Research can attest to. There are a number of known exercises which facilitate this. In the present study, no time was devoted to the development of this mutual understanding. It was not known how individuals with a different cultural background would respond to

exercises such as this, and it was outside the realm of the present study to find out.

Encounter or confrontation were neither explicitly or implicitly condoned by the facilitator as is the case in many current groups. These may have occurred in the MDMS-SG but they were neither expected nor encouraged nor discouraged. Those interaction techniques used were apparently both familiar and/or comfortable for the participants. No interaction was interpreted to the group by the group facilitator and no one was encouraged to tell how he viewed anyone else's behavior. There is no reason to believe that the participants involved in either the Arab or Japanese groups did not interact following a pattern considered appropriate in their own sub-culture.

It will be noted, then, that the behavior of the convenor was designed to facilitate the same specific characteristics in all the sessions with the Arabs and in all the sessions with the Japanese. To summarize, these characteristics include minimal direction, minimal structure, a neutral attitude toward confrontation and encounter, minimal use of techniques for intensification of involvement, and no attempt to limit speech to a relationship with actions occurring at any specific time period. On the other hand, a warm, accepting, non-evaluative, mildly supportive atmosphere was created and some attempt, though limited, was made to engage all group members in verbal

behavior. No emphasis was placed on developing mutual trust between group members nor was special value placed on achieving either the emotional or intellectual level of interaction.

V. THE METHODOLOGY EMPLOYED IN THE ANALYSIS

The MDMS-SG provided a situation in which these group members were free to choose their own topics to talk about, to express whatever emotions they chose to express, to interact with the group facilitator and with each other in whatever way suited them, and to organize themselves or not as they chose. In the process, their reactions to the situation were observable, and a body of material was gathered for analysis.

The closed corpus technique, a method borrowed from anthropological-linguistics, is suitable for the analysis of data such as this. The technique involves using all of a gathered body of information and nothing outside of it. In this case all that was intelligible in the tape recordings and recorded field notes of the six sessions each of the Arab and Japanese groups constitute the total closed corpus. One of the characteristics of this technique is that one forces himself to handle every sentence or utterance in order to avoid distortion by selection of only those items which would strengthen a pre-conceived idea from within the data. In this type of study the

investigator takes the new unclassified data and studies it empirically and classifies it or codes it (Wallace and Roberts 1963:129) using a post categorization system (Heyns and Lippett 1954:399) according to whatever inherent order the data lends itself. Post categorization is a technique of developing a category system in the process of studying some sort of total record. The analyst then accurately describes the classification system, the contents within each class and whatever relationships he thinks exist. (Harris 1951, Pierce 1970). Its principal advantages are; (1) it reduces the number of variables one works with and (2) it objectifies data in that the interest of the investigator does not control the selection of materials to be analyzed since a limited segment is completely analyzed and no outside data is used. Many anthropologists familiar with the methodology of structural linguistics have applied closed corpus analysis (Sein and Dundes 1964, Pike 1967, Hall and Nettle 1955) among others use it consistently.

With respect to the present study, by using the closed corpus technique one may isolate behavior which occurs in both the Arab and Japanese groups and assume that the similar behavior is related to similarities between the Arabs and Japanese group members such as the fact that they are all Portland State University foreign students living away from home. Secondly, by using the technique one may also isolate both the differences within the Arab group or

within the Japanese group. If one individual only displays a certain type of behavior (one Arab stuttered), one can assume (although not prove) necessarily that it is an individual peculiarity, and if several display it, it is probably safe to assume that it is not an individual peculiarity. If certain behavior is apparently acceptable to all group members and displayed by all or several group members, it is probably safe to tentatively assume that it is both culturally appropriate and not idiosyncratic behavior. Thirdly, one can isolate that behavior common to the Arab group and contrast it to the isolated behavior common to the Japanese group and thereby note the differences in the verbal behavior between the Arab and Japanese small groups. The terms Japanese or Arab culture will be used here in the same sense that Goodenough (1965) and Schneider (1965) speak of American and Yankee kinship terms. It is part of the working hypothesis that differences so isolated will be due to one of the following actual differences between the Arabs and Japanese selected, (1) cultural membership, (2) sex, or (3) some other uncontrolled variable about which we know nothing. There is of course no way to prove conclusively that the differences observed between the two groups are culturally derived. One can, however, correlate what one finds with what is known about the cultures in question.

VI. SPECIFIC SOURCE BOOKS ON JAPANESE AND ARAB CULTURES
USED FOR COMPARISON WITH BEHAVIOR EXHIBITED
IN THE SMALL GROUPS

Both Arabs and Japanese have been studied by anthropologists. Because of the enormity of the task it was decided that a limit would be placed on the studies which would be used for the research. Several books on Japanese culture were selected as principal sources for comparisons. Japan's New Middle Class. The Salary Man and His Family in a Tokyo Suburb by Ezra F. Vogel (1963) is a study of six families visited at least once a week for a year in a variety of situations. The field work was originally engaged in to determine Japanese family patterns in order to contrast these with those of other ethnic groups. It was part of a large study under Speigel and Kluckhohn of the Department of Social Relations, Harvard University. This book was perhaps most useful as the selection of people studied by Vogel coincided most closely with the selection of Japanese persons in the present study. The Chrysanthemum and the Sword. Patterns of Japanese Culture, by Benedict (1946) was also chosen as it is an anthropological classic and an example of a study of Japanese culture when a visit to Japan was impractical as in the present study. Takashima. A Japanese Fishing Community, by Norbeck (1954) was selected as a standard Japanese ethnography. Nichu. a Japanese School by

Singleton (1967) is considered by the author to be a modern ethnology of a school. This is a digression from the conventional ideal of what constitutes an ethnographic study, as is the present study. Finally, A Daughter of the Samurai, by Etsu Inagaku Sugimoto, an autobiographical account (1928) by a former Japanese language and history instructor at Columbia was useful.

Selecting anthropologically oriented books about Saudi Arabia was more difficult. There are no ethnographies written to the investigator's knowledge. Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East, edited by Louise Sweet (1970), as well as Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East, by Ailon Shiloh (1969) (same title) are collections of articles on the anthropology of the Middle East. A few of the articles in each pertain specifically to Saudi Arabia. Those which do are for the most part problem oriented or cover one aspect of life such as The Tent and Its Furnishings by Dickson (1949). They therefore are spotty in their coverage but given the paucity of available data were used despite the fact that they did not lend themselves well to a comparison with observations made using the MDMS-SG. Volumes I and II of Burton's Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah (1898) were also used. This is a traveller's account and has long been considered anthropologically sound. The Arab World was selected because Arab students of the author's acquaintance liked it and recommended it.

Coon's Caravan (1958) is a standard anthropological text on the Middle East. It and several other references pertaining to Arabs in and outside of Saudi Arabia will be cited.

One of the principal problems in attempting to relate the results of the present study with that of other studies is that the studies themselves are incomparable, therefore the classes of results do not overlap. By using only those items on which the Arabs and Japanese differ, the investigator is still left with items which he knows through his experience are typically Arab or Japanese, but for which he cannot find mention in the ethnographies. (The investigator was a resident of Japan for one year and of the Middle East for six and one-half years.) Therefore, observations made in both Saudi Arabia and Japan by the investigator will be also cited when applicable.

VII. SUMMARY

To summarize the topics covered in the methodological section one notes that the sample selection, and specific membership characteristics of the two groups, the location, frequency, and hour of meeting, as well as the recording of materials were all explained. There was a discussion of both small group characteristics in general and the relationship between these characteristics and the behavior of the group facilitator. These generalities were in turn related to the specific MDMS-SG situations with the Arab and Japanese

students in this present investigation. Other distinguishing characteristics of the specific groups in question were detailed. The closed corpus method was defined and its specific application to the data gathered by the MDMS-SG techniques was explained. Finally, the source books on Japanese and Arab cultures used for comparison with the differential behavior exhibited between the two groups were mentioned.

To review, this study is an application of a psychological group technique modified and used to understand the verbal and other behavioral phenomena exhibited by two "cultural" groups, one Arab and one Japanese. An attempt is made to isolate what is distinctively Japanese or Arab by doing a closed corpus analysis of each set of group sessions and then comparing the sets for similarities and differences. The differences are then selected out for correlation with information gathered about Arab and Japanese culture from other sources. One can utilize the working hypothesis that the Arab group will spontaneously exhibit significant behavioral differences from the Japanese group under MDMS-SG conditions and that these differences will be related to the ethnic background of that larger population of which they are a part. If the two groups are substantially different and the differences are in the direction of the differences between the two ethnic groups from which they came, the assumption, while not

proved, will be substantially strengthened.

In the following pages these similarities and differences between the Arab and Japanese small groups will be examined. Their system of organizing themselves within the group and the interaction patterns they exhibit will be discussed. Various differences in paralinguistic phenomena will be noted. The emotions which they display will be reviewed as well as a content analysis showing the similarities and differences in the materials talked about by the two groups. All of the above differences will then be examined and related to works by other researchers who have studied the cultures of the countries of origin of the participants in order that it may be possible to show whether under the MDMS-SG conditions, a sample will yield the same or a different type of information.

It should be noted that the topics to be discussed which are mentioned in the previous paragraph resulted from the post categorization process and were inductively derived from the data.

CHAPTER III

DATA AND ANALYSIS

It will be remembered that this present study is an exploratory study. There was no a priori list of dimensions or aspects to be observed, the categories were inductively arrived at during and after the process of observation. They are simply aspects of human behavior which may or may not reflect cultural conditioning. There is no reason to expect the aspects or categories to be related to each other. They were there and were observed and reported on. For didactic purposes however one can organize the observations into two divisions: first the more inclusive situation oriented observations, and second, those observations derived primarily from a study of the tapes. The former can be further divided into observations of the group members reactions to those specific aspects of the MDMS-SG which were the same for each group, that is, the meeting arrangements, the tape recorder, the tape technician, the room, the limited structure aspect of the MDMS-SG, etc. on the one hand and the group's method of organizing itself on the other. The aspects will be described in detail later, but to give an over-all picture to the reader they will be listed

here now. They include paralinguistic observations made on the two groups, an analysis of their interaction patterns, a listing of the emotions expressed in each group, and a content analysis which includes a discussion of their problems. In each case the entire corpus is examined, and the groups are compared for similarities and contrasted for differences. In the following chapter, the similarities are then related, when possible, to situations common to both groups and the differences to their ethnic backgrounds.

I. THE SITUATION-ORIENTED OBSERVATIONS

The MDMS-SG has been previously likened to a projective technique. In all projective techniques, both the verbal behavior in response to the presented stimulus and the general behavior in response to the total situation is noted and considered to reflect the individuality of the person tested. Similarly, in the analysis of the MDMS-SG technique, both the verbal behavior during the hours of intensive observation and the responses to selected aspects of the total situation are noted and considered to reflect the ethnic origins of the group involved.

If individuals within one group or the other differed in their response to some stimulus item the difference would be labelled an individual difference and be classified as psychological, but if the individuals within one group en masse differed in their responses to a

stimulus item from the members of the other group than the difference would in this case be labelled as an ethnic difference and be classified as anthropological.

Those specific aspects of the total situation to which the groups responded differently will be described first and then those aspects to which the group response was the same will be mentioned.

The Differential Responses of the Two Groups To Specific Aspects of the Total Situation

Meeting Arrangements. The two groups differed in their responses to the meeting arrangements. Both the Arabs and the Japanese were given invitations to participate in what was represented to be a group with other Arabs or Japanese respectively and an American graduate student from the anthropology department who was interested in knowing some Japanese or Arab students and learning more about their country and ways.

Before the first meeting the Japanese asked no questions of their advisor, Mrs. H., about the meeting, and only one appeared. The others simply didn't come. They had apparently chosen to ignore the invitation as if it did not exist. They did not actively deal with the situation. The one Japanese, a girl who came said that she came because she had recognized the investigator's name and had therefore wanted to meet her as she had been a student of the investigator's husband. She knew all the other

Japanese students on the list and went out, called some up and within fifteen minutes four more Japanese students had arrived.

On the other hand some of the Arabs apparently considered attendance in a bargaining sense as a favor to Mr. C., their advisor. He reported that many of the Arab students had questions about the benefits of attendance. They argued with him and gave reasons for not coming. Several were reported to have said that they would come if nothing else came up or to have made statements which would allow them to change their minds at the last moment. One Arab reportedly stated in a semi-serious fashion that he always slept on Wednesday afternoons (the first meetings were on Wednesdays).

Despite the requests for additional information and resistance, six Arab students appeared for the first meeting.

Tape Recorder. The reactions of the two groups to the tape recorder was entirely different. The Japanese paid no attention to it other than to move closer to the microphone when asked to do so. Once, when the audio-visual technician left the room they asked if the group facilitator wanted it switched on and then switched it on.

The Arabs wanted to know who owned the machine, what the tapes were to be used for and especially if they were

to be part of a radio or TV program. Some wanted to hear their voices after the sessions. There seemed to be no objection to its use, but explanations were requested.

MDMS Aspect of Meetings. The initial response of the Arab group as well as the Japanese group to the minimal direction minimal structure aspect of the small group sessions were different. The Japanese students seemingly liked the meetings. They did not ask questions about the purpose of the meeting. That they could be with their friends, talk or practice English, learn about American customs, or tell someone about Japan were verbalized as benefits. Two mentioned that it was a new experience for them to be so frank.

The Arabs on the other hand asked questions like, "What is the reason for this conversation?" and seemed to be looking for an unspoken purpose. The first Arab session was opened by a barrage of questions. "What's going on?" "You will ask us some questions?" "What's this for?" "Teach in the college?" "You doctor?" etc. Each direct question was answered. They were told again that the investigator wanted to meet some Arabs and get to know them and learn about their country. Honest answers were given to factual questions. Answers to these questions seemed to make them more comfortable.

Finality of Last Session: Response to Termination. The responses to ending the sessions were also different.

After the sixth meeting the Japanese group decided that they would like to continue meeting on a weekly basis and perhaps invite some Americans to join them. They did continue to meet for six more months.

The Arab group's last meeting was almost twice the length of the usual meetings because of their involvement in the discussion they were having, but when they ended it, there was no request for a continuation.

Attitude Toward Group Facilitator. The Japanese group attitude toward the facilitator was consistent. She was treated respectfully, somewhat formally, but with warmth.

The Arabs' attitudes toward the group facilitator in this present study varied, and these variations often were related to the topic under discussion. On each occasion when one group member was alone with the facilitator, the facilitator was treated in a friendly fashion as an interesting individual or as an individual who was interested in the individual group member. However, during group sessions the facilitator sensed that she was being placed in varying roles by the group members. She was once treated as a member of the class "American in Arabia, greedy and living beyond his means, not very clever and complaining" and once as "a person who needed educating because of an unspoken prejudice against Arabs," or again as "an English teacher who was powerless." One group member

pretended to be a teacher and tried to drill the facilitator on pronunciation. Perhaps the facilitator was a "person whose status and potential for danger had to be checked" to all at one time or another. Sometimes she was "a person who might understand their problems and be influential in their solution" or a "person whom they could sell on their ideas" or sometimes "someone to joke with." The facilitator also was not reacted to at all at times while the group members interacted for long periods of time with each other.

Attendance. The average number of people per session in the Arab group exceeded that of the Japanese group. The Japanese group attendance averaged between five and six and the Arab group attendance averaged seven or eight. The total number of participants in the Arab group was over twice the total for the Japanese group, approximately twenty-three compared with ten. The numbers are an approximation because the investigator did not want to take attendance by name as this is contrary to the principles of structure in small group, but attempted never-the-less to remember faces and distinguish between and note familiar and new group members.

Specific Aspects of the Total Situation to Which the Two Groups Respond Similarly

These were only two specific aspects of the total situation identified to which the two groups responded

similarly. These were the physical conditions of the room and the presence of the audio-visual technician. The meeting place was a building scheduled to be torn down. It was a small noisy cluttered dusty room. The Arabs squeezed in and ignored the physical conditions. The Japanese behaved in the same fashion although sometimes they commented about the dirt. Members from both groups occasionally sat on papers which they placed on the chairs, but neither group suggested moving to a nicer room or cleaning that one.

Both groups ignored the audio-visual technician.

Summary

The two groups then, selected on the basis of difference in ethnic background, responded similarly to some and differently to other specifics held constant through research design. They responded in a different fashion to the meeting arrangements, the tape recorder, and the MDMS aspect of the meetings. Their attitudes toward the investigator and toward a continuation of sessions differed as did attendance particulars. The two groups responded similarly to the physical condition of the room and the presence of the audio-visual technician. These similarities and differences will be discussed in Chapter IV.

As was previously mentioned, a consideration of the organization within the Arab group and within the Japanese group will be described next.

II. CONTRASTING PATTERNS OF ORGANIZATION FORMED BY THE TWO GROUPS IN RESPONSE TO THE MDMS-SG SITUATION

The differential responses of the two groups to identifiable stimuli, i.e. the room, the tape recorder, etc., have been discussed in the previous section. The patterns of organization, however, cannot be narrowed down as a response to any specifically identifiable aspect of or stimulus within the MDMS-SG situation. Such patterns however are observable only under conditions of limited direction and limited structure on the part of the anthropologist whether he is working in the field or in a MDMS-SG situation.

Limiting both direction and structuring on the part of the investigator reduces the degree of external stimulation. As the degree of direction and structuring approaches zero, the stimuli peculiar to and provided by a group facilitator approaches zero. If the investigator leads and structures a group situation, he is providing organization and leadership and therefore cannot study how the group members would organize themselves if organization were not provided or spelled out, because the organization imposed by the investigator would stem from the culture of the investigator.

By limiting structure in a group, the group facilitator can observe how the group members organize themselves and what roles, if any, are spontaneously expressed. The

two groups differed markedly in this respect. The Japanese group first and then the Arab group will be described.

The Pattern of Organization in the Japanese Group

In the Japanese group, one female participant, H., acted as go-between or liason representative between the group and the group facilitator. She called or personally contacted the others and reminded them to come and sometimes delivered messages from other group members to the facilitator. When the group facilitator attempted to contact each person directly regarding a small change in routine, each told her that if she would tell H., H. would keep them informed, and she was also told that if H. should be unavailable she was to contact S., a male participant. (H. had been in the United States longer than any of the others. She was known to be efficient and reliable and she was the second to the oldest in the group. S. was the oldest. He had been in the United States only a few months and his English was still shaky.) This method of contacting the group and relating messages always worked. Note the diagram in figure 1.

H. often spoke for the group with the group's consent. Once the facilitator asked a question about Japan of three female group members who attended regularly but usually spoke only when spoken to. One answered by saying that if

Figure 1. Figurative representation of the Japanese organizational pattern in this present MDMS-3G study.

the group facilitator would ask H. or S., they could tell her better and the other two agreed. They did, however, express personal feelings and discuss personal problems they had.

Two friends of S. came sporadically. One, a female, spoke fluently and authoritatively and did not seem to cooperate with the system as it was developing. She spoke directly to the facilitator and expressed differing opinions and gave information when she came. The other friend of S., a male, became a co-leader with S. in the continuation of the group after H. left for Japan.

The group sometimes apparently made decisions as a group outside of group meetings but asked the group facilitator's opinion about the already-agreed-upon

decision during the meeting. The decision to continue the group meetings after the sixth session was one of these. Another was a decision to not have a meeting during a test week, and the third was about having a sukiyaki party.

The Pattern of Organization Used in the Arab Group.

The Arab group's organizational patterns were entirely different and more difficult to identify. They asked the group facilitator to work through Mr. C., their advisor, "who knew them all." This proved efficient since the turnover of membership was greater than that of the Japanese group.

During the sessions, however, Mr. C. participated minimally. No one individual could be described as the organizer nor could any one person be described as the leader either in terms of influencing others or in determining topics for discussion. The eldest of the young men, when he attended, talked more than anyone else; he had been in the United States longest and had a good command of English but he did not seem to lead the others. In each session at least two Arabs, and in one session five Arabs, kept the discussion going. In each session there were also always some quiet ones. The participants in group A-1 were, on the average, younger, as judged by appearance than those attending subsequent sessions. They had also a weaker command of English. However, the two individuals who were

most verbal during session A-1 were not verbal during session A-2 when the older more fluent Arabs came. This occurred despite the fact that the older Arabs were guests rather than having been originally invited by the group facilitator.

The talkative Arabs who tended to be older assumed a position on some subject and then each would defend his position or argue the merits of his opinions. They tended to give a series of short speeches expressing their views rather than engaging in reciprocal conversation. During every session individuals competed to express their views. No one seemed particularly influenced by these speeches, generally, although occasionally the speaker would modify his opinions to include another point of view. Often others did not react at all. Once a young man silently read a newspaper and no one seemed to notice it.

One young man who had very recently come to the United States attended regularly. He always seemed to be aware of what was being said and although he did not speak often, when he did, he was listened to. He seemed to sum up problems or act as arbitrator. He brought more friends to the group than anyone else did. Once he told the group that the facilitator wanted them to talk as they would in Arabic with each other. They expressed disbelief, resistance, and then apparently acceptance of the idea. His voice was quiet and sometimes he spoke only a few sentences

in a hour. He was the only quiet one to influence the group and seemed to change the direction of opinion more than those who lectured. He was, however, not considered a leader by the group. In a digression from strict non-directive format (one of the reasons the MDMS-3G is called minimally-directed rather than non-directed) the investigator asked the group who they considered the leader or leaders of the group. The members of the group resisted identifying anyone of the group as a leader.

Figure 2 suggests the Arab organizational pattern assumed in their MDMS-3G.

Figure 2. Figurative representation of Arab organizational pattern in this present MDMS-3G study.

Different people came to different meetings, but never-the-less there seemed to be a thread of continuity throughout the series. The investigator after a session once asked two young men whether or not they talked among themselves about the meetings, thinking this might have contributed to the continuity and one said they did, and the other said they did not. The subject was never discussed at a meeting, but the assumption was made that there was some after session discussion of in-session happenings.

Summary of the Differences in Organization Between the Two Groups

It will be noted that the organizational patterns of the two groups differed radically. They were alike only in that they both designated an individual to act as liason representative. The Japanese, however, used a Japanese group member, and the Arabs chose an American administrator. The Japanese established a hierarchical organizational pattern which involved only one dissenting member. The Arabs divided themselves into those who competed and those who did not and then those who competed, competed continually for supremacy. The Japanese recognized a leader and the Arabs refused to recognize a leader and expressed belief in freedom to think and act individually. The next part of the data section encompasses the observations and analysis of the verbal behavior of the two groups.

III. A COMPARISON OF THE PARALINGUISTIC BEHAVIOR EXHIBITED BY THE TWO GROUPS

When the data from the Arab group was compared with the data from the Japanese group, it became obvious that the manner of speaking English differed radically between the two groups. How the Arab's English differed from the English of the Japanese was not readily apparent, but by listening to smaller and smaller segments and by comparing and describing the differences, it was possible to isolate the facets of difference. The isolated facets of difference were then checked on each tape throughout the corpus for consistency. (Grammatical and phonological differences were expected, noted and disregarded as irrelevant to the purposes of the present study as this is not a classical study in linguistics). The observed and described linguistic phenomena mentioned above fall under the rubric paralinguistics. Paralinguistics is defined by Mario Pei as "The study of the vocal qualifiers conveyed by the voice, but not through words or pitch level or intonation. . ." (1966:193) The term is used slightly differently by different scholars, but it will be used here to refer to what is left of speech when one ignores both the strict kinesics or body language and the part of language which is structured, i.e. phonemes, including suprasegmental phonemes, morphemes and syntax. Included will be the way one speaks; the volume, pitch (not including pitch

phonemes), tempo, length of utterance and response to silences between utterances.

A preliminary paralinguistic analysis of certain aspects of the Arab and Japanese group data was made. It was of particular interest because most of the members of both groups had taken the same spoken English courses at Portland State University. We might infer therefore that differences between the groups which were common to members of one group or the other would be culturally derived rather than a function of the way they learned to speak English.

Careful analysis of the two groups showed that the Arab groups on the whole spoke more loudly than the Japanese and usually with greater urgency or intensity. Sometimes this occurred for no apparent reason and sometimes because two or more persons were speaking simultaneously and one successfully out-talked the other. The Japanese almost always spoke one at a time and with less volume. The investigator thought sex differences might account for the difference between the groups, that is that men might be expected to talk more loudly than women. However, a recheck of the materials proved that this idea was incorrect. That Japanese which was spoken loudly and intensely (it occurred on two tapes) was spoken by two women, not men. Loud and intense speaking occurred on every Arab tape although a few individual Arabs spoke

softly.

The intonation range for the group was greater and more variable for the Arab group than that of the Japanese. However, occasionally the Japanese reached a high pitch and maintained it. Also the few individual Arabs who never raised their voices noticeably in volume also did not noticeably vary their pitch.

The Arabs had a higher words per minute rate than the Japanese. There were some individual differences within each group. Those who were unsure of their English in both groups spoke more slowly but the fluent Arabs exceeded the fluent Japanese in speed of speech.

The two groups differed markedly in the average length of utterance. The Arab group members often continued to speak for long periods of time until they were interrupted. Six to ten sentence utterances were not uncommon, and there were some utterances twenty-five sentences long. The Japanese usually made one sentence utterances. A four sentence utterance was unusual.

The length of time occurring between utterances differed between the two groups. (The investigator considers the observations of silence to be part of the paralinguistic observations.) It was noted that both the frequency of, and the duration of silence was greater in the Japanese group than in the Arab group. The Arabs filled spaces of time during which verbalization was not occurring with clearing

their threats, and with laughs or noises from movements of chairs, etc. On the Japanese tapes occasionally a silence of over a minute occurred followed by someone's continuing a conversation or starting a new topic as if no silence had occurred.

One Arab frequently repeated parts of his sentence, e.g. "No, no, no, I'm not saying, the thing - the thing - the thing, I'm not saying this is the - this the - this is the way it is done. I'm saying this is the way it should be done." Several others in the Arab group did similarly on occasion. The Japanese rarely did. This is considered by the investigator to be an individual phenomena. There was no opportunity to see whether or not this Arab repeated parts of sentences in Arabic.

SUMMARY

To summarize the paralinguistic observations, Arabs tended to speak louder, use more variations in intonation, talk faster and for longer periods of time and avoid periods of silence more than the Japanese. The Japanese spoke at a slower tempo with less volume and intonation variation. They used shorter utterances and tended to accept silence as a natural part of speaking.

The aspect, paralinguistics, is an inclusive category name for the observed specifics which differed markedly between the two groups. Because they contrasted

sharply and were group phenomena rather than single individual phenomena, they were considered significant and therefore possible reflections of the two larger ethnic populations from which the smaller groups were selected.

IV. VERBAL INTERACTION PATTERNS

Preliminary observations of the Arab group and the Japanese group made it apparent that the individuals within each group treated each other differently, i.e. their interaction patterns differed.

All people seem to exhibit certain interaction patterns. In all cultures information, opinions and/or suggestions are exchanged. Also, presumably, antagonism and closeness, etc. are verbally expressed. Yet there seem to be differences between cultural groups, and it is these differences which are examined here.

Although individuals within a specific ethnic group act differently, these individuals interact in a way which differentiate them from members of different specified ethnic groups and, as with dialects of languages, the degree of relatedness between ethnic groups could be tested.

It is also expected that in different situations different types of interactions are used in varying degrees, and are considered by a people to be appropriate to a greater or lesser degree.

If members from each of two ethnic groups are given a designated new situation, i.e. MDMS-SG, to freely react to, the interaction patterns they exhibit and the total pattern of reaction exhibited, i.e. a comparison of the frequency of the types of interactions involved, should tell us a lot about the interaction patterns of the larger ethnic units represented by the small groups in the present study.

The interaction patterns were analyzed in two steps, the one step supplementing the other. First, the types of interaction exhibited during the six sessions for each group were enumerated in order to compose a list of types of interactions and then a presence-absence count was made in order to characterize and contrast the two groups. Then those items which occurred in both groups were rated as to frequency of occurrence.

It should be mentioned that there is difficulty involved in distinguishing expression of emotion and interaction patterns because the expression of emotion is sometimes the initiation of an interaction, sometimes the result and sometimes a concomitant aspect of a total event and not related to the process of interaction. When a total event is analyzed into constituent parts, its totality is disguised. The reader can construct a clearer picture of each group and of the contrast between these two groups after he has read the entire study involving the various levels of analysis. The interaction patterns and

the analysis of emotions which follow, of. section entitled V. EMOTIONS INFERRED FROM VERBAL BEHAVIOR, are, however, closely related.

Presence-Absence Count of Interaction Analysis Items for the Japanese and Arab MDMS-SG in the present study

The first items to be listed will be those exhibited only by the Japanese in the Japanese MDMS-SG.

1. Teasing and joking limited to interaction between males and females, initiated by either.

2. Apologies made for having a different opinion.

3. Attempt at agreement on some level initiated after each expression of differing opinion.

4. Logical reasons given for co-existence of differing ideas.

5. Respect and status given to facilitator and liason representative.

6. Fear of group rejection exhibited.

7. Verbal expression of worry and sensitivity to other's reactions made.

8. Loneliness verbalized.

9. Desire for harmonious relationships verbalized.

10. "Humm humm" sounds as if to encourage another person to continue to verbalize to assure him of the initiator's presence produced.

The items which follow are those items exhibited only by the Arabs in the Arab MDMS-SG and not by the Japanese.

1. Competition.
2. Deflation of another member's status, e.g. laughing at another's embarrassment.
3. Contradiction of other group member without reticence.
4. Self-assertive behavior.
5. Use of expletives.
6. Use of command forms of sentences.
7. Presentation of differing information or opinion with no attempt to reach group agreement.
8. Confrontation.
9. Defense of position with fact and logic.
10. Persuasion.
11. Joking and teasing between both male-female and male-male.
12. Stating demands in the abstract.
13. Answering "no" to "either or" questions before answering them.
14. Verbalizing desire to avoid talking about a specific topic.
15. Expression of regret.
16. Questioning to clarify intent of others.
17. Expression of having been unfairly treated.

It is clear from the above two lists that the range of interaction patterns exhibited was greater for the Arabs than for the Japanese. It was also clear that the

interaction patterns for the two groups differ radically.

Relative Frequency of Interactions Characteristic of Both Groups

It is readily seen that certain items occurred only in the Japanese group and others appeared only in the Arab groups. A third list was compiled of items which occurred with both groups. In order to describe the character of the group more accurately, those items occurring in both groups were rated by the investigator on a rating scale from 1 to 5. This rating scale can be visualized as follows:

Rating Scale of Relative Frequency of
Occurrence of Items in Present
MDMS-3G Interaction Analysis

J		A-J		A
1	2	3	4	5
		or		
J1	J2	A3J	A4	A5

A rating of J3A indicates that the Arabs and Japanese in the present study could not be differentiated the one from the other in respect to the item with the J3A rating. A rating of J2 or A4 means that the item occurred with greater frequency in the Japanese or Arab groups respectively but not often enough to be clearly differentiating. A rating of J1 indicates that in the present study this item occurred

more than twice as often among the Japanese as it occurred among the Arabs and a rating of A5 in like fashion means that the frequency of occurrence for the Arabs was double or more than that for the Japanese groups. Thus the J1 and A5 items can be considered as differentiating.

The list items in the interaction analysis which were common to both groups follows. The items are listed, and when necessary for clarity, explained.

First those items which did not differentiate one group from the other, all receiving a rating of J3A, will be enumerated.

Both Groups:

1. Expressed likes and preferences.
2. Expressed desires.
3. Passed judgments, negative and positive, i.e. expressed approval or disapproval.
4. Showed embarrassment by hesitating and giggling.
5. Gave information.
6. Expressed opinions.
7. Expressed positive emotions.
8. Apologized for the quality of their English.
9. Occasionally lapsed into their own languages.
10. Asked for help once.

The J2 and A4 items will be listed next, beginning with J2.

The Japanese, more than the Arabs,

1. Requested opinions of others (rare in both groups and usually directed to the investigator).
2. Requested information, including, "What did he say?"
3. Made apologies.
4. Gave greetings.
5. Reminiscenced.
6. Told of achievements of family members.

The A4 list of interaction items follows. The Arabs, more than the Japanese,

1. Gave criticism.
2. Offered suggestions (rare).
3. Attempted to discover the facilitator's wants.
4. Expressed dislikes.

Further study with a different corpus will be necessary to determine whether or not the J2 and A4 items should be classified as differentiating or not.

Finally the J1 and A5 items will be listed. The J1 items, while occurring in both groups occurred with over twice as much frequency in the Japanese group as in the Arab group.

The Japanese, more than twice as often as the Arabs,

1. Told of accomplishments of other members of the group.
2. Attempted reconciliation following any contradiction.

3. Agreed.
4. Collaborated.
5. Talked for someone else.
6. Spontaneously introduced friends or self to facilitator.

The Arabs, more than twice as often as the Japanese,

1. Repeated themselves apparently for the purpose of emphasis and clarification.
2. Interrupted another member's speech.
3. Made speeches or soliloquized.
4. Laughed at jokes and humorous situations.
5. Proudly boasted of achievements, progress and heritage of their country.
6. Expressed dissatisfaction.
7. Expressed intensity and excitement.
8. Disagreed.

These last two lists, J1 and A5, along with the first two lists enumerated, i.e. those listing interaction items exhibited only by Arabs and only by Japanese can together be considered to characterize the contrasting and therefore identifying interaction patterns of the two small groups under study.

It is surprising that the number of different interaction patterns exhibited by the two groups individually exceeds the number exhibited by both groups in common.

However, it is possible that interaction analysis of groups

from various cultures would provide insights into those specific acts in interpersonal relationships that people from differing backgrounds find uncomfortable or difficult, yet cannot quite put their finger on.

V. EMOTIONS INFERRED FROM VERBAL BEHAVIOR IN THE CONTEXT OF THE TOTAL BEHAVIORAL SITUATION

In the section entitled IV. VERBAL INTERACTION PATTERNS the close relationship between the study of expression of emotions and interaction patterns was mentioned. In this section the emotions inferred from verbal behavior in total context will be discussed, both those which initiated interaction as well as those apparently resulting from or simply concomitant with the interaction. These emotions will be related to the actual content material discussed when relevant. The final main subsection in this chapter, i.e. VI. CONTENT ANALYSIS, will contain a presence-absence count of a list of all the topics discussed by each group. Since those topics related to emotional expression will be discussed here, there will of necessity be a slight overlap.

It will be remembered that the MDMS-SG situation was such that the expression of emotion, i.e. "getting on the emotional level" was neither encouraged nor discouraged. There was no attempt to intensify involvement or specifically create a situation where one exposes his

problems or his feelings, as is the case with many current group studies. It is, however, basic to the theory behind all projective techniques that by decreasing the structure of the stimulus situation, i.e. MD Minimal Structure-SG, the individuals exposed tend to complete the incomplete whole. To do this they draw on their cultural backgrounds and individual personalities.

The cultural backgrounds and individual personalities are sorted by using the same technique as has been used on each of the other subsections of Chapter III. Emotions unique to one person in a group are considered individual, and mentioned as being unique to the sample. Those emotions common to members in both groups are considered related to a situation similar for both groups, such as their being foreign students away from home. And those emotions common to members within a group, but contrasting with those emotions common to members of the other group, are considered distinctive for the group and related to a difference in selection of sample, in this case ethnic origin. Further discussion will appear in the discussion section.

The emotions were inferred from the behavior, principally the verbal behavior, of the group participants. The term inferred is used for two reasons. First, because the MDMS-SG is minimally directed, it is impossible to preserve the minimal direction attribute and simultaneously

probe, interpret and check one's interpretations of emotion. Secondly, the investigator categorized emotions in English terms. There is no reason to assume that what has been categorised in English as a given emotion necessarily matches the Arabic or Japanese category. One presumably learns to label his own emotions by being told what he is feeling based on someone else's observation of him in a total situation. When labels for emotions cannot be directly translated from one language to another, it is likely that what is categorized within a label also differs, i.e. the particular sensations and feelings experienced. Which emotions experienced are expressed and how they are expressed may also differ from culture to culture, and the way in which they differ has ethnological significance.

In this study the labels used, i.e. the universe of feelings or emotions used for the behavior observed, is simply that familiar to the investigator as a native speaker of the English language. Since this is a post-categorization, exploratory study, using one of the often used lists could disguise the uniqueness of the differences between the two groups. In addition the available lists reflect western culture and may or may not reflect the emotional expression of the Arab and Japanese in Saudi Arabia or Japan or the specific Arabs and Japanese involved in this present MDMS-SC research project.

The twelve recorded tapes were listened to, and the investigator attempted to understand, label, and compile a list in English of each different feeling expressed. In addition to the verbal cues on the tapes, observations made during the actual group sessions were recorded in the field notes. Additional cues other than verbal cues also communicated emotion and will be mentioned when pertinent. There was no attempt made to do an in depth analysis of unconscious motivation or to make educated guesses of intensity levels of minimally expressed emotions. Only those obvious emotional expressions were listed.

Three lists will follow. The first list includes those emotions and feelings common to both groups. When an emotion is expressed differently in the two groups or when some feeling is closely associated with another feeling in one of the two groups, this will be mentioned.

Emotions Exhibited by Both Arabs and Japanese in MDMS-SG

Both groups exhibited:

1. Nostalgia for the familiar scenery of their homeland, past school life and excursions, inferred from content, facial expressions and tone of voice.
2. Longings to see their families, verbalized as desire to see them or as missing them.
3. Hunger for favorite national foods. This is included as a feeling because it was dwelt upon by both

groups and because of its relationship to homesickness. In neither group was it associated with items one or two which could logically also be associated with homesickness.

4. Resentment, inferred by discussion about discourteous treatment and lack of sincere interest shown to them by Americans.

5. Pride in their families shown by telling of past achievements and honors of family members as well as by sharing parts of recent letters and newspaper clippings. (This was more frequent in the Japanese group.)

6. Amusement at happenings during group sessions, inferred from smiles, chuckles, giggles or laughter.

7. Pride in their homeland and ancient history and civilization, inferred from content in both groups and verbalized as pride by the Arabs.

8. Positive emotions associated with discussing things they like and/or approve of, inferred from voice quality and general demeanor.

9. Superiority and scorn of specified outsiders. Those who constituted the "outsiders" differed at different times and for each group. This was inferred in both groups from both content, and manners of speaking. In tape J2, H. says, "I think American girls are lack in common sense. . . . Because, uh, last night I experienced that one of my roommates' friends came to our room at 3:00 in morning." Y. says, "Hm" (in disapproved tone). Then H.

continues, "And my roommate and she continue talking 'til 5:00 in the morning." M. joins the conversation saying, "Hm." Then H. says, "It was although they whispered it makes me very irritated. I didn't say anything at all but, (pause) Japanese girls never do such kind of things." Y. then speaks about American girls; she says, "They are free from family, authority, . . . they are greedy." H. replies, "I see, but you can understand, girls 18 do not do that kind of thing." Although both groups passed judgments in regard to non Japanese and non Arab respectively, the Arabs did so more often and with greater freedom.

10. Benign envy combined with admiration of specific American conveniences, efficient kitchens, etc. This was inferred from verbalized praise combined with statements of wish and/or desire.

11. Strong emphasis on their identity as an Arab or Japanese. This was more often verbalized by Arabs and was accompanied in the case of the Arabs by verbalizations in defense of Arab honor. Among the Japanese the feelings of identity were more often associated with a quiet pleasant emotion inferred to be contentment.

12. Curiosity about the life of the facilitator. The Arabs exhibited these feelings more frequently than the Japanese and it was expressed by both in the form of questions.

13. Worry and concern, these emotions were verbalized

by both groups. They could also be inferred from the content material. The Arabs and Japanese showed concern over different topics. The Japanese girls were concerned about their opportunities for marriage being endangered by their being educated abroad and therefore being considered as lacking in traditional virtues valued by the Japanese such as shyness. Arabs were worried about their relationship with their fathers. A discussion of the specific worries and concerns will be elaborated upon in VI. CONTENT ANALYSIS.

14. Embarrassment. This was verbalized in the Japanese group and in both groups inferred from behavior which ranged from giggles and shifting in one's seat and casting the gaze downward to slumping, blushing, and covering the face.

15. Anger. Anger was not verbalized by either group. Anger was inferred by the investigator from context, including content, body movements, facial expression, and voice quality. In the Japanese group only three of the female members and no male members showed an emotion labeled by the investigator as anger. Their voices became tense, high, and more forceful. They did not frown or move quickly. The Arabs seemed angry much more than twice as often as the Japanese and for more extended periods of time. They spoke loudly and emphatically. They repeated statements, maintained eye contact, frowned and moved their

arms and hands with strength. Two Arabs engaged in sulking behavior, i.e. both sat quietly, slightly slumped with eyes averted. One made comments to the investigator as he was leaving that it was pointless to argue with the specific person toward whom he was reacting.

16. Irritation. Feeling irritation was verbally expressed in both groups. Members in both groups were frustrated because they were unable to say what they wanted to say in English. Members in both groups were also irritated at happenings occurring outside group sessions. The Japanese in addition verbalized that they were frustrated because they felt that in English as compared to Japanese there is little relationship between form of language and the status relationship between speakers. They wished to express feelings they could not adequately express in English because English lacks forms and word variety inherent in Japanese.

17. Boredom. This was not verbalized but inferred from physical behavior. Members of both groups looked off into space when nothing apparent was happening. The Arabs often drummed their fingers, snapped their fingers and made various noises with the chairs in addition.

18. Excitement of joyful variety. This was observed by the investigator and not verbalized by the group participants. The group members looked happy and spoke rapidly for example when they found that the investigator had visited

their homeland or spoke a few words of their language. This occurred also with both groups when they talked about places to visit in their countries.

19. Disbelief or surprise. This was verbalized in both groups and accompanied by different tones in voice pitch. In addition, the Arabs raised eyebrows and raised the chin thereby throwing back the head in a characteristic gesture meaning, "no."

20. Tension. Tension was never verbalized. It was present in both groups, but more evident in the Arab group. It could be observed by listening to the sighs, changes in breathing rates, throat clearing, and seeing extraneous movements or tense postures.

21. Shock. Shock was verbalized once by one person in the Arab group and once by one person in the Japanese group. In both cases the other members listened sympathetically and supported the shocked individual by agreeing with him. In each case, a past experience was related with strong feeling. An Arab boy said he would never marry an American girl because he had read in the newspaper about a woman who refused to allow her former husband the right to see his child. This seemed a terrible thing to him, and he visibly reacted while relating the incident. One of the Japanese group, a young woman, had been giving a small American-Japanese girl Japanese lessons, and the child said "Anata dame de" to her. This means "you are bad," but it is

a form not used by girls and especially not directed toward an older person. It particularly shocked and upset her.

It can be seen by perusal of the above list that twenty-one emotions or feelings were labelled as being common to both groups. It is also obvious that of the twenty-one, two emotions, anger and boredom, are expressed differently by the two MDMS-SG's and some of the same emotions occur in different environments, i.e. worry and concern and anger. The Japanese were more intensely frustrated apparently by inability to adequately translate Japanese thought and emotion into English. Also the feelings of identity expressed by each group (which may or may not be an emotion per se) are associated with a different feeling tone.

Emotions Exhibited Only in the Japanese MDMS-SG

There are only six emotions in the list of emotions exhibited by the Japanese MDMS-SG and not the Arab MDMS-SG. These are:

1. Strong and repeated feelings of sensitivity (possibly fear) as to how another group member or the facilitator would react to what was being said, i.e. a worry about how it would be taken. This was verbalized. The Japanese said they were afraid and worried because they had "said bad points about the United States" to me. This was expressed immediately after one female told me that her

friend who had "said the bad points at a previous meeting" was too tired to come today. The facilitator had enjoyed her and the discussion. The Japanese group members present seemed genuinely glad to hear this. In one case, what was interpreted as fear was observed when a female was temporarily censored by the group. She had arrived late and she had expressed her perception of a situation which was very different from what everyone else had expressed previously. All the others joined to say that they viewed the situation differently. Her reaction to their united disagreement was intense.

2. Preference for harmony and agreement verbalized and observed behaviorally, i.e. there were almost no aggressive interchanges.

3. Loneliness: inferred from expressed verbalizations only. (The Arabs did not verbalize this.)

4. Feelings of shyness, verbalized. (What was verbalized by the Japanese in the group as shyness, seemed to the investigator to include feelings that English speakers consider to be related to modesty in addition to encompassing those related to shyness as categorized by native English speakers.)

5. Resistance to loss of traditional Japanese values. This was verbalized by males and females, but more emphatically and frequently by males.

6. Desire to use honorifics non-existent in English.

verbalized.

Emotions Exhibited Only in the Arab NDMS-3G

There were twelve feelings or emotions labelled by the investigator which were distinctive for the Arab group.

They include the following:

1. Open competition; never verbalized but overtly observed. The Arab members who were verbal interrupted each other freely and different members at different times directed the choice of topic or vied with each other for expression of a point of view.

2. A "checking up on" emotion. They exhibited a feeling which can be explained but for which there is no single word in English. It is similar to suspicion and akin to caution, but it disappears, unlike suspicion, immediately after an explanation or information is received. This emotion seems to involve a need to know what is going on before they can comfortably participate in a given situation.

3. Sensitivity to insult from others. This sensitivity was verbalized as an Arab trait and agreed upon by the members present in the session during which it was discussed. However, what constituted an insult was not specified despite requests for clarification.

4. Loyal nationalism and/or patriotism as such. They verbalized love of their homeland as such and pride

in being Arab, what might be described as almost a militant quality. (The Japanese exhibited love of things Japanese but did not verbalize pride in their homeland as such.)

5. Feelings of having been misunderstood, insulted and cheated outside the group sessions. These feelings were verbalized and in addition, one member verbalized that he was being misunderstood by other members of the group. (Another group member had called him a hypocrite.)

6. Fear of the power of the father in the father-son relationship. This was discussed seriously and with excited concern but none of the physical concomitants usually associated by the investigator with a fear response were observable.

7. Feeling of necessity to change their ways of feeling and thinking in respect to male-female relationships at least while in the United States.

8. Open hostility. Hostility was never discussed as a topic. Name-calling, accusations, refusal to repeat a sentence when someone demanded it, and making a show of not listening when someone else was speaking each occurred at least once. Related perhaps was a feeling labelled as bitterness by the investigator occurring in one quiet individual who silently curled his lip into a snarling expression several times in succession when the object of his negative emotion was engaged in looking in a different direction.

9. Defensiveness. The need to defend one's position and ideas was verbalized. The activity occurred in each session with and without what the investigator considered to be adequate provocation.

10. Preference, and need for progress, modernity and change. This was verbalized and inferred from content.

11. Regret. This was verbalized by one Arab in two sessions. He wished he had understood his father, now dead, and wished he had behaved differently with him. Other group members listened attentively to him when he verbalized this regret.

12. Emotional acceptance of intensity of emotional expression. This emotional feature was never verbalized. It was inferred primarily because the level of emotional expression for both positive and negative emotions was much more intense than that for the Japanese group.

Summary

To summarize, the investigator attempted to understand and compare what emotions were being communicated by the Arab group and the Japanese group. Understanding and giving labels to emotional communication is always fraught with complications because of the nature of the subject matter and of course the activity is even more complex across cultural boundaries. Never-the-less, as might be expected, given humans in a minimally directed minimally

structured small group situation, all of whom were foreign students who knew each other, expecting to return to their native land, etc. they behaved and/or verbalized similar emotions similarly in certain respects. From this behavior and these verbalizations both groups were labelled as exhibiting and/or verbalizing feelings of nostalgia, longing, specific hungers, resentments, family pride, national pride, amusement, generalized positive and negative emotions, superiority, benign envy, ethnic identity, curiosity, worry and concern, embarrassment, anger, irritation, boredom, excitement, disbelief, tension and shock.

Of the twenty-one emotions expressed by both groups, the Japanese and Arabs expressed anger and boredom differently and showed worry and anger in association with different topics. The Japanese were more intensely frustrated by language inequivalences than the Arabs. Both while strongly emphasizing their identity as Japanese or Arab, did so in a different manner.

The Japanese and Arab groups could be clearly differentiated on the basis of certain emotions verbalized in one group and never verbalized in the other. The Japanese alone verbalized strong sensitivity or fear to others reactions to their behavior, preference for harmonious relationships, loneliness, shyness, resistance to loss of traditional Japanese values, and a desire to use special respect language.

Only the Arabs exhibited open competition and an emotion similar to suspicion. Only the Arabs verbalized sensitivity to insult, patriotism, feelings of having been misunderstood and cheated, fear of their father's power, desire for change, a need to temporarily at least, change their thinking about man-woman relationships, desire for progress and change and also regret expressed by one individual twice. Only the Arabs showed open hostility, open defensiveness and an acceptance of intense emotional expression. These emotions differentiating the one group from the other will be further discussed in Chapter IV.

THE DISCUSSION. An analysis of the subject matter discussed by the Arab and Japanese MDMS-SG will be presented in the next and final subsection of this chapter.

It can be seen that the MDMS-SG provides ready access to emotional analysis, a type of data difficult to obtain by usual anthropological methods and therefore it is useful as a supplementary tool for providing a more complete understanding of a culture.

VI. CONTENT ANALYSIS

The subject matter mentioned in the sessions of each group was tabulated, inductively classified (using the aforementioned post categorization technique), and compared. Since structure and direction were minimized by the facilitator, it follows that the choice of topics for discussion

belonged to the group members in both groups. This fact enabled the investigator to clearly differentiate that content which distinguished the Arab group from the Japanese group. The differences derived from the use of this method should be relevant to an understanding of the differential cultural conditioning involved.

This section on content analysis will consist of three main parts. The first main part will consist of a listing of those topics which both Arab groups and Japanese groups discussed. It will include an explanation showing that, with a few listed exceptions, even the similar topics were dissimilar and therefore distinguishing. A second part will include those topics discussed by only the Arabs, and a third part will include those topics discussed only by the Japanese.

Topics Discussed by Both Groups

A list of topics introduced by Arabs and Japanese alike and a description of the items listed follows.

1. Identifying information. Name, home city, former school, length of time spent in the United States, present residence.

2. Questions directed toward facilitator about her family and her impressions of their countries.

3. Problems experienced.

4. Dyadic relationships of importance to them in

their homelands.

5. Family structure, roles and division of labor within the family.

6. Religion and education.

7. Ethnic identity.

8. Native food and its preparation.

9. Current writing systems in their countries.

10. Weather.

11. Native holidays and celebrations.

Description of Items Listed: Items 1 and 2 (Getting Acquainted). Topics 1 and 2 above were in content essentially the same in both groups. Of course the Arabs had Arab names and came from Arab cities and the Japanese in like fashion had Japanese names and came from Japanese cities. The Japanese, as previously stated, always introduced themselves and the new friends they brought spontaneously, while the Arabs, with two exceptions, gave their names only when asked. The Japanese spoke of the various college courses they were enrolled in, and the Arabs instead gave their majors. Sometimes in the process of identifying themselves and sometimes for no apparent reason, the Japanese discussed items of a personal nature, such as the Japanese clubs they had been members of, their favorite sports, and music, and their special abilities, such as flower arrangement or judo. They spoke of personal things about their families, i.e. the brother of one member was getting married, someone had a

birthday, someone's grandmother taught tea ceremony, etc. By contrast the Arabs gave little information about themselves as individuals except by way of illustration when a general topic was presented for discussion. One young man, for example, told how many wives his father had, but as a part of a discussion on marriage laws.

Description of Items Listed: Item 3 (Problems Discussed). Topic three, problems experienced, includes subtopics and therefore requires explanation. The Japanese and Arab groups in the present study were not problem-oriented groups and no attempts were made to alleviate the problems encountered. Nevertheless, problems were aired. Most of these were related to their adjustments to cultural conflicts and their sensitivities, and the forms of adaptation chosen were for the most part different for the two groups. There were certain similarities, however.

Both groups missed the familiar food of their homeland and had difficulties adjusting to American food. Both groups were greatly inconvenienced by the lack of adequate public transportation, and, in addition, some of the Japanese disliked asking for rides. Both experienced language difficulties. The Japanese spoke of it more frequently. Individuals in both groups had trouble completing reading assignments, writing essay exams, and talking with drivers of taxis and busses. Members of both groups disapproved of the discourtesy and impatience displayed by clerks in

stores and individuals with whom they came in contact in the process of finding their way about, especially in connection with busses but also in the process of finding both temporary and semi-permanent housing.

While both the Arabs and Japanese in their respective groups discussed problems, some problems were brought up only in the Arab groups and some only by the Japanese groups. Those problems introduced only by the Arabs follow.

The Arabs stated that they felt that they were made to feel stupid by Americans when they asked for help or directions. Two of the Arab students reported that they had been robbed in New York (their money and clothes were stolen). Several Arabs wanted to live with an American family they said to learn the customs and language of America better, but were unable to find homes. Several joined in remarking that there was no place to pray except in their rooms as Oregon has no mosque. They agreed that a major cultural difference was boy-girl relationships in America. They said that they did not know how to act here toward women and that they even had to learn to think differently. Many were involved both during and outside the group meetings in what they considered to be correcting American misconceptions. The Arab group members agreed that Arab young men in general were afraid of angering their fathers and being disowned and disinherited as a result. At the same time specific group members stated that they wanted to change their fathers'

opinions and directives. They agreed that worry about being pressured into marriage by their parents was very real to a few and that others worried because their fathers' believed that to disobey meant that they lack respect. They wanted to respect their fathers but at the same time felt that they wanted to do what they themselves decided was best. They also wanted to create changes both here and in Saudi Arabia and could not agree on the method. Several mentioned their sisters who lived in Saudi Arabia, their sisters' education, or the wish that their sisters might have a fuller, less restrictive life, without incurring censure from other Arabs. The Arab group expressed reservations before talking in front of the facilitator about the generation gap between themselves and their fathers and about the specific changes they wanted made in Saudi Arabia. They discussed their reservations in English among themselves and decided it would be alright to talk.

The Japanese on the other hand did not speak of any of these things. These topics discussed only in the Japanese groups follow.

The Japanese boys, in contrast with the Arabs, did not discuss or seem to wish for change. They thought that the American influence on Japanese women was bad and they stated that they wanted to marry traditional wives eventually. The girls felt that their opportunities for a good match might be diminished by their having been trained abroad; however,

they said that if possible they would wish education abroad for their daughters. As a group they tended to think that American girls were thoughtless. One of the girls felt that American girls lack true friendliness. She felt that they smiled and said "Hi" with great ease but that they were not willing to invest time in getting to know her. She had difficulty at first getting used to people saying, "How are you?" because translated into Japanese it would only be appropriate if one looked pale or had been known to have been ill or recovering. She thought that Americans smile all the time and that it must be surface friendliness. She thought it strange that they greeted her when they did not even know her. In Japan she never said hello to strangers, or even to a friend if the friend was across the street. Another girl had difficulty finding Japanese friends. Both of these girls seemed to modify their expressed views after interaction with other group members.

The Japanese as a group reported great difficulty with shyness, especially in asking for help or direction. Several group members complained of the dry air in buildings and of weight gains and skin problems since living in the United States. Several also wished they could get some current Japanese magazines and phonograph records. Airmail postage in Japan, they felt, was very expensive. The final problem expressed was the previously mentioned difficulty centered around their desire to use what they called more formal words

in English and being frustrated because English lacked an equivalent form.

It is obvious from the above list that although both groups were the same in that they discussed problems they had experienced, there were actually only three problems which were identical: adjusting to not having familiar food, transportation problems, and language difficulty. All the others mentioned seem specifically differentiating.

Returning to the list of ten topics discussed by both the Arab and Japanese groups, the last seven on the list each reflect cultural differences.

Description of Items Listed: Items 4 through 10 (Information). The conventional ethnographic information from the two groups was not comparable and incomplete if one judges by outlines often given to anthropologists to read before going into the field such as Wissler's outline (1923), Notes and Queries, and Murdock's Outline (1949). While the small group technique could be extremely useful in eliciting data relevant to the specific academic interest of the anthropologist, the minimally-directed minimally-structured small group (MDMS-SG) is not. The MDMS-SG does, however, have the advantage of being less culture-bound as the categories of data and the specific data within the categories are of necessity, because of design, group participant-centered rather than anthropologist-centered. The anthropologist can, of course, listen, observe, and note

points about which he might later wish to formally obtain more information.

Regarding item 4, dyadic relationships of importance to groups members, the Japanese stressed different dyadic relationships from those stressed by the Arabs. The Japanese stressed mother-son--especially mother-first-born-son, husband-wife, older siblings-younger siblings, and professor-student. The Arabs most important dyad discussed seemed to be father-son. The second most frequently mentioned by the group was male-male friendship, then brother-sister. The dyads, father-daughter, mother-daughter, husband-wife and first-wife-other-wife were also mentioned. Both groups also discussed topics included in item 5, family structure, roles and the division of labor in the family.

Both the Japanese and the Arabs spoke of item 6, their religion. Usually when the Arabs spoke of Islam and the Koran, it was in connection with the influx of pilgrims or the beliefs of the more conservative elements of the older generation. When the Japanese mentioned religion it was in a lighter vein, usually about prayers, good luck symbols, beautiful temples with gardens, or colorful festivals and parades.

Both groups discussed education in their countries and in the United States.

Both groups talked about item 7, their ethnic identity, but the discussions were not comparable. The content of the

discussions will be included within the next two subsections of this section, Topics Discussed Only by the Arabs and Topics Discussed Only by the Japanese.

Both groups conversed about item 8, their native food, and described how it was prepared. Incidentally, the only similarity noted was rice, and it was prepared differently. They both talked about item 9, their writing systems, and item 10 their weather. The Arabs were interested in a flood at the time, the Japanese, in signs of spring. Each described a celebration. The Arabs talked about Ramadan, a Moslem religious month which involves fasting during daylight hours for a four-week period, and the Japanese described the ceremony that takes place when someone reaches the age of sixty. He or she sits on a red cushion and wears a red hat on the birthday.

It is obvious that although subject matter discussed by the two groups was similar on one level of abstraction, i.e. they both talked of religion, they were distinctive if considered on a lower level of abstraction, i.e. the Japanese actually spoke of making wishes at the shrine on New Years Day and the Arabs about the power of the religious police.

The next two subsections will be devoted to a discussion listing that which was distinctive, i.e. that content material which occurred only in the Japanese group meeting and then that content material occurring only in the Arab

groups meetings.

Topics Discussed Only by the Arab Groups

The Arabs discussed the treatment of women in Saudi Arabia and emphasized the importance of reputation in the family. They talked about some of their marriage patterns in the tribes, the extent and advantages of polygamy, customary procedures to follow to find a wife, systems of naming and respect patterns associated with names, their past civilization, the educational system of Saudi Arabia in terms of its advantages, the rationale behind the choice of country and method of choosing students to send abroad for further education, the beauty spots of the Arab-world, the resort towns of Saudi Arabia, various Arab accomplishments such as the new university of Kuwait, the government's attempt to increase local meat output, and changes in Saudi Arabia partially brought about by their exposure to the ways of pilgrims in the western provinces and foreign families in the East. They also emphasized changes that are taking place in Saudi Arabia, especially those associated with education and women.

The Arabs had discussions on the gap between believing and actually putting one's beliefs into action in regard to change in Saudi Arabia, on methods of influencing the older generation, on the relativity of right and wrong, on hypocrisy, on the relative value of education and

experience, and on what they meant by the word "Arab."

When what they meant by "Arab" was discussed, all the group members present felt that if someone asked them "What are you?" they would answer "Arab" before they thought of man, Saudi Arab, or Moslem. They emphasized and agreed that this included Christians in Lebanon and some Jewish Arabs, although the majority of Arabs were Moslems. Most Arabs were born in Arab states, spoke Arabic and looked like Arabs. One boy said, "If you're born an Arab, you die an Arab," in response to another group member's doubts about whether or not Arab-American citizens were Arabs. All present when the matter was discussed felt that pilgrims who settled in Saudi Arabia and families from Iran or India who spoke Arabic and had been in Saudi Arabia for three generations were Arabs, but they thought that possibly the conservatives in Saudi Arabia might not think so. They also said politics or ideas are not what make a person an Arab. They discussed respected Arab families of Oregon.

They once discussed Americans in Saudi Arabia and said that some Americans asked the Saudi government to provide them with luxuries to which they, the Americans, were unaccustomed, such as a Mercedes, a villa and an air conditioner. The Arabs stated that the Americans were deceived easily, didn't understand how to bargain, patronized English-speaking shops, and ate foreign food when Arabic food was cheap, yet complained that it was

expensive to live in Saudi Arabia.

They also discussed Americans in the United States, and they agreed that Americans were friendly and it was not difficult to meet American people. Several were critical of what they termed Portland State University's failure to expand in an orderly fashion and of the failure of private enterprises to provide adequate and convenient housing near the school. They also discussed daylight-savings time, mentioned a fortune telling game played with shells, demonstrated the method of snapping their fingers the Arabic way to make a noise, and expressed their desire for children of their own especially boy children. Once one boy described his own home.

Topics Discussed by the Japanese Groups

Turning now to the subject matter discussed by the Japanese groups, one finds them talking about Japanese child rearing practices, the use of formal speech, and the distinguishing and contrasting characteristics of students in two Japanese colleges. They also attempted to classify Japanese students abroad.

They stressed what they called the Japanese way. They described the traditional Japanese woman, her obedience to her husband, her politeness and quietness. They agreed on the importance of thoughtfulness and harmony and of doing what is expected in their culture. For example,

once, half in jest, the facilitator suggested that they carry one of the little individual-sized containers of monosodium glutamate, which they thought would improve American food, and use it on the food in the cafeteria. One boy took it seriously and said, "I think Japanese boy never do that" and a girl said, "The cook has some pride in his cooking," suggesting that it might offend the cook.

They also mentioned that they liked a kind of beauty which they felt was rarely understood by Americans. An example was the beauty of the ragged edges of a piece of torn paper. (They like to use handmade paper with natural plant fibers in it, and they wet a fine brush with water and paint a line where they want to separate it. They then carefully pull it apart leaving the irregular fibers visible, rather than cutting a straight edge.)

They mentioned a satisfaction that accompanies what they termed the opposite of accumulation. They illustrated this quality as what happens when an artist sculpts a statue and the beauty remains as the result of the process of removing parts of the stone block. This category is not translatable into English. Other qualities described overlap but do not encompass the English categories of a spiritual feeling combined with simplicity and appreciation of tradition, and love of nature. Japanese poetry--especially the Haiku, traditional dance, current and past literature, and the drama--including Noh, Kabuki and

Bunraku (a traditional type of puppet show with large puppets) were subjects of conversations as were modern Japanese music on television, a Japanese student symphony orchestra which was currently on tour in the United States, sports, Japanese movies and movies with Japanese actors, entertainment and recreation in general. They also spoke of children's toys, and origami (a type of paper folding), good luck symbols, and the various meanings associated with specific Kanji (Chinese characters used in their writing). Tea ceremony and tea bowls were talked about and there was interest in the traditional signs of Spring. They recalled cherry blossoms and the uguisu bird (a brownish-green Japanese type of bush warbler).

American weather and the seasons were also discussed. Japanese eating places in Portland, the new Japanese garden under construction in Washington Park, a party given for international students, convenience of American kitchens and American friendliness complete the list of topics not mentioned earlier that were considered by the Japanese.

Through the use of the MDMS-SG a great deal of cultural data was spontaneously contributed by group members. It has been mentioned that the MDMS-SG would be impractical as a sole method of eliciting ethnographic information. Organized elicitation is necessary at some point to fill in the lacunae and for the determination of whether or not re-organization, re-categorization and re-classification are

necessary.

Summary

The topics discussed by both the Arab and the Japanese groups were listed as were the topics discussed only by the Arabs and only by the Japanese. The number of differences were far greater and more numerous than the similarities, and the similarities were expressed differently in most cases. It will be noted that the greatest similarity in the topics discussed occurred in the getting acquainted area and the problems experienced area. By far the majority of the content material could be considered as ethnically identifiable, i.e. specifically Arab or Japanese. This of course is related to the design of the exercise, as the group members were told that the facilitator was interested in anything about them or their country of origin that they wished to talk about.

VII. SUMMARY

Since each section within the chapter contains a summary of that section, it will not be necessary to include a detailed chapter summary. We can reiterate, however, that the data and analysis chapter represents observations of an entity or closed corpus, i.e. a set of happenings, or what occurred in the process of seeing Japanese Portland State University students for six

meetings in an MDMS-SG setting.

Many facets of behavior were exhibited by the groups and observed by the investigator. These facets of behavior were organized into large categories such as "emotions expressed," "classes of interaction exhibited," etc. The categories themselves were empirically derived; that is, they resulted from a sorting of concrete observations. Each category was subjected to further analysis. One could refer to each of the categories and resultant analysis as an aspect of analysis, each different from the other and representing a different view.

The first aspect encompassed the reactions to constant features of the MDMS-SG situation. The reactions were examined and it was found that six of the constant features were reacted to differentially by the Arabs and Japanese, and two features were reacted to similarly (cf. page 49).

Secondly, it was apparent that different types of organization were arising within the two groups so this was described, analyzed and compared (cf. page 56).

The reaction to the constant features and the type of organization the Arabs and Japanese arrived at within their groups were grouped together and called situation-oriented responses, to differentiate them from aspects of analysis more closely associated with the verbal material.

Thirdly, the manner of speaking, in the Arab groups as opposed to the Japanese groups above and beyond what

could be classified under different accents, seemed entirely different so their speech was studied so that specifically what it was that was different could be isolated and labelled. They differed in five major ways (cf. page 60).

Fourthly, the Arabs seemed to interact with each other in a way that differed from the way the Japanese interacted with each other. The first major task was to observe their behavior and list the types of interaction that occurred. The list was again inductively arrived at, i.e. it was based on observations of the groups included within the closed corpus.

The Japanese showed ten interaction patterns which the Arabs involved in the corpus never showed. The Arabs exhibited seventeen which the Japanese never showed. There were thirty-four patterns of interaction which were shown by both groups but of these thirty-four, only ten did not differentiate the two groups. Ten others were shown to be exhibited more frequently in one group than in the other, and fourteen were shown over twice as frequently by one group as opposed to the other (cf. pages 61-69).

Fifthly, the emotions shown by participants in each group were isolated, labelled and compared. Twenty-one emotions were common to both groups. Six were exhibited by the Japanese but not by the Arabs and twelve were exhibited by the Arabs but not by the Japanese (cf. pages 82-84).

The final and sixth aspect of analysis centers around the subjects discussed. It involves a content analysis. The topics of conversation were classified and compared and it was found that while there was a common core of topics discussed, what was actually discussed in terms of details was highly differentiating and ethnically significant, although incomplete (cf. pages 84-98).

From the above list of aspects of analysis, the types of information which the MDMS-SG as a methodology is capable of providing can be determined.

CHAPTER IV

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DATA OBSERVED AND PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED ANTHROPOLOGICAL MATERIAL

In the following pages the data revealed in the preceding chapters will be discussed and when possible related to previously published anthropologically oriented materials. The purpose for its inclusion is twofold. First, it will assist those readers who have very limited background in the ethnography of Japan and Saudi Arabia to see the relationship between the responses of the particular groups of Arabs and Japanese involved in this particular MDMS-SG exercise to responses common enough in the ethnic milieu from which the group participants were derived to have been noted and recorded in the literature. Secondly, the section following should clarify especially for the conventional anthropologist (a) that the MDMS-SG not only reflects the cultural conditioning of the participants but (b) that it supplements the usual lists of "what to look for" in a culture, and also (c) that it gives the anthropologist a wealth of information about a culture in an economically efficient way and would be especially valuable if visiting the country under study were unfeasible.

The data and analysis was broken down into six

divisions, each a view of a different aspect of the total MDMS-SG situation. Similarities and differences were tabulated and differences were emphasized. These observations will be related to information obtained through normal anthropological field methods and sources other than MDMS-SG research.

I. SITUATION ORIENTED RESPONSES

The first subdivision in Chapter III encompassed the Arab and Japanese groups reactions to common elements in the research design, i.e. the meeting arrangements, the tape recorder, the minimal direction and minimal structuring, the response to termination, the attitude displayed toward the role given to the facilitator, attendance and the response to the physical conditions, i.e. the room.

Each difference observed and described in the first subdivision has also been observed and described by anthropologists in more traditional settings.

Meeting Arrangements

One sees that in terms of meeting arrangements, the Arabs responses to the invitation reflect a type of behavior considered valuable to Arabs in Saudi Arabia. They tried to bargain with Mr. C. of Portland State University's International Programs. They wanted him to know that they might do him a favor, i.e. attend the meetings, with the expectation that he in turn might someday help them out.

Bargaining is part of Arab life (Barth 1961). They preferred not to say for sure whether they would come or not. This could be related to a resistance to being bound by timed obligations (Fuller 1961). This is not customary in Saudi Arabia, and if something more interesting or important to them such as a friendship conflicted, they would want to be free to not come. An educational type meeting with a graduate student is also unfamiliar and would not occur in their country (personal communication).

The Japanese faced with the same situation responded in a Japanese fashion. The fact that the invitations were apparently ignored coincides with Benedict's description of the phenomena of ignoring happenings when one is in conflict as to a suitable way of responding. The one Japanese student's readiness to cooperate with and to meet with the investigator whom she identified as the wife of a former teacher could be related to the fact that teachers (*sensei*) in Japan hold a special place in Japanese society (Singleton 1967:113). The relationship between student and teacher is often more binding than between student and student, e.g. professors often are called upon to arrange marriages or get jobs for their students. There may have been an element of reducing one's feelings of "on" or obligation toward superiors by doing the former teacher's relative a favor (Benedict 1946:103). This was of course not checked because the nature of the research design (the

MDMS-SG) prohibited it.

Tape Recorder

The differential response to the tape recorder also is probably related to cultural conditioning. Students in Japan have much more familiarity with the machine, especially in innocuous situations, than do Arabs in Saudi Arabia. However, both groups had had experience with tape recorders in the language laboratory at Portland State University.

The Arabs' questions as to ownership and future use of the tapes were not initiated by only one participant, but were a group concern. It was originally interpreted by the investigator as possibly a politically based suspicion, but this original interpretation was modified since calm, factual answers allayed the activity.

The Minimal-Direction Minimal-Structure Aspect

It was apparent that the Arabs evidenced more discomfort in response to the lack of direction and structure than did the Japanese. They asked the group facilitator to ask questions and were critical and impatient at the lack of formalized leadership on her part.

Lipsky (1959) in his book Saudi Arabia, an organized compilation of information from the Middle East file and Saudi Arabia file in the HRAF states in his chapter on Social Relations that in Saudi Arabia "there is no question of equality of the sexes--manhood is supreme. The male is

looked upon as the aggressive and responsible actor in the society which it is tacitly assumed would disintegrate if men were not present to give direction and enforce order," (p. 297.)

The facilitator was female and by research design relatively non-directive. It is reasonable to assume that their efforts to provide both structure and direction were related to a desire to exhibit qualities related to their ideas of male superiority. The Arabs seemed to want to make sure where they stood, who held what power and what was expected of them in this unfamiliar situation. In Saudi Arabia there are formalized patterns of meeting and one can immediately tell the comparative status of the participating parties and thus determine future behavior (Pierce 1971). With no classical way of acting to fall back upon, it is possible that the Arabs experienced genuine discomfort in this situation. In addition in Saudi Arabia men and women who are not related do not attend meetings together (Howarth 1964). It is probable that the only non-classroom experience with non-family adult females that they had had was the dating relationship for a few in the United States. If this hypothesis is correct their behavior, i.e. their greater reaction to minimal direction and structure, may have been intensified and is completely logical in terms of their past ethnic experience. Clubs are not an important part of Saudi culture and are

practically non-existent in connection with schools (personal communication).

The Japanese on the other hand have many clubs, meetings and lessons which convene weekly or monthly at specific times (Vogel 1963). Coming to a meeting was not contrary to their habitual patterns of behavior. The fact that it was relatively unstructured and not led did not visibly bother them. Different individuals voiced different personal benefits from attending the meetings and the group facilitator's reasons for holding meetings was apparently taken at face value as a legitimate objective. In Japan, on public conveyances and in parks, foreigners are often approached by a Japanese person who says he wants to practice English or wants to learn about America or wants to talk to an American, so this request of the investigator would not have seemed unusual to a Japanese. This may for them have lent structure of a sort to the small group meeting while the converse would hold for the Arabs, as in Saudi Arabia, a foreign woman would not be approached by a Saudi, male or female, for any conversation which was not planned to lead to some action. Most Saudi women are in purda, i.e. none of their skin or hair is exposed (they are covered) when outside the confines of their own home or the home of a friend. To converse with a stranger implies an intimacy beyond the simple exchange of words.

Response to Termination

The Japanese determination to continue the experience and the fact that the Arabs did not mention it (perhaps they never thought of it) seems to again clearly reflect the past ethnic experiences of each group. The Japanese, to whom non-family formalized groups were a familiar part of life, wished to continue and conceived of the phenomena of continued existence. The Arabs did not suggest continuing and for them the conception of groups of people simply meeting at a fixed time regularly was foreign.

The Attitude Displayed Toward the Facilitator

The well-known Japanese values of politeness, thoughtfulness, and adulation of harmony, and habitual respect behavior (Maloney 1965 and Sugimoto 1928) for older people or for anyone whom they endow with status coincided with the habitual behavior of the Japanese during the group sessions toward the group facilitator.

By contrast, the Arabs were often intense and emotionally involved in trying to convince the facilitator of the superiority of their arguments. Their behavior toward the facilitator varied. The fact that her assigned role shifted for the Arabs and remained fixed for the Japanese is probably related to the fact that in Japan roles are hierarchical and fixed (Nakane 1970) within groups. The anthropologist Chie Nakane (1970:31) also says, "without

consciousness of ranking, life could not be carried on smoothly in Japan, for rank is the social norm on which Japanese life is based."

By contrast, in Saudi Arabia, according to Lipsky (1959:299), "any social situation in Arabia requires consideration of superior subordinate relations. . . [which are] not hierarchical but remain on a two-step level." This repeatedly necessitates competitive behavior on the part of Arabs. It is significant that the research design, i.e. selection of contrasting behavioral reactions on the part of the Arabs and the Japanese to common factors in the MDMS-SG situation should so vividly point out this important type of information.

Attendance

The final aspect of the total situation to which the Arab and Japanese groups responded differently was attendance. Attendance patterns differed in the two groups. Both Japanese males and females came to the meetings but only Arab males attended. As was mentioned earlier, unrelated Arab men and women do not gather and converse in public in Saudi Arabia. This is said to be done at least partly to prevent men from being placed under undue stress by feminine stimulation and partly because it is essential to family honor for a female's reputation for purity to be untarnished (Pierce 1971). It is possible that this

injunction could contribute to the fact that no Arab women chose to attend the meetings.

The foreign student roster of Portland State University for the spring of 1969 listed seven Arab females and fifty-five Arab males, ten Japanese females and seventeen Japanese males, so statistically, one would expect a higher proportion of Japanese females anyway.

In Japan, on the other hand, co-educational clubs exist in some colleges and even some dating occurs (Vogel 1963). Vogel also says "while dance parties are not uncommon in college nowadays, dating still is not widespread, and at high school age it is virtually unknown" (p. 117). Since males and females are not rigidly separated in Japan it would be surprising if in the United States they chose to be.

More Arabs than Japanese attended sessions, approximately twenty-three to ten. This reflects the actual foreign student enrollment numbers.

Neither group was punctual, but the Arab students involved were less punctual than the Japanese.

It is interesting to note here also that in one of Saudi Arabia's principle cities, Ryahd, the author saw men wearing two watches, one with the dial set as a westerner might set his watch and one set for religious purposes. The latter is reset daily to coincide with the appearance of certain heavenly bodies. This practice insures that the two

watches will never register alike. Since at prayer time other activities unrelated to religion cease (even shops must be closed), and prayer time occurs at a slightly different time daily, one would expect that a Saudi Arab's idea regarding time would differ from those of people from other cultures with different experiences.

Response to Audio-Visual Technician

Both groups ignored the presence of the audio-visual technician. This may stem from their similar experience as Portland State University students. They had all been exposed to the technicians in classes at Portland State and may have been following what they considered normal American role behavior toward audio-visual technicians in a classroom situation (cf. pages 45-46).

Response to Physical Conditions of the Room

Both groups responded the same to the physical accommodations, i.e. the room. Both groups were familiar with the general area and state of disrepair so it is possible that they were used to it. It is equally possible that something in the ethnic background of each group contributed to the general low level of response to the dirt and clutter. Both the Japanese and Arabs are very clean and uncluttered in their own homes. The Japanese, who are as a general rule personally extremely clean, do not as a rule have a strong sense of personal civic pride in

connection with contributing personally to keeping public buildings and public thoroughfares clean. This is also true of Arabs in Arabia. In addition to this, Arab men of status report that they do not engage in what they consider menial work in front of others. It is possible that doing anything to clean a public room which they were only using was outside of their ideas of normal appropriate behavior and did not occur to any of the participants in either group.

Summary

It will be noted that in each instance when the two groups differed in their responses to specific aspects of the total situation, i.e. meeting arrangements, tape recorder, MDMS aspect of the meetings, etc., the differing responses coincided with ethnic descriptions found by other anthropologists using other anthropological methods.

The above interpretations and culturally related explanations formulated by anthropologists who observed behavior in actual field situations seem to be equally applicable to the similar behavior observed in the group concerned.

This is significant because it suggests that the MDMS-SG is a valuable instrument in that it provides a situation in which an anthropologist can observe members of a selected ethnic group, exhibiting behavior

characteristic of the larger ethnic group under study. The behavior observed in the group, correlates with observations made by other anthropologists using more traditional methodology.

II. CONTRASTING PATTERNS OF ORGANIZATION FORMED BY THE TWO GROUPS

The second subdivision in Chapter III described the observation of the investigator in regard to the development of contrastive patterns of organization. The Japanese and the Arabs behaved very differently and these observed differences correspond to similar patterns observed and described by anthropologists in Japan and Saudi Arabia.

The Pattern of Organization in the Japanese Group

Chie Nakane (1970:II) in her recently published book entitled Japanese Society states that she has "... tried to construct a distinguishing feature to be found in Japanese life." The book expounds upon what Nakane calls the vertical principle. She says (1970:X),

In my view the most characteristic feature of Japanese social organization arises from the single bond in social relationships; an individual or a group has always one single distinctive relationship to the other. The working of this kind of relationship meets the unique structure of Japanese society as a whole, which contrasts to that of caste or class societies.

She discusses the internal structure of the ideal Japanese group. (It will be noted that Nakane's use of the term structure is related to what is herein referred to as organization and should not be confused with specialized psychological use of the term structure used in this thesis.)

Nakane says (1970:51) "Whatever their size, Japanese groups share common structural characteristics. . . the ideal type of effective group is that which is organized on two levels, with all members linked directly to the leader." A diagrammatic representation similar to hers follows. The larger circle represents the leader or that person with the highest rank, and the smaller circles represent the other group members.

Figure 3. Japanese ideal type of effective group organization diagrammatically represented (after Nakane)

Note the basic similarity between the groups described by Nakane and the Japanese MDMS-SG under investigation.

Nakane uses a baseless triangle (cf. Figure 4) to

illustrate the idea that two group members, B and C, each have a relationship to A but no identifiable relationship exists between B and C. The addition of a new member involves no alteration in the rank of any existing members as he is placed on the lowest rank

Figure 4. Diagrammatic representation of a vertical relationship.

Leadership is restricted to one individual. Figure 5 illustrates the concept that for example a member D owes his loyalty to member B but has no necessary relationship to any other member in the group.

Figure 5. The vertical principle diagrammatically represented.

If this concept is applied to the data described in Chapter III, it fits almost perfectly. H. has the position of A in Figures 3, 4, and 5. There is one variation in the design, H. designated S. as an alternate. All the other group

members with the exception of S.'s two friends who attended sporadically can be represented by the small circles in figure 3, and the vertical relationship by the line between A and B or A and C in figures 3, 4, or 5. S.'s two friends could be represented by D and E in figure 5 if B were to represent S.

Nakane describes and labels the behavior of the friend of S. who seemed to not fit into the forming system. She would probably be an example of the "ippiki okami" (1970:44), or lone wolf, and subject to ostracism from the group who have a common loyalty to A. It happened that the female friend of S. was the only Japanese group member to be temporarily ostracized by the group. This occurred when she, arriving late mentioned that Japanese had difficulty finding other Japanese friends in the United States. The group had just been speaking of the friendly relationships among Japanese at Portland State University. She exhibited what the investigator labelled as a fear response and in the course of the following discussion modified her statements, as did H. so that agreement was reached.

One might note here that the Japanese language has no term for the word leadership. It uses instead kinship terms referring to parent-child relationships. Nakane believes that the vertical principle is a characteristic of Japanese society. It is extremely interesting that when a group of Japanese gathered in the United States in a

situation where group structure and direction were not imposed from the outside, i.e. the MDMS-SG, they proceeded to demonstrate Nakane's verticle principle without ever having heard of it. It seems that the MDMS-SG is one verification of the principle and the investigator can conceive of no other definitive way to test such an idea.

Of particular interest is the fact that the research was completed in 1969 before the investigator had been exposed to Nakane's views. This demonstrates one of the advantages of the closed corpus technique. That is, one is forced to observe a given corpus in its entirety and one often is surprised at the results.

Discussion of the Patterns of Organization in the Arab Group

The Arabs refused to recognize anyone as a leader and expressed the desire for freedom to think, act and believe as individuals. In Nakane's terms the group had an horizontal rather than a vertical organization.

In vertical organizations, membership depends on one's becoming acquainted with and accepted by one of the members. Access to the group is interactional and may differ from case to case. In a horizontal group all members share some attribute such as being colleagues at Portland State or in this case Arabs at Portland State. The sharing of the attribute is important to gaining access to the group not a pre-formed personal relationship.

In vertical groups the addition of new members is easy, but because of the inflexible structure, the new member can't change his relative status within the group. On the other hand, in a horizontal group, theoretically any individual can take the place of any other. The new member stands on the same footing as other members. If a leader exists and absents himself, theoretically, any member can take over.

An analysis of Near Eastern Committee membership behavior has been made (Gyr 1951). The method involved interviewing representatives from the Near East, using fixed but open-ended questionnaires. Gyr found that the total membership usually nominates both the chairman and the membership of committees. They are usually selected for expertness and may simultaneously represent constituent groups. Chairmen may express their own opinions and representatives are free to change their views during a discussion.

The specific origin of the interviewees in the study is unknown, but the horizontal rather than vertical pattern is evident as it was in the present small group study.

Members seemed with one exception to either be verbally competitive or relatively silent, and older members talked more when present than the younger ones. Since status is most closely associated with family lineage and occupation in Saudi Arabia (Lipsky 1959:63), and the group

was made up entirely of students whose lineages were unknown to the investigator, this type of relationship could not be checked.

In fact the investigator was unable to find descriptions or interpretations of observations of organizational patterns in the literature.

Summary: Organizational Patterns

It will be noted that the Japanese pattern of organization in the MDMS-SG situation reflected what we know about the Japanese patterns of organization in Japan, i.e. the vertical principle. The Arab patterns in the MDMS-SG were more difficult to compare with known works because no descriptions of the organization of groups could be found. However, Nakane's horizontal principle was illustrated and the same principle was shown to have been illustrated by the Gyr study of committee members behavior in the Near East.

Methods of forming working groups in the MDMS-SG are apparently structured by past experience within the ethnic groups of which the individuals who comprise the group are a part, and the MDMS-SG gives the anthropological investigator a means of getting at this facet of knowledge. If one were to use the MDMS-SG with an unstudied ethnic group, the form of organization the group members chose to use would cue the investigator in on their methods of

organizing themselves within their own cultures. The process of group formation is almost impossible to elicit from informants directly. It must be observed, and the MDMS-SG is a technique which makes this type of observation possible.

III. PARALINGUISTIC BEHAVIOR

No material on paralinguistics as such was found by the investigator in either the linguistic or ethnographic studies available. Paralinguistics is a new field and is as yet a category of phenomena relatively unexplored by ethnologists. Anthropological linguists are studying it in connection with English at State University of New York at Buffalo and it could be analyzed for any social group whose speech, including tape recordings of speech, are available. The data collected (pages 57-61) suggest that rate of speech, average volume, range of variation in intonation and average length of utterance, since they differ significantly between the two groups, are learned patterned behavior and related to habits acquired as members of their respective ethnic groups.

The investigator has observed that in women's meetings and mixed meetings in Japan, which she attended, the Japanese members did not speak Japanese loudly as if orating. The women tended to maintain a relatively even high tone and the range of variation in intonation was not

great enough to command attention. This observation coincides with the observation made in the MDMS-SG situation. The investigator, however, also noted that in Japanese meetings participants tended to take turns giving short speeches. This is contrary to observations made of the MDMS-SG situation. Therefore, it is possible that length of utterance is related to type of group gathering or some other isolable variable which only further research could determine.

Similarly, the paralinguistic phenomena observable in the Arab MDMS-SG corresponded more closely to paralinguistic phenomena associated with Arabs speaking Arabic than with Americans speaking English in groups.

It is interesting to note that in the book Arabian Sands by Wilfred Thesiger (1959) several characteristics of the Saudi Beda speech are mentioned. These characteristics are not labelled paralinguistic but are nevertheless related. Thesiger says, "Beda always shout at each other, even if they are only a few feet apart. Everyone could therefore hear what was being said by everyone else in the camp, and anyone who was interested in a conversation round another fire could join in from where he was sitting." (p. 48). He also mentions their dislike of silence, saying, "They are unflagging talkers. A man will tell the same story half a dozen times in a couple of months to the same people, and they will sit and listen with apparent interest. They find

it an almost unendurable hardship to keep silent" (p. 72). While only one Arab in the group identified himself as a Beda and he and his father were city Beda, a relationship may nevertheless exist between speech behavior of the respected Beda Arab of Saudi Arabia and the Portland State University Saudi Arab student's speech behavior.

These findings strongly suggest that the paralinguistic phenomena are more closely associated with the individual and his cultural background than it is with the language learned. Despite the fact that both groups were speaking English, the paralinguistic phenomena observed apparently corresponded to that normal for their own language and cultural heritage and not normal for English.

Further intensive study of selected samples is necessary to determine accurately both the scope and meaning of the paralinguistic phenomena present in the speech of members of each of the ethnic groups involved.

IV. VERBAL INTERACTION PATTERNS

What constitutes habitual interaction patterns for different ethnic groups has only rarely been systematically studied by anthropologists. No studies of interaction patterns in Japan or Saudi Arabia were found. Therefore no comparisons can be made. The present study demonstrates the contrastive nature of interaction patterns of Japanese and Arabs at Portland State University. That the contrast

is "culturally conditioned" rather than due to individual, personal differences is apparent because different individuals came to different group meetings yet the interaction patterns for the Arabs remained distinctive from those of the Japanese.

It is possible that those interaction patterns distinguishing the Japanese Portland State University students and the Arab Portland State University students involved in the present study could be used as a basis for further more intense ethnological research in Saudi Arabia or Japan.

Surely such knowledge would have practical as well as academic significance in our world today with its often verbalized emphasis on communication and understanding.

V. EMOTIONS INFERRED FROM VERBAL BEHAVIOR WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE TOTAL BEHAVIORAL SITUATION

The topic, emotional expression in a group setting, is not a topic touched upon by most ethnographers. No specifically anthropological studies of emotion expressed in small group situations for either Japanese or Arab peoples have been made or written up as far as the author of this present manuscript can ascertain.

This statement should not be construed to mean that the topic emotion is totally ignored. In the literature on Arab countries as well as Japan, it is mentioned. For example, five of the six emotions characterizing the Japanese

MDMS-SG and never expressed by the Arab MDMS-SG were expressed in Sugimoto's autobiography, Daughter of a Samurai. Sugimoto refers to her own feelings and reactions to events, not to emotions which she identifies as expressing in a group setting. The similarity is, however, perhaps significant nevertheless. Information on emotional reaction is also a by-product of Japanese T.A.T. studies. These are given to individuals in a non-group setting, but emotional reactions can be indirectly studied.

In Saudi Arabia, especially from accounts of pilgrimages, observations of emotions expressed by Arabs are described. There is no systematic study made. The observations are mentioned as part of the total experiences of the writers.

The study of the topic emotion while almost absent in studies of Saudi Arabia is not virgin territory in the literature on Japan. The Japanese themselves study it. The author is aware of several excellent articles by Japanese psychiatrists which have been translated into English (Muramatsu 1951, and Doi 1961 and 1967) and several written originally in English by non-Japanese, including Americans, with the purpose of better understanding Japanese emotional development and dynamics (Holoney 1954). The reader interested in the topic is also referred to Benedict (1946) and Gorer (1943), American anthropologists, and Yamamoto (1964), a Japanese anthropologist for related (as distinguished from

comparable) works. The investigator feels that a further study, within the body of the thesis, while perhaps of both anthropological and personal interest, is outside the scope of the purpose of this thesis.

The importance of the study is not can one or can one not find another source which agrees with or refutes what has been observed through the MDMS-SG technique. The importance lies in the fact that one has the opportunity to observe and learn from and about a group of people who are presumably alike in some dependable way chosen by the investigator, in this case ethnically. He observes them in a situation which gives the members of the group the opportunity to express themselves in a creative way, i.e. whatever is a creative way for them. In turn the investigator has not only one informant but several simultaneously. As is the case with all competent anthropologists, he does more than analyze the answers to the questions he has asked. In the MDMS-SG situation he analyzes a group of people behaving, i.e. talking, responding, interacting, emoting. He sees, for example, how they emote and finds out to what they emote as was described in a previous section (pp. 69-84). It happens that the MDMS-SG situation is particularly suited to systematic study of emotion.

The larger number of emotions isolated in this particular study and the fact that certain emotions were repeatedly shown by one group and never by the other was a

source of serendipity to the investigator. The anthropologist because he lacks tools or techniques rarely attempts to study emotion. The MDMS-3G provides this tool for anyone so inclined.

VI. CONTENT

Certain topics were discussed by both the Arab and the Japanese small groups under consideration and certain other topics were discussed by only Arabs or only Japanese. In the chapter on data analysis it was noted that even those topics common to both groups (with a few exceptions) were identifiable as Japanese or Arab. The exceptions were principally centered around their similar roles as foreigners in the United States, (language difficulties, homesickness, housing and transportation problems, and adjustments to cultural differences), foreign students at Portland State University (i.e. study difficulties) or, group member initiating interaction with the group facilitator.

It will be noted that the ethnographic information obtained had two characteristics; (a) it was incomplete and unsystematized, as would be expected, since the objectives of the group members who directed the choice of materials to be discussed were not the same as those of an American-trained anthropologist trying to study and write an ethnography, and (b) it was extensive in breadth of

subject matter and reflected what other authors have observed to be of importance to the natives of Japan on the one hand and Saudi Arabia on the other.

A few, a very few items, discussed, were entirely new to the investigator who had spent considerable time in both Japan and the Middle East. This fact is significant for two reasons. It suggests that the minimal-directed, minimal-structure aspect of the small group technique is not useful to the anthropologist interested mainly in ethnographic information gathering, especially if he already has familiarity with the culture. It also suggests that the anthropologist who is unfamiliar with a given specific ethnic group could acquire a broad spectrum of anthropologically relevant data, especially of the type that was of interest to both the members of the ethnic group under perusal and the anthropologist, and that this information would correlate highly with the type of information he could acquire in the field situation.

In the next few pages some of the specific differences in content discussed by the Arabs or the Japanese will be related to similar findings in the anthropological literature. For example, only the Arabs discussed marriage patterns in the tribes, the advantages of polygamy, customary procedures to follow to find a wife, systems of naming and the government's system of sending students abroad for further education. The Arabs were intent on

selling the listener on Arabia's modernity, beauty spots and accomplishments. They entered into sociological and political discussions and methods of producing change including, "how to influence the older generation." In the HRAF publication Saudi Arabia (Lipsky 1959) all but the last item, that of how to influence the older generation are mentioned. From a practical standpoint, the last mentioned topic would be more appropriately discussed "away from home."

Turning now to those items discussed only by the Japanese, we find a similar situation. The book Japan's New Middle Class (Vogel 1963) mentions all of the following topics discussed by only the Japanese. Japanese child rearing procedures, the Japanese "way," (p. 83) and aesthetic values in signs of spring, gardens, etc. The article Recent Studies on the Japanese National Character (Yamamoto 1964) mentions as did the Japanese in the present sample, the importance of harmony and thoughtfulness, and of doing what is expected. He also mentions a displayed indifference to politics which coincides with the lack of political discussion among the Japanese in contrast with the enthusiastic political discussion among the Arabs. Yamamoto also in great detail discusses degrees of formality in speech, which was one of the topics distinguishing the two groups.

Discussions of feelings, especially as associated

with flower arrangements and tea and conversations about poetry and drama can be attested to as a common part of conversation by almost any observer residing in urban Japan long enough to engage in casual conversation with educated Japanese. The same thing can be said about Origami and discussions concerning Kanji. These are frequently mentioned by Japanese at least when conversing with Americans.

It can be seen that the content of discourse in the MDMS-SG reflects cultural pre-conditioning.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

The minimally-directed, minimally-structured small group, a modification of a psychological technique, was used to gain anthropological insights. The method was demonstrated using Japanese and Arab students who were seen in small groups for six sessions each. The sessions were conducted in a fashion permitting maximum freedom within each group for self organization and self direction. The sessions were recorded and the recordings plus notes taken immediately after each session by the investigator were treated as a closed corpus of data. The material was then compared and differences were noted. The material seemed to fall within six categories of difference. These categories were inductively derived. They are related in that each is a part of a classification of differences, and they are each an aspect or a way of looking at data.

These different ways of looking at data are admittedly easier to achieve by individuals experienced in small group process than by the novice in the technique. One is trained to become aware of distinctions such as differences in patterns of interaction and through the process of experience becomes able to rapidly and selectively attend to

then, differentiate between them and identify them. These categories have not been listed previously but students of group theory in particular will recognize that the investigator has merely labelled what the alert group facilitator watches for in the group setting.

The categories include a study of the group members reactions to the various facets of the experimental situation, the gambit from the physical setting to the degree of structuring imposed, and an analysis of the style or choice of internal organization. The fact that choice was permitted of course was a function of the minimal structuring feature of the group design chosen by the facilitator. A third category included the differences in the manner or style of speaking which occurred. A fourth category of difference encompassed interaction patterns and the fifth, emotions expressed. The sixth centered about a content analysis, that is, about the differences in subject matter which were actually talked about. Problems brought up in the course of the group meetings were not treated by the investigator any differently in this study than other types of content material. In each of these six categories, comparisons were made between the behavior of the Japanese students and the Arab students. In five of the six cases there were more differences than similarities (the exception was in emotional expression). The similarities were listed and the responses exhibited by only Arabs and by

only Japanese were also noted.

After the data was collected and analyzed, those differences which had made themselves apparent were checked with existing anthropological literature on Japanese and Arab culture to determine how the data collected through the use of the MDMS-SG was similar to that collected by more conventional means and how it was distinctive.

It was found that the reactions of the group members to facets of the experiment which were held constant with both groups were very similar to those reported by anthropologists studying Japan and Saudi Arabia.

The MDMS-SG was found to be an excellent tool for discovering how a group organizes itself. The two groups organized themselves entirely differently and the pattern of organization in the Japanese small groups reflected what has been studied about Japanese patterns of organization almost perfectly. Less is known about patterns of organization in Saudi Arabia, but the data from the MDMS-SG shows a similarity to that which is known.

The MDMS-SG proved to be a satisfactory method for collecting paralinguistic data. No one has published the paralinguistics of any non-Indo-European languages thus far nor studied the paralinguistic behavior of speakers of English as a second language. The results of this analysis make it evident that certain psychological and psycholinguistic assumptions must be challenged. Linguists and

psychologists must in the future realize that extra phonemic signals may have relatively standardized meanings for all within a given ethnic group or language group and the same signal may have different specific meanings in another given ethnic group or language group.

Group facilitators are taught to select out paralinguistic incongruities. For example, a person who, during an argument, shouts, "I do love you," is sending more than one message to the listener.

The results of the paralinguistic portion of the MDMS-SG suggest the possibility that some paralinguistic features are more closely associated with ethnic-group preconditioning than with an attempt on the part of the individual to communicate a double message. This fact could be very important to the foreign student advisor, counselor or to anyone working with individuals speaking English as a second language.

The MDMS-SG paralinguistic results bring more questions than answers into the anthropological sub-field and suggest a need for further research. The MDMS-SG was found to be an excellent means for the systematic study of interaction patterns and also for the study of the expression of emotion in a group setting. Both of these topics are potentially useful as well as being as worthy of study as any other phase of ethnology. The usefulness is self-evident. The anthropologist who knows the

standard interaction patterns and what emotional expression is acceptable can certainly relate and communicate with his informants more advantageously than can one ignorant of the reaction patterns of those he seeks to understand.

The final category of findings, the content, yielded results very similar to what the ethnologist might find in the field. The minimal-direction and minimal-structuring aspect of the small group situation rendered the results unsystematic and incomplete. The results, however, were found to correlate highly with results reported by other anthropologists using diverse methods.

In regard to validity the results suggest that since most of the content, i.e. information obtained through the use of the MDMS-SG, matches that recorded by the use of other anthropological methods, one can assume that the information obtained through the use of the MDMS-SG is as accurate as that obtained by more traditional means.

The major advantage of the MDMS-SG as an information gathering technique is the likelihood that the material collected will be more likely to reflect the perspective of the group members than of the anthropologist.

Recently a new guidebook Ethnic Live-In: A Guide to Penetrating and Understanding a Culture. (Henry G. Burger, 1969) was reviewed by Hirabayashi (1971:71) who says,

I would like to interject a more serious (to me) thing concerning the subject matter of this

manual, i.e. the ethnic groups. I am speaking more now as a member of a minority group than as a professional. A quick inspection of the categories of data that the author suggests collecting reveals that these would result in facilitating comparisons with like categories derived originally from the dominant society; this approach would not necessarily focus on those aspects from the perspective of the ethnic peoples that would yield an understanding of a cultural minority--the stated goal in the subtitle of the manual. I must point out, however, that this is a general complaint (on the part of some of us) about social science theory and methodology and not specifically of Burger. (cf. Johanneth B. Cole, "Culture: Negro, Black and Nigger." The Black Scholar, June 1970).

What is said in the above quote applies as well to other cultural groups as to minorities.

The use of the MDMS-SG can be interpreted as one attempt to go back to the source--the people that make up the ethnic group--and study what they do and say and how and maybe why, in an effort to penetrate and understand a culture.

All anthropologists need not learn small group techniques or in particular the techniques of minimal direction and minimal structuring any more than all anthropologists should learn how to do carbon 14 tests in the laboratory. Only those anthropologists seeking the type of data that the MDMS-SG technique yields should train themselves for the activity.

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