CRISIS IN CULTURAL ADJUSTMENT: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF INDIAN AND KOREAN GRADUATE STUDENTS
AT TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY

A Thesis
by
LYNDA JAY HERNDON

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of Texas A&M University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

May 1994

Major Subject: Anthropology
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Approved as to style and content by:

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May 1994

Major Subject: Anthropology
ABSTRACT

Crisis in Cultural Adjustment: A Comparative Study of Indian and Korean Graduate Students At Texas A&M University. (May 1994)

Lynda Jay Herndon, B.A., Texas A&M University
Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. Norbert Dannhaeuser

This study was designed to determine factors influencing acculturation to a host society. It also examined the coping strategies utilized for success in a new academic environment. International Indian and Korean graduate student groups were analyzed by comparing historical-cultural backgrounds, motivations for study abroad, fluency in the host language, average age, academic adjustments, and socio-cultural characteristics.

The two student groups used different strategies depending on their advantages or disadvantages in each particular area. Indian students often cited finances as their most serious problem studying abroad, while Korean students generally listed linguistic inadequacy as their greatest handicap. Although it was found that all of these factors contribute, either positively or negatively, toward the acculturation process, the socio-cultural factor was the most critical of the factors examined.
Achieving social acculturation to the host country appears to be highly dependent on successful cross-cultural relationships with American students. Yet, both groups claimed to be dissatisfied with their perceived lack of interaction with American students.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Selection of Students Researched</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Previous Research</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Outline of Thesis Text</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Research Goal</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>WELCOME TO TEXAS A&amp;M UNIVERSITY</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>International Student Services</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>International Student Orientation</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>THE HISTORICAL-CULTURAL FACTOR</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>India</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>THE MOTIVATION FACTOR</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ease of Admittance</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Availability of Degree</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Financial Advantage</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social Status Motive</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Unspoken Motive</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>THE LINGUISTIC FACTOR</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Linguistic Background</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Language and Academics</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Language and Self-Esteem</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Language and Social Interaction</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact of American Students</td>
<td>91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI THE AGE FACTOR</td>
<td>96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean Male Students</td>
<td>99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Male Students</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Students</td>
<td>105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>108</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII THE ACADEMIC-CULTURAL FACTOR</td>
<td>110</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fellow Nationals</td>
<td>111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Students</td>
<td>113</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean Students</td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focusing on the Problem</td>
<td>127</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professors and Students</td>
<td>129</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII THE ECONOMIC FACTOR</td>
<td>135</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact of Economics</td>
<td>137</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrasting Economics</td>
<td>139</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Students</td>
<td>141</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean Students</td>
<td>144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acculturation and Economics</td>
<td>153</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX THE SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTOR</td>
<td>158</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact of Fellow Nationals</td>
<td>160</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Socio-Cultural Faux Pas</td>
<td>161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolating the Problem</td>
<td>163</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Students</td>
<td>167</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean Students</td>
<td>174</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students as Individuals</td>
<td>179</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Opportunities</td>
<td>180</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparison with American Students</td>
<td>182</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>183</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X CONCLUSION</td>
<td>185</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acculturation Factor</td>
<td>185</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental and Role Acculturation</td>
<td>188</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Acculturation</td>
<td>189</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recommendations</td>
<td>193</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES CITED</td>
<td>201</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR GRADUATE STUDENTS FROM INDIA....................... 207

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR GRADUATE STUDENTS FROM KOREA........................ 211

APPENDIX C: CASE STUDIES............................................ 215

Taesin Lee...................................................... 216
The Abortion................................................. 221
Uma and Jagdish Doma................................. 225
Koreans--On Abortion.................................. 229
Srikanth..................................................... 232
Young-Ju Lee............................................... 236
The Mystique of the Cat............................... 239

VITA......................................................... 244
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. International Students at Texas A&amp;M University 1993-1994.........</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Calendar of the International Student Orientation Fall 1993.......</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Indian and Korean Students in the College of Liberal Arts.........</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Colleges with Low Indian and Korean Student Enrollment.............</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Indian and Korean Students in the College of Engineering..........</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Indian and Korean Students in the Colleges of Science and Geoscience</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Post-Graduate Plans of Indian Students............................</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Post-Graduate Plans of Korean Students..............................</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Average Age of Indian Students Upon Arrival.......................</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Average Age of Korean Students Upon Arrival.......................</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Comparison of Students by Degree Program.........................</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Early explorers advanced the study of anthropology with their reports of exotic cultures and physical attributes of peoples in remote areas of the world. Today, the peoples and the places are no longer so remote. This "shrinking world" suggests not only a need for acculturation but has also produced circumstances that are "conducive for it" (Spiro 1955:1243). Texas A&M University (TAMU) in College Station, Texas, is an excellent example of a place where these circumstances exist. In the 1993-1994 school year, 2,956 students from 113 nations were represented at this University. The university setting presents an excellent opportunity for comparing the adaptive strategies of different ethnic groups under a controlled environment.

The study of international students offers opportunities to observe cultural conflict and cultural compromise. Upon arrival, many aspects of a foreign student’s life are altered. Adapting to the new environment becomes a juggling act for these ethnically

---
This thesis follows the format and style of American Antiquity.
displaced individuals. W. Frank Hull claimed that "the experience of being a foreign student in the United States is frequently a difficult and unsettling one, involving periods of isolation and loneliness" (1978:3).

My research involving international graduate students from India and South Korea focuses on factors that influence acculturation. In this study, the word "acculturation" will refer to the "adaptive strategies used by people who have to cope with the economic, social, and political disadvantages of their position as minorities" (Spindler 1977:3). I hope to add to our understanding of how the cultural background of different ethnic groups affects the ability to adjust to a host society.

This research has two dimensions reflecting the fact that "acculturation is not merely a scientific problem, but above all a human and eventually even a political problem" (Van Baal 1960:115). The first dimension of this research addresses the scientific problem. This study hopes to contribute to the long-standing debate about how and why minority groups differ in their ability to adjust to a larger society (Barth 1969).

The other dimension is practical. The results of this research have the potential to facilitate the acculturation of international students to the United
States. Citizens of the host country could minimize acculturation problems by acting on the assertion that acculturation should involve an exchange, a cultural partnership with the new culture (Spindler 1977). This research illustrates areas of cultural misunderstandings between Americans and Indian and Korean international students. Enlightenment about these matters is a step toward achieving reciprocal cultural exchange.

SELECTION OF STUDENTS RESEARCHED

My research is comparative in nature. According to Hughes and Hughes, "if our observations of the contacts of people of various races and cultures are to be acute, it will be because we compare one case with another" (1952:7). To accomplish this, a study comparing TAMU graduate students from India with those from South Korea was undertaken.

Texas A&M University is a culturally diverse environment with a large component of international students. The University ranks fifth in the nation for international student enrollment and second in the state. I consider my student status at this University to be an asset as it provided me with an insider's view.
Indian and Korean students are good research subjects to compare. Indian students represent the largest international group on campus with 489 students. Korea is third with 290 students. Indian and Korean students have some cultural similarities. They share an Asian ancestry, both have extended family networks, and both groups form friendships in a similar pattern. These similarities are a common background against which their differences can be compared. These differences include English language proficiency, economic circumstances, cultural flexibility, among others.

The selection of South Korean students is especially notable. Most of the previous research on international students was done prior to 1980 before the influx of Korean students into the United States began. Therefore, in the case of Korean students, the present research is exploratory. There is also a personal reason for selecting Korean students. For over two years my best friend has been a Korean graduate student. We have shared classes and she has even lived with me for a short time. I feel that our relationship has given me a unique insight into Korean students' cultural characteristics.

I selected Indian students because of their large student community, long tradition as international students, and their interesting differences with Korean
students. For example, the English fluency of the Indian students contrasts sharply with the difficulty Korean students experience with the host language. In addition, the cultural diversity of India’s students and the uniformity of Korea’s form a fascinating comparative study.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

There has been only limited research on international students attending TAMU. One study investigated the University’s services and agency for the welfare of foreign students (Al-Talib et al. 1969). Another was a thesis topic that analyzed participation in recreational activities between international students and American students (Tang 1986).

There has been more research on other American universities. One of the best examples is Hull’s 1978 study consisting predominantly of questionnaire results from a wide range of international students attending different universities in the United States. The study examined coping strategies employed by international students. The World’s Students in the United States, by Spaulding and Flack (1976), stresses the unsatisfactory social aspects of study abroad. The authors emphasized
the need to assist international students in acculturation because "they represent a significant segment of today's leadership and management in the world, in some countries the decisive segment" (Ibid:1). Problems of studying abroad are also addressed by Christine F. Meloni (1986) who conducted a short question and answer session titled Adjustment Problems of Foreign Students in U.S. Colleges and Universities. She identifies their main difficulties as social, personal, and academic.

To flesh out the background of the students researched, I also examined cultural accounts of their home society such as Social Change in Modern India by M.N. Srinivas (1967) and Korea by Simon Winchester (1988). Books on international business management provided another source of valuable information. International trade has brought the United States into a situation where ethnocentrism often means a fiscal deficit; commercial possibilities have aroused an interest that social consciousness could not. For example, Managing Cultural Differences, by Philip R. Harris and Robert T. Moran (1987) stresses cultural contrasts in social etiquette to educate the international entrepreneur.

Emotional and physical effects of cultural displacement are covered in medical texts (Dressler 1982; Furnham and Trezise 1983) and articles in psychological
journals (Berry 1986; Schwarzer et al. 1986). These sources are useful to the study of problems associated with acculturation as well. Likewise, parallels between the assimilating process of permanent immigrants (Dornic 1985; Gordon 1964; Hurh and Kim 1990) and the temporary acculturation process of international students made studies on immigration profitable for the present research.

METHODOLOGY

Previous research on international students has consisted mainly of questionnaire surveys. Although I utilized this method in part, I also conducted more than two years of extensive fieldwork which is incorporated throughout this paper. My research adds a qualitative dimension by describing and analyzing in detail the experiences encountered by the students themselves.

In agreement with Cussler, I feel that there was a need in the study of foreign students for "open-ended interviews" and "recommendations by foreign students themselves" (1962:10). Likewise, I concur with Lambert and Bressler who claimed that there was a "dearth of empirical knowledge of the processes and effects of...understanding...the complex processes involved in
cross-cultural education" (1976:v-vi). This is especially true with respect to Korean students. Consequently, intensive fieldwork dominated my methodology. The focus was on the students' perspectives because they are the ultimate constituents of the socio-cultural context examined.

Besides the advantage of my student status, my age of fifty years also proved to be beneficial. The students related to me on a less competitive level than they might have done with someone their own age. They appeared to be comfortable in my presence and often revealed personal problems of social disappointment, financial dilemmas, and academic failure.

*Individual Case Studies*

Much of my thesis is based on individual case histories. Contacts with international students were accomplished through socials (formal and informal) organized by student organizations, culturally specific professional entertainment, the International Student Week festivities, and normal daily student activities. The only difficulty I encountered was the lack of time to visit with the informants who quickly became close friends. As my research will show, I have been involved in many aspects of their lives.
Questionnaires

Intensive fieldwork was supplemented by a questionnaire (See Appendices A and B). The questionnaire was hand delivered by me and by my informants. My informants were anxious to assist me by distributing the questionnaires and I believe that their dedication was conveyed to the respondents. In total, I received fifty responses from Korean students and fifty-two from Indian students.

Numerical Analysis

Additional information was obtained from University records and was subjected to numerical analysis. These records listed the name, gender, major, degree classification, and length of sojourn of each international student. By combining questionnaire responses with this data, I was able to present a more complete picture of the individual student groups.

OUTLINE OF THESIS TEXT

The thesis has been organized into chapters dealing with factors influencing acculturation. A synopsis of each chapter follows:
Chapter II. Welcome to Texas A&M University

The initial impression of an incoming international student often determines how well he or she will adapt to the new environment. The agency responsible for representing the University in this reception is the International Student Services. The University designates two weeks for international student orientation.

Chapter III. The Historical-Cultural Factor

India’s colonization by our own colonizer, Great Britain, has exposed Indians to many cultural characteristics similar to those of the United States. In contrast, the forced assimilation of Koreans under Japanese colonization reinforced a homogeneous Korea which has been exposed to Western influence only since World War II.

Chapter IV. The Motivation Factor

The motivation for Indian and Korean students to study in the United States may surprise the reader by dispelling the often perceived notion that international students study abroad because they are adventurous. The motives are practical. Indian and Korean students most often say that they come for degrees that are unaccessible in the home country or are more prestigious if acquired in
the United States. Additionally, TAMU has a reputation as being generous with funding.

Chapter V. The Linguistic Factor

This chapter discusses the most dramatic contrast between the two groups: the English proficiency of the Indian students as compared to the Korean students' struggle with the second language.

Chapter VI. The Age Factor

The age difference between the average Indian student and the average Korean student is approximately six years. This difference has an impact on acculturation in several ways. Older students are generally married and inclined to limit social interaction to the family. They also tend to be more goal orientated, traditionally conservative, and to form an authoritative group which censures tendencies of fellow nationals to adopt characteristics of the host culture.

Chapter VII. The Academic-Cultural Factor

Adaptation to the American academic system is necessary for both Indian and Korean students. Though both of these groups were taught by rote memorization,
Indian students have the advantage of an academic system more similar to those in the United States.

Chapter VIII. The Economic Factor

In most cases, Indian and Korean students do not come from the same economic level of their society. Korean wages are also relatively high compared to those in India. The financial disadvantage of the Indian students pressures them to lodge together to defray expenses which potentially limits acculturation.

Chapter IX. The Socio-Cultural Factor

The extent of acculturation is dependent on the cultural flexibility of each ethnic group. This, in turn, depends upon both the cultural attributes shared by each group and the individual personalities of the students involved.

Appendix A. Questionnaire for Graduate Students from India

Appendix A consists of a copy of the questionnaire designed for Indian students. There were fifty-two respondents.
Appendix B. Questionnaire for Graduate Students from Korea

Appendix B has a copy of the questionnaire designed for Korean students. There were fifty respondents.

Appendix C. Case Studies

This Appendix contains informal case studies. Included in the case studies are many interesting aspects of the students' lives that were too numerous to include in the body of this thesis. Also included are topics other than those directly related to my thesis topic. These case studies contain a wealth of information in support of my thesis and may also be relevant to future research on Indian and Korean students.

RESEARCH GOAL

My goal for this thesis is to provide the reader with an insight into the acculturation process of international students in general and Indian and Korean students in particular. Along with the descriptions and explanations of the difficulties encountered by Indian and Korean students, I hope to illustrate the strategies they utilize to prevail over their difficulties or, where applicable, the reasons for their failure.
Awareness of problems that international students face in the acculturation process will contribute to our understanding of the cultural factors influencing how people adjust to new social environments. Van Baal challenged social scientists "to promote a better understanding of these problems by a study of the factors impeding and promoting progress among...peoples and by a careful investigation of the implication of successful acculturation" (1960:121). With this research, I have met Van Baal's challenge.
CHAPTER II

WELCOME TO TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY

The acculturation process for international students at Texas A&M University (TAMU) likely begins during the two weeks of International Student Orientation. The first impression these students have of TAMU and the willingness of the staff, students, and faculty to assist them can make a substantial difference in their desire and their ability to acculturate to their new home. Because of the importance of this first impression in the acculturation process, this chapter is included to illustrate the initial experiences of international students with the International Student Services and student orientation during their first formal association with the University.

The services provided by an organization such as the International Student Services should enhance the acculturation process. Accordingly, a short history of the International Student Services and a description of its services and responsibilities are included at the beginning of this Chapter. The events in the two weeks of International Student Orientation are then outlined to give the reader an idea how much these students have to cope with when they first arrive and what facilities are available to them at that time and in the future. During this time, instructions and advice from the staff of the
International Student Services accentuated cultural differences between the United States and other countries.

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT SERVICES

The International Student Services (ISS), which includes the Immigration Office, is responsible for greeting international students on behalf of the University. The ISS, as it is known today, began in an unceremonious fashion when in 1979 Director Tina Watkins was asked to take care of the University's foreign students. At that time she was given no additional funds beyond her own salary, and her "office" was so inconspicuous that she and a friend literally searched the campus to locate some of her 1,211 charges.

Fourteen years later, the job is different and Ms. Watkins knows every aspect of it. This year there are 2,793 international students representing 113 countries (See Table 1) attending TAMU. Ms. Watkins no longer has to look for students and she no longer carries the burden alone. However, Ms. Watkins and the other two women working with her, the three individuals who make up the immigration staff are hard pressed to meet the needs of so many students. Nevertheless, this small staff has responsibilities that range from amusing cultural mishaps
Table 1: International Students at Texas A&M University 1993-1994.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
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to heart-breaking cases of accidental death and suicide (Althen 1985:74184). The ISS staff is carefully chosen. Each should have a Master's and some experience abroad is helpful. Most of all, one must be predisposed toward the welfare of foreign students. Ms. Watkins favors that subjective quality over formal credentials.

Introduction to the ISS comes to the international student via Ms. Watkins' welcoming letter that is sent out with admission information from TAMU. In the past Ms. Watkins met students at the airport. She often housed the student in her own home while searching for a place for him or her to live. The subsequent increase in international students has disallowed the more personal service, but Ms. Watkins still cares for the students beyond a duty to perform her job. She adds a mother's touch in dealing with "her students." Ms. Watkins feels that there are compensations for her dedication. It is obvious that "her students" respect and care for her in return. The walls and shelves of Ms. Watkins' office in Bizzell Hall display gifts from all over the world. With the increased enrollment of international students, paperwork consumes much of the ISS staff's time. Ms. Watkins talks wistfully about the old days when she and the students would huddle together to sort out the problems of cultural shock and homesickness.
Even with the added staff, Ms. Watkins' job would be impossible without the help of the international students themselves. Fortunately, as the groups from each country grew in numbers, they began to look after one another. I met the current president of the Indian Student Association during orientation. He and others from their association were busy helping incoming students. As necessary as this is, and as much as Ms. Watkins welcomes the assistance of the old hands, it often results in students seeking assistance from fellow nationals instead of the expertise of the ISS.

International students planning to attend TAMU for the first time receive two weeks of orientation from the ISS. To eliminate confusion it should be noted that these two weeks represent the total orientation program and that there was only one day of formal mandatory orientation. The two week program for the Fall semester of 1993 began on Monday August 16th and continued through Friday the 27th. These two weeks of orientation are only for international students, and are the responsibility of the ISS. The day designated for the formal orientation was Monday, August 23rd. Table 2 is a calendar of the events.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AUGUST</th>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>8:30 AM-4:00 PM. Immigration check in. Admissions clearance. Health Center Check. Questions &amp; Answers. Trip to Social Security Off, 10:00 AM-3:00 PM. (Pavilion) 8:30 AM-5:00 PM. Graduates with TOEFL scores between 550 &amp; 599 who are not taking the EPLE to make appointments for English Counseling Interviews today (ELI) Peterson Bldg. Rm. #302</td>
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<tr>
<td>TUESDAY</td>
<td>8:30 AM-4:00 PM.</td>
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<tr>
<td>WEDNESDAY</td>
<td>1:00 PM-3:00 PM. English Language Proficiency Exam (ELPE) Part I</td>
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<tr>
<td>TUESDAY</td>
<td>Harrington Education Center Rm. #108 7:00 PM-8:30 PM. Used Car Buying Seminar</td>
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<tr>
<td>WEDNESDAY</td>
<td>Memorial Student Center Rm. #212 and #224</td>
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Table 2: "Continued."

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<tr>
<th>MONDAY</th>
<th>TUESDAY</th>
<th>WEDNESDAY</th>
<th>THURSDAY</th>
<th>FRIDAY</th>
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<tr>
<td>August 23</td>
<td>8:30 AM-4:30 PM</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8:00 AM</td>
<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td>New International Student Orientation- (Mandatory) Rudder Theater (12 noon-Graduate chemistry students only should proceed to Rm. #2104. New Chemistry Building)</td>
<td>7:30 AM</td>
<td>8:00 AM-5:00 PM, Registration for Classes (Pavilion)</td>
<td>8:00 AM</td>
<td>8:00 AM-5:00 PM, Registration for classes continues (Pavilion)</td>
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<tr>
<td>12:45 PM-3:30 PM, Campus Tour (Meet in front of Bizzell Hall West)</td>
<td>6:30 PM</td>
<td>8:00 AM</td>
<td>9:00 AM-2:00 PM, ELI Registration</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sponsored students to meet (Rudder Tower, Rm. #504)</td>
<td>Community Dinner for New International Students</td>
<td>Freshman Conference continues. Meet with Academic Advisors.</td>
<td>Transfer Conference continues. Meet with Academic Advisors.</td>
<td>Peterson Bldg. Rm. #113</td>
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<tr>
<td>8:00 PM</td>
<td>A&amp;M Methodist Church, corner of Lodge and Church Street</td>
<td>10:00 AM</td>
<td>8:00 AM-5:00 PM, Registration for classes continues (Pavilion)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Freshman Conference Welcome (Rudder Tower Foyer)</td>
<td>Transfer Conference (Mandatory) Starts at Rudder Tower Foyer</td>
<td></td>
<td>1:00 PM-5:00 PM, ELI Registration</td>
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<td>Peterson Bldg. Rm. #113</td>
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INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ORIENTATION

I sat in on the first day of each week of the orientation. My observations follow.

Monday August 16th

The first requirements of international students are to fill out forms necessary for enrollment in the University. For this purpose, we met in the Pavilion, a centrally located building on campus. As I observed the events of this day, there seemed to be endless lines where students picked up forms, deposited completed forms, and finally ended up on one end of the room where several rows of chairs were set up. Here, after twenty to thirty of the students who had taken care of the preliminaries were seated, a member of the ISS staff gave a short talk. These sessions were intended to instruct and encourage the students in their new environment. The small informal gathering encouraged them to ask questions. All were asked if they had found a place to live. The students were urged to avail themselves of the services of the ISS for legal, scholastic, and even personal problems rather than relying totally on fellow nationals, as this could result in the "blind leading the blind." There were always several students who asked questions during each
session and some stayed afterwards for additional information.

Students were informed at the question/answer session and by a bulletin board that there was a "loan closet" with sheets, pots and pans, lamps, and other odds and ends that were available to them. These items had been donated by students who had graduated and by members of the community. They were provided at no charge to the international students. The recipients were encouraged to repay the debt by, in turn, leaving some things for the students who would come after them.

The program went on until five o'clock. When the lunch break came, I was dismayed to discover that the snack bar in the Pavilion was closed during the two weeks of International Students Orientation and registration, and that there was only one place to eat on campus. That place was Hullabaloo, a fast food cafeteria located in the basement of the Memorial Student Center (MSC). I have been there many times, but this Monday I missed it the first time around. It was then that I noticed that there is no sign on the first floor to direct one to the place. It is unfortunate that the University cannot provide better services for those least likely to be comfortable in these new surroundings.
Monday August 23th

Monday the 23rd was a stressful day. According to Ms. Watkins, the formal orientation is ordinarily divided into two days but, because of an unexpected conflict, had to be conducted in one. This was unfortunate as it was overwhelming to have so much information at one time.

As the 250 to 300 students entered Rudder Theater for the Orientation presentation, they were expected to collect information pamphlets, sheets, or cards from the tables that had hand-outs concerning a variety of topics: Student Financial Services, International Friendship Partners, Christian Fellowship for International Students, Welcome to Aggieland Party, F-1 Student Visa Regulations, Student Counseling Service, Important Facts About Traffic Tickets (signing the ticket is NEVER a guilty plea), Important Facts about Traffic Accidents, Restaurant-Entertainment and Activity Guide for Bryan-College Station, Academic-Career Assistance Services, Adjustment for Returning to the Home Country, International Students’ Groups, Registering for Classes, Balance Your Life, Motivation, WELCOME HOME (Newcomer’s Guide), Study Tips, Seeking a Career Direction?, Managing Test Anxiety, and Test-Taking Skills.

Once in the theater, orientation began with a short film about TAMU. International students learned that
there were about 42,000 students enrolled, approximately 2,000 of which were international students (this film is almost 1000 international students out of date). Next, Ms. Watkins greeted the students with "Howdy!" which, as the film had informed them, was the traditional Aggie greeting. A very weak "Howdy" response came from the students. When urged to put a little more spirit into it, they obliged.

Ms. Watkins told the students that the responsibilities of the ISS were to provide immigration information and expense statements (the I-20 form) necessary for financial arrangements in each country. Aside from formal and legal assistance, students were encouraged to visit the office "anytime" with "any problem."

Students were told that they should check advertisements in the local newspaper to find used articles to set up their apartments. Garage sales were said to be a good source of used furniture. At this time, students were reminded about the loan closet. Wal-Mart, K-Mart, and Target were suggested as places to buy things economically.

Students were also told how to get a Post Office box and that they must have a Social Security Number. This number, they were told, is necessary for employment or
even to attend the university as it doubles as a student’s identification number. Any student who attended the orientation sessions on Monday, August 16th or Tuesday, August 17th could have taken a campus van to the scheduled appointments with the Social Security office.

Taking care of food was also discussed. It was explained that food spoils rapidly in the Bryan-College Station area and that care must be taken to keep perishables in the refrigerator. It was mentioned that, although there were some places to purchase exotic foodstuffs in Bryan-College Station, many international students bought such goods in Houston.

There was a short session on doing laundry. Students were advised to buy their own soap, urged to ask others how to use the washer and dryer, and warned that using dishwasher soap on your clothes could eat holes in them.

A seminar called "Used Car Buying" was held on August 18th. For those that might have missed it, there was advice on the subject during this time as well: "Be Careful! Salespersons do not always tell the truth about the vehicle, so, you need to have it checked well before purchasing it." Students were advised to get someone to go with them that has had experience with car dealers.

International students learned that undergraduates in the United States are called Freshmen their first year,
Sophomores their second, Juniors the third, and finally, Seniors the fourth year. The new students were informed that there are many tests that have been stored from past years. "These samples", they were told, "are helpful when studying for exams."

"The $2,000 deposit toward registration that was made outside the U.S. will show up on the fee slip," said the advisor. "If for some reason the deposit was not made, you will be expected to pay all of the amount and a refund will be sent later." Ms. Watkins had told me previously that the University began the policy of requiring a $2,000 deposit due to problems with the transfer of foreign currency and students who had falsified documents arriving without sufficient funds for tuition.

We were told about Discovery, an association for the wives of international students. Baby sitters would be provided. It is an opportunity for international wives to meet each other and is designed to help them with their sojourn in the United States.

International students were encouraged to get more than an education. "Extra-curricular activities will make the sojourn more enjoyable." Students were urged to "join one of the MSC's 700 clubs--or start your own."

Immigration Coordinator Noel Tope assured the students that the Immigration Office was there to serve
them. She stressed that she and her staff did not work for the State or Federal immigration system and would not report illegal activities such as working off-campus. Instead, they would advise students of the consequences that would follow getting caught. There was much emphasis on "we're on your side, come see us about your problems." "The police," said our guide, either on or off-campus "are a benign agency." They will not follow you around. However, there are rules that must be observed. Since rules can change frequently, one should ask advice. However, it is best not to ask academic advisors or fellow nationals for advice that should come from the Immigration Office. International students are responsible for retaining their legal status. Addresses must be kept current.

Immigration Specialist Margit (Maddi) Garay explained the add/drop and Q-drop time period and procedure to the students. They were warned to not let an advisor change their status from a Master's to a Doctoral program without conferring with Immigration first. The correct forms are essential for any change of status.

The Director of Student Affairs, Suzanne Droleskey, demonstrated how to write a check. They were reminded that they must have the money in the bank before writing a check and that just because they had not run out of checks
did not mean that they had not run out of money. A list of local banks was handed out. This list had the options each bank offered to enable the students to compare the services.

The students were cautioned about traveling in the United States. "It can be lots of fun, but hitch-hiking is dangerous." If they wanted to go somewhere, they were encouraged to sign up in the MSC. They were told that it is usually possible to find a student who is going the same place. They were told to expect to help with expenses.

Ms. Droleskey went through insurance policies. I was surprised to learn that the university apparently does not require international students to have insurance. Notwithstanding, all were urged to get some kind of coverage "as medical care in the States is expensive." A physician from Beutel Health Center told the students about available campus medical services.

For this one day of mandatory orientation, Duncan Hall (the cadet mess hall) opened for the students but very few came. I surmised that the rest had finally located Hullabaloo and were not taking a chance on trying to find a new place to eat and failing. Actually, I wished that I had not gone to Duncan Hall myself. The cafeterias on campus are usually very good places to eat
with a wide selection of food but for the International Student Orientation, a buffet of limited dishes was offered. If one did not like fish and the couple of choices of vegetables offered, one could go hungry and pay over four dollars for the pleasure.

After lunch, a panel of TAMU's current international students spoke to the incoming students. Christian Siebold, president of the International Student Association (ISA), implored the new students to join the ISA. All members of the panel told the students that they should get involved in activities on campus.

Ms. Droleskey then went through income tax forms. All international students must fill out a tax return, even if they do not earn a dime in this country.

Officers from the campus police told the students about the services and responsibilities of the campus police. Students were told that although it was fairly safe on campus, it was better not to take chances. They were told that transportation or an escort is available in these forms:

1. Campus Police
2. Escort Service for females - 845-2345
3. Bus (847-RIDE)
4. Off-Campus bus - pass necessary
5. Corp of Cadets - will walk you to destination on campus
6. Emergency phone - can be used for emergency help, or to make local 3 minute calls - free.
The officers told the students about rules for bicycles and that the theft of them was the number one crime on campus. "So, lock up your bikes!" The students were informed about different devices to secure bicycles. They were told that the number two problem on campus is alcohol and were cautioned about the consequences of overindulging.

Ms. Watkins had explained to me that meeting the campus police is a very important part of International Student Orientation. In the past there were times when students had come to her frightened by so many in uniform (the cadets) and by the pistol carrying campus police force. During orientation the new students were assured that the campus police were there to ensure their safety and that the cadets are regular students "just like you" with the exception that they are considering a career in the military.

It was announced that there would be a welcome dinner for the students at the A&M Methodist Church that night. Most local churches participated in this welcome.

As I observed the process of becoming a student at TAMU, I found that I was having difficulty keeping track of everything. I had been given so much information and, after being in the auditorium for so long, began to find
it impossible to concentrate on the speaker. Some, like the two young Indian men seated beside me, did not bother. Both of them, heads thrown back and mouths open, were soundly sleeping. There are so many tests, buildings, and organizations with initials that it was hard to keep them sorted out. Another problem is that many buildings on campus are named after individuals instead of departments. This makes it hard for the students to locate them. Even more exasperating is that many of the buildings do not have a name on them at all.

The two weeks that the international students are being admitted into TAMU represent vacation time for the campus itself. That is the reason why snack bars and cafeterias were shut down. It was also the reason that campus buses did not run during this time either. This shortage of campus transportation was especially deplorable considering the inadequacy of public transportation in the Bryan-College Station area. One student, unable to get an apartment within walking distance of the campus, found it difficult to attend all the orientation meetings. For the same reason, socials at night were out of the question for her. It is unfortunate for international students that the stress of getting admitted into the university is compounded by the
inconvenience brought about by the fact that most campus facilities were not operating.

SUMMARY

In spite of the supreme effort on the part of the ISS staff, it is my opinion that the acculturation process is not well served during the period of orientation. For many international students, the first impression of TAMU during orientation could not have been a positive one. The reasons for this conclusion are the following: [1] the ISS has the task of distributing too much information in too little time; [2] the staff of the ISS is too small for the number of students they must handle; [3] the lack of campus transportation and convenient cafeterias resulted in the students being subjected to problems beyond those inherent in the introductory process; and, [4] there were too many incoming students that were not able to understand spoken English.

Additionally, there is not enough participation of experienced international students. Although the Indian Student Association was busy (behind the scenes) assisting fellow nationals and there may have been many more from other countries, I do know that my Korean friends advise newcomers from Korea to forego the experience as they feel
that it was a waste of time. It is their opinion that Korean students do not understand English well enough to benefit from it.

It appears that the students who need orientation the most are the least able to understand what is going on. I believe there are a number of ways to improve the orientation program and thus encourage the acculturation process. One way to reduce the stress of orientation is to divide the group into smaller units according to the language they understand. Naturally, when there are only a few students from one country, this may not be feasible. However, there are several large groups--China, Korea, and Taiwan--whose numbers would justify special attention. My recommendation is that groups who are not fluent in English should be instructed by a student or a staff member from that country trained to present orientation information to fellow nationals. At least one American student should be present to assist with cultural interpretation and to extend a personal welcome to the United States and TAMU. That American should have a good sense of humor and help the incoming students to understand that a willingness to laugh at cultural slip-ups is almost guaranteed to attract Americans as friends and assistants. As an alternative (or a supplement) to separate orientations, an outline of the orientation
format could be printed in each nation's native language. That way, students could follow the English presentation with the help of the handout. I believe that either plan would reduce the trauma of receiving so many important instructions that are not being understood and would consequently result in an easier transition to life in the host country.
CHAPTER III
THE HISTORICAL-CULTURAL FACTOR

A review of the historical and cultural backgrounds of India and South Korea is essential to understanding the present circumstances influencing acculturation of international students from these countries (Herskovits 1958:118). Problems of acculturation, unique to each international group often originate in the native land (Cussler 1962; Lambert and Bressler 1956).

Each of these countries has its own worldview which often conflicts with the cultural perspectives of the United States. An example of such a conflict would be the exalted status ascribed to university students in Korea as opposed to the relatively low status of students in the United States (cf. Althen 1985).

However, national customs of the United States, though conflicting with those of India and Korea, are not necessarily rejected by students from those countries. For instance Indian students born to a certain station in India’s society appear to welcome the opportunity of social mobility in the United States (cf. Du Pois 1956).

In either case, the historical-cultural background of the students often predetermines their acceptance or rejection of the host culture. To illustrate how historical-cultural traits influence students from India
and Korea during their sojourn in the United States, a short description of each country will follow.

INDIA

National Characteristics

The diversity of India's population appears to be a dominant factor in the ability of Indian students to acculturate to their new home in Texas. Consequently, India's diversity will be a recurring theme throughout this paper. India's diversity has produced people that are highly tolerant of other cultures (Hughes and Hughes 1952). For example, an Indian who is a guest in another Indian village "may adjust his conduct" to observe customs he would ordinarily avoid in his own village, even to the extent that "he may take food from a person from whom he would ordinarily accept only water" (Mandelbaum 1970:II:330). This characteristic of cultural flexibility which results in an Indian "automatically [shedding] his status as a resident of his own village" when he enters another would suggest that Indian student acculturation to the United States represents a continuation of the observance of a historical custom (Ibid:331).
Kinship Composition

The extended family in India is typically a joint household where "family roles are hierarchically stable and clearly defined [and] reciprocal duties and obligations take precedence over individual motives" (Lambert and Bressler 1956:57). The result of this environment has two opposing, but unequal, consequences for students in the United States.

At first, new arrivals feel as if they have been stripped of the security previously provided by their family network. The large Indian student community at Texas A&M University is welcomed as a substitute (Brislin 1981; Du Bois 1956; Lambert and Bressler 1956; Spaulding and Flack 1976).

However, this substitute of predominantly young single men is not the cultural force of the original in India, nor does it offer the same kind of indulgent support. Therefore, it does not take long for these young men to give up their emotional dependence on the support group (cf. Furnham and Trezise 1983). With their new independence, they begin to experience the heady sensation of liberation from their own cultural mores and accept fellow nationals as friends rather than as a substitute family (Du Bois 1956; Lambert and Bressssler 1956; Spaulding and Flack 1976:). Female students, on the other
hand, are more reluctant to give up the idea of the Indian community as a family substitute and suffer more than their male counterparts when fellow nationals do not live up to expectations. But, they too eventually adjust to an independent lifestyle.

Furthermore, even Indian kinship characteristics such as deference to authority incline Indian students toward adopting American characteristics. In the United States, professors reward students who are innovative thinkers and independent workers. Therefore, the cultural attributes exerting the most influence over the students are the ones that will satisfy the requirements of those in authority and result in personal and academic success (Brislin 1981; Hull 1978). Unlike one’s nationality, an individual can choose all or any part of multiple cultures as his or her own (Brislin 1981). Accordingly, acculturation to the American system simplifies meeting the demands of study abroad for an Indian student.

Colonization

While India has a 4,500 year old history, it has been defined within its present borders only since colonization by the British in the mid-1700s (Gunther 1939). The British managed this subcontinent largely without imposing their own culture on it. However, since the most exalted
posts in India were held by British personnel, the only prestigious positions available to Indians were as emissaries between the British and their Indian subjects (Ibid). As social and economic status became more associated with the British, Indians sought recognition by adopting aspects of this foreign culture. This was best accomplished through the educational system established by the British. Thus, despite Britain’s aloof management style, the colonists gradually began to emulate the colonizers.

**Educational System**

India’s educational system is a legacy of British colonization (Gunther 1939; Lambert and Bressler 1956). However, it was mostly a self-serving one. Prior to independence in 1947, the main goal of these academic institutions was to prepare Indians for civil servant positions as assistants to high ranking British bureaucrats. After independence and the departure of the British, India’s leaders recognized that their country would be left with an "acute shortage of technicians" (Unseem and Unseem 1955:5). Given the developmental goals adopted, they began to upgrade their academic institutes in order to educate students in the technical fields of science, engineering, and agriculture. Also, with
independence, since an education in England was no longer as important for employment in India, American universities became more attractive in comparison. They also offered better funding and job opportunities for student workers.

Although still largely dependent on rote memorization (Unseem and Unseem 1955), India's limited educational system that had served the British purpose of educating clerks gradually became more similar to that of the United States. As a result, the revised curriculum eliminated many potential problems of acculturating to the academic institutions in America, while the former system still provided the avenue for learning English (Mills 1963).

Languages

The adoption of English as an official language has made an impact on India's unity and the ability of Indians to operate outside the national boundary. India has 15 major languages in addition to hundreds of local languages (Collier's Encyclopedia 1993). Consequently, many times, the only way Indians can communicate with one another is through the language of their former rulers. Indian students studying in the United States typically begin to use English in the sixth grade and by the time they are in college, most are fluent in the language. In India,
fluency in English is recognized as a symbol of education and status (Du Bois 1956; Maloney 1974). An inability to communicate in English is the most serious of the problems that plague international students in the United States (Hull 1978). Therefore, Indian students come to Texas A&M University with a great advantage over many other international students (Spaulding and Flack 1976).

**Economics**

There is an interesting cultural factor that helps to explain how well Indian students adjust to the system in the United States. Before India’s independence, forty percent of the Indian males attending American universities worked in the United States to provide for their education (Unseem and Unseem 1955). Students willing to work for the education that could improve their social status were predominantly from the middle classes of Indian society (Ibid). An education in the United States offered socially mobility. For the students, the path to social mobility meant overcoming a cultural philosophy which equated manual labor with an inferior social status. Therefore, the economic situation which motivates Indian students to work for their education is the very factor that sways them toward acculturation in the United States. In other words, acculturation allows
them to work as they must and enables them to gain status in a host country whose work ethic places value on manual labor (Brislin 1981; Lambert and Bressler 1956; Mason 1955). Consequently, the lower economic and social status that compels Indian students to work for their education makes them more appreciative of a society that honors the "dignity of labor" (Du Bois 1956:57). Indian students therefore face the following dilemma:

Either they become defeated in an environment that places responsibility for work and study upon the individual, or they become emancipated from their heritage and involve themselves with our more democratic organization of social life until they are reluctant to return to the highly structured and socially regimented society of India [Mills 1965:56].

While acculturation to American academic norms presents a genuine threat to India's social organization which emphasizes group unity over individual development, Indian students anticipate economic benefits through acculturation to the United States. Therefore, in spite of the threat to their own culture, my research revealed that many Indian students take pride in discovering their ability to operate on an independent personal level (cf. Cussler 1962; Mills 1965).
Politics

The United States' alliance with China and Pakistan in 1971 which further encouraged India to align with the Soviet Union is contentious to politically sensitive Indian informants. The tension of that time is reflected by the numbers of Indian students coming to the United States. In 1970 it was reported that 11,327 Indian students, or 8.4 percent of 82,523 international students, were studying in America and represented the third largest national group. In contrast, by 1979 Indian students numbered only 8,760, 3.1 percent of 183,530, and India slipped to ninth place among nations represented at universities in the United States (Zikopoulos 1991). However, by 1990 Indian students were again among the top four nations enrolled in American universities, numbering 28,860 or 7.1 percent of the 258,190 international students (Ibid).

The political status other countries assign to India appears to be of major importance to Indian students (cf. Altback et al. 1985; cf. Cussler 1962; Du Bois 1956). Therefore, another factor attracting Indian students to the United States is the American "tradition of egalitarianism" (Du Bois 1956:60) -- a sharp contrast to the superior attitude the British traditionally took toward Indian citizens.
Accordingly, most of my Indian informants made positive comments regarding the egalitarian social structure of American society in contrast to the few who referred to the United States as an "international bully." All-in-all, politics per se appear to have little negative impact on the acculturation of Indian students to the United States (cf. Cussler 1962; cf. Hull 1978).

KOREA

National Characteristics

Korea, which will always refer to South Korea in this paper, is as homogeneous as India is diverse. Koreans like to say that they are a pure race and take pride in their uniformity (Winchester 1988). This ethnocentric (they claim "nationalistic") stance predisposes Koreans against interaction with other nationalities. The homogeneous character of Korea causes her citizens to make subtle social distinctions. For example, much importance is placed on which university one attended in Korea. The Korean student who does not have alumni among his native classmates at TAMU is often snubbed by them.
Kinship Composition

Patterns of kinship in Korea are very similar to those in India in that both have closely knit extended families. Also like Indian students, Korean students depend on their fellow nationals for emotional support while in the United States (Maloney 1974). However, unlike Indian students, Korean students appear to rely more heavily on their support groups and this dependency is likely to last as long as they are in the United States (Brislin 1981; Du Bois 1956; Lambert and Bressler 1956; Spaulding and Flack 1976).

I have discovered several reasons for Korean students' greater utilization of their support group as compared to Indian students' dependence on theirs. In contrast to the Indian support group, the Korean student community of predominantly older married couples more closely resembles the family network in Korea. Consequently, support group leaders do provide emotional support. Secondly, Korean students are more isolated by communication problems resulting in more dependence on fellow nationals for assistance and social activities. Lastly, the Korean kinship pattern is not limited to the immediate family but can have a bearing on employment opportunities. Korea is a small country and it is very likely that many of these students will eventually have
positions of some importance there. Korean students feel that they must be careful not to harm future opportunities with today's improprieties.

The dependence of Korean students on their support group enables the collective group to control individual tendencies toward becoming too Westernized. This influence can have a negative effect on acculturation by isolating the Korean community or by disapproving of individual inclinations to adopt the host culture.

Colonization

The Japanese colonization of Korea, from 1904 to 1943, differed fundamentally from the British colonization of India. Though Japan's colonization of Korea was considerably shorter than the British colonization of India, Korea's conquerors demanded assimilation of their subjects by forbidding them from observing their own customs and forcing them to speak Japanese. However, the Japanese did not reward assimilation with integration. Consequently, Koreans suffered from discrimination. After World War II, Koreans were again free to practice the customs and language kept intact by their indomitable national spirits. The following is Winchester's description of the national spirit typical of Koreans:
Korea has spent the better part of its four thousand years being invaded, crushed, subjugated, colonized, or in other ways trampled on: All its neighbors have made good use of the little peninsula--the Chinese, the Russians, the Mongols, the Manchus, and the Japanese have all seized and invaded and wrecked according to their wants and moods...But through this all the Korean people have remained culturally inviolate, and in no small part because of their fierce attachment to their colorful and complicated history [Winchester 1988:156].

Today my informants cannot express emphatically enough the extent of their nationalistic character. However, this patriotism need not mean isolation from Americans and other international students. Although Korean students' dependence on fellow nationals hinders adaptation to the American culture, this situation is not unchangeable. I have found that Korean students are easily approached, would like American friends, and need the American perspective on their new environment. The acculturation of a Korean student could very well depend on one American friend.

Educational System

Education is almost a religion in Korea (Winchester 1988:81). The emphasis that Koreans place on education is illustrated by an Associated Press article published in August of 1993 in the Bryan-College Station local newspaper, The Eagle.
Planes Grounded For Exams

SEOUl, South Korea - For 37 minutes on Friday, airplanes won't be allowed to land or take off anywhere in South Korea so students can take highly competitive college entrance examinations in silence. Any jet fighters in the air will be kept above 7,000 feet to help assure quiet, the Defense Ministry said Tuesday.

During those 37 minutes, the students will listen to oral portions of Korean and English language tests. In all, the examinations last eight hours.

The Transportation Ministry also said that to help students reach test sites on time, the number of buses and subway trains in Seoul will be increased during the morning rush hour. Government employees will report to work an hour late to reduce traffic congestion (The Eagle 1993:A2).

Despite the obvious emphasis Koreans place on education, and an educational system which rigorously prepares students for excellence, Korean students are still not necessarily prepared for study in the United States (Gibbons 1988; Hull 1978). The main contrast between American and Korean institutions' methods of instruction is that Korea's is rote memorization, whereas students in American universities are expected to be individualistic and able to think abstractly (Hull 1978). Still, that problem is trivial compared to the failure of Korean schools to prepare their students to speak and understand spoken English despite ten years of study.
Language

There is only one national language in Korea. Even citizens speaking different dialects can communicate with one another without difficulty. This common language creates a bond between the Korean students at Texas A&M University. Unlike Indian students, who often use English when visiting one another, Koreans can, and almost always do, avoid speaking English to fellow nationals. Consequently, language difficulties dominated the problems mentioned by Korean informants when discussing the complications of studying in the United States. English language inadequacy isolates Korean students from other international and American students (Ibid). Korean students avoid these outside contacts because they need to relax into the native language (Du Bois 1956; Spaulding and Flack 1976). Therefore, Koreans seek out fellow nationals for companionship and assistance. As a result, their English deficiency is a great barrier to acculturation in the United States (Spaulding and Flack 1976).

Korean Economics

Devastated after the Japanese occupation and a civil war in 1950-1953, Korea faced significant hurdles in order to reclaim her national heritage and move into economic
stability. In spite of the devastation of her country, Korea made a rapid recovery and the economic progress of Korea’s movement toward full industrial competence reflects itself in the progressively larger number of Korean students coming to the United States each year.

Still, as late as Hull’s 1976-1977 research, only two of the three universities that were sites for his study had Korean students. Even in the those two, Korean students accounted for only 3.3 percent or 29 individuals out of 881. Korea’s economic situation in the late 1970s still kept her citizens preoccupied with domestic development. By the 1980s, Koreans desiring further advancement began to investigate alternatives beyond their national academic institutions. In 1984, a future Aggie with a Bachelor’s degree was earning only $400.00 a month in Korea. He doubled his income by becoming a graduate student with an assistantship at Texas A&M University. Such an economic bonanza offered a great incentive for Koreans to study abroad (Ki Soo Kim, personal communication 1994). Thus, it appears that economics were directly related to greater numbers of Korean students seeking opportunities in the United States.

Dr. Kim was one of many Korean students that came to the United States in the mid 1980s. Information in Open Doors (Zikopoulos 1991:21), a report on international

To put things in perspective and emphasize the great economic strides Korea has made, consider the assistantship funding of Dr. Kim as a student in 1984. Dr. Kim's "gift from God" came in the form of an assistantship for which he received $800 monthly. Ten years later, an informant in the same department of Economics is receiving $850 per month. While ten years has only increased A&M's assistantships by six percent, economic growth in Korea has been phenomenal. At the present time, Korea's economic stability and wages equal to those in the United States, enables most students to come to America without financial assistance from universities (cf. Hull 1978). In fact, because of their affluence, these students, predominantly of Korea's upper economic and social classes, have commented that they experience a "lower standard of living" during their sojourn in the United States.

Politics

America has had a military presence in Korea since World War II. In the view of some Koreans, the
association has not always been a good one. Winchester (1988) said that older Korean people were grateful to Americans and have positive attitudes about the necessity of the United States military base in their country. However, many younger people do not share this sentiment. The main reason for this concern is the May 1980 student uprising, when the United States military allegedly allowed the Korean militia to take reprisal against the students (Gibbons 1988; Winchester 1988). However, Korean students at Texas A&M University are not unanimous in this criticism and only one informant claimed to be anti-American before coming to the United States.

SUMMARY

For the most part, Indian students enjoy advantages over Korean students while studying in the United States. Their main advantage comes from a colonial history that resulted in an educational system which stresses English proficiency. Likewise, the cultural diversity of India predisposes her people to tolerate other cultures and even at times to adopt them as their own. Additionally, the egalitarian system of the United States appeals to students from India's middle economic and social levels. Moreover, there are no major political problems to hamper
interaction between Indians and Americans. Lastly, India has had a long tradition of sending her young to the United States to be educated (Lambert and Bressler 1956:23).

In contrast, Korea’s period of colonization repressed her people and caused them to reject foreign influence. When Korea became independent, she regained control of her own schools and cultural expression. National pride was high and remains so today. Korea is a homogeneous country with respect to her culture. Though these conditions produce a unified nation, they make it difficult for the students to adjust to another society (Spaulding and Flack 1976). The pride they take in isolating themselves from foreigners prevents Koreans from practicing the English they studied for ten years. Even the association Korea has had with Americans through the presence of the United States military is often perceived in negative terms by Korean students. Finally, Korean students do not have the benefit of accumulated knowledge or experiences gained from a long tradition of academic sojourners to the United States.
CHAPTER IV
MOTIVATION FACTOR

It is often assumed that international students are adventurous by nature and that this characteristic leads them to seek an education in a foreign land. This is not necessarily so. There are reasons other than adventure that entice students to other countries to study. Many of these other reasons are pragmatic (Altback et al. 1985; Althen 1983; Du Bois 1957; Hull 1978; Rao 1979). In the extreme case this is unfortunate. If the motive is only the practical need to study abroad, it has the potential of predisposing the individual to an attitude of resignation toward a necessary task instead of looking forward to the new experience. To the extent that motivation affects the attitude of the sojourner, it is likely to affect the acculturation process as well.

I have discovered four major reasons why Indian and Korean students come to the United States for graduate degrees. These are [1] ease of admittance to American universities, [2] the field of study or degree sought is not available in the home country, [3] the financial benefit to the student, and [4] the prestige of American universities. Naturally, these reasons often overlap (Spaulding and Flack 1975; Klineberg and Hull 1979).
This cluster of motives reflects the fact that many Indian and Korean students study in the United States because of some degree of coercion. Although that does not mean that they will not enjoy their stay or try to make the most of the international experience, it does suggest that to do so might require overcoming an attitude of resignation. Especially Korean graduate students appear to come to the United States due to social duress.

EASE OF ADMITTANCE

The term ease needs first to be qualified, lest it be misunderstood. This term should not be confused with the word "easy." The fact that an Indian or Korean student fails to be accepted by a national institution, as is often the case, but is able to gain admission to Texas A&M University does not imply that the student or this institution is academically inferior.

There may be little difference between individuals whose applications are accepted or rejected by prestigious Indian and Korean universities. The intense competition in these countries assures that many exceptionally intelligent students cannot gain admittance into superior national universities.
The abundance of universities in the United States presents opportunities for Indian and Korean students to achieve academic goals even when rejected by their national universities if they are willing to study abroad. Still, study abroad means leaving family and country, investing a great deal of money, and enduring whatever is necessary to succeed in the foreign academic institution. Accordingly, a student does not always embrace the necessity of a foreign sojourn with pleasure.

Korean Graduate Students

The experience of Kyung-Bin Song illustrates this situation for Korean students. Kyung-Bin’s confession that he had harbored anti-American sentiments before coming to the United States led me to ask him why he had come. He answered that he would have preferred to go to a university in Korea but that he had not been accepted. At the time he applied, a Korean student could apply to only one Korean university per year (Gibbons 1988). If not admitted, it was necessary to wait another year before reapplying. This lead him, like many other South Koreans, to apply for admission to foreign institutions. If Korea had not had the one application per year limitation, Kyung-Bin would probably have elected to attend a second or third choice at home. But, being denied that option,
Kyung-Bin, rather than risk losing a year, decided to accept admission at Texas A&M University.

In other words, for Koreans to attend a university in the United States is often considered a consolation prize that requires one to work for it. Naturally, the student who feels disappointed at not being accepted into a university in the home country is not going to feel overjoyed to come to America.

**Indian Graduate Students**

Indian students have a similar problem but a different attitude. My informants told me that competition for admission to prestigious universities in India is so stiff that only a small percentage of the applicants are accepted. Furthermore, not only is a student faced with competition among many applicants with top grades, but politics also dictate who is accepted. According to Indian informants, India's governmental zeal to overcome privilege based on caste has resulted in reverse discrimination in favor of the "backward caste." Due to quotas, it can actually work against persons if they are from the "upper caste."

Mahendra Mohite said that while he was denied entrance to a prestigious university in India, a friend from the "backward caste" was admitted with a lower
academic test score. "It wasn't as if he was poor or anything, his father is a lawyer," Mahendra complained. He and his friends felt that the quota system was a good thing but had outlived its usefulness. They claimed that many from the "backward castes" are very well-to-do and do not suffer from caste discrimination but misuse the quota system to gain an unfair advantage. They feel that the quotas are no longer necessary for "moving up" in society. Additionally, they claim that it would be impossible to discern caste based on social or financial status in India because many members of the "backward castes" now hold prestigious jobs and are very wealthy.

Naturally, students do not readily admit that they were denied admission to a national university. Most of my information regarding this subject came from close friends. However, some questionnaire responses to the question "Why did you decide to attend a university in the U.S.?" indicate that their reason was the relative ease of admittance to Texas A&M University:

Korean male (Electrical Engineering)  
"I got the admission."

Korean male (Chemistry)  
"This school gave me an admission, and relatively cheap living expenses."

Indian male (Mechanical Engineer)  
"I applied 3 universities and only Texas A&M choose me! Others didn't reply So!"
Indian male (Petroleum Engineering)  
"Could not get into good school in India."

Indian male (Mechanical Engineering)  
"Last option. Did not think it easy to further education in India."

Indian male (Botany)  
"It gave me admission to Ph.d. program in Molecular Biology"

Indian female (Chemistry)  
"Got admission first at Texas A&M"

Indian female (Bioengineering)  
"This was one of the good universities from where I got admission..."

As one can see, admission to the University is often a motive for studying abroad. However, as previously mentioned, admission is rarely the only aspect determining a decision.

AVAILABILITY OF DEGREE

A foreign student may elect to attend a university in the United States because the field in which he or she is interested is not as academically developed in the home country. Usually the reason for this situation is a lack of technology. The presence of advanced technological facilities appears to account for the high percentage of Indian and Korean students enrolled in TAMU's colleges of Engineering, Science, and Geoscience. In TAMU's other colleges, such as Liberal Arts, Education, Business
Administration, Architecture, and the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences, international students seek degrees that have not gained prominence in their own universities or do not yet exist. In some cases the reasons overlap, such as undeveloped fields that require advanced technological facilities. Many times, the lesser represented graduate degrees are not obtainable except by studying abroad.

Undeveloped Field of Study

Most individuals seeking these less popular degrees are Korean students who dare to venture into unproven academic territories (untested employment opportunities). G-Young Gang, Masters/Ph.d. candidate, is one of these pioneers. It was her country’s academic scarcity in the field of Anthropology that compelled her to study abroad. G-Young’s Korean professors urged her to go to the United States to learn about archeological methods and theory. Note that her decision (or motivation) to come to the United States was not to seek adventure.

TAMU’s College of Liberal Arts is gaining interest among other Korean international students. With 10 percent (30/304) of TAMU’s Korean students enrolled in this college, these degrees are established as the most popular after Engineering and Physical Sciences. In
contrast, the Liberal Arts College draws only 2 percent (10/518) of the Indian students as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Indian and Korean Students in the College of Liberal Arts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIBERAL ARTS</th>
<th>INDIANS</th>
<th>KOREANS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anthropology</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Obviously, even with its ranking as second to the College of Engineering, 10 percent of 304 Korean students enrolled at TAMU does not amount to many individuals. Other colleges that represent those not often chosen by Indian and Korean students at TAMU are included in Table 4. As is evident, the colleges of Architecture and Education still have not gained popularity with Indian and Korean students. Also, perhaps reflecting the unfavorable status assigned to businessmen in Korea's past, few Korean students are enrolled in the College of Business (Gibbons 1988). Like other sciences, the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences attracts Indian and Korean students.
Table 4. Colleges With Low Indian and Korean Student Enrollment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ARCHITECTURE</th>
<th>INDIANS</th>
<th>KOREANS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architecture</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landscape Architecture</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visualization Sciences</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BUSINESS</th>
<th>INDIANS</th>
<th>KOREANS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business Administration</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Analysis</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDUCATION</th>
<th>INDIANS</th>
<th>KOREANS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational Curriculum</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Psychology</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Technology</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinesiology</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGRICULTURE &amp; LIFE SCIENCES</th>
<th>INDIANS</th>
<th>KOREANS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Economics</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agronomy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biochemistry</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entomology</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horticulture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant Pathology</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant Physiology</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wildlife and Fisheries Sciences</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is evident from their responses to the questionnaire that Indian and Korean students were convinced that it was necessary to come to the United States for their degrees. In the following listings it is interesting to compare the fields mentioned in these responses to their corresponding numbers shown in the Tables above. The responses are to the question, "Why did you decide to attend a university in the U.S.?

English (Korean male)
"For my major Korea has not enough resources."

English Literature (Indian female)
"Program—not really available in India."

Sociology (Korean male)
"We have no high educational system to study Sociology."

English (Korean female)
"When I was a graduate student in Korea, the level of study was too low."

Economics (Korean male)
"To get advanced knowledge."

Economics (Korean male)
"In order to be recognized as a qualified one in my field."

Economics (Indian male)
"State of the art research in my field (Marketing)"

Economics (Korean male)
"Better quality of higher education."

Psychology (Korean male)
"To get broad experience and knowledge."

Statistics (Korean male)
"To get broad knowledge in my major field."
Statistics (Korean male)
"To improve and deepen my major subject."

Agricultural Economics (Korean male)
"To get an advanced academic knowledge."

It is obvious from these responses that Indian and Korean students came to the United States to gain a graduate degree in a field that was undeveloped in their own country.

Advanced Technological Facilities

Statistics taken from Texas A&M University's enrollment for Fall 1992 reveal that 86 percent (444/518) of the Indian students and 70 percent (214/304) of the Korean students are enrolled in Engineering and Physical Science programs at TAMU.

Advanced technology "only possible in a country as wealthy as the United States" is the reason most often given by my informants as to why they elect to study in America (cf. Lambert and Bressler 1956). Engineering fields dominate their choice of graduate study. Eighty percent (412/518) of the Indian graduate students and 46 percent (141/304) of the Korean students are in Engineering classes. Table 5 illustrates the large numbers of Indian and Korean students enrolled in Engineering fields.
Table 5. Indian and Korean Students in the College of Engineering.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COLLEGE OF ENGINEERING</th>
<th>INDIANS</th>
<th>KOREANS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aerospace Engineering</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Engineering</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bioengineering</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical Engineering</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Engineering</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer Science</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical Engineering</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Engineering</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interdisciplinary Engineering</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanical Engineering</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear Engineering</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ocean Engineering</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petroleum Engineering</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety Engineering</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>412</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indian and Korean graduate students indicate that advanced technology available in American universities, prompts them to seek their degrees in the United States.

**Technological Facilities and Undeveloped Fields**

Although Engineering fields dominate those chosen for advanced technological resources, there are other physical sciences that attract foreign students for both the technological resources and because their field is not developed in the home country. Such physical sciences attract 21 percent (65/304) of the Korean students, but only 6 percent (31/518) of the Indian students.
Table 6. Indian and Korean Students in the Colleges of Science and Geoscience.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GEOSCIENCES</th>
<th>INDIANS</th>
<th>KOREANS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Geology</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geophysics</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meteorology</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceanography</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCIENCES</th>
<th>INDIANS</th>
<th>KOREANS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Biology</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genetics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Microbiology</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statistics</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 is a combination of the fields that require technologically advanced facilities and disciplines not well developed in India or Korea. The following responses to the question "Why did you decide to attend a university in the United States?" are samples from the questionnaire related to these issues. These responses demonstrate the relationship between students' academic institutional selections and the availability of advanced technology over multiple fields in the United States:

Mechanical Engineering (Indian male)
"Excellent graduate programs (better than India)"
Geology (Korean male)
"To pursue further studies which is not provided in Korea."

Bioengineering (Indian female)
"...[my] field does not have a Masters program in India."

Chemistry (Korean male)
"U.S. is most advanced country in the field of my subject."

Earth Science (Korean male)
"Advance system, facility, highest status in research."

Electrical Engineering (Indian male)
"Similar kind of higher education is not available in India."

Electronics (Korean male)
"I wanted to learn the advance technology"

Chemistry (Korean male)
"To learn more about advanced theory and technology"

Chemistry (Korean male)
"Competitive research activities"

Chemistry (Korean male)
"Quality of universities best in the world"

Geology (Korean male)
"In order to study more advanced science"

Oceanography (Korean male)
"To study more and new"

Students from India and Korea might not have chosen to study abroad if their country had been able to afford the technological expertise and equipment found in the United States, or if graduate level degrees had been available in the home country. The United States is wealthy enough to establish and maintain more technically
advanced facilities over a larger spectrum of academic fields at universities than is possible for Korean and especially Indian universities.

FINANCIAL ADVANTAGE

Financial benefits also attract Indian and Korean international students to universities in the United States. These universities are more accessible due to lower tuition fees. Also, the United States government supports research that enables many universities to fund international students.

The financial motive has to be explained in the context of existing options. Studying abroad, in itself, is not financially attractive to Indian and Korean students (The College Board 1980). On the contrary, out-of-state tuition is expensive as is living away from home. Indian and Korean students claim that an education in their respective countries is not as costly as it is in America. Additionally, many of these students might have had a scholarship that covered everything at home. But, if one must study abroad, the United States is less expensive than many other countries, such as Great Britain.
Indian and Korean students choose Texas universities over others in the United States because Texas has one of the lowest tuition expense in the nation and the cost of living is also lower. The national average of non-resident annual fees in the United States for the 1992-1993 academic year was $7,326. In Texas the average non-resident annual fee was $3,707 (Bounds 1994).

International students choose TAMU in particular for two reasons. First, not only is the tuition low, but the university is prestigious as well. TAMU's status in Texas attracts state funding for the research that results in student support, including support for international students (Susskind and Schell 1968). On my questionnaire, I asked "Why did you choose to attend Texas A&M University?" The following are examples that indicated that the prestige of the University, available funding, and less expensive tuition and living expenses were factors influencing students' decisions:

Electrical Engineering (Korean male)
"Low costs, recommendation from a friend."

Civil Engineering (Korean male)
"1. Tuition and living cost were low.
2. Civil Engineering had high (good) reputation."

Economics (Korean male)
"It gave me assistantship early."

English (Korean male)
"Because of financial reasons"
Industrial Engineering (Indian male)
"Ranking"

Bioengineering (Indian male)
"Good university, got admission, and it suited the budget"

Economics (Korean male)
"Cheaper university of the two that accepted me"

Instrumentation (Indian male)
"Friend advised that A&M had lots of money"

Sociology (Indian female)
"...coming to US from India is a v. expensive proposition--funding terms were the main criteria here. I got an assistantship here whose terms were the best compared to the other 2 I got offers from."

Chemistry (Korean male)
"The reasons are well qualified department...low living expenses."

Mechanical Engineering (Indian male)
"Best university and cheaper of the 2 I got into"

Electrical Engineering (Indian male)
"Low tuition fees: well known university"

Industrial Engineering (Indian male)
"It is rated 5th for my major"

Medicine (Indian male)
"Got funding here"

Earth Science (Korean male)
"Cheap tuition, good ranking, low living cost in College Station"

Electrical Engineering (Indian male)
"Cheap"

Electrical Engineering (Indian male)
"It was the most economical university"

Geology (Korean male)
"Cheap cost"
Civil Engineering (Indian male)
"Best deal for the bucks you pay??!!"

Electrical Engineering (Indian male)
"Tuition fee was less"

Electrical Engineering (Indian male)
"Cost of education is less & a good school."

Electrical Engineering (Indian male)
"Expenses (Tuition) quality & cost of living in the area"

Mechanical Engineering (Indian male)
"Guaranteed research assistantship"

Electrical Engineering (Indian male)
"The field in which I am working does not receive support (financial) in India."

Mechanical Engineering (Indian male)
"Wouldn’t have come expect sure of assistantship"

Metallurgical Engineering (Indian male)
"Cheap and excellent school"

Agricultural Economics (Korean male)
"Good academic performance, good educational environment, low expense."

MBA (Indian male)
"Good reputation of university, program ranking, cost, scholarship, assistantship/tuition waiver."

Industrial Engineering (Indian male)
"Inexpensive and reputed"

Mechanical Engineering (Indian male)
"Liked deal offered here - affordable alternative (to Indian university) offered scholarship"

Civil Engineering (Indian male)
"Best school that I applied to and better chance of financial support"

Chemistry (Korean male)
"Good reputation in Chemistry. Cheap tuition & living expenses."
Statistics (Korean male)
"Low tuition & fees, low expenses."

The responses support TAMU’s reputation as a university that provides funding. Of the 52 Indian students responding to the questionnaire, 79 percent (41 individuals) claimed to have financial assistance from their departments. Sixty percent (30 individuals) of 50 Korean students were also funded. Additionally, Indian and Korean students select TAMU because of its academic ranking and low fees. Finally, living costs in Texas are lower than in many other states.

SOCIAL STATUS MOTIVE

In some cases students chose to attend a university in the United States over one in the home country because it is believed that a degree from the United States will be advantageous in competitive job markets. Generally speaking, the ideal situation for students from Korea and India is this: When it is possible a Korean student will acquire a Master’s degree from a national university, but the Doctoral degree should be foreign as it is considered more prestigious. The Indian student’s situation is similar, except that many Indians do not seek a degree beyond the Master’s. Therefore if the Master’s degree is not considered prestigious if acquired from a national
university, there is no need to submit an application. In both cases, these students will not be making a decision between invitations from a local university and a foreign university. The special considerations surrounding the degree itself and employment enhancement often determine whether or not a student will study abroad.

Hyun Chul Lee, a Doctoral candidate in Economics, is in the United States because he believes a degree from here is prestigious. He made the statement that "to Koreans, Americans are special," and added that "a degree from Korea and one from the United States are not equal." Hyun Chul believed that the best opportunities in his field will go to those educated in the United States.

Indian students also anticipate status-related future economic advantage as a result of a degree from the United States (Lambert and Bressler 1956; Mills 1963). Once, when I was apologizing for being yet-another-American-ignorant-of-the-rest-of-the-world, Indian student Srikanth Kandhalam said, "You have no reason to be informed about India. We must concern ourselves with the United States." It was his view that the knowledge foreign students had about the United States was due to a practical need rather than international sophistication.

Advanced institutions of learning in the United States give international graduates prestige in the home
country. The status anticipated is evident through these sample responses to the questions "Why did you decide to attend a university in the U.S?" and "Why did you choose Texas A&M?"

Civil Engineering (Korean male)
"To study at better educational institute; I believe that U.S. graduate school is the best in the world."

Chemistry (Korean male)
"I thought that the quality of some universities in the U.S. are the best in the world."

Chemistry (Korean male)
"U.S. is the most advanced country in the field of my subject."

Chemistry (Korean male)
"Texas A&M is known to Korean students as one of the most famous schools. And, A&M has distinguished faculties."

Economics (Korean male)
"In order to be recognized as a qualified one in my field."

Earth Science (Korean male)
"Advanced system, facility, highest status in research."

Chemistry (Korean male)
"Most established graduate system in the world."

Medicine (India male)
"Higher studies; to see the 'superpower' with my own eyes."

Agricultural Economics (Korean male)
"It is famous university in U.S. Agricultural Economics."
These responses indicated that Indian and Korean students come to the United States because of its reputation for academic excellence. Additionally, they select TAMU because it is considered to be among the most highly esteemed universities in the United States.

THE UNSPOKEN MOTIVE

So far the previous motives have been the ones that the students themselves indicated. However, there is another possible motive for studying in the United States that is conspicuous in its absence. I have never talked with an Indian or Korean international student who has admitted that he or she applied for admission to a university in the United States as a vehicle for immigration. Not even such students as Hyun Chul, who claims to have affection for Americans, want to stay. He will return to Korea, "as every Korean does," unlike the Indians, he charges, who want to stay in the United States.

Although Indian student interviews have not validated such an allegation, there is cause to believe that many Indian students actually do not return home after graduation (Hull 1978; Rao 1979). The American Embassy in India has become stricter about granting visas. TAMU's
International Student Director, Tina Watkins, told me that prospective students had called her in distress about the changed policy. According to her sources, there has not been a formal explanation as to why the policy has changed. There are rumors. Indian students speculate that there have been too many Indian graduates deciding not to return to India (Hull 1978:61).

Fifty-two Indian student respondents to the question "Do you intend to stay in the United States after graduation or return to your own country?" are categorized in the Table below:

Table 7. Post-Graduate Plans of Indian Students.

* 12 (23%) claimed that they intended to stay in the United States
* 17 (33%) plan to stay a few years before returning to India.
* 7 (14%) were undecided.
* 4 (8%) answers were unclear
* 1 (2%) depended on job availability
* 11 (21%) intend to return to India

Numerical analysis appears to indicate that the rumors of Indian students not returning to India were well founded. Indian student Susan Alexander, a Masters
candidate in her first year in TAMU’s Sociology department, has seen the trend of Indian students electing not to return to India. She claims that they all intend to return just like her uncle in California who has been intending to return for twenty years. "They get used to the comforts here," she said sadly, "and they never go back." Assuming that Susan is correct in her assessment, the 33 percent who propose to stay only a few years could be added to the 23 percent planning to stay permanently, resulting in a grand total of 56 percent who might follow her uncle’s example. This number will not likely include Susan who plans to get her degree as soon as possible and return to India.

Koreans do not believe that they would benefit much from remaining in the United States after graduation. They expect to get good jobs when they return to Korea. Accordingly, 50 Korean student responses to, "Do you intend to stay in the U.S. after graduation or return to your country?" yielded the results shown in the following Table.
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<tbody>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. Post-Graduate Plans of Korean Students.

* 2 (4%) claimed that they intended to stay in the United States
* 3 (6%) plan to stay a few years before returning to Korea
* 2 (4%) answers were unclear
* 2 (4%) depended on job availability
* 41 (82%) intend to return to Korea

The post-graduate plans for Indian students does lend support to the rumor that Indian students plan to remain in the United States after graduation. Economic necessity has been stated as the main reason. On the other hand, Korean students' post-graduate plans indicate that they anticipate adequate employment opportunities in Korea.

SUMMARY

There are many reasons why a graduating student decides to adopt another country, even temporarily, but financial concerns appear to dominate the reasons among Indian international graduates. Academic loans will be easier to repay by a Korean graduate who returns to Korea than an Indian graduate who returns to India. In fact, many Indian students told me that their school debt was
the reason they want to remain temporarily in the United States after graduation. They plan to stay only long enough to repay the academic obligation with dollars. (See the Economics Factor, Chapter VIII).

The motives graduate Indian and Korean students list for coming to the United States do not suggest that most students are interested in adventure or the American culture. Most students are seeking degrees unavailable or unattainable in their home countries. Their reasons are practical rather than romantic.

Indian graduate students do not appear to have as many reservations about coming to the United States to get a degree as Korean students do. For one thing, they already speak the local language. Also, because Indian students have been coming to the United States for over 50 years, it must seem like a tradition by now. Except for the financial strain they experience in the United States, and missing their families, Indian students seem to enjoy the sojourn.

Indian and Korean students would rather remain in their own countries. It is in this context that I claim that most of them came to the United States under duress. However, these students are motivated to go where opportunity awaits them. This opportunity can be in the form of a prestigious degree, financial assistance, a
unique field of study, approach to immigration, or the last academic door open to an individual.

Most Korean informants expect their "opportunity" to benefit them in Korea while approximately half of my Indian informants anticipate becoming part of America's comfortably employed white-collar working class.

Indian students planning to become part of American society have a greater incentive to acculturate to the host society than the home-bound Korean graduates. It is my opinion that many Indian students are very receptive to American culture. In contrast, Korean students appear to be courteous visitors who cannot wait to get home.
CHAPTER V
THE LINGUISTIC FACTOR

Acculturation is hampered by linguistic inadequacy. Incompetence in the host language complicates the academic process, encumbers social interaction, and undermines personal esteem. The single most significant contrast between Indian and Korean students is their respective command of the English language. The linguistic factor was the problem identified by my Korean informants as being the greatest hindrance to academic success and cross-cultural social fulfillment while studying abroad (cf. Altback et al. 1985; cf. Du Bois 1956; cf. Spauldling and Flack 1976). Since factors, covered in other chapters, have more bearing on Indian student acculturation, the communication dilemma of Korean students will dominate this chapter.

LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

Students from both India and Korea typically study English before coming to the United States. Indian students ordinarily start in the sixth grade and Korean students begin even earlier, at least ten years before graduating from high school. Although it may appear that Korean students have more exposure to English training,
the appearance is deceptive. The Korean technique of teaching English is to concentrate on vocabulary and the grammatical structure of sentences. In contrast, in India where English is an official language, when Indian students begin to study English they study all subjects in English. Although village schools still teach English as only another subject, it is unlikely that any of the Indian students attending TAMU were educated at these schools.

The English language is so well established in India that when Susan Alexander, an Indian student who was born with a severe hearing disability, was taught to speak it was in English. Susan says that her situation is sometimes awkward because other Indians expect her to be able to speak an Indian language but that English generally serves her well in India.

In contrast, after more than ten years of studying English, Korean student Jeong-oh Park heard English spoken for the first time when he arrived in the United States. A Korean student's education in the English language is geared toward passing the entrance exams required by American universities rather than for conversational purposes. As a consequence, Korean students have difficulty following lectures, taking notes,
participating in class, and making oral presentations (Spaulding and Flack 1976:47).

While studying at TAMU, there are many factors that tend to contribute to a Korean student's deficiency in English. Hyun Chul Lee says that his personal language problem is not helped by the number of Korean students, teaching assistants, and foreign-born professors who are in the Economics department at this university (cf. Brislin 1981). In addition, he was married so there was no likelihood of an American roommate and most of his spare time is spent at home. His wife's even more limited ability in English encourages social events that involve only Koreans.

LANGUAGE AND ACADEMICS

Surprisingly, in some instances Korean students can study in the United States effectively even with very limited English language skills. Assignments in any given class are often divided among the Korean students attending the class. In this way they cut down the effort each individual has to expend. Each student studies part of the assignment and then explains it in the native language to the rest of the group. This cooperation is
ingenious, but works against encouraging Korean students to seek out American classmates for assistance.

Not all Korean students have fellow nationals in their classes. G-Young Gang is the only Korean student in the department of Anthropology. We had two classes together during her second semester at TAMU, which showed me how American students get involved with internationals. It was overwhelming for G-Young to take notes in our classes. Writing English was only slightly easier for her than trying to understand it. Since I always put my notes on the computer, it was easy for me to make a copy for her. Our relationship was symbiotic. I would tell her what was said, and, because she was much more knowledgeable about the subjects, she would tell me what it meant. Our dependence on each other led to a close friendship that has been maintained even after we stopped sharing classes. As a consequence of our association, G-Young was forced to practice speaking English. She is now the envy of her Korean friends because she is so fluent in English.

Kihoon Lee has so many Korean classmates in the Economics department that he does not find it necessary to speak English at all (cf. Du Bois 1975). Every afternoon his wife's greeting includes "How many English words did you speak today?" His answer is always "None."
Korean students often avoid classroom participation because they are concerned about stating their opinions awkwardly, "a not insignificant factor when one remembers the tendency of American teachers to base grades to varying degrees on what is called 'classroom participation'" (Hull 1978:3).

Even if the student overcomes the personal reluctance to participate, it often backfires. An Indian informant told me about an incident involving a Korean classmate in his Engineering class. The Korean student proposed a brilliant theory during class participation. Unfortunately, his accent and English were hard to understand and the professor took little notice of his comment. My Indian informant, recognizing the merit of the remark, attempted to explain his classmate's intent. Even though he meant well, he could tell that his Korean classmate was embarrassed by being the focus of attention, especially since the professor still appeared oblivious to the astuteness of the contribution.

Asians "have a high level of public self-consciousness" (Schwarzer et al. 1986:212). In order to avoid attracting attention to themselves and being under scrutiny of others, many Asians [authors stress Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans] prefer to be inconspicuous, polite,
unobtrusive and silent. The Indian student was probably justified in feeling that he had done more harm than good.

The academic burden of Korean students is not only increased by the difficulty in classroom assignments, but also by the extra courses they often are required to take to improve their English ability. All international students have to take exams testing them on English proficiency (Spaulding and Flack 1976). These tests probably present no more difficulty to an Indian student than they would to an American student. The English language fluency of the Indian students gives them a definite advantage over their Korean counterparts as English Language Institute (ELI) courses are not only time consuming, but also cost the same as classes that count toward a degree. Indian students are spared the extra time and expense many Koreans must spend on ELI courses.

Additionally, some assistantships are available only to English speaking students. Indian informants say that they are grateful for their linguistic advantage over Korean students as "it is the only way we can compete with them for assistantships."
LANGUAGE AND SELF-ESTEEM

Positive attitudes and feelings of personal competence have been linked with a sojourner's ability with the new language (Brislin 1981:284). The constant failure to express their actual intellectual level in English undermines the self-esteem of Korean students (Althen 1985; Du Bois 1956). Hull observed, "as language speaking relates to self-confidence, it is clear that ability in English is important if the student is going to have a fair chance of successful interaction in the United States education environment" (1978: 37). G-Young lamented that she was "so frustrated" with her academic situation because she could not translate her Korean knowledge into English. My Korean informants told me that Korean nationals are very self-conscious about speaking a language correctly. In Korea, a superior status is dependent on the ability to communicate well. This attitude does not change simply because another language is adopted. Thus, entrance into an American university often comes at the expense of the previously held social and academic status.
LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL INTERACTION

The inability to speak English well tends to discourage the Korean student from socializing with Americans and other international students. Because their academic work load is already high, most Korean students do not choose to add the stress from speaking to Americans.

Soo Hyun Cho, a Korean Food Science Doctoral candidate, was willing to make the effort to socialize with Americans and other internationals. But, speaking the language proved to be an unnerving task to undertake on the social level. Soo told me, "for Americans, the parties were a way to relax, but for me they were very stressful because I would have to concentrate so hard." Many times, Soo said, she would be trying to think about what was being said and all of a sudden she would realize that someone had actually addressed her and she had no idea what they had said. She felt stupid. Fortunately, Soo did not give up. When I met her, her best friend was an American student and her close relationship with another international student earned her an invitation to her home in Mexico City.
OBSERVATIONS

The linguistic aspect of this research comes with its own unique problem. I learned that Korean friends often used English words that meant one thing to them and another thing to me (cf. Harris and Moran 1987). One Korean informant described an acquaintance as one "who held a grudge." Because the description did not appear to be congruent with the rest of the account, I asked her what she meant by "a grudge." After her explanation I realized that she meant the person was a cheapskate.

Fieldwork has taught me the value of continuity in relationships with informants. Any time two people are communicating there is the possibility that the same word will not mean the same thing to the two of them. When the two are from different cultures, the possibility increases and, when you add the additional disadvantage of communication in a foreign language, the possibility moves closer to probability. Sometimes it took many conversations, using different approaches, before I finally was sure that I really understood the speaker. Sometimes I would question my informants until the meaning of events became clear. Other times, I double checked informants by asking them to repeat their account of the
events at different times and/or getting the perspective of someone else from the same ethnic group.

IMPACT OF AMERICAN STUDENTS

Though it may be difficult to know if one is understanding exactly what a foreign student means, it is easy to understand his or her dilemma. Just try to explain why it is proper to say that a person can "make a friend" but not "make a boyfriend" or that while sarcastic has a negative connotation, dry wit, though "dripping with sarcasm" is not necessarily negative. Americans do not question these distinctions until hearing a statement like "I really like my professor, he is so sarcastic."

Even the English speaking Indian students are often confused with American colloquialisms (cf. Althen 1985). When I told Uma that a friend had "chickened-out," she had to ask what it meant. The expression "You bet" cannot be translated properly from a dictionary. Even when the words are understood and the meaning is clear, some foreigners feel that Americans choose words strangely. One Korean man said that he could not understand why a sign on a rest-room door stated, "Out of Order, Thank you."
Instruction manuals for foreign teaching assistants are full of examples of American communication peculiarities. One author gave this list of slang popular in the 1980s:

(a) That test blew me away.
(b) Bag it; it doesn't matter.
(c) That guy is a space cadet. He's really out of it.
(d) She's gonna go for it, to the max! She'll win!
(e) Chill out, I'm coming; don't get so upset.
(f) I aced that quiz— at least a 95.
(g) Let's go pig out on pizza.

[Pica et al. 1990:12].

This manual also suggested mixing humor with classroom instructions. The authors attempted to explain American humor:

A particular form of humor enjoyed by Americans is irony (saying the opposite of what you mean). You will hear ironic comments from your students. For example, if one of them receives a perfect score on a difficult test, she may say 'Oh, just a typical day's work for me.' What she probably means is, 'I was lucky' or 'I'm glad I studied so hard.' A student may get a D on your physics test and tell his friends, 'Maybe I should change my major to physics.' Translated, this statement means, 'I'm never going to take another physics course' [Ibid 82-83].

International students need to have information such as this. Also, because American students are amused when they have to explain faddish expressions, exchanging cultural perspectives can lead to cross-cultural
friendships. Consequently, these linguistic puzzles have great possibilities in positive social acculturation.

Communication problems need not complicate cross-cultural relationships. If all involved have a positive attitude about the difficulties of speaking a foreign language these linguistic blunders can be beneficial as ice-breaking sources of amusement. One international student told me about a classmate who delighted his friends by referring to a "Holy Monk" as a "Holy Monkey."

The previously mentioned manual advises teaching assistants to "joke about [your] own mistakes" as it "requires self-confidence" and the students "will appreciate you for it" (Ibid 83). The ability to communicate in the host language is so important that it permeates all areas of an international student’s sojourn. However, once again, I will state that the seriousness of a foreign student’s linguistic problem can be overcome with a good-natured approach to a realistic goal toward English proficiency. It will take time and one will make mistakes. Foreign students should use these linguistic gaffes to appeal to the American sense of humor and admiration for self-deprecation.
SUMMARY

The demands of an international's sojourn are compounded for a student who is unable to adequately understand and communicate in the host language. At Texas A&M University, that individual not only has to struggle with note taking, oral presentations, and lectures, but is often required to take extra courses to improve English capability.

Communication problems are a serious hindrance to acculturation in other ways. Speaking the local language sufficiently is necessary to understand cultural differences, to express personal views, and to ease normal everyday activities. The stress associated with the failure to perform on personal and academic levels is not conducive to acculturation or self-esteem.

India's academic institutions' policy and method of teaching English gives Indian students an advantage over most Korean students at TAMU. Because of this, they enjoy the benefits, such as assistantships, that are dependent on English proficiency and they avoid the stress inherent in communicating in a foreign language. Communication skills also allow Indian students to understand what changes are necessary to adapt to the customs of the United States.
English instruction in Korea fails to prepare students to communicate in English. Furthermore, Korean students at TAMU often encumber further development of their English proficiency because they avoid cross-cultural contact by selecting the company of fellow nationals for social interaction and academic collaboration.

The linguistic problem need not be so traumatic for Korean students. Despite their academic and social disadvantage, much tension could be avoided if Korean students were not so sensitive about their communication skills. Even with their more serious handicap, Korean students who do not isolate themselves from other nationalities are able to more quickly master English and accept cultural changes.
CHAPTER VI
THE AGE FACTOR

Acculturation of international graduate students becomes more superficial the older the student is. There are several reasons for this conclusion: [1] Older students, choosing to forego extra curricular campus activities tend to concentrate on their academic goals more than younger students; [2] Older students are usually married, which tends to concentrate their social life on their families; [3] and older students have stronger bonds to the home country (Du Bois 1957; Walton 1971).

In the case of students from Korea and India, the contrast between age groups can actually be defined by national identity. Tables 9 and 10, with data from the questionnaires, illustrate the age difference between Indian and Korean students with comparable degree programs and marital status. The data gives an indication of the approximate age and marital status of Indian and Korean students when they arrive at Texas A&M University.
Table 9: Average Age of Indian Students Upon Arrival.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATUS</th>
<th>DEGREE</th>
<th>RESPONDENTS</th>
<th>AVERAGE AGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Doctorate</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Master’s</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Doctorate</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Master’s</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Doctorate</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Master’s</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Average Age of Korean Students Upon Arrival.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATUS</th>
<th>DEGREE</th>
<th>RESPONDENTS</th>
<th>AVERAGE AGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Doctorate</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Master’s</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Doctorate</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Master’s</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Combinations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATUS</th>
<th>DEGREE</th>
<th>RESPONDENTS</th>
<th>AVERAGE AGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Doctorate</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Master’s</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is important to remember that questionnaire results only provide an estimate of the ages and marital status of the total community of each student group. Therefore, whereas Indian student respondents in a
Master's program (73%) came close to representing the overall Indian students Master's enrollment (70%), Korean students in Doctorate programs represent only 66 percent of the questionnaire responses, but represented 80 percent of the total Korean student Doctoral enrollment. Table 11, which utilizes data from university records, indicates the exact number of students in each degree plan.

Table 11: Comparison of Students by Degree Program.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATIONALITY</th>
<th>DEGREE SOUGHT</th>
<th>INDIVIDUALS</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>Doctorate</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>Doctorate</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>Master’s</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>Master’s</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the approximate age and marital status of the questionnaire respondents is representative of their respective national groups, then data from the three Tables indicates that, upon arrival at the University, the typical Korean student is a married Doctoral candidate and is 29.4 years of age. In contrast, the average Indian student is single, seeking a Master's degree, and is 22.3 years old.

The average age of Korean students could be slightly lower depending on how each individual determined his or her age. Age is determined differently in Korea than in
America. Korean babies are considered to be one year old when they are born. Additionally, factors determined by seasonal cycles according to Korean culture can work together to age a Korean even more rapidly. One informant, who was born on January 18th, was considered to be two years of age only three weeks after birth. Sometimes Korean informants will give their age by American standards, sometimes not.

KOREAN MALE STUDENTS

The reason that most Korean male students are generally older than Indian male students is because their country and culture has certain characteristics that keep them in Korea past the age that an Indian student will leave home for study abroad. The following reasons will explain why the average male Korean student is older than the average Indian male student studying in the United States.

First, Korea has a mandatory military duty. Terms for military duty vary between six months and thirty months, depending on the health of the individual and the circumstances of his family. Also, most Korean students come to the United States for Doctoral degrees (80%) rather than the Master’s degree that attracts most Indian
students (73%). After a Korean male has fulfilled his military obligation, he will typically earn his Master's degree from a Korean university. Korean students customarily get their Master's degree in Korea because it is important for them to cultivate alliances with professors in local universities. This contact, on the graduate level, is considered to be critical for future employment. It can be very advantageous to have the recommendation of a professor who thinks of you as "his student." Naturally, there is an exception to this rule when the field of study is not available or well developed in Korea.

Another reason that Korean students are often older than their Indian counterparts is that Korean students often work a few years before studying abroad. There are several reasons for this. By the time a Korean male fulfills his military obligation and has earned his Master's degree, he will have reached the age to consider marriage which is 28-31 in Korea. Dr. Ro, a visiting Korean professor in TAMU's department of Anthropology, told me that Korean men do not ordinarily marry while they are students living at home. With the help of his new Master's degree, a young man can meet social expectations by getting a job before taking a bride. For some students, this time of employment enables them to save
toward the expense of foreign education. Additionally, others have said that they simply needed a respite from previous years of academic grind. Finally, Korean students must study English in preparation for their sojourn in the United States. Although Korean students generally study English for ten years preceding college, they seldom learn to speak English or understand spoken English. A short break from the demands of graduate school presents an opportunity to prepare for English entrance exams required by American universities.

As one can see, by the time a Korean male serves the maximum military term, earns a Master's degree, gets a job, marries, and prepares for study abroad, he could easily be six years older than his Indian male classmate in the United States. As everyone knows, failure to use a language over time lessens one's ability with respect to that language. Thus, these added years tend to decrease English the typical Korean male's ability which becomes a critical factor influencing acculturation for these students. The additional factor that the average Korean student at TAMU is a married man also hinders acculturation. The wives of Korean graduate students are usually college graduates as well and therefore would have studied English as undergraduates. However, in the interval approximately four to six years between their
graduation and their husbands' academic pursuit in the
United States, they usually neglect the study of English.
This means that Korean wives have even greater difficulty
with English than their husbands. Under these
circumstances, it is difficult for a Korean couple to
socialize with anyone other than Koreans (Du Bois 1956).

The women who do not speak English will feel isolated
and lonely in the United States. Their husbands are their
sole source of companionship. As a result, a married
Korean male has many demands on his time with little
opportunity to explore other aspects of life in the United
States. Consequently, acculturation to the United States
is limited to the adaptations necessary to successfully
complete his degree.

INDIAN MALE STUDENTS

Indian male students have a different background than
their Korean counterparts. Unlike Korea, India has no
mandatory military duty to interrupt the academic program.
Indian students have no need for intense English study
because they are already fluent in English. Additionally,
the Master's program in India does not provide the
benefits that are so important in Korea. Consequently,
the average Indian student in the United States will be 22.3 years of age and will be in a Master's program.

The younger age of the Indian student usually means that he will be single. Single Indian males claim that getting their degrees before marriage is logical because the proper age for Indian men to marry is in the late twenties or early thirties. This late age is fortuitous since the financial difficulties of the average Indian student make it advantageous to be single. The single status allows for the necessary sharing of food and lodging expenses even beyond that associated with marriage. Three or four Indian students who share one apartment and prepare meals at home can live quite economically.

The large number of young single men from India made me curious about their dating customs. In response to my questions, informants told me that Indians do not "have a concept of dating" as we do in the United States (cf. Du Bois 1956; cf Maloney 1974) and many feel as if they are "doing something wrong" if they do date. These male informants added that they were more likely to have arranged marriages than their friends who remained in India.

Upon completing his Master's degree, the Indian male is approaching the age for marriage. Since Indian men
typically are concluding their graduate studies with the Master’s degree, they are in a position to either return to India to marry and reside, or they can marry and take a job in the United States.

Indian informants in Engineering fields, the most popular for Indian students (80%), have told me that the Master’s degree is usually the last graduate degree they seek because the specialization of the Doctorate degree tends to limit job opportunities. They also claim that although the undergraduate program in India’s colleges of electrical engineering are superior to that of the United States, the graduate program is inferior.

Although the above reasons are those most often cited to explain why Indian students come to the United States for their Master’s degree, there could be another reason. A couple of informants claimed that the graduate degree is an avenue to job opportunities in the United States. With only a two-year investment, a young man could provide himself with a dowry in the form of an economic advantage over his peers in India.

Of course, this is only speculation and, as informants have suggested, the merits of the foreign Master’s degree alone might justify not seeking the more specialized, and therefore limited, doctorate degree. Or, job opportunities may be more abundant to the broad-based
Master's graduate who would be expected to work for less than the Doctoral graduate. The extent to which this is pure speculation depends on the availability of employment for individuals with undergraduate degrees in India, the real value of an international degree, and the reason why so many Indian graduates join the work force in the United States.

FEMALE STUDENTS

Females students represent an unstable variable. Either they are studying in the United States simply because their husbands are or they belong to an element of their society not conforming to cultural norms.

Indian and Korean women, who at the present time are not expected to make a contribution toward the support of their parents, are aware that they are a financial drain. They strive to cut their sojourn short by heavy academic schedules.

The age of women students from both India and Korea becomes an issue in a different way than that of men from their countries. Historically, both countries have not placed much importance on educating female children. The traditional customs that provide parents with financial compensation for expensively educating their sons have not
been altered to allow women to justify their education by contributing to their parents' welfare.

To further complicate matters, by the standards of their country, they are becoming "old maids." The average age of marriage is in the early twenties for Indian women and late twenties for Korean women. Indian and Korean women appear to have cultural pressure to remain ethnically pure and return to their home country as soon as possible to marry. Certainly, mixing with the natives is not overly encouraged.

**Indian Female Students**

It is difficult to define the average Indian female student attending Texas A&M University. Again, it is because educating daughters is straying from cultural norms. Therefore, the women students do not fit into any category except that they are unique.

Indian women represented only 17% (76 individuals) of the 518 Indian students enrolled at TAMU in the 1991-1992 academic year. Of the 52 responses to the questionnaire, eight individuals (15%) were women. Their average age upon arrival was 23.1 years. Of the eight women, four of them were married to students. According to informants, most women students are here with their husbands who are also students.
Informants say that single women students must be daughters of educated progressive parents. The parents are willing to educate a daughter without any reciprocal compensation except for the satisfaction of doing the best they can for her welfare. Of course, there is also the matter of an educated woman being able to marry better.

Korean Female Students

Like Korean male students, Korean female students also tend to be older than their Indian counterparts. Korean women also do not serve in the military but, like Korean men, some choose to work before resuming graduate study. Additionally, they must take time to prepare for English proficiency in order to pass exams for entrance into American universities.

Like the Indian women, they too represent a unique group in their own countries. Korean women represented 10 percent (31 individuals) of the 304 Korean graduate students enrolled for the school year 1991-1992. Out of 50 questionnaires returned by this group, three individuals were women (6%). Their average age upon arrival was 28 years. Two of the three women were married to students.
SUMMARY

The age of graduate students will have an impact on their acculturation (Du Bois, 1956). The older students are more likely to be married. Married students ordinarily plan social activities around their families. These families take time away from socializing with Americans and tend to spend less on entertainment. Both Indian and Korean men marry at about the time they complete their Master's degree. But, the difference between the two, as far as the sojourn is concerned, is that the Indian student will be completing his international study whereas the Korean male will just be starting.

Older students are inclined to be intensely involved with research and have little time for outside activities (Hull 1978). Unrelenting concentration on academic goals results in a regimented existence that begins and ends with studying. What little time is not monopolized by academic obligations is spent on activities that do not demand excess concentration. Therefore, socializing with fellow nationals is the obvious selection.

Also, in these particular international groups, there are cultural expectations to take into consideration. Korean and Indian men have a responsibility to return to
home to support their parents. Single women should return home to find a mate and start a family. Married couples with children need to get the children back to their native country before they become too Westernized. The older the student is, the more urgent the need to return and the less attraction the host country presents.
CHAPTER VII
THE ACADEMIC-CULTURAL FACTOR

International students have a heavy academic burden because they are required to take a full course load and maintain a high grade point average (Hull 1978; Spaulding and Flack 1976; Walton 1971). This burden is compounded by the time limits set for fulfilling degree requirements. Considering that most Indian and Korean students are pursuing a Master's or Doctoral degree in Engineering and that they are either teaching assistants or seeking an assistantship, the students spend most of their time in the classroom or in the laboratory (cf. Barber and Morgan 1988). Therefore, any adaptation of these students to the host country is influenced by the relationships formed with classmates and professors. Unfortunately, their experience with Americans in the classroom is often one that does not encourage Asians to establish social relationships with them (Schwarzer et al. 1986).

However, there is more than one way for acculturation to take place on the campus. Students hindered in the acculturation process through social avenues are subject to another form of acculturation labeled "instrumental adaptation" by Richard W. Brislin (1981:273). According to him, instrumental adaptation is the process selected by individuals who have "clear goals concerning tasks to be
accomplished" (Ibid). With these individuals, whenever difficulties arise, they will be "due to difficulties in accomplishing goals" (Ibid). Additionally, social activities will be secondary to "goal fulfillment" to them (Ibid). Alterations to their usual method of operation will be "designed" to reach the goal or, in other words, "to be instrumental in task accomplishment" (Ibid). International students often take the attitude that they are only in the United States for the purpose of getting a degree and any acculturation to the host culture will be directly related to achieving that goal.

FELLOW NATIONALS

Informants indicated that one factor hindering acculturation in the classroom is the large number of fellow nationals who are seeking degrees in the same field. The presence of students from the same ethnic background enables them to form their own subculture minimizing the need for acculturation to the larger society (Spaulding and Flack 1976). Indian students complain of this situation but the circumstance is more detrimental to the English language deficient Korean students who prefer to avoid classroom contact with Americans and other international students (Hull 1978).
The extra time it would take Korean students to cultivate such a relationship for studying purposes can be better utilized by them if spent with a fellow national. However, this benefit is a short term one with long term negative results. Isolation from Americans and other international students has a more serious impact on Korean students than it does on many other international groups. By choosing the path of the least resistance, Korean students sustain their inadequacy in the English language, making it even more difficult to adapt to the host culture (Du Bois 1956; Spaulding and Flack 1976).

Not only are Korean students the dubious beneficiaries of compatriot classmates, but the characteristics of some of the fields of study are also responsible for limiting English language use (Du Bois 1956). The very nature of many classes in math and science are such that they seem to have a language unique to the discipline and do not require that students be fluent in English. One Korean Computer Science major said that he was able to communicate with his professor by single word responses. The next generation of Korean students should be better prepared for the American academic system. Informants have told me that the Korean method of teaching English is changing toward instructions
in conversational English rather than the former concentration on sentence structure.

INDIAN STUDENTS

For Indian graduate students there are several classroom adjustments to make when attending TAMU because: [1] the method of teaching is different from India, [2] American classrooms have different rules, and [3] Indian students have limited funds for books and equipment. However, they have considerable advantages over Korean students. Their ability to communicate in English is the most obvious one. Also, India’s educational system, though not the same as the American system, is more closely related to it than is Korea’s. In fact, research by Lambert and Bressler indicated that "in spite of procedural differences between American and Indian colleges, the university environment is almost as universal as its name would imply (1956:15)." In other words, American and Indian students have a lot in common.

Case: Jagdish and Uma Doma

Jagdish Doma (Electrical Engineering Master’s candidate) claimed that it is very easy for Indians to come into the educational system in the United States (cf.
Lambert and Bressler 1956). He stressed that any amount of formality observed by Indian students was not of Indian origin but was because the British were responsible for setting up the educational system in India. Consequently, India's classroom etiquette was established according to the British concept of proper conduct. Jagdish feels more comfortable with the relaxed atmosphere in TAMU's classrooms.

Though Jagdish commented that the educational systems in the United States and India are not drastically different, he did say that there was a difference in the way American students and Indian students were prepared for research. Indian students have to adjust to the necessity of practical application of theoretical concepts when they study in the United States (Lambert and Bressler 1956:42; cf. Mills 1956). Jagdish said that Indians are "exam wise" but often have trouble applying their knowledge in the "real world." His wife, Uma, a Bioengineering Master's student, agreed saying that Indian students are taught to take exams rather than to solve problems.

I met Uma at the end of her first semester at TAMU. She claimed that she was suffering from stress due to the academic system of the University. She and Jagdish considered the standardized final examination given by the
university they attended in India to be less taxing than
the demands of the TAMU system with several exams, papers,
and presentations during each semester (cf. Mills 1963).
Even though it was "somewhat unnerving" to count on one
test for the semester grade in India's standardized exam,
the students could accomplish the task by cramming for one
month prior to the test. In India, they told me, a
student does not have to study or work on papers until all
hours of the day and night and two papers would not be due
on the same day. They judged it to be a better organized
method.

The end of the semester exams have a social benefit
as well. All the students are either studying at one time
or they have time off together. It is easy to study and
socialize in such a system. At TAMU, the class
requirements vary. A student in one class or major cannot
count on having a schedule that runs concurrently with
that of a friend in another class or major.

Case: Srikanth Kandalam

In my first interview with Srikanth Kandhalam, he
told me that he felt that the casual, "almost sloppy,"
behavior of American students in the classroom was
disrespectful of the professors. On the other hand, he
also said that he was relieved to find that Americans were
not as formal as the British. Indians, he maintained, are very "laid back." In all, he felt that Indian students had very few academic adjustments to make at TAMU as the general expectation and format of the curriculum were familiar (Du Bois, 1956; Lambert and Bressler 1956).

In a subsequent visit, I learned that he did not blend into TAMU's academic program as painlessly as he had first indicated. Arriving international students register after all other students have registered. Late registration took its toll on Srikanth who had a limited choice of courses still open to him. Naturally, these courses often are comprised of the classes avoided by other students. In one of his classes, Srikanth found out why. In this class he had felt that he was doing well (judging from classroom participation) but his grades were disappointing. Srikanth told me that he discovered belatedly that this particular professor liked to have only 15 students in his class and was ruthless in attempts to pare the class size down to that number.

Another class taken for the "sure A" he had reason to expect proved to be even worse. Srikanth's assessment of his ability in this particular undergraduate class made him skip the last class and study session preceding the first exam. This was a grave mistake. At that time he would have learned that he could use a calculator and a
cheat sheet (a sheet of paper or note card with information pertinent to the exam). Skipping the last sessions, which American students know to be valuable for last minute instructions and exam clues, resulted in disaster for Srikanth. Without a calculator, which would not be allowed in India (and which he could not afford anyway) and the "cheat sheet" (an inconceivable concept for him), Srikanth felt unable to function and missed 50% of the questions. To the extent that policies for the use of calculators and cheat sheets are not the same as for a university in India, one may attribute Srikanth’s problems to his foreign status. However, that hypothesis is dependent on Indian universities not placing emphasis on student attendance, which they have not, at least in the past (Lambert and Bressler 1956). Such a difference would explain why Srikanth did not feel that it was necessary to attend the last sessions. Another factor to consider is Srikanth’s personality. I have not heard other accounts like this from other Indian students but then I do know him better than most of my male informants.

Any student in Srikanth’s position would have cause for concern; the consequences for the international student can be academically and financially catastrophic. International graduate students must maintain a 3.0 GPR (grade point ratio) on a minimum of 9 credit hours per
semester, 12 hours if one has an assistantship, fellowship, or scholarship. Financially, without a B average, funding is unattainable or stripped from the student and such failure to meet academic requirements will result in deportation.

Srikanth's situation of not having a calculator is not rare to Indian students. Limited funds often mean that Indian students are dependent on one another for sharing books and equipment. They bring all they can from India. Uma claimed that paperback versions of the same texts are available in India at a much reduced price. On her way to the United States, books accounted for most of the weight she was allowed to bring on the plane.

Questionnaire responses reveal Indian students' reaction to American classes, classmates, and professors. The question asked was "What is the difference about living and studying in the U.S.? Do you like the difference or not?"

**Electrical Engineering (Indian male)**
"The policy of earn and learn out here is certainly good since it helps in improving financial awareness."

**English (Indian male)**
"Differences - I learn!"

**Instrumentation (Indian female)**
"In the U.S. students have more independence and more responsibilities, more privacy [she likes this]."
Bioengineering (Indian female)
"The approach to studies is very practical oriented, it makes you learn more in a short period of time. I like the idea of take-home exams and of regular assignments. The individual life attitude is not very pleasing at all times, but the privacy is very welcomed."

Computer Engineering (Indian female)
"Staying in the U.S. by myself [she is married] has taught me to be very independent and has taught me to stand up against all odds and survive in the face of stiff competition."

Instrumentation (Indian male)
"Studying gets intermingled with other demanding chores (cooking, shopping) and makes life tougher. But it builds character and sense of self dependence. As for courses, on an average better resources are available in U.S. making studies more qualifying."

Mechanical Engineering (Indian male)
"Academic system (yes), Independent living (yes & no). Yes for independence, no to loss of family, less social interaction, Americans here aren't easy to approach [he does not like this aspect]."

Mechanical Engineering (Indian male)
"Academically Yes! Yes! Socially, culturally, No! No! No!"

Industrial Engineering (Indian male)
"The exposure to new systems, the experience of adaptation and the drive to survive. Yes, I do like the differences. It has made me a better person."

Agricultural Engineering (Indian male)
"Major difference is: you have to think for yourself. Living and studying here changed me a lot. One can really build his individuality. A lot of freedom and one can really achieve something if one wants to. Some of the differences I like, but other differences--no."

Medicine (Indian male)
"Honesty, straightforwardness, seems that hard work brings in good results pretty quick."
Industrial and Production (Indian male)
"More competitive environment, with an emphasis on learning rather than doing something for the heck of it."

Electrical Engineering (Indian male)
"Living and studying in the U.S. is more demanding because of lifestyle. Household chores need to be taken care of. Creates pressure at times."

Petroleum Engineering (Indian male--4 years at TAMU)
"It was fun back home, it's fun here. I do not see much of the difference."

Mechanical Engineering (Indian male--4 months at TAMU)
"A different method of education, easier life, higher standard of living, etc..."

Many of these comments by Indian students indicate that they have not stopped at instrumental adaptation but have moved on to "role acculturation" which is the phenomena of foreigners "internaliz[ing] the beliefs about the importance of traits characteristic of another culture" (Brislin 1981:286).

KOREAN STUDENTS

Many problems Korean students face in the American classroom are similar to those of Indian students: [1] A different method of teaching with [2] different standards for American classrooms, and, [3] limited funds for books and equipment. However, in addition to these difficulties, Korean students face special linguistic problems.
All the demands of graduate school become exaggerated in the case of Korean international students. In every area of a Korean student's life abroad the inability to speak English fluently is a major consideration. If an advisor determines that a student needs more English instruction, English Language Institute (ELI) courses may be added to the required course work (Spaulding and Plack 1976).

English Language Institute courses, though often necessary, increase the demands on an international student's time and money. For example, the average course requirements are designed for a Master's degree to be completed in two years. Therefore, to complete the degree in the expected time with the addition of the ELI courses requires a heavier academic load each semester. The I-20 form designating how long a student is allowed to work toward his or her degree can be extended for one semester but another extension, according to my informants, is almost impossible to get. Even some American students find a Master's program difficult to complete in two years. Naturally, the usefulness of ELI courses must be weighed against the added expense, effort, and loss of time.

Korean students are very studious and strive for excellence, but they have difficulty conforming to the
American classroom. Asian students have to make quite an adjustment in demeanor to challenge the competitiveness of the American student (Hull, 1978; Mason 1955). My informants are astonished that the aggressive behavior of American students is not only accepted but rewarded by professors. Culturally, such conditions are unacceptable to Koreans. Another necessary adjustment for Korean students is independent thinking. This was not encouraged in their universities. Korean students are taught to emulate their professors. One of my informants told me that a class of Korean students would give almost identical answers to a question, whereas American students are more likely to come up with varying responses. Although this informant felt that the American system was "good," he said it was still hard for him to change because the forwardness of counter opinions and aggressive classroom participation are perceived as arrogant and disrespectful according to Korean standards. The good Korean student will gain attention from the Korean professor by excelling and not disrupting the class (Schwarzer et al. 1986). This passive role goes beyond the classroom. In Korea, a student would not approach a university authority regarding scholarships, assistantships, or other forms of assistance. It is
instead assumed that the student with the most outstanding grades will be approached and offered these benefits.

Case: Jae-Gyu Lee

Jae-Gyu Lee obtained his Master’s degree at Iowa State University before coming to TAMU to study for his Doctorate. What follows is his description of his expectation and experience regarding his seeking of an assistantship at Iowa State.

Jae-Gyu and an Indian student were both under consideration for an assistantship. Jae-Gyu felt confident that the position was his as his English was "much improved" and his GPR superior to his Indian classmate’s. However, he was disappointed. The Indian student got the scholarship (cf. Barber and Morgan 1988). It is Jae-Gyu’s opinion that the assistantship went to his Indian rival because Korean students are considered to be wealthy and not in need of monetary assistance in contrast to their Indian counterparts. Jae-Gyu’s culture did not prepare him for flexibility in awarding benefits.

Since then, Jae-Gyu has learned that a student has to be more aggressive in the United States. He finds this process difficult not only because of his cultural background but also because he feels that as a guest in this country, he is not entitled to benefits for which
Americans have worked and paid taxes. But, since other international students do enjoy these benefits, he has overcome his reluctance and decided to apply for them as well.

Like other Korean informants, the cultural differences in classroom etiquette between universities in the United States and those in Korea were another adjustment for Jae-Gyu. According to him, a Korean student is expected to play a passive role in the classroom and in the relationship with his professor. Jae-Gyu also made the observation that professors in American universities expect students to be aggressive and to participate in the classroom with innovative responses (cf. Lambert and Bressler 1956). In spite of his high regard for this system, Jae-Gyu said that it was very frustrating for him as a newcomer.

Future Korean students in the United States should be spared many of Jae-Gyu's problems. A Korean informant who had been a substitute teacher before coming to TAMU said that Korean educators were already changing their teaching methods. According to her, innovative thinking and individual responsibility are presently being taught in Korea.

One Korean response to the question "What is different about living and studying in the U.S? Do you
like the differences or not?" sums up what Korean students
hint at but are too polite to say. Because of this, I am
recording his entire response:

It makes me more aggressive to others’ talk in
presentations. I mean more criticizing.
[He also wrote on the back of the questionnaire.]

1. The basic problem is, of course, the
communication. Since common Koreans know Korean
only, even though they learn English in schools, it’s
difficult for Koreans to deliver their own ideas in
English. However, that problem should be overcome.

2. In studying or researching, students have respect
[for] and [are] obedience to their advisors or
professors. I can’t find any respect from American
students to their advisors. Even it looks rude to
me, the behavior of students. Of course, I don’t
like it.

3. In U.S.A., ‘Silence is not gold, rather, wordy is
gold.’ I feel American students are very eager to
‘show up’ their abilities larger than things are. Of
course, there are lots of students having that kind
of tendency in Korea. However, the ratio is much
less than that in U.S.A. I like that ‘silence is
gold.’

Many Korean students do adapt to the academic system by
the process of instrumental acculturation (Brislin 1981).
However, like this young man, they do not internalize the
American characteristics (Ibid).

Case: Kihoon Lee

Kihoon Lee had only been in the United States a few
months at the time we first visited. When the topic of
conversation turned to securing an assistantship, I told him of incidents where Korean students had felt they had been passed over for these awards because a person with a lower GPR had been chosen. I advised him that the competition for assistantships made it necessary to acquaint professors (or the committee) with his academic competence.

Kihoon had difficulty understanding the difference between bragging and presenting yourself as a good candidate for an assistantship. Even when he agreed that grades would not always reflect unique qualifications, he was sure that he would not be able to call attention to his own credentials. A Korean student's response on my questionnaire says it best: "In the United States it is sometimes very important to show up myself (self-advertisement)." However, he does not like doing this.

Even if the cultural differences were not a factor, Korean students would still find classroom participation difficult due to their inability to communicate on their actual intellectual level. This problem is especially disadvantageous in the American academic system which places emphasis on classroom participation (Hull 1978). While Korean students are still wondering how to translate insight into English, the rest of the class has gone on to the next question. Since "status is a part of identity", 
the loss of academic status is a major problem with Korean students (Schwarzer et al. 1986:128). Their identity is so linked with their student status that not being admired by classmates can be devastating (Harris and Moran 1987).

FOCUSING ON THE PROBLEM

From the perspective of international students, problems are easily defined as what happened. Therefore, they focus on the event rather than its cause. Reasons that would explain how or why something happens are often concealed in cultural mystification. Many misunderstandings could be prevented by discovering why or how certain events come about rather than focusing on the event itself (Brislin 1981:303). To successfully adapt to the host culture, international students must acquaint themselves with local mores, traditions, and particular cultural characteristics. The following case is a good example of focusing on the symptoms (what happened) rather than the problem (the why or how cultural factor).

Case: Anonymous

This interesting case of concentration on the what rather than the why or how aspects of cultural misunderstanding concerns a Korean student. This
informant told me about his difficulty in making American friends during his first semester, and how lonely and isolated he had felt. This is his account:

When I first attended the class, I took a seat near the front of the room. There were students in front and to the side of me. At first, many of my classmates visited with me, they seemed interested in Korea and asked me about myself. But, gradually this began to change. My classmates began to move away from me until I sat alone. I had no one near me, and no one to talk to.

It was his understanding that the students were initially interested in him but that he had lost their interest to other classmates. In the space of one and a half years, I had heard this account several times but I kept asking him to repeat it because I felt that there was something about the way he described the behavior of his American classmates that was inconsistent. Finally, he described their physical moving away. It was then that I was able to realized what must have happened. It was so simple, but, had I not been a student myself, I might not have recognized the familiar American student strategy.

The key to solving the mystery was in the revelation that the students had moved to the back of the room. When my informant confirmed my suspicion that his professor had demanded classroom participation, but was not adept at remembering the students' names, I began to laugh. I was
glad to be able to tell this friend that his problem was not the result of his personality but that American students often avoid a demanding professor by retreating to the back of the room where they reduce the chances of eye contact with the professor while they concentrate on taking notes.

It was only because my informant was not accustomed to American students' classroom strategy that he took the retreat personally. In fact, if this informant had been an American, he would probably have moved to the back with the rest of the class! My friend immediately recognized the truth of what I had said and was glad to discover the why that had caused what happened.

PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS

Korean students are divided on their views concerning the relationship between them and their American professors. One group has expressed disappointment. It is not that they think the relationship is bad. Instead, it is usually that it is so impersonal that the Korean students feel that the professor is not concerned with them as individuals. After all, Korean graduate students studying abroad customarily maintain contact with their professors in Korea by exchanging cards and letters.
However, there is a practical side to this practice that has little to do with how attached the student is to his or her native mentor. The Korean professor, unlike the American professor, is a valuable asset when the student returns to Korea to seek employment.

The other group's view is that American professors are more accessible than Korean professors. Informants have used words like "distant" to describe the relationship between Korean students and Korean professors. One informant told me that Korean professors were "dignified," and would never be addressed by their first names as American professors often are. The students told me that, in the United States, students and professors treated each other more as equals (Du Bois 1956).

Case: On Behalf of Korean Professors

Aside from the classroom, there is another cultural courtesy that at least one Korean student found wanting between American professors and their students. According to this informant, a Korean professor always keeps a tea set in the office to provide a social setting in which to get to know the students better. The relaxed time spent having tea encourages the student to discuss personal things and build a positive relationship with the
professor. During this social activity, the students feel that they are not intruding on the professor's time. In contrast, the American professor's glance at his watch during their first visit was an indication to one informant that business should be taken care of quickly.

Case: On Behalf of American Professors

I related the previous account to an informant who had told me that he considered American professors to be more approachable. Won Guon Cho agreed that Korean professors did perform the social courtesy, but maintained that this was a "superficial picture of two friends socializing." Korean professors can not be treated as a friend or equal. Won said the best way to explain the difference is that a Korean student would never consider smoking with his professor. He explained that the relationship between Korean professors and their students is a vertical hierarchy (Harris and Moran 1987). Won claims that although American professors are busy, they are still easier to approach.

Who Wins the Case?

The winner is the student who finds professors who will assist him or her toward a successful academic goal and who will extend an offer of friendship. Some Korean
students say that those professors are in the United States, others say they are only in Korea. I suspect that it depends on the individual student and the individual professor in either country. It also depends upon understanding another cultural difference between the relationships of American professors to their students and Korean professors to theirs. American professors make many "suggestions" to their students. Korean professors make "requirements" of theirs. If a Korean student mistakes the suggestions for requirements, he or she may feel that the American professor is being unreasonable.

SUMMARY

Indian students will admit to having only minor problems with academic work in the United States (Lambert and Bressler 1956; Spaulding and Flack 1976). Too little time for all the assignments at TAMU in comparison to Indian universities is stressed more by them than any other academic problem. Still, Indian students find the teaching method easy to adjust to. They accept the need to be assertive in their quest for assistantships. However, they are not accustomed to the accessibility of professors and they have to overcome a reluctance to ask them to help them gain assistantships or understand
assignments. Judging from informants and questionnaire responses, Indian students adapt to the academic system with the attitude that the change in themselves is good (Lambert and Bressler 1956; Susskind and Schell 1968).

The problems of Korean students revolve around their inability to express themselves in English and the difficulty this causes them in adapting to a more aggressive approach in the classroom. Most of my Korean informants agreed with the Indian informants that the academic policy of several exams, research papers, and presentations in each class every semester at TAMU was more stressful than the system to which they were accustomed.

Both student groups labor under the pressure to get an assistantship, to excel, and to complete a degree in the shortest possible time. In spite of, or because of, this academic pressure, many of my informants have said that they acculturate to the degree that it is necessary to reach their academic goal. They have had to be more aggressive and independent, they have had to learn to approach their professors, they have had to argue their point, and they have had to learn how to say "No" and when to say "Yes" in order to succeed. My questionnaire results indicate that Indian and Korean student acculturation to the academic system does take place.
This practical orientation is illustrated in one touching response from a Korean student: "I like to study in U.S.A. but to live in U.S.A. takes many things from me as a kind of payment."

Many of the students would seem to be of the opinion that if they are changing in any way, it is because the change is necessary for their academic goal (Brislin 1981; Du Bois 1956). Even when that is the case, instrumental adaptation need not be superficial; it can change individuals in a personal way and many of my informants (from both groups) have made remarks about the individuality and independence they have acquired as students in the United States irrespective of their goals. Such changes suggest that role acculturation has also taken place (Brislin 1981). Though many of these individuals have expressed satisfaction with these changes in themselves, there is a negative side. The students believe that the changes might mean a difficult reentry into their own society (Cussler 1962). Indian and Korean women are especially concerned about "taking their places" in their home country.
CHAPTER VIII
THE ECONOMIC FACTOR

Economic conditions influence acculturation of international student to the host country when [1] students are hampered by work related time deficiency, [2] there are limited funds available for socializing, or [3] when limited resources dictate arrangements for food and lodging.

In order to understand the economic circumstances of international students, some knowledge of the legal aspects of their employment in the United States is necessary. The F-1 visa allows international students to accept scholarships, assistantships, or employment only on the university campus. Spouses of international students hold the F-2 visa which does not allow them to earn any wages. Not only does the international student status place limitations on earning money while in the United States, but the out-of-state tuition fees are also much more expensive ($3,725) than for Texas residents ($965) (Bounds 1994).

International students are issued visas only after they have satisfied the American Embassy that they have the financial ability to afford study in the United States (Unseem and Unseem 1955). A scholarship or assistantship from the prospective university can be used to meet part
or all of the required proof. However, it is a mistake to assume that students able to convince authorities that they have sufficient funds to study in the United States actually have those funds at their disposal.

Tina Watkins, director of International Student Services at TAMU, told me that Indian students are especially resourceful in finding a way around meeting the official financial requirements for the visa. Funds are gathered from family and friends into a bank account under the student’s name. After being admitted to a university and receiving a visa from the American Embassy, the money is redistributed to the lenders, and the student faces the prospect of securing an assistantship immediately. Unfortunately for the students involved, there are many competing for available funding. TAMU has an enrollment of more than 40,000 students. Of this number, 2,854 are classified as international students. If a student comes to the United States via the fictional financial statement and does not secure an assistantship immediately, his or her situation may become desperate. Ms. Watkins informed me that there have been cases in which Indian students had to be sent home because they were going without food.
IMPACT OF ECONOMICS

Work Related Time Deficiency

Financial concerns encourage Indian and Korean international students to aggressively seek assistantships. Such assistance eliminates out-of-state tuition and provides additional income. If the assistantship is secured, then the student is obligated to spend at least twenty hours a week working for the department in addition to maintaining a B average with the required twelve hours of course work each semester. These obligations leave little time for anything other than academic endeavors.

Work related time deficiency is not restricted to any one nationality. American graduate students are often self-supporting. Therefore, even when an international student is not hampered by economic time deficiency, the American student may be. Such conditions make it difficult to cultivate friendships.

Funds For Socializing

Assuming that an international student is in a serious financial situation, any funds available must be saved toward minimizing the threat of deportation. In such cases, economics have an impact on the social lives
of the students. One way this impact manifests itself is in the area of transportation. In Bryan-College Station, public transportation is practically nonexistent. Without a car, a resident in these cities tends to concentrate social activities to areas within walking distance. As a result, these students can rarely get involved with the community at large.

A lack of sufficient funds also eliminates many campus activities. For example, some of my informants have said they would attend football games if they could afford to. Not being able to pay their share of expenses discourages association with American students who either do not realize the international student’s predicament or cannot afford to pay for both of them if they did.

Food and Lodging Arrangements

Food and lodging expenses can be reduced when several individuals share the same apartment and menu. It is not unusual for international students to room four or five to a two bedroom apartment (Lambert and Bressler 1956:24). This lifestyle is unlikely to attract American students. It would be difficult to find even a few American students who would be willing to give up hamburgers and their own space to share quarters with Indian or Korean students. Such arrangements are prone to be limited to Indian and
Korean nationals who share the same palate. In this way, economics again tips the scales against acculturation with Americans.

While the above factors indicate how economic conditions operate against acculturation, there is a side effect of financial hardship that works for acculturation. The unavailability of cheap labor in the United States encourages Indian and Korean students to personally attend to matters that they would have hired done in their own country. For example, G-Young Gang thought that moving her own belongings to a new apartment was a unique adventure. Movements toward self-sufficiency are steps toward cultural compatibility with the United States.

CONTRASTING ECONOMICS

Although there are individual exceptions, each international group is characterized by a certain economic level. While Indian international students list finances as their most serious problem, Korean students will list economic difficulties second to linguistic problems. However, there is a significant difference between the economic concerns of Korean and Indian students. There are two major reasons for this.
First, Indian and Korean international students do not represent the same economic level of their respective societies. The average Korean international student comes from the upper economic level, whereas Indian students generally represent the middle economic level of Indian society.

Second, there is a disparity between wages in Korea and those in India which becomes evident during the students' sojourn in the United States.

To demonstrate the financial dilemma of the Indian student, first assume that both a student from Korea and a student from India are from the middle economic level of their perspective societies. Then consider the following. Korean student Kihoon Lee claims that he is from the middle class, and he earned thirty thousand dollars a year as a reporter in Korea. That amount is comparable to middle class American wages. Even the minimum wage earner in the United States, working a forty hour week at $4.25 per hour, would have an income of $8,160. In contrast, Indian informants agree that two to three hundred dollars per month would be considered a good salary for India's middle class. A recent Associated Press article places India's middle income at one hundred and sixty dollars per month (The Eagle 1994).
Therefore, the Korean student who comes from the upper economic level of a society where the middle class earns 10 to 15 times more than the middle class does in India enjoys an economic advantage in both the disparity in wages and the difference in economic stations.

Conversely, Indian students coming from a lower economic level in their society, and suffering from the comparative lower wages, are hit doubly hard by the financial contrast while in the United States. For an Indian student, an education in the United States represents quite a financial investment (Lambert and Bressler 1956).

INDIAN STUDENTS

In the spring of 1992, I met that year’s president of the Indian Student Association, Srikanth Kandhalam. At the time, he and four other Indian men were sharing a two bedroom, one bath apartment. Finances dictated that the men share expenses but they told me that Indians were very social and did not have a need for the privacy or space Americans would demand. I have reason to believe that only part of this statement is true. Finances do compel Indian students to crowd together but they do not necessarily like it. Respondents to the questionnaire
indicated that they enjoyed the privacy they have in the United States.

Indian students rarely have cars. Although this does not keep them from going places with those who do, it does concentrate social activity to a small area within walking distance. Indian students who live in the University's centrally located apartment complexes tend to restrict their social interaction to other Indian students living in that complex.

In spite of limited financial support from home, most Indian students appear to manage adequately. The main explanation for this may be that Indian students, whose family assets are not substantial enough for study abroad, generally accept admission only to universities that will fund them. Therefore, most of the Indian students I have met have assistantships. The exceptions are usually students in disciplines other than Engineering. Since the majority of Indian students at TAMU are in Engineering (80% or 413 individuals) and most of these are funded, they enjoy a lifestyle that is upgraded from their life in India. Even such common conveniences as microwave ovens and air conditioning represent luxuries to them.
Case Study: Anonymous

My informants have been generous in volunteering personal information to assist me in assessing the situations that confront them. One Indian informant gave me the following account about his personal financial problems. It is my decision not to use his name although his predicament is not unique among Indian students.

As I have mentioned before, many Indian students accept admission to TAMU with funds sufficient for only one or two semesters. Sometimes an assistantship is impossible to obtain as this student was unfortunate enough to discover.

During the two years that he has been in the United States, he has charged seventeen thousand dollars on credit cards. He pays only the minimum monthly requirement. He was not foolish or unaware that these cards have high interest rates, he was simply desperate for funds. However, there is a limit to the credit available. Having reached the maximum credit limit on his cards, he had to borrow money from the University for this semester's tuition. Tuition loans are almost automatically approved, he says, but they are short term loans. Fortunately, he can probably get an extension beyond the usual six month limit, because he will graduate
this semester. With the probability of a job, lenient treatment can be expected from the loan department.

With all credit exhausted, he is not sure how his living expenses will be met for the next six months. It would be risky to jeopardize his grades in order to earn the small amount an hourly campus job would pay. This amount would probably be less than $400 monthly since student workers are allowed only 20 hours weekly and most of these jobs pay minimum wages ($4.25). It is possible that a relative who recently graduated and has a job in the United States will be able to help. But this individual, a former international student, also has debts. Meanwhile, every effort to economize is made. Utilities for the apartment are closely monitored, long distance phone calls discontinued, and anything not essential for survival is simply not considered. This informant, while concerned with his present situation, is optimistic about his future.

KOREAN STUDENTS

In contrast to Indian students, most Korean students do not appear to need financial assistance from the University. Yet, they also express frustration with their economic situations. The average Korean graduate student
is a married male, older than the average Indian graduate student, and dislikes being totally dependent on his family in Korea. Even single Korean men and women express regret that they are a financial burden to their families. Moreover, because these students earned prestigious scholarships to Korean universities in previous years, it becomes a matter of pride to do the same in the United States.

Even when Korean students do have assistantships, they are usually sent supplementary funds from their families. The average Korean student will come from the middle-upper to upper economic level of Korean society. While enrolled at TAMU, they usually have a nice apartment where they will live alone, with one roommate, or with their family. Also, most Korean students have cars. Being more mobile, they will often live some distance from each other. Financial constraints do not force Korean students to congregate; yet, their affluence allows them to do so.

Case: Jae-Gyu Lee

Jae-Gyu’s father owned a gas station in Korea. Some time back, this business was turned over to Jae-Gyu’s older brother, the elder son. Now, the responsibility of the care of their parents falls on this son. Not only
does the care of the parents become the responsibility of this "beneficiary" but also any obligations of the parents, such as the education of a younger son, would be assumed. The following is taken from an interview with Jae-Gyu:

Question: "How much does your brother set aside for your education? Do you have an allowance?"
Answer: "I tell my brother how much I need and he sends me the money."
Question: "Is this money a loan or a gift?"
Answer: "It is a gift."

Actually, I felt that he hesitated over the word gift too long. I believe that such support was expected but that Jae-Gyu would like very much not to have to make requests of his brother for support.

This "gift" must be substantial. The Lees have a nice apartment and a late model car. He has no assistantship and must pay out-of-state tuition. Later, when I remarked to a Korean friend that I hoped gas stations did a good business in Korea, she told me that the Lee's station is a "very big gas station."
Case: Hyun Chul Lee

Next to language, Hyun Chul Lee says that financial problems are a major issue. There is a limit to how much money the Korean government allows to be sent to students studying abroad. Hyun Chul says the amount varies, but he believes that it averages $1,500 per month ($18,000 per year). If a student must pay out-of-state tuition, approximately $2,000 per semester, and is not registered for summer terms, $14,000 is left for living expenses and books. In Hyun Chul’s case his parents send him $850 each month and he receives another $850 monthly from his assistantship. With his tuition reduced to approximately $1,200 per year, that leaves $19,200 for other expenses. Sixteen hundred monthly is not exactly a deprived condition by a Texas student’s standards. Since the Korean government cannot "capture the amount of his assistantship" (be aware of the supplemental income), it is possible that a Korean student could be sent $18,000, plus have an assistantship ($850 is probably the middle range for TAMU). Even at $650 a month for an assistantship, that would be an additional $7,800.

Case: G-Young Gang

One day G-Young Gang called me in a very anxious state. She said that she must get an assistantship to support herself or return to Korea. South Korea’s new
president had changed the previously relaxed policy of allowing currency to leave Korea. Now, only ten thousand dollars a year could be sent out of the country. Plus, any single transaction over three thousand dollars would result in a governmental investigation. Since there is no way that most Korean international students could exist in the United States on this amount, I was perplexed as to why the Korean government would pass a policy that seemed certain to eliminate study in the United States. I questioned G-Young extensively about the policy but she could add nothing to what she had told me. However, G-Young had recently met a new arrival who had been a reporter in Seoul, South Korea for five years. She was sure Kihoon Lee could tell me what I wanted to know.

Kihoon said that the information I had was correct but that it would not have any appreciative impact on students studying abroad. The policy's goal was to eliminate the use of false names for bank accounts in an attempt to stamp out the black market (money-laundering) and tax evasion. I was confused about how only three thousand dollars could be sent out of the country only three times a year and not affect the students and could not see how the dreaded investigation could be avoided. Kihoon explained that "only the amount sent was noted, not the amount received." I still did not have a clue. He
tried again. Different banks do not consolidate their information. So, if you send nine thousand dollars from one bank in three thousand dollars increments, then you change banks and send another nine thousand dollars, you can then change banks again for even another nine thousand dollars and no one is the wiser. But, even if they were, it would not make a difference. Kihoon claims that the Korean president's policy was not meant to entrap the students and that the I-20 form, which includes the university's financial estimate for the student for one year, is accepted as a guideline for allowing money to be sent out of Korea.

On the I-20 form for Kihoon's family of four, twenty-four thousand dollars was the estimate TAMU declared to be adequate for college and living expenses for the school year 1993-1994. If Kihoon could get an assistantship, he could have this money in addition to what would be sent from Korea. But, Kihoon does not have an assistantship. He claims that he represents the ability of the blue-collar worker to move up in Korean society. He and his wife, Myung Ae, saved to finance his education. For the five years that Myung Ae was employed by the American Embassy, she made twenty thousand dollars a year. As a reporter for Joong-Ang (Economic Daily) Kihoon earned another thirty thousand. They were able to save half of
their combined incomes. One hundred twenty-five thousand dollars was set aside for Kihoon's study abroad.

Case: Kyung-Bin Song

I met Kyung-Bin, 1992 president of the Korean Student Association, during International Student Week. One subject that we discussed was financial problems of international students. When I suggested that many of the Korean students I had met expressed regret that they had to depend on their families for financial assistance, he very bluntly stated that if they felt that way they should drop out of school and return to Korea. His attitude seemed harsh to me. I explained that the individuals who told me that they did not like to be so dependent were older students, most with their own families, who felt that, at their age, it was embarrassing to be fully supported by their aged parents.

Kyung-Bin, who is single and has not had an assistantship during his sojourn, then took a more generous attitude toward his countrymen. He agreed that it would be nice if, as students, they did not have to be supported by their parents but that because of the way the Korean culture operated, parents were expected to finance the education of their offsprings (Winchester 1988). Later, the educated children would return the favor by
providing their parents security, and maybe as important, prestige, in their old age.

Case: Won Guon Cho

In contrast to many South Koreans at TAMU Won Guon Cho is not economically secure. In interviews, and on the questionnaire, he was the only Korean student who placed finances before communication as his most serious problem while studying in the United States. Won said that although the language problem always plagued Koreans, he felt that his financial situation was the most distressing. He is a Doctoral candidate in Economics and that department does not have money to fund many students.

Won worked for three years after receiving his Master's degree in Korea. He is dependent on his savings and funds from his family. His parents are retired and live on "reduced income" plus the "fixed" monthly allowance from their elder son. The money the elder son provides cannot be much "because he has his own family to support." Won judges the economic status of his family to be in the upper middle of Korean society. Though not wealthy, his parents can borrow money, something that Won could not do although he was 27 years old when he left for the United States. There is evidence that he has not
underestimated his economic status. He does not have a car.

Won feels that he is "not a good son now" because he represents a financial drain to his parents. He hopes to be able to earn thirty thousand dollars a year when he returns to Korea with his degree but "that is a hope." He will repay the money his parents contributed toward his education, plus the interest, plus a gift.

In Won's case, his financial situation has not hindered his association with Americans. But, his case is unique as he attends a mainstream Methodist church in College Station instead of one of the Protestant or Catholic churches with Korean services. Won is the only Korean attending this church.

My impression of what is considered a financial hardship with the Korean students is not that they have insufficient funds but that they do not like to depend on their families to the extent that they must. Economic assistance does not appear to be a critical factor in determining whether or not a student can continue the sojourn.
ACCULTURATION AND ECONOMICS

The financial deficiency of the Indian students and
the frugality of the Korean students has produced a few
"do-it-yourselfers" among them. These students soon
discovered that labor is not cheap in the United States.
Reluctant, or unable, to pay for services, many of the
students found that they actually liked doing what was
first an economic necessity. This is an interesting
phenomena to happen to individuals from these two
international groups. Indians typically have contempt for
manual labor and the upper class Koreans are accustomed to
having others do for them.

One Korean informant said that after he had done some
work on his car he enjoyed the experience so much that he
now does most of his own repairs. He said that many of
his friends could not understand why. Likewise, many
Indian students function equally well without the
entourage of multiple servants they would have had in
India. Uma says that it is much better not to have so
many people involved in your life.

Not only have students from these two international
groups started to participate in the ideal American way of
life, but they also show evidence of being proud of their
handiwork as well.
Consequently, in spite of the Korean and Indian students' initial puzzlement over American's inclination to value self-sufficiency, individuals from both groups admit to a desire to be financially independent of their parents, are proud when they succeed, and have expressed satisfaction with new manual skills developed to help avoid unnecessary economic expense. Questionnaire responses reveal that these individuals feel that they have become more self-sufficient and individualistic. The first time I heard Korean and Indian students describe these traits as characteristics of Americans, they did not mean to compliment our culture.

SUMMARY

Financial stress is generally the most pressing problem mentioned by Indian students, while virtually all Korean students list it as second to their linguistic difficulty. In the case of the Korean students interviewed for this study, financial concerns are not in the same category as those of Indian students. The difference is one between being a serious problem and a mere inconvenience. Most Indian students have a real need for financial assistance in order to study in the United
States, whereas most Korean students' families can afford to support them while they are here.

Korean students have an economic advantage over Indian international students in two ways. They come from the upper economic level of their society, whereas Indian student come from the middle classes. Also, Korea's wages for the middle class are compatible to those in the United States. Therefore, the middle classes in the United States and Korea earn ten to fifteen times more than the middle classes in India.

In spite of the seriousness of their financial situation, Indian students claim that their standard of living improves upon arrival in the United States. Even in a situation where there are five individuals to a two-bedroom apartment, no car among them, pressure to earn an assistantship, sharing of books and equipment, very limited funds for entertainment, accumulation of debt on loans and credit cards, and the necessity to pool resources to buy groceries, Indian students often express satisfaction with their living conditions.

The Indian student's obvious financial deficit and the higher standard of living in the United States is not shared by Korean students. The peculiar situation that results in Indian students feeling quite content with the sojourn in spite of having to worry about financial
obligations is alien to Korean students. Consequently, while Indian students cite finances as their most pressing problem studying abroad, they do not discuss them as much as my Korean informants.

The current Korean students usually have nice cars, are not compelled to crowd into apartments, do not have to select housing within walking distance of the campus or friends, and can divide their time between classes and entertainment, yet they feel that their standard of living decreased when they moved to the United States.

In the case of Indian students, economic problems appear to present circumstances that are not conducive to interaction with anyone but nationals. However, the absence of these problems for Korean students does not mean that they interact more with outsiders.

Never-the-less, economic concerns have resulted in members from each group adopting American traits. Not only have some Indian and Korean students decided that doing tasks and repairs are financially necessary, but the pride Americans take in being able to do such things also seems to have rubbed off on them. This new perspective, which the students often credit to financial considerations, brings me to the conclusion that while there are many economic factors operating against
acculturation, economic concerns do encourage some students to acculturate to the American lifestyle.
CHAPTER IX
THE SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTOR

During the acculturation process, international students ordinarily experience changes in their attitudes, beliefs, and behavior. If an individual is resistant to such changes, the acculturation process will likely be retarded. In addition, the attitude of the host community will have an impact on the acculturation process.

One significant change observed by informants has been an alteration of their worldview since the sojourn. Richard W. Brislin termed this phenomena "world-minded" (1981:293). Simply put, individuals have become tolerant and accepting of people, events, or things not familiar to them. Eventually, these individuals could achieve "multiculturality," a condition whereby they are able to "identify with cultures other than their own" (Brislin 1981:297).

An ethnocentric attitude in the host community can retard this process (Lambert and Bressler 1956). Many international students are reluctant to admit that they prefer characteristics of the host culture because they are aware that this is often perceived as a rejection of their own cultural heritage (Ibid). Although ideally acculturation is "always a two-way one" between two cultures, when one of the cultures happens to be
"technologically and materially dominant" to the other "it may seem that the process of adaptation is entirely one way" (Spindler 1977:7). Either culture can have this unfortunate perspective. For example, as citizens of a "technologically and materially dominant" culture, Americans might hold little regard for the Indian or Korean cultures (Ibid). Or, the international students themselves may feel inadequate to make a comparative contribution to the acculturation process. Either attitude is detrimental to the benefits available to each country through multicultural interaction.

One positive aspect of multicultural exposure is that a person may select parts of each culture that suits his or her individual life goal and personality. Berreman claims that "most indicators of ethnic identity are under some degree of individual and group control" and that "[ethnic] identity is to a significant extent a matter of choice" (1975:86). Therefore, individuals can manipulate their own identity making "use of the currency that is available to them in the marketplace of public esteem, advantage, and other rewards" (cf. Kim and Berry 1986; Spindler 1977).

Social and cultural fulfillment of Indian and Korean students during their sojourn in the United States is dependent on each individual's ability to make the correct
decisions regarding his or her own ethnic identity. Many international students might feel that they cannot "objectively view another's perspective without questioning [their] own" (Klineberg and Hull 1979:31).

Rather than experience this conflict of loyalties, many foreign students decide to avoid contact outside their own national groups.

IMPACT OF FELLOW NATIONALS

Fellow nationals generously make themselves available to incoming compatriots and are essential to the well being and self-esteem of these individuals. However, the support group can be a double-edged sword. On the one hand, there is accessible assistance to the new student that can come only from someone with the same ethnic background. On the other hand, the novice finds himself or herself as the main topic of conversation among the established group. During the first few weeks of their arrival, the newcomers are in a vulnerable situation. They will say and do things that are humiliating to them. Weakness and blunders are things that one would rather not have discussed in general assembly. Inevitably, the beginners learn that they have been discussed because someone will tell them. Such talk is perceived by the
novice as gossip, and of course, it often is. The newcomers' attitude of appreciation for these heretofore angels of mercy can quickly turn to that of feeling betrayed. Naturally, these individuals feel that a high price has been paid for the assistance received.

A SOCIO-CULTURAL FAUX PAS

Incoming students from India and Korea are usually met at the airport by fellow nationals. Ironically, the initial greeting between incoming students and their welcoming committee greatly resembles the American tradition of "superficial friendliness" criticized by both ethnic groups. Indian and Korean students say that Americans confuse them with exuberant friendliness at the time of the initial encounter. Both ethnic groups misread this cultural signal and assume that their relationship with Americans is more evolved than it actually is. Consequently, when Americans fail to advance toward the next level of intimacy expected by Indian and Korean students, they are judged to be insincere and superficial. This social rebuff can discourage further attempts to establish friendships with Americans.

However, like the typical American who effusively greets strangers or casual acquaintances, the welcoming
committee of an incoming student is not necessarily
greeting a friend. In many cases, the "Welcome to
America" party of fellow nationals offers the same element
of superficial friendship that Indian and Korean students
see as a flaw in the American character. In one sense,
the situation is even worse because of the common cultural
understanding of relationship formations between the
parties. These quasi friendships can sour quickly as the
newcomer realizes the insubstantial nature of the
relationships.

However, newcomers conceal these disappointments and
eventually select friends among the support group based on
individual merits. Ironically, these same students appear
to miss the parallel between their introductory
experiences with fellow nationals and their later
disappointing interaction with Americans. Although fellow
nationals are forgiven for their cultural aberration,
Americans are often not forgiven for being themselves.

Recognition of extended friendship is essential to
positive cross-cultural relationships. Because I consider
the previously mentioned cultural pitfall to be the single
most detrimental element to cross-cultural social
interaction, I will discuss the matter at some length.
ISOLATING THE PROBLEM

Americans do not know why international students consider them to be insincere and superficial. What instigates this accusation? Are not Americans known internationally as some of the most friendly people on earth? Americans think that it must be due to a few rude ethnocentric snobs. They would be surprised to learn it was probably themselves.

To demonstrate the differing perspectives involved in forming cross-cultural friendships, my experience forming a relationship with a Korean friend will be described in the following section. Although this encounter involves a Korean student, it also applies to Indian students as well. The description of this event, which should clarify my theory of the steps involved when Americans form relationships with individuals from Korea and India, is drawn from my notes taken approximately two years ago. At that time, I was still trying to identify the problem, and I know now that I have discovered an important difference. Here are the notes that reveal how I unwittingly and happily avoided alienating a Korean classmate.
Case Study: G-Young Gang

1992. I am still not certain what a Korean expects upon arrival in our country. G-Young has talked about the loneliness she has experienced. That puzzles me because I know that Americans are characteristically friendly and are "suckers" for the underdog. She should have been able to get help and make friends easily. Yet, she said that she had been unable to establish friendships with American students until our acquaintance. That Spring semester of 1991 has been replayed in my mind many times. It seemed to me no different than any other occasion when I have met someone who turned out to be a very special friend but I am wondering if she was not fooled by a misinterpreted cultural signal. She has told me that Koreans greet strangers expecting to form friendship bonds with them (cf. Winchester 1988). Though she makes it seem an unselective process, I doubt that this is the case.

However, to go on with her account: From the first encounter, G-Young explained, relationships steadily gain momentum. It seemed like a natural process, like the layering of an onion. Probably most Americans would say that friendships develop the same way in our culture. However, I believe that the process, while similar, is not the same.
While maintaining what Americans believe to be an open and friendly acquaintance, the process is not steady, because after that first "really friendly gesture" we reserve much of ourselves until we are sure of the other person's acceptance. Koreans instead seem to be totally committed to the relationship from the beginning. Perhaps this cultural vulnerability can be explained by an ancient practice in Korea. According to Winchester (1988), the Korean convention of using both hands to pass something to another person is to assure the receiver that the giver could not have a weapon in the unextended hand. The significance of this custom is an indication of how important G-Young's complete openness between persons really is.

While I admit that this willingness to establish close relationships from the onset of a social encounter is a commendable trait, it exposes one to unnecessary disappointments in the American setting. Perhaps much of the loneliness G-Young endured at TAMU was the result of not understanding the "reserve-distance-period" an American utilizes as protection against social rejection. Not sensing this, it is possible that she aborted the efforts at friendship formations while her American counterparts were still in that very important transition
state. The Korean would feel rejected while the American would miss the significance of the encounter.

As an individual and as an anthropologist, my enhanced interest in G-Young’s status as a foreigner sustained our relationship until that crucial period of testing had passed for me. Because of my curiosity and interest in her, G-Young mistakenly concluded that I was unique among Americans. She has said that when she discusses our relationship with her Korean friends they declare that I am like a Korean. G-Young was both right and wrong about me. I may be unique among Americans but not for the reason she credited. I have learned that when Indian and Korean students refer to Americans as superficial or insincere, it usually is the result of misunderstanding the process an American goes through when forming relationships (cf. Althen 1985; cf. Spaulding and Flack 1976). Since that time, I have been able to detect this cultural malady as the culprit in many failed cross-cultural relationships between Korean-American and Indian-American interactions (cf. Du Bois 1956). Fortunately, because of reasons already mentioned, I did not have difficulty making friends with either group.
INDIAN STUDENTS

It is easy to learn about the Indian students' culture just by associating with them. Indian students ordinarily speak English to each other because they come from many different regions in India and a person's native language may be different from that of one or more of the other Indian's present. Therefore, an American interloper can learn about cross-cultural experiences at any Indian social.

My friendship with Srikanth Kandhalam has proven to be valuable. In 1992 he was the president of the Indian Student Association and he had four roommates and many friends. Due to my friendship with Srikanth, I was invited to an Indian party. Hemamali, a student from Sri Lanka, and I had met when we were both dinner guests of Srikanth's. Some weeks later, she invited him and his roommates to dine at her home. This was during Spring Break and Krishna and Ramanathan had already left for Florida with friends (along with hundreds of other students that headed for Fort Lauderdale at that time). Srikanth declined for them while accepting the invitation for himself and Mahendra adding that I would also be coming with them.
In Hemamali's small apartment there were ten guests. Except for our hostess and myself, everyone else was Indian. It was interesting to listen to the conversation of this group, and some of the conversations indicated evidence of acculturation. For example, two of the women began discussing the aerobic class each was taking through the University. They signed up for the classes because they felt that they needed physical exercise. Laughing about the new-found consciousness regarding physical fitness, one asked the other, "Tell me, in India, did you ever think about such things as calories—or counting them—or, know that you needed to burn them?" They unselfconsciously ridiculed their performance in these classes. Both claimed to be the most uncoordinated in the work-outs.

I could not help but wonder what impact these two will have on future generations of Indian women. It is difficult for me to reconcile the contrast between these emancipated women who will be nuclear and electrical engineers and many other women in their country. For example, consider the disparity between these women's concern about physical fitness and recent events in India. In India, if a bride's dowry is considered "too small, she may face persecution or even a fiery death" (Seter
1994:14). In 1992, there were 4,700 deaths of Indian women attributed to "dowry deaths" (Ibid).

The difference between these two groups of women are extreme but there are also variances between Indian women that have been in the United States for some time and the ones just arriving. Both of these engineering students had been at TAMU for several years. They appeared to be well adapted to life in the United States. In contrast, Uma Doma, in her first semester at TAMU, had the classic symptoms of cultural shock. Uma, who did not even know an American family, expressed confusion and distaste for the "deterioration" of American families. She had directly linked this problem to the value Americans place on independence and individuality. Uma was particularly aware of these traits as she was beginning to recognize their value in the American academic system. She questioned me about these characteristics. Did we not see the difference in the support a member of an Indian family has compared to one in an American family? How could young people make important decisions, such as choosing or changing a major field of study on their own? How dare they? Why would they want to?

These were her questions and attitudes two years ago. Since then, Uma and her husband, Jagdish, have grown accustomed to their privacy and managing their own money
and household. Without losing any affection for their families or their country, they realize that they have changed. They have become more individualistic and self-sufficient. Jagdish noted that he had come a long way from the pampered male he was in India where he was not even expected to make his own cup of tea. At the present time, he shares household chores with his student wife.

On one questionnaire an Indian respondent's observations reflected what many informants had told me. In response to a question asking how the respondent had changed culturally, this person wrote "A lot." He continued by saying, "This culture is very good if you like to live on your own. It has given me a lot of confidence. This culture has some very good aspects." To another question regarding the difference between his own culture and that of America, he replied, "The major difference is: you have to think for yourself. Living and studying here changed me a lot. One can really build his individuality. A lot of freedom and one can really achieve something if one wants to." He had been at TAMU for three years.

The majority of the Indian student community is made up of young single men in their early twenties. For most of them, this sojourn represents the first time they have ever lived away from their parents. They are very much
like the typical American male who goes away to college. However, the Indian students, although less culturally prepared for independence, are older than the American student leaving home for the first time. One questionnaire respondent felt that his experience abroad had prepared him for any challenge; he declared, "Now, I believe I can survive in any part of the Milky Way."

These young men appear to revel in their freedom. Many catch rides to places all over the United States, have many parties, and drink a lot. It should be noted that this group does not include any Moslems or Sikhs. These two religious denominations might include some individuals who could fit in the description above but I do not know this personally. The dominant group of Indian students at TAMU is Hindu.

Indians are very serious about their social life. One informant told me that they had difficulty understanding Americans' reasons for excusing themselves from social affairs. It is an affront to Indians when they are told that one is too busy to accept a social invitation. My Indian friends are learning to be more understanding about the necessity for American students to limit socializing. Numerous Indian students have expressed astonishment and admiration upon discovering that many American students, although in their own
society, must work their way through college (cf. Althen 1985; Lambert and Bressler 1956).

My own work schedule and academic load has been a source of curiosity to my Indian informants. The most difficult idea for them to accept is that I have two grown sons, live alone, and provide financially for myself. "In India, a woman's sons would live with her and take care of her," they said critically. This seemed to contradict many accounts from both international groups about how parents will make all kinds of sacrifices so that their children can be educated. But I did not point out this double standard applied by them. I simply explained that my sons were working and borrowing money for their own educations and were in no position to support me. To their total disbelief, I said that I preferred to live alone.

Srikanth has decided that life is more demanding in the United States. "Americans work too hard and don't take time to enjoy life," he said. The American work ethic, though usually admired by Indians, is not really understood by them. Trying to explain it to them made me realize that I did not grasp it all that well myself!

Though Indian students at TAMU certainly do not appear to neglect their social life, finding a mate is rarely part of it. For many male single Indian students,
the practical solution to coming of age for marriage in an
alien land is resolved by his family's arrangement for a
wife in India. Surprisingly, this custom was criticized
by my Indian friend Uma. She told me that it is not
uncommon for fifty to seventy-five of the single Indian
men at TAMU to make a trip to India between semesters to
be married to a woman who was known to them only by her
photograph.

While I was repelled at such an idea, I did not
understand why Uma felt that this was unacceptable.
"Isn't this the way things are done in India?," I asked.
"Well no," Uma explained, "a marriage might be arranged
but usually the couple has a year or so to get to know one
another before the wedding." Uma said that with these
instant marriages, there can be many complications. For
one thing, it is not certain that the wife can accompany
her husband to the United States. Uma said that a couple
she knew had been married for three years without the wife
being able to get a visa. This couple finally divorced--
an unthinkable plight for the unfortunate woman in India.
But, after all, they were virtually strangers and the
husband had a job opportunity in the United States. "It's
very unfair to the woman," Uma said. She considered such
arranged marriages only little improved if the wife was
able to join her husband. "What can she do if her husband
mistreats her?" Uma asked, "She knows no one and she can't go to her family."

The social lives of the Indian students do not include American as much as they would like. Many Indian informants have expressed disappointment with this situation. However, Indian students appear to have more interaction with nationalities other than their own than do the Korean students. The Indian student's fluency in English is probably the main reason but, in general, Indian students also do not seem to be as reserved as Korean students. Other examples of Indian students' experiences can be found in Appendix C.

KOREAN STUDENTS

Like Indian students, Korean students are critical of what they believe to be the deteriorated family system of American society. I thought at first that their criticism was limited to our independent lifestyle but it goes deeper than that. They actually think that, as families, we do not care for our members like Korean families care for theirs. One informant, addressing the situation of young American men and women moving away from home around the age of eighteen, asked me if it was the case that parents did not really like their children. I tried my
best to assure him that Americans were as fond of their families as Koreans were but I am sure that I did not convince him.

However, actions do speak louder than words. G-Young accompanied me to my parents home this past Christmas (December 1993). She had gone with me before and this time I did not feel that I needed to be with her all the time. During one late evening, G-Young ended up seated around the table while my two grown sons and their many cousins debated world affairs, poked fun at each other, and recalled high-jinxes from years past. At another time, she spent hours talking with my niece, a high school athlete, cheerleader, and rodeo competitor, and other hours with a nephew in the eighth grade. I overheard her telling him about her sister’s problems in school and how the entire family worried about her, despairing about the lack of interest she showed in her classwork. G-Young greeted my aunts, kissed my grandmother and stayed by her side to assist her by reading the names on the cards of her gifts. My ninety-nine year old grandmother has poor eyesight. The two year old daughter of my son’s friend would not let G-Young out of her sight, confirming an earlier statement that G-Young had made about how children were always attracted to her. G-Young counted the
stockings (over 30) on my mother's mantle with something like awe.

During the five and a half hours of the trip back to Bryan, G-Young and I had been discussing any number of unprofound subjects when, out of the blue, she said, "Your family is the same as mine...it is exactly the same." She had finally come to a realization that overrode her cultural perception of what constituted a close family unit. That realization was that families are bonded together by the same thing, not necessarily the same space.

Koreans think that Americans are too spontaneous, too impatient, and too aggressive. But, Americans have problems with the Korean culture also. Koreans are too formal, inexpressive, and they do not observe the "personal space" demanded by Americans. Additionally, Americans tend to be taken aback to the first question a Korean student often asks, "How old are you?" This question is very important to Koreans as otherwise they do not know how they should socially act toward the individual. If the individual is older, then the proper deference should be shown as "protocol is extremely important to Koreans" (Harris and Moran 1987:410). Older Korean students do not take affront when Americans do not observe this social distinction but are insulted when
younger fellow nationals adopt the American disregard for formality. G-Young is careful to observe traditional cultural customs among her compatriots. When I asked her for the first name of a mutual Korean friend, she said that she did not know as it would not be proper to call this lady by her given name.

Harris and Moran claimed that "Koreans are considered...to be among the most naturally polite people in the world when the proper rules of etiquette are followed" (Ibid:411). However, I have found that most Korean students make allowances for the host society beyond what they consider to be the "proper rules of etiquette." In fact, probably because they are not fully aware of American mores, they tolerate more than the typical American would. However, not all Korean students relinquish their standards for those in the host country. For example, take the case of newcomer Taesin Lee. Taesin's demands that her American roommates observe Korean customs in their apartment instigated censure from female members of the Korean support group.

The sojourn to the United States can result in brutal cultural shock to a Korean student. One informant told me that before she came to America she had never done anything for herself. She was not expected to do any household chores, or even to select her own clothing.
"Imagine how it was for me," she said, "when I arrived at College Station and I had to locate an apartment, register for classes, open a bank account, arrange for telephone installation, and buy a car! All that, and in a foreign language too." I had no trouble believing that it must have been an "overwhelming experience."

Winchester (1988) said that Koreans told him that they did not like solitude and that the Western appreciation of privacy and individuality are not shared by them. I believe that this was true of most of the Korean students when they first arrived at Bryan-College Station. However, I have seen signs that many of these students, having been forced to call on inner resources never tested before, have gained an appreciation for self-reliance. Privacy is also another area where change has taken place. In Korea, privacy may not have been possible, but my informants definitely value it in Texas (cf. Harris and Moran 1987).

A Korean informant told me that because "Koreans [were] too interfering," she did not want a fellow national as a roommate. A Korean, she stressed, would not think that they were interfering but that they were being helpful. She claims that "Americans mind their own business" and are "not nosey" like Koreans are. When questioned about her own view of Koreans as "interfering"
she said that her opinion was a result of her adaptation to the American lifestyle. Other examples of Korean students' cultural and social experiences in the United States have been included in Appendix C.

STUDENTS AS INDIVIDUALS

For the sake of research, generalizations have to be made. However, the reader should understand that these two groups represent interesting individuals who just happen to be either Indian or Korean. Collectively, the Indian and Korean student communities are closely bonded cultural groups but each person wants to be accepted as an individual based on his or her own merits.

Although the collective groups have common cultural and physical characteristics that identify them as belonging to a particular ethnic group, the individuals themselves are not alike. Americans should be aware that they are dealing with individuals and treat international guests as such even when looking at the broader picture (Kim and Berry 1986). The students resent being stereotyped (Althen 1985).

There is much evidence that acculturation has taken place on the individual level. Among the students, there are those who belong to the Rotary Club and find it
rewarding to do community work in Bryan-College Station. Another Indian student is a member of the Brazos Valley Symphony. Then there is Ramanathan who wanted to learn country-western dancing. Also consider the following examples: Koreans, like Soo, enduring social embarrassment in order to make international friends; Srikanth faithfully following Aggie football games and militant about the NCAA’s sanctions against the team; G-Young who paid twice as much for sweat pants because she wanted the ones with the TAMU logo; Uma, a Hindu, who wants to visit my protestant church "if it’s all right"; and Kim, a Korean whose answering machine hails the caller with the Aggie’s traditional greeting "Howdy!" What my informants want is to be recognized as individuals who happen to be part of the student body at TAMU.

SOCIAL OPPORTUNITIES

Not all social dissatisfactions of international students should be blamed on the inconvenience of cross-cultural relationships or the disinterest of the host student community. A major problem, often overlooked in these speculations, is opportunity. Graduate study at TAMU is very demanding on a student’s time. Even the observation of traditional holidays and festivals go
wanting. A Buddhist Korean family who have two children said that they observed Christmas "because the children wanted to, of course" but their main holiday, the Lunar New Year, only resulted in Myung Ae preparing rice cake soup for the family. The second most important holiday, Cheusuk (Thanksgiving or Good Harvest Day) was not observed at all. Kihoon explained that, as students, they considered their situation to be temporary and they did not have the desire, money, or time to observe these special times as they would in Korea.

Indian students appear to have the same situation. They also did not make much effort to celebrate India's national festivals and holidays. Even the ones I attended, such as the Diwali Festival, were only half-heartedly attended by international Indian students. Srikanth went with me but I got the impression that he would have rather stayed home and watched the Aggie football game on television. The Indian lady I sat next to told me that almost every Indian on the program was American born and that "real" Indians were more amused than impressed with the program to celebrate this festival. When pressed for information about special celebrations, one would say that on a special day new clothes might be worn or maybe some friends would come over for a meal.
To put these views into perspective, I considered my own situation (cf. Cormack 1968). I spent two days at my parents’ home during Christmas because it was within driving distance. I did not celebrate Thanksgiving at all. I did not even go to church Easter Sunday. All of these holidays are special, some even sacred, to me, but the demands on my time, money, and energy as a student kept me from observing traditional customs.

However, Korean students do make an effort to pass on Korean traditions to their children. Each Saturday, Korean children attend a special school where they are taught to read and write their native language. Also, these times represent opportunities for the children to interact with one another as Koreans.

COMPARISON WITH AMERICAN STUDENTS

There is a tendency to think of all problems of international students as being unique to their foreign status. But, for a better perspective of the situation, their problems should be compared to those of American college students. Homesickness, financial problems, academic pressures, failure to establish supportive relationships, and low self-esteem are problems that can afflict any college student (Lambert and Bressler 1956).
Therefore, what should be realized is that while most of these problems come with the territory, they are often exaggerated in the case of international students. Like Indian and Korean students, American students have little time to cultivate friendships and will expend as little effort as possible to do so.

SUMMARY

There is not anything that I could add about the social cultural difference between Americans, Koreans, and Indians that seems significant compared to the things we share. How little we realize it is because we cannot get past a trifling social cultural misconception. This misconception is that everything is as it appears on the surface according to the way our individual cultures have taught its members to perceive it.

It is ironic that the American cultural characteristics that make us so friendly cause the alienation of would-be friends (cf. Unseem and Unseem 1955). Although Americans will go out of their way to help a stranger, they inadvertently abandon their foreign guests. It is equally sad that Americans, who will send gifts to those hit by natural or political disaster and
adopt the forsaken children of any nation, are unable to recognize the loneliness of those around them.

It is unfortunate that the enchanting easy going Indian students, who could add such a wonderful dimension to the often too serious American students, do not share this part of themselves because they feel snubbed and are so defensive about their country's status (Lambert and Bressler, 1956). It is appalling that one of the most appealing cultural trait of the Korean students, their tenacious loyalty, is mistaken by Americans as an ethnocentric trait that prompts Korean students to choose each other's companionship (cf. Winchester, 1988).

Unquestionably, there are culturally differences between Americans and Indians and Koreans. However, as Berreman (1976) indicated, we do have control over our choice of responses to another culture. Whether that response is positive or negative is largely a personal decision. Understanding others' needs goes a long way toward a positive decision of flexibility, a decision toward Spindler's reciprocal acculturation (1977).
CHAPTER X
CONCLUSION

The presence of Indian and Korean students at Texas A&M University provides an excellent opportunity to observe the process of acculturation. This study shows that individuals from these student groups do acculturate. However, the degree to which individuals experience acculturation is dependent upon a number of factors as this thesis has shown.

ACCULTURATION FACTORS

Factors influencing acculturation were found to begin in the home country. Especially notable is the Indian student’s cultural flexibility due to the diverse characteristics of India’s many ethnic groups. This particular trait was found to be responsible for rapid adaptation of Indian students to TAMU’s academic system. Contributing to this success was India’s period of British colonization which resulted in an academic system similar to that in the United States and began a tradition of education in the English language. India’s caste system, still an element determining social mobility, motivates Indian students to seek opportunity in the more egalitarian United States. Associated with this social
mobility are the financial opportunities available here, first in the accessibility of scholastic funding, then in employment prospects. The average Indian student comes from the middle economic level of Indian society. In monetary terms, this means the family will earn less than $300 per month. Therefore, the economic factor is a major concern of Indian students. The typical Indian student is a single male in his early twenties pursuing a Master’s degree. He usually lodges with several fellow nationals to share expenses. The young age of the majority tends to result in a support group that does not censure straying from national characteristics.

In contrast, Korean students represent a solid nationalistic entity. Almost forty years of Japanese dominion resulted in a strong nationalistic tendency for Koreans to isolate themselves from foreign influence. The typical Korean student is a married male, usually with one or two children. His time is divided between graduate studies and his family. He will be from the upper economic level of Korean society and will be pursuing a Doctoral degree. Typically, he will have served his time in the military and completed a Master’s degree in Korea. Although it is advantageous to complete the Master’s degree in Korea, students come to the United States for their Doctorate because it is considered prestigious. The
combination of cultural inflexibility, English language inadequacy, and an academic system different from that of TAMU makes academic adjustments more difficult for Korean students compared to their Indian counterparts. These reasons also result in a strong Korean student support group.

An international student's attitude toward his or her new home often depends on the initial reception of the host community. Formally, this welcome is the responsibility of the University's own agency the International Student Services. Unfortunately, TAMU has only a small staff. Also, the stressful time of orientation is compounded by the vacation time of the University itself resulting in limited facilities for meals and no campus buses. The lack of campus transportation is especially inconvenient because Bryan-College Station does not have adequate public transportation. However, in spite of the rough beginning, the International Student Services' staff is trained to assist international students with acculturation problems.

Brislin (1981) categorized acculturation into two different types, instrumental acculturation and role acculturation. To these two types, I will add a third, "social acculturation." A student's level of success in each of these varies depending on his or her goals for
studying abroad and the student's insight into the host country's socio-cultural characteristics.

INSTRUMENTAL AND ROLE ACCULTURATION

Since their main reason for attending TAMU was to obtain a graduate degree, most Indian and Korean students make the adjustments necessary to accomplish this objective. This transformation due to dedication toward a particular goal is referred to as "instrumental acculturation" (Ibid:273).

Many Indian and Korean students meeting the demands of TAMU's culturally contrasting academic system claim that they begin to have "a different way of looking at things," to become "more individualistic and independent" plus experience changes in "personal habits." These changes are the result of instrumental adaptation. Moreover, if students conform to this system and discover that they like these changes, as has been the case with many of my informants, they have "internalized" the characteristics. Such adoption of the host's cultural traits is what Brislin termed "role acculturation" (1986:286).
SOCIAL ACCULTURATION

The ability to establish close social ties with individuals of the host country is the way I have defined social acculturation. Social acculturation is different from role acculturation because regardless of how "individualistic," or how "independent" an international students becomes, he or she may still be unable to form cross-cultural relationships. Consequently, although many Indian and Korean students exhibit evidence of "internalizing" many American characteristics both groups expressed dissatisfaction with their lack of interaction with American students. Close interaction is not a part of, or a requirement for, the academic goal. However, it is a goal many of the international students strive for but fail to achieve. Most of them return home with an American degree, but without having American friends.

An important question to ask then is, "Why do Indian and Korean students have such difficulty forming relationships with American students?" The fact that this problem is shared by both groups is perplexing considering the contrast between Indian and Korean student groups.
Korean Students

In the case of Korean students, there are obvious reasons for their lack of interaction with American students. The common language shared by Korean students encourages verbal isolation from outsiders, while their difficulty in the English language supports self-protective clustering (Spaulding and Flack 1976). Furthermore, their dependence on one another results in a strong nationalistic support group which further insulates them from interaction with Americans. Ideological commitment to the home country and an expanding national economy present Korean students with reasons to anticipate careers in the homeland, prompting them to cultivate relationships with fellow nationals who might have an impact on future employment in Korea.

Indian Students

How does one account for the Indian students’ lack of social interaction with American students? There are a number of reasons that would seem to facilitate Indian students in this matter. First of all, unlike Korean students, Indian students speak English fluently and rarely speak a native tongue even with fellow nationals. Second, the Indian national peer group exerts little pressure to maintain exclusive national bonds. Third,
because the United States offers opportunities for social and economic mobility unaccessible in India, many Indian students plan to remain after graduation. Finally, Indian students have been historically conditioned to acculturate to customs differing from their own. In spite of these reasons, however, the Indian students, like Korean students, expressed dissatisfaction with their level of social interaction with Americans. How can that be explained?

The Common Denominator

Despite their differences, Indian and Korean students have at least one cultural characteristic in common, and that is the manner in which friendships are formed. This characteristic, which I believe differs from that of Americans, appears to be responsible for the failure of many attempts at social relationships with American students. As a result of these failures they often use the words "insincere" and "superficial" when describing Americans. My fieldwork has led me to the conclusion that the main solution to the problems associated with social acculturation is simple.

Acculturation on the social level is achieved when all parties understand the cultural "rules." I believe that social interaction is complicated by the contrast
between a key cultural trait of Americans compared to one shared by Indians and Koreans. Social interaction among Americans and among Indian and Korean students respectively appear, on the surface, to have much in common. The distinction is only revealed when the processes of friendship formation are compared.

I have not found any previous research to validate my theory and submit this hypothesis to be tested by future researchers: The problem Indian and Korean students have befriending Americans appears to be due to their confusion with the American tendency to be "overly" friendly to strangers and causal acquaintances. This trait is commonly misinterpreted by Indians and Koreans who assume that it indicates an intimacy that from the viewpoint of Americans has not been established. Subsequent social interactions result in Indian and Korean students feeling that they have been "taken in" when Americans do not exhibit progressive commitment to the relationship. It is my opinion that successful social interaction between Americans and their Indian and Korean guests will follow if this cultural misunderstanding is revealed to them.
RECOMMENDATIONS

Basically, the problems faced by Indian and Korean students at TAMU can be categorized in one of two ways. First, there are those problems that are generic to the student status. As graduate students, Indians, Koreans, and Americans have much in common. All have to deal with such generic problems as missing their families, financial hardship, academic stress, and social disappointment. However, with respect to foreign students, these generic problems are generally intensified. For example, the main problem of most Indian students is financial hardship. Although American students often share this problem, they also have more options to deal with the situation. American students are eligible for long-term student loans unavailable to international students. American students can also register as part-time students, making it possible to subsidize their education with a part-time job. Spouses of American students can help support the family whereas the spouses of foreign students are not allowed to earn wages in the United States. Unlike the Indian student, the American student can temporarily suspend his or her education for a semester while earning money for the next semester. Moreover, parental financial assistance is more feasible for the resident student than
for the Indian student. The United States–India wage
disparity greatly limits the assistance a middle class
Indian family can contribute toward the American sojourn.

Second, and perhaps more important, are those
problems unique to an international student's foreign
status. An example of one such problem is the linguistic
complications typically cited by Korean students as their
greatest concern. This problem influences many areas of
the Korean student's sojourn. For example, English
inadequacy increases the stress of academic work. It also
makes it difficult for Korean international students to
make American friends.

There is no easy answer to the generic problems of
the international student. Each individual case has its
own possibilities and limitations. However, there are
ways to lessen the negative consequences of these problems
and make the students' situation more manageable. Unlike
the generic problems, many culturally specific problems
can be greatly minimized by educating international
students about the host community and academic system. At
TAMU, the entity most likely and best able to implement
both types of solutions is the International Student
Services.

The ISS and similar organizations assisting with
acculturation of international students should try to be
more flexible. Their programs should help meet a wide array of acculturation goals rather than shoehorn all foreign students into a few categories. The individual personalities of the students have to be considered beyond the stereotypical characteristics ascribed to a national image.

Of course, there should be programs tailored toward instrumental acculturation that teach all international students the basics of life in the United States. These programs should provide the fundamental information necessary to obtain an American degree. Limited introductory programs should be offered early in the sojourn to provide rudimentary details necessary for social interaction with Americans.

Ideally, international students' orientation should begin even before they leave their home countries. The flow of information should begin with the acceptance packet. This packet should contain basic information about the host's social characteristics and academic systems. This procedure would allow the student time to learn about the new environment without simultaneously having to deal with cultural shock.

During the International Student Orientation, these fundamentals should be reintroduced. Matters essential to a successful first semester should be addressed as well.
These additional matters would include class registration, necessary legal documents, and Social Security numbers, to name a few. The idea would be to limit the amount of information to that which is absolutely necessary for the first few months. Additional information should be provided later, when the students can more easily digest it.

A calendar indicating dates for fulfilling certain requirements should be provided to international students. For example, the deadline for income tax returns should be listed. As each deadline approaches, the students could deal with the problem as it arises. Information about more distant matters is not likely to be remembered from within the midst of all of the pressing information presented during the initial two-week orientation program.

In some cases, information other than that necessary for instrumental acculturation will be largely ignored. The older Korean students with families planning to return to Korea need to protect themselves against problems of returning to their country too Westernized for their own good. In such cases, the lack of social acculturation may not even be a problem to overcome.

However, there should also be programs for those desiring a deeper level of adjustment. These programs should provide information necessary for successful cross-
cultural social interaction. For the most part, international students should be encouraged to participate more extensively in these programs only after they have been in the United States for some time. This will help reduce the flood of information at the beginning of the sojourn by postponing the flow of information necessary for deeper levels of acculturation until after some initial level of acculturation has been accomplished. This initial level of acculturation forms a background on which to build. In addition to covering expected problems, seminars can address actual incidents and circumstances proffered by the participating international students. By focusing on real-life incidents, the programs will be more pertinent to the group's concerns.

It would be particularly helpful to this second phase of acculturation if the information provided by the ISS was supplemented by informal discussion among the various international groups. There are ways that the University could facilitate such discussions. The halls in Bizzell, which houses the ISS, could be covered with bulletin boards from the different international clubs. This would be a way to get word to students interested in inquiring about solutions to particular problems or investigating different aspects of American culture.
Although this office already supplies much information about life in the United States, I feel that the ISS does not adequately emphasize certain characteristics of Americans themselves. The main solution toward easing the social acculturation process is to educate foreign students about American friendship patterns. Most Americans and Texans (and I believe, TAMU's students, faculty, and staff in particular) are genuinely friendly and helpful. This characteristic should be capitalized upon to benefit TAMU's international students.

Besides educating the international students about the American friendship forming pattern, the students should be informed that it may be necessary to take the initiative in getting help from the TAMU student body. I agree with Brislin who made the following statement:

There are many people who would be willing to spend a good deal of time with sojourners, but they must be asked. People enjoy being asked to help out on an important task and consider such requests a compliment. On the other hand, the social stigma associated with walking into an administrator's office and volunteering is just strong enough to keep them away [1981:301].

Indian and Korean students should be advised to ask American students for the help that they need. They should not assume that American students will come to their assistance without a direct request. They should be
informed that such an action usually results in getting the assistance needed and that it may also begin the process toward cross-cultural friendships.

To get American students involved will be chiefly the responsibility of the foreign students themselves. To do so effectively, they should be well informed about American and Texan characteristics before they approach their hosts.

As a final note, the reader and international students should realize that there is not a ready solution for all of the problems an international student will face. Many of the generic problems may be mitigated; it is, however, unlikely that they can ever be eliminated completely. Even where there are problems peculiar to international students, there may be little more that the University can or should do to help the students. For example, the linguistic problems of Korean students could be reduced by insisting on more stringent testing for English proficiency before admitting students to the graduate program. However, if a Korean student is willing to face the difficulty inherent in English inadequacy, and of "losing face" by the failure to succeed, should the University deny that student the option? English Language Institute courses are already offered by the University for those who need additional English instruction.
Recommendations, by the TAMU staff, to take advantage of these courses are not always appreciated. Many of my Korean informants believed they could achieve their academic goal without this extra time and expense. For the most part, they were correct. So far as I am able to discern, many Korean students are still meeting academic requirements without being able to speak English well.

Since most Indian and Korean international students are able to achieve their academic goals, enacting more stringent standards to prevent admission of students who may face acculturation difficulties does not seem to be an appropriate solution. The University should only attempt to reduce acculturation problems and provide information regarding possible difficulties the prospective international student may face in the new socio-cultural environment.
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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR GRADUATE STUDENTS FROM INDIA
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR GRADUATE STUDENTS FROM INDIA

Please indicate correct response or fill in the blanks. Use the back of the page for additional comments. If you do not object to a personal interview, please write your name and telephone number on this questionnaire, or call me. Thank you for taking time to help me with information needed for my Master's thesis in Anthropology.
Jay Herndon - 823-2965. 257 Troy, Bryan Texas 77801

1. (Male) (Female)

2. Age ______

3. (Single) (Married) (Divorced)

4. Where are you from? City___________ State___________

5. Where did you get your undergraduate degree?
   City__________________ State__________________

6. Major __________________________

7. Degree in process (Ph.D) (Master's)

8. How many years have you been at Texas A&M? ______

9. How many more years will you be at Texas A&M? ______

10. How are you funded? ____________________________

11. Why did you decide to attend a university in the U.S.? ____________________________

12. Why did you choose Texas A&M? ____________________

13. What problems do you consider to have been the most serious in U.S.? [cultural] [social] [academic]
   other____________________________________


14. Do you intend to [stay] in U.S. after graduation, or [return to your country] after you receive your [Masters] [Ph.D]? ____________________________________________________________________

15. Do you live in an [apartment] or [house]?
How many family members or roommates live there? _____
If roommates, what nationality are they? ____________

16. If married, is your spouse living with you? ____________

17. What does your spouse do? ____________________________________________________________________

18. How many children live in your household? ____________

19. How much rent do you pay? ____________

20. Do you have a car? _____

21. What social activities are you involved in? ____________
________________________________________________________________________________________

22. Do your social activities involve only Indians, or do they include Americans and other international students? ____________________________________________________________________

23. Do you have relatives living in the U.S.? ____________
If so, how many years have they been here? ____________

24. What is the occupation of your Father? ____________
Mother? _____

25. What was your occupation in India? _____Spouse? _____

26. What caste does your family belong to? ____________

27. Religion? ________________

28. Do you attend a local [church] [temple] [mosque] [synagogue]? ____________________________________________________________________
29. Is the worship service in English? ________

30. In what way do you believe that attending a U.S. university has changed you, in a cultural sense?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

31. What is different about living and studying in the U.S? Do you like the differences or not? ________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________
APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR GRADUATE STUDENTS FROM KOREA
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR GRADUATE STUDENTS FROM KOREA

Please indicate correct response or fill in the blanks. Use the back of the page for additional comments (any kind about life in the U.S.). If you do not object to a personal interview, please write your name and telephone number on this questionnaire, or call me. Thank you for taking time to help me with information needed for my Master's thesis in Anthropology.
Jay Herndon - 823-2965. 257 Troy, Bryan Texas 77801

1. (Male) (Female)
2. Age _____
3. (Single) (Married) (Divorced)
4. Where are you from? City__________State__________
5. Where did you get your undergraduate degree?
City____________________State________________________
6. Major _______________________
7. Degree in process (Ph.D) (Master's)
8. How many years have you been at Texas A&M?___________
9. How many more years will you be at Texas A&M?
10. How are you funded?________________________________
11. Why did you decide to attend a university in the U.S.?_________________________________________________________________
12. Why did you choose Texas A&M?__________________________
13. What problems do you consider to have been the most serious in U.S.? [cultural] [social] [educational] other? ________________________________

14. Do you intend to [stay] in U.S. after graduation, or [return to your country] after you receive your [Masters] [Ph.D]? ________________________________

15. Do you live in an [apartment] or [house]? How many roommates (or family members) live there? If not family, what nationality are your roommates?

16. If married, is your spouse living with you? _____

17. What does your spouse do? ________________________________

18. How many children live in your household? _______

19. How much rent do you pay? _______

20. Do you have a car? _____

21. What social activities are you involved in? _______

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

22. Do your social activities involve only Koreans, or do they include Americans and other international students? ________________________________

23. Do you have relatives living in the U.S.? _______
   If so, how many years have they been here? _____
24. What is the occupation of your Father? ______________
   Mother? ______________

25. What was your occupation in Korea? ______
   Spouse? ______

26. Religion? ______________

27. Do you attend a local [church] [temple] [mosque]
   [synagogue]? ______________

28. Is the worship service in English? ______

29. In what way do you believe that attending a U.S.
   university has changed you, in a cultural sense? Or,
   what is so different about living and studying in the
   U.S? Do you like the differences or not?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________
APPENDIX C

CASE STUDIES
Taesin Lee
Korea

Sometimes an international student has reason to think that cultural shock will not hit him or her. Such was the case with Taesin Lee, a Korean woman in her thirties who had been lecturing in a Korean university for several years before coming to Texas A&M. Taesin believed that her experience and maturity would be a buffer against the trauma of a different culture. In fact, rather than the anxious dread that many students admit to experiencing, she had already envisioned her easy transition.

Thus, when Korean nationals attempted to educate her on adjusting to her new life in the United States, Taesin rebuffed them. She was so sure that she would have no problems that she often offended those she would come to depend on so heavily. The scenarios presented by the "old hands" probably seemed to be too negative to this experienced young woman. In any event, her cultural shock has been compounded by having to eat her own words.

Most of my profile on Taesin comes from one of the individuals who tried to enlighten her regarding American culture. Although most of my initial information was from someone other than Taesin, Taesin’s English was sufficient to corroborate the information to my satisfaction.
Taesin is beginning her graduate education with English Language Institute courses. This means that, rather than achieving the necessary level of English proficiency required by Texas A&M before her arrival, she opted to study English at Texas A&M. She expects this program to take a year and a half. It is not unusual for the University to require a foreign student to take some ELI courses because an advisor feels that it is necessary. But, Taesin is the only student I have encountered that has chosen the ELI route voluntarily.

When I met Taesin, she had been here about one month. She was very depressed. Taesin had not been able to foresee what it would mean to be in a foreign country without fluency in the language or dependable public transportation. When she was telling me about her trials, she kept referring to her Korean acquaintances and how sorry she was. "I am so sorry," she kept saying. By the context of her conversation, I understood that she meant that she had received their advice in such a way as to insult them. It should be emphasized that these advisors were not friends, but Korean nationals who generously give of their time to assist new students coming from their country. Their motive is only to lessen the difficulty of the new Korean students. Taesin had alumni from her Korean university that were especially helpful. There was
always someone with her while she went through the two weeks of orientation, a process that she did not understand at all.

After quite an ordeal, with the help of her "friends," Taesin was registered in the University and had an apartment. The apartment has two bedrooms and two baths. Taesin has two American roommates. Betty has a bedroom and bath to herself. Taesin and Wanda share the other bedroom and bath. Taesin was not satisfied with the living arrangements but her friends were exhausted with the two-week search which they had fitted into their own schedules and strongly urged her to take the apartment.

My informant told me that Taesin would rather have shared her room with Betty than Wanda. However, both roommates were patient with Taesin. This patience was to be tested. Taesin is fanatically clean and foisted her system on her roommates. Taesin delegated household tasks to Betty and Wanda. Betty, who has a steady boyfriend, was told that she was not to have sex with him in the apartment. As far as I know, there is no evidence that she did but Taesin wanted to make sure. She felt it was her right to make this request since it was, after all, her home. Taesin also requested that Betty take a list of complaints about the apartment to the manager. Betty refused, saying that, because the complaints were not her
own, Taesin would have to do it herself. Then there was Taesin's insistence that her roommates eat the Korean dishes that she had prepared. To their credit, the Americans acquiesced. In other words, according to my Korean informant, Taesin was forcing herself and her Korean culture on her American roommates. Her Korean friends advised her to mind her own business and let her roommates live their own lives. They advised Taesin not to touch her roommates so much because "Americans don't like much physical contact." They reminded her that she was in America now and that she should not try to force her American roommates to adapt to Korean culture.

This advice may not have come in time for Taesin to salvage the generous tolerance first exhibited by the roommates. Shortly after my visit with Taesin, I heard that there was an unpleasant exchange between Taesin and Wanda. One night, Wanda was watching a documentary on television. The program was about Asians. Taesin came into the room and the two of them began a conversation. Wanda made the comment that "she hated Congs." Taesin, not understanding the term, asked her what a "Cong" was. I was curious too, and perplexed at her answer. "Yellow people," Wanda replied. This terrible racial insult seems ludicrous in light of the fact that Wanda's father is an American Negro who married a Korean women while he was a
G.I. serving in Korea. Wanda is a pretty, young women who seemed to be very pleasant. Taesin herself told me that Wanda had "a good heart." I surmised that Wanda had been provoked into an uncharacteristic verbal attack. Though it may be too late, Taesin is seeing the value of the advice she rejected.

I have lately discovered that the objection that Taesin had to the living arrangements and her preference for Betty stemmed from her bias against Wanda because she is of mixed blood. Taesin preferred Betty because she was all white. Koreans appear to discriminate against members of their own race who marry "outsiders."
The Abortion

I have included this account only after taking every precaution to protect the identity of the individuals involved. I have even avoided mentioning them as anyone but casual friends. I have chosen the names Srinivas and Sema for the couple.

From the very first, I had intended to form close relationships with my informants. I did not foresee what that kind of commitment might mean. I learned the extent of it when one couple contacted me about their personal problem. They had a dilemma and had decided that they would trust only me with the information. Sema was pregnant and had decided an abortion was the only solution. Sirvanas was not anxious for Sema to have an abortion. She only laughed and said that he was totally idealistic. Not only could they not afford to have the child and provide for it, but the timing was also awkward. Sema would come to term about the same time that she was expecting to complete requirements for her degree.

There was also the fact that they were not married. Their friends and families could not discover their secret. When Sirvanas first approached me I got the impression that he was against the abortion. Sirvanas said, "It is too sad that the pregnancy should be
terminated just because of money." I told him that I would talk to her. I am not sure what I expected but there was little discussion when we did meet. Sema had made up her mind and emotions did not seem to enter into her decision. It was the practical solution as far as she could see.

There was never any question in my mind that I would assist them. Yet, I thought very much about the situation and how I would feel if I was in their position. I had imaginary arguments with the Pro-Life group. What were the options? Sema could go back to India and have the baby because it would be too expensive to stay in the U.S. for the delivery and she would need the care and support of her family. However, the birth would most certainly end Sema's educational goals and leave her with a debt in American dollars that she would have to repay in Indian wages. Also, there would be the social stigma of a baby out of wedlock. Although social attitudes are changing in India, there would still be great shame brought on the entire family. Another solution would be to give the child up for adoption in the United States. This would still mean that Sema's academic goals would be interrupted and she would probably lose the all important assistantship.
Sema's decision was to have an abortion. Considering her options, I was glad the decision was not mine. I too could see no other choice for her but, in my case, there would have been more of an emotional struggle than was apparent in her case. I wondered about this and asked her if abortions were acceptable in India. She said not for the first child because it may not be possible to have another. At this point she asked me if I felt that the abortion was a risk. I told her that I did not think so if it was done in a clinic with qualified personnel. Complications were usually associated with "back-door" abortions with unqualified practitioners. Sema agreed that the reluctance against an abortion for the first birth in India was probably due to such cases. Obviously, abortion is not the sensitive moral issue in India that it is in the U.S.

Abortion appeared to be the only option for Sema. I do not believe that she ever earnestly considered any other alternative. Sema is a very serious student and her education is very important to her. I felt that she considered the pregnancy a foolish mistake that should never have happened. Still, she did not appear to waste time with guilt or blame, only the solution. The only questions she asked of me had to do with how safe I felt
the procedure was and what she could do about the morning sickness.

I believe that the deed was accomplished with more impact on me than on her. To her, it seemed only necessary to get it done. I felt awkward entering the driveway of the small clinic picketed by a couple of protestors. The entrance of the clinic is purposefully situated at the back but one still has to come in from the street.

This couple plans to marry but economically it is not feasible at this time. Like many other Indian international students, they must share lodging with others who can contribute to expenses. An Indian couple has a difficult time taking all the expense money from one pocket.
Uma and Jagdish Doma

India

I met Uma Jagdish Doma in the Texas A&M Library in the Fall semester of 1992. Jagdish is her husband's first name and she uses it as a part of her complete name. Attracted by her traditional dress and the red bho-tti on her forehead, I asked her if she had time to talk to me. We discussed the circumstances of living in a foreign country and attending A&M.

Uma had only begun that semester. Her husband of a year and a half had been at A&M for a year before she joined him. Jagdish and Uma did not have an arranged marriage. It was obvious that she was very much in love with him. The year following their marriage which she spent residing with her in-laws had seemed to have been a long one, despite the fact that she had known and liked them all of her life. Uma told me that she had not really planned on studying abroad. It was only after she married that it was considered. Both engineering students working on Master's degrees (Jagdish—Electrical Engineering, Uma—Bioengineering), they were very busy with their studies. Uma especially seemed overwhelmed with her first semester here.
During the Christmas break, I invited Uma and Jagdish for dinner at my home. Like most Indian students, this couple has no car, I offered to give them a ride. When I arrived at the Doma home, a small one bedroom apartment, I was invited in and offered tea or coffee. I have to avoid caffeine in the afternoon, so I declined. Uma said, "But you must, this is the first time you have been in our home and we must offer you something." Apparently, the offer had to be accepted as well. So, I said that a glass of water would be nice.

While I drank my water, Uma brought out pictures from India, some of which were of their wedding. The wedding pictures were a bonus to me. Many ceremonies were documented by the photos and emphasized by changes of costume according to the particular ritual. Uma's formal wedding attire was very beautiful. When Jagdish told me that it was not unusual for such a garment to cost as much as a thousand dollars, my gasp motivated him to ask if this was not the case in the United States. It was, I had to agree, and furthermore, the Indian wedding dress can be worn for many future special events, unlike the once-in-a-lifetime white elephant of the elegant American bride. We laughed as we imagined a gala with Western women all decked out in their old wedding gowns.
Preparing a meal for Uma, a "practicing Hindu," did not come naturally for a "meat, gravy, and potato Texan" but I discovered that living close to the Mexican border had provided me with many recipes for dishes that appeal to Indians.

When I asked them if they were both Hindu, Jagdish answered that Uma was a practicing Hindu while he was not. I asked him if that meant that he never got a meal with meat in it. He laughed and said that was essentially what it meant. Still, while Jagdish does eat meat, that does not include, of course, beef or pork.

Uma and Jagdish had brought a carrot cake to go with our meal. I took this to be the appropriate custom and remembered it when I returned the visit. My visit to their home was a landmark event for all of us. It was my first time to eat an Indian meal and their first time to have an American as a dinner guest. Indians consider their food to be too spicy for Americans and Uma assured me that she had cut back on the spices for my sake.

My next meal for the Domas gained points for Texas. This meal included cheese enchiladas, salad, Spanish rice (made with tomatoes and green peppers), pinto beans (seasoned with chili peppers), and stuffed jalapeno peppers. Jagdish said that he believed that it had cleared up his cold. One bite of the stuffed peppers
produce an immediate response of "It's hot" from Uma. As a consequence, when I was next invited to their home for dinner, Uma told me "I relaxed when preparing the meal and did not worry about getting the food too spicy for you."

I consider this couple to be among my closest friends. They are so comfortable to be with and were very helpful with my research. Jagdish arranged my questionnaire in a logical order and made suggestions regarding questions to obtain the information I needed.

When I asked if it would be impolite for me to ask about caste on a questionnaire, they said that it was not really important and did not think that it would reveal anything useful to my thesis. Uma and Jagdish minimized the importance of caste and claimed that it was only in the small villages that such matters still held importance. "It was silly in the first place," said Jagdish. Uma said that cross-caste marriages were not unusual. However, she related a case of a marriage of a woman to a man of the same caste but considered to be too closely related within the social framework. This marriage brought objections from both families. "But," said Uma, "they were in love, they had their own flat, and it's okay."
Koreans--On Abortion

At the time of conception, a Korean child is considered to be "born." Maybe that is not the proper word to use. Notwithstanding, at the time of the actual birth, the child is considered to be one year old. By the time the child has a birthday, he or she is considered to be two years old. This first birthday is very important. During the Yi Dynasty, many children did not survive the first year. Hundreds of years later, it is still a time of great celebration.

G-Young and I discussed abortion. I was telling her that I had heard that it was illegal in Korea for doctors to reveal the sex of an embryo. The reason is because of the Korean's preference for male children. It is feared that if the parents know that the child will be a girl, they will abort it. Here governmental pressure and social reform deal a cruel blow to cultural ideology. The Korean government encourages small families and no abortions. However, the role of the male child in Korean culture places young families in a dilemma.

G-Young claims that at conception the zygote is a being and that termination equals murder. This is the reason why when a child is born, he or she is considered
to be one year of age. The following is drawn from G-
Young’s account.

During the Yi Dynasty, the philosophy was that babies
could learn in-utero. Mothers-to-be were careful to
subject themselves only to those things that would
favorably impress the embryo. It was believed that the
developing baby could be taught, could hear what the
mother heard, and so on. The 560 years of the Yi Dynasty
marked a time of great strides for Korea. It was in the
early part of this dynasty that the philosophy of prenatal
education matured. Because of this early education, many
things were invented and developed during the Yi Dynasty.
Some examples of such things are the rain gauge, fine
porcelain, the Korean alphabet, to name a few. The Yi
Dynasty ended when Korea was colonized by Japan. During
this time, Koreans had difficulty just holding on to their
cultural heritage. Next, they endured civil war. It is
only now, when Korea has sufficiently stabilized the
living population, that the elite can, once again, indulge
in the education of the unborn.

However unthinkable abortions might be for Koreans,
they are performed. Physicians perform illegal abortions
of female fetuses. However, some Korean male informants
have told me that attitudes are changing in Korea. One
informant said that he had one daughter and that he and
his wife intended to have another child. If that child is
another daughter, it would be just fine with him. He and
his wife would not consider an abortion. I know two other
families that have only daughters and they do not seem
upset about the situation.

Of course, no elder son in a Korean family means that
Koreans will experience a change in their social
structure. But, I believe that it has been changing more
than the Koreans themselves realize. When I talk to G-
Young about her family of three sisters and one brother,
it is evident that her father has not favored the son over
his daughters. He has told his daughters that they should
never feel inferior because of their sex.

Other informants have told me that their parents do
not live with their elder sons. Sometimes it is because
it would mean that they would have to move to the city
where the son has a job, other times, it was "because they
do not want to; they have lives of their own."
In 1984, Srikanth made plans to come to the U.S. He had gone through the entire process of applying and being accepted. The only thing he lacked was a document that I interpreted to be a financial statement. He had not considered this last item to be a problem. However, during the efforts to obtain this document, Srikanth made the sad discovery that his uncle was intent on acquiring Srikanth's family property.

It all goes back to when Srikanth's father and mother wanted to build a house. His maternal grandfather instead persuaded them to build above the existing family home. Two upper stories were added to the grandfather’s house to accommodate Srikanth’s immediate family. Srikanth is the only son and he has two sisters. This addition represents the family’s assets. Widowed in 1980, Srikanth’s mother receives a small stipend from the government. After the death of her husband, she trusted her brother with her estate. "Blind faith," Srikanth said, "which was stupid." At first, the uncle would put Srikanth off when approached about the legal documents needed to satisfy university requirements in the U.S. He would say that the papers were at another place, or at least not easily accessible,
and that he would have to get them. Also, the uncle said that Srikanth did not need to go to the United States. He claimed that he would not even send his own sons. Srikanth and his mother ended up estranged over this issue and did not speak for about three years. They reconciled only after intervention by his sisters.

In the years during Srikanth’s failed attempts to come to the States, he worked and attended a university in India. Two years ago Srikanth confronted his uncle who finally admitted that he had no intention to release the documents that would designate what assets belonged to Srikanth’s mother. Their relationship, never a good one, deteriorated even further when the uncle did bankroll his own sons’ studies in the U.S. This treachery was unbearable to Srikanth who felt that the two cousins were not academically qualified for study abroad. He feels that his family assets were used by his uncle to give financial support to his own sons. Still, he stresses that the matter is not so much about money, especially his portion, but about trust. Also, he feels that his mother has been put in a financial situation of dependence that could have been avoided. According to Srikanth, his mother will always have her home but the ten rooms are too much for one person to keep. The Uncle has limited her prospects of income by asking her not to rent rooms.
However, one of Srikanth's sisters lives with her mother and pays rent. Also, the grandmother lives with Srikanth's mother. He did not say if she contributes any monetary assistance. If not, it would appear the uncle took over the home place, avoided responsibility for his elderly mother, cheated his sister out of her estate, and palmed their mother off on his sister as well. I find this information interesting because other Indian informants have only told me about the positive aspects of the extended family in India.

Srikanth was finally able to come to the States with the help of his brother-in-law. "In India, we do not like to ask a bother-in-law for anything," Srikanth told me. This assistance was not in the form of money; it cost the brother-in-law nothing but the effort it took to get a letter from the company where he was employed. The letter indicated that Srikanth was sponsored by the company. Finally, Srikanth was off to the States where he has had two dreadful years. By the time I had met Srikanth, he was very disheartened by his sojourn.

* He left India depressed over the family problem.
* He suffered through at least two terrible classes.
* He had lost his assistantship.
* There was the threat of having to return to India under shameful condition of expulsion from the University (academic problems due to the aforementioned classes).
That should be more than enough, but it does not stop there. Srikanth has a job mopping floors in the cafeteria. One day the cash register was broken down and he quickly figured the amount and told the cashier. The cashier ignored him (like an subordinate who did not know his place) and he felt belittled. This attitude is not one that Americans gladly suffer but for an Indian, who is culturally conditioned to equate manual labor to a lower social status, the insult is even more degrading. To top it off, he has a monthly telephone bill running about $200 so that he can tell his mother that things are going fine.
Young-Ju Lee
Korea

Young-Ju had told G-Young that I probably would not want to interview her because she was anti-American. That was not the only mistake Young-Ju made. She had made some major miscalculations about many things. First, she had assumed that because she was not interested in other cultures, people of other cultures would not be interested in hers. Second, since she did not find other traditional garments to be beautiful, then others would not think Korean traditional clothing was either. Third, because she judged other cultures to be inferior to Korea’s, she assumed other ethnic groups would be as critical as she was. Convinced of these things, I think that she just wanted to disapprove first.

It was only when I began to talk about all the different traditional outfits that we had both seen at the International Student Talent Show and Dress Parade that she began to believe that the compliments that I had made about Korean traditional clothing were sincere. When she realized that, she seemed to relax.

She told me that her anti-American sentiments did not come with her from Korea as Koreans are not exposed to many foreigners. She said that her attitude developed
after her arrival. What caused her to become so anti-American was not clear, but I felt the problem was that she had not learned to accept anyone that was different from herself. In spite of her nationalistic claims, her best friend is an international student from Mexico City and her roommate is a Korean-American. We got into quite a conversation regarding the Korean-American. This girl was adopted by an Anglo-American couple who later had biological children. Naturally, the Korean daughter does not resemble any of her family. Young-Ju's impression was that the adoptive parents were unthinking when they took a child from Korea to raise in the U.S. away from the child's native culture. Young-Ju admitted that all the family seemed to love her roommate but, because the girl has a rather unpleasant personality, Young-Ju seemed to have related this to the fact that the girl is culturally misplaced. I tried to make sense of this, and I said that since I did not know the details, it was difficult to say what the adoptive parents' motive was. I suggested that it was possible that there was no one in Korea that could adopt the child. At this point Young-Ju said a curious thing, "Koreans do not usually take in children from other families." When she said that, something rose up inside of me. I said, "Do you mean to tell me that you have been criticizing this couple for taking a child from another
country into their home just to give her a family, when Koreans will not even take in their own? How can you say that Americans are self-centered and unconcerned about others when American couples will take children from anywhere in the world with all kinds of physical conditions and make them a part of their family? It seems to me to be a trait of generosity that is unsurpassed."

At this, Young-Ju said that she was often confused by Americans because just when she felt that we were selfish, we would do something very generous. I think that this comment indicates that Young-Ju has a problem with cultural inflexibility.

Since this visit, I have heard from other informants that Koreans seldom adopt children. The exception is when they need a son. For example, one informant was one of seven sisters and finally a son (a relative) was adopted. The blood line is very important to Koreans and they want to keep the family line pure. An adoption might result in a family getting a half-breed child. So, it is better to leave them in an orphanage.
The Mystique of the Cat

My cat, Cali, has never failed to make an impression on my Indian and, especially, Korean guests. None of them have considered cats to be common pets. Dogs are popular with both groups. Some individuals confessed that they had always been somewhat afraid of cats. Cali seems an unlikely creature to frighten anyone. But, according to some informants, themselves not included, Indians and Koreans believe that cats had supernatural powers. The following are some incidents involving informants and Cali.

Jae-Gyu Lee

Cali, usually exhibits a very ethnocentric attitude toward our inferior species but immediately climbed into Jae-Gyu's lap. He seemed captivated by her. When asked why cats were not popular with Koreans, he replied that it was not that cats were not liked, it was because cats were considered to have a superior intellect and that if a person kept a cat for a long time, when the cat died its spirit would enter that person. He did not explain why inheriting this superior intellect would be undesirable.

Another thing that he said about pets in Korea was intriguing, "Koreans have very short tempers, you know,
and that characteristic is carried over to their pets."
He thought maybe Koreans were "hot" tempered because they ate really hot food. This might cause them to treat their pets in such a way that they became short-tempered also. He claims that cats and dogs are simply not as docile in Korea as they are in the U.S. I had read that Koreans do have short tempers--but no one has presumed to know why.

_Uma Doma_

Uma had visited me many times before I realized that she used a throw pillow to avoid contact with Cali. She has never been able to explain exactly what it is about cats that she fears.

_Kihoon and Myung Ae Lee_

During the Lee's visit in my home, I was once more struck with the Korean attitude toward cats. With few exceptions, all of my Korean friends have avoided any contact and some seem actually frightened of her. I had gotten used to this behavior but I was quite fascinated by the reaction of one year old Hwi Eun. One time, the child suddenly noticed the cat which was not even near her and Hwi Eun let out a blood-curdling scream. My experience with children has been that they are not naturally frightened of animals. In fact, most often they must be
taught to take care around them, lest they startle the animal and are bitten or scratched as a result. I was amazed that such a young child could have developed such a fear. My Korean informants usually mention the cats' eyes which they claim glow in the dark. "Cats are so silent and move so stealthily that one cannot be sure that they are really real" said one informant.

**G-Young Gang**

When G-Young was between apartments and stayed with me for a month she had to accept Cali as one of her roommates. I told G-Young to keep her door closed so that Cali would not shed hair all over her things or get in bed with her. Nevertheless, Cali managed to disturb G-Young on several occasions. For one thing, Cali was not accustomed to being shut out of any part of the house so the shut door was intriguing. G-Young told me that late one night she heard soft scratching on the door. It frightened her, but then she realized it was only Cali. However, she was still so unnerved by watching Cali's paws reach under the door that she finally opened it and let her in the room.

Another time, G-Young said that she went into the bathroom and Cali was asleep on the rug. Although G-Young told Cali to leave, she refused! G-Young had to use her
foot to push Cali out of the bathroom. I told G-Young that Cali rarely discussed personal things, such as what humans did while in the bathroom, and that I usually just ignored her. However, G-Young did not intend to share the bathroom with a cat.

Zang-Ho and Jungok Shon

When Zang-Ho and his wife Jungok came to visit me, I could not believe her reaction to Cali. Jungok, who claims that she likes all animals, spent the entire evening petting Cali or wooing her into range. Naturally, Cali, sensing that someone wanted her around, tried to escape. When I expressed surprise that a Korean would like a cat, as most seem not to, Zang-Ho explained that Korean women were superstitious and frightened of cats. Frankly, I felt that Zang-Ho had expressed his own feelings.

Hyungok Lee

The most dramatic reaction to Cali was that of Hyungok Lee. Hyungok appeared to have a pathological fear of animals. My cat—minding her own business—would amble by Hyungok which would cause her to let out a shriek. Cali, like any sensible being who understands a cry of alarm, would run frantically from the room. I am
sure that Cali never knew that she was the problem. But, whatever it was, she was not staying around for it. I hoped to reconcile the two but Hyungok said that she had always been afraid of animals and she would not touch Cali. I know it appears callous of me, but those scenes of Cali and Hyungok, both in a state of panic, were funny.
VITA

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