FROM: AFIT/CI

11 July 1989

SUBJECT: Review of Thesis/Dissertation for Public Release

TO: PA

1. Request you review the attached for public release prior to being sent to DTIC.

2. Reply by indorsement to CI NLT _____.

Ernest A. Haygood

ERNEST A. HAYGOOD, 1st Lt, USAF
Executive Officer
Civilian Institution Programs

1 Atch.
THESIS 89-082
BROOKS

1st Ind, AFIT/PA

08 FEB 1990

TO: CI

Approved/~~Disapproved~~ for public release.

Log Number: 89-10-107

Harriet D Moultrie

HARRIET D. MOULTRIE, Capt, USAF
Director, Office of Public Affairs

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188

1a. REPORT SECURITY CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED	1b. RESTRICTIVE MARKINGS NONE
2a. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY	3. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY OF REPORT APPROVED FOR PUBLIC RELEASE; DISTRIBUTION UNLIMITED.
2b. DECLASSIFICATION/DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE	
4. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER(S)	5. MONITORING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER(S) AFIT/CI/CIA-89-082
6a. NAME OF PERFORMING ORGANIZATION AFIT STUDENT AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY 6b. OFFICE SYMBOL (*If applicable*)	7a. NAME OF MONITORING ORGANIZATION AFIT/CIA
6c. ADDRESS (*City, State, and ZIP Code*)	7b. ADDRESS (*City, State, and ZIP Code*) Wright-Patterson AFB OH 45433-6583
8a. NAME OF FUNDING/SPONSORING ORGANIZATION 8b. OFFICE SYMBOL (*If applicable*)	9. PROCUREMENT INSTRUMENT IDENTIFICATION NUMBER
8c. ADDRESS (*City, State, and ZIP Code*)	10. SOURCE OF FUNDING NUMBERS PROGRAM ELEMENT NO. / PROJECT NO. / TASK NO. / WORK UNIT ACCESSION NO.

11. TITLE (*Include Security Classification*) (UNCLASSIFIED)
Developing a Survey to Assess the Impact of Sociolinguistic Factors on the Morale of Airmen Stationed in Non-English Speaking Countries

12. PERSONAL AUTHOR(S)
Michael Jonathan Brooks

13a. TYPE OF REPORT	13b. TIME COVERED	14. DATE OF REPORT (*Year, Month, Day*)	15. PAGE COUNT
THESIS/~~DISSERTATION~~	FROM _____ TO _____	1989 May	96

16. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTATION
APPROVED FOR PUBLIC RELEASE IAW AFR 190-1
ERNEST A. HAYGOOD, 1st Lt, USAF
Executive Officer, Civilian Institution Programs

17. COSATI CODES			18. SUBJECT TERMS (*Continue on reverse if necessary and identify by block number*)
FIELD	GROUP	SUB-GROUP	

19. ABSTRACT (*Continue on reverse if necessary and identify by block number*)

20. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY OF ABSTRACT ☒ UNCLASSIFIED/UNLIMITED ☐ SAME AS RPT. ☐ DTIC USERS	21. ABSTRACT SECURITY CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
22a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUAL ERNEST A. HAYGOOD, 1st Lt, USAF	22b. TELEPHONE (*Include Area Code*) (513) 255-2259 22c. OFFICE SYMBOL AFIT/CI

DD Form 1473, JUN 86 *Previous editions are obsolete.* SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE

AFIT/CI "OVERPRINT"

DEVELOPING A SURVEY TO ASSESS THE IMPACT OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC FACTORS ON THE MORALE OF AIRMEN STATIONED IN NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRIES

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty

of

Purdue University

by

Michael Jonathan Brooks

In Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

of

Master of Arts

May 1989

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I was most fortunate to have chosen Professor Margie Berns as my major advisor. Her expertise was instrumental in helping me get this project off the ground when I was stymied and at the same time satisfy a number of non-traditional academic considerations which make this study something of value. My sincere thanks also goes to Professor Victor Raskin and Professor Monica Macaulay for their reading and criticism of this thesis. Furthermore, I am thankful to the U.S. Air Force for both financial and material assistance.

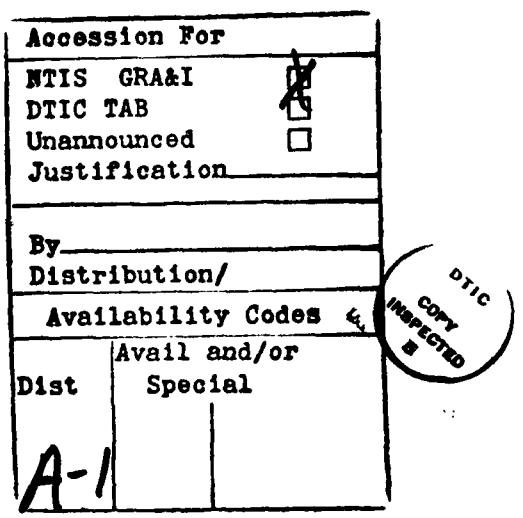

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

Brooks, Michael Jonathan. M.A., Purdue University, May 1989. Developing a Survey to Assess the Impact of Sociolinguistic Factors on the Morale of Airmen Stationed in Non-English Speaking Countries. Major Professor: Margie Berns.

The possible impact of sociolinguistic factors on morale has yet to be investigated by any of the military services. Because at any one time there are more than 400,000 U.S. troops stationed overseas, this study is a necessary first step in assessing to what extent sociolinguistic factors figure into the overall morale picture. The survey resulting form this study is developed to illustrate the widespread nature of problem areas, if any, across the board or in specific host countries, to point to particular sociolinguistic areas of concern to airmen, and to indicate possible deficiencies in the overseas transition process, as well as point to possible improvement areas which if acted upon could increase voluntary overseas tour extensions.

S Keywords: Government (Foreign), Air Force Personnel. (EG)

Page D

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

Almost all U.S. military personnel must serve an overseas tour at least once during their careers. These tours may range from one year to four years or even longer. The experience that an airman, soldier, sailor or marine will have overseas depends on almost innumerable factors. However, one set of factors which has been overlooked are the sociolinguistic factors of being transplanted to a foreign language environment with little or no preparation. These factors undoubtedly have an impact on the serviceman or woman's morale in varying degrees, with possible retention implications. Preparing a survey which may be reasonably implemented and yield useful results in assessing this morale impact is the main goal of this thesis.

Bringing sociolinguistics to the age-old problem of assessing military morale results in a unique union which immediately demands further clarification. The morale element is the better known of these two components. The notion of morale will be elaborated on in a later section, but at this point we can make use of a working definition: morale is the emotional enthusiasm and overall mental attitude one has about his or her job and the unit. But, what is "sociolinguistics"? And, why should the Pentagon care about it?

Sociolinguistics studies natural language in all of its various social and cultural contexts (Pride 1979:ix). Loveday (1982) sees the

function of sociolinguistics as a discipline to investigate and theorize on the relationship between society and language (1). Neither of these generalized notions, however, bring military morale to mind. Plus, Loveday's charter for sociolinguistics is complicated even further in our inquiry of overseas morale by the fact that we have not just one but two societies to evaluate (American and host country (HC)) in relationship to at least two languages. Before detailing the focus of our inquiry, we still have yet to nail down what sociolinguistics means.

A detailed content breakdown of Sociolinguistics: An International Handbook yields more than 20 basic sociolinguistic concepts (Ammon, Dittmar and Mattheir 1984:78). However, topics such as "ritual languages" or "creole/pidgin languages" are not relevant to our inquiry. Some of the concepts of sociolinguistics which pertain to this thesis are: Speech communities (international in this case); communicative competence (especially as it relates to the L2); functional type of language; sociolects, idiolects; national languages and foreign language background.

Durmuller's (1980) taxonomy of American sociolinguistics more specifically includes affective variables which can be extrapolated for international applications such as: language attitudes; sociolinguistic processes; and sociolinguistic profiles (2).

Several sociolinguistic factors are relevant to this study. They will be framed and fleshed out more in the individual chapter descriptions; briefly, we need to get into the service member's head and discover how he perceives his position within the dynamics of the

first language and the second language (L2) speech community and culture. Attitudinally, where does Airman Jones stand regarding the HC culture, language and people? What experiences have possibly influenced his willingness to interact with the HC people, culture and language? What is his perception of the need to do any of these?

Another major area is culture shock, including in this case, language shock. Has the initial effect diminished? If so, why? We must know a great deal about the HC community to help us determine the basis of Jones' perceptions. The job environment must be thoroughly evaluated, as well as the base's sociolinguistic environment as a whole. These areas of both on and off the job sociolinguistic data may be determined to have a favorable or negative impact on the morale of the individual airman but more importantly, on the base community as a whole--Americans as well as host country nationals (HCNs). But, the question might be asked: "Why bother? They (service members) knew the job had its pitfalls when they took it."

The official Air Training Command briefing enumerates an impressive list of material assets: scores of planes, tons of supplies and dozens of bases and field training detachments. However, it also specifically states that the key to military strength is "the human element--wars may be fought with weapons but they are won by people" ("ATC Command Briefing" 1987:13). This concern with people may seem surprising to those who think of soldiers, sailors and airmen as faceless cogs in a huge Department of Defense machine. But, as force needs have grown in sophistication, training costs have escalated. Couple this with the all-volunteer service concept, and it becomes

obvious that a well-trained GI, especially one with some years of experience, is quite a valuable government investment.

As of March, 1987, more than 420,000 American troops were serving overseas in non-English speaking countries ("Defense 87" 1987:28-29). Many of these people are overseas for the first time. In fact, in the odyssey of basic training, technical school, and first duty station assignment, many are also away from home for the first time.

The Air Force does not have a blanket policy statement which formally sets down the sociolinguistic attitudes it expects from its members. However, the American Forces Information Service (AFIS) which services all branches of the military, does provide information pamphlets on each country which hosts U.S. Forces. These pamphlets invariably urge Americans to be friendly, respectful and knowledgeable in their attitudes toward their HC and its people. For example, the pamphlet for Turkey admonishes: "Your personal role must be that of a goodwill ambassador of your country to your Turkish hosts and hostesses. It will be an easy role to fulfill, since the Turkish people will meet you more than halfway in their efforts to make friends with you and your family" ("Turkey" 1988:4-5). The Pocket Guide to Spain encourages service members to study the common phrases included in the guide's language section and to take advantage of Spanish language classes that are offered on all the bases (1981:5).

Clearly, these pocket guides, which average 60 pages, encourage the service member to interact in and learn the language of his HC. However, as a personal observation, I have spent more than seven years in the Air Force Public Affairs field, a subdivision of AFIS, including

two overseas tours and I never saw any of these indoctrination pamphlets until I found them in the Purdue University Library. The reason for this can be discovered on the back of each pamphlet where it is explained that AFIS does not stock copies of the pamphlets for general distribution; copies must be specially requested through a service's publication distribution center or the *Superintendent of* Documents in Washington D.C. Translated into practical terms, this means that not many service members are exposed to these pamphlets before or after going overseas.

The success of almost all military units, from a fighter squadron to the motor pool depends on teamwork. People come to the military from a variety of social, educational, racial and geographic backgrounds. The various basic training and officer training programs are designed to inculcate a sense of communal purpose and duty in the enlistee's "new world," the military. However, the diversities of background and coping mechanisms can surface once again when the soldier's new world not only includes the unfamiliar but the foreign.

In order to determine if there is a morale problem, we must look below the surface for the possible causes, and one of the best ways to do that is to question those who live and work in that particular environment. For example, if we see only a 10% extension rate in Turkey which only has an 18 month tour to begin with, there must be some reason or reasons why few servicemen want to stay there longer. These reasons can range from environmental factors such as relatively unsanitary conditions (e.g. not enough water for bathing or poor trash collection) to cultural considerations such as certain Islamic

religious practices which may be disapproved of, to individual matters such as missing a girl friend back home or just being homesick in general.

Conversely, if other countries show relatively high extension rates, what causes this? Is the chow hall food better? Is Armed Forces Radio and Television available? Is the base commander a better overall manager? Or, are there sociolinguistic factors which make this environment more compatible for American servicemen and women?

Obviously, the process of comprehensively attempting to assess morale will involve asking dozens of questions which will fill in the picture, and then an assessment of what this portrait means and what should be done or can be done with this knowledge. By focusing on sociolinguistic factors encountered in various L2 environments, hopefully, we can bring one corner of this extremely fragmented morale picture into focus.

Literature Review

Before I elaborate on the sweep of each individual chapter, I want to note the lack of published research into sociolinguistic issues pertaining to overseas service members, especially as these issues may impact morale. I am curious as to why such an obvious area has been overlooked, and this ommision supports the need of some kind of affective measure to serve as a starting point for even a preliminary inquiry.

First, the sociolinguistic literature which I consulted made no mention of what I would think is a gold mine of

intercultural/interlinguistic observation and study, the U.S. service community overseas which includes almost as many American family members as GIs. My thorough perusal of the MLA Bibliographies for the past 10 years yielded nothing. The Purdue Library catalog of book holdings proved equally fruitless. Much of the sociolinguistic material dealing with overseas communities simply ignores the large American military presence. John Schumann (1976, 1978) excludes this sizable community from his study of social distance relating to "foreign" communities operating and interacting in the environment of another country. R.A. Schemerhorn's (1970) theory of community *enclosure* in a foreign environment also ignores the sizable American military community. Kalvero Oberg's (1960) seminal work on culture shock refers to situations involving American businessmen, but, again, neglects the ever-present, regenerative culture shock situations of American service members who are assigned to live all over the world.

In all fairness, one reason which has perhaps kept the sociolinguists at bay is the imtimidating and enigmatic nature of the huge Department of Defense bureaucracy. Understandably, access to military installations and personnel is tightly controlled. It takes a certain familiarity with "the military process" to even know where or how to start an inquiry most efficiently. If no other sociolinguists have ventured into this area, a perception is created that perhaps these are not important, and given the added perception of the Pentagon as a maddening bureaucratic maze (which it can be), the huge American military presence is simply ignored.

However, there is a fairly active group of military sociologists; these are trained sociologists who have come to specialize in military personnel issues. Almost all of these researchers are veterans. However, the majority of research done by the experts in this field (the most notable being Charles Moskos, Martin Binkin, and Martin Anderson) concerns demographic matters, i.e. race relations, sexual harassment, and force structure. Nelson's (1987) book deals specifically with U.S. forces in Germany, and he explores what he sees as the six most important morale factors which impact on U.S. service members there: alcohol and drug abuse; crime and indiscipline; race relations; discrimination (by Germans); terrorism; and poverty problems and outmoded facilities (x-xi). The absence of any heading or subheading for sociolinguistic issues does not indict Nelson. The bent of his book is firmly in the arena of sociology, but this still does not fill the huge "research gap" which neither sociolinguists nor sociologists have yet seen fit to fill.

Overview of Chapter Two

Chapter two deals with the wealth of background information which must be examined in order to judge an individual's sociolinguistic situation as it relates to that person's sociolinguistic personality.

We must know the home background, as well as the past educational level and performance of the person being surveyed. Subsumed under the category of educational background, we must know something of that person's foreign language experience: did Airman Jones voluntarily take four years of high school French or did he manage to avoid foreign

language instruction at all costs? Also, on a more general level, what are the personality features which seem to correlate to improved L2 performance?

Sociolinguistically, we need to know the airman's attitude toward the HC culture, language and people. How might this be influenced by his or her own cultural background? What is the real or perceived need he or she has toward learning the HC language and what fuels this perception? Additionally, what is the member's self-estimated L2 proficiency and does this correlate with an increased time in country or a greater desire to extend his tour length?

Chapter two forms the bulk of my thesis because it presents a wide range of theoretical information useful in constructing a survey and in assessing the results as they pertain to the individual as a member of his particular sociolinguistic community. For affective measures must fire many shots in order to close in on the bull's eye.

For example, if he is married and living off-base, what was the home life transition from the States like? Severe culture shock? Great L2 shock? Are there American neighbors around? Are the HCNs helpful?

We also need to get a picture of the sociolinguistic conditions on his new base. Is coworker morale good? What is his initial impression of the prevailing work place attitude toward HCNs? Some jobs involve a lot of HCN contact, such as public affairs, law enforcement or legal office work, whereas others may be insulated from the HC environment completely. Moving outward from the work place to the base as a whole, what is his perceived attitude of the overall base climate concerning

HC language, people and culture? Are there on-base classes in the L2? If there are, a great deal needs to be learned about exactly what goes on in those classes.

Because this survey attempts to break new ground, we have to assume that in some ways American servicemen and women share many similarities with others who have found themselves in an L2 environment. Working from this assumption, we can exploit a wealth of sociolinguistics research in designing a useful survey. What prevents wholesale "borrowing" or application of data from other L2 situations to this one is the somewhat schizophrenic nature of overseas duty. The base atmosphere may in many ways resemble a "little America," but after quitting time, Airman Jones leaves "America" and returns to that strange land outside the gates where he must function until "crossing the border" again at 0700 hours the next morning.

Overview of Chapter Three

Chapter three is an ambitious, but necessary, exercise in conjecture. Not only must we know how the member perceives his own attitude, the attitudes of his friends, coworkers and the base as a whole, but we need to assess the position of English in the host country itself and the perception of HCNs toward the English language and American service members. Obviously, the best people to ask on this are HCNs themselves, but for a variety of reasons this is not feasible or desirable.

It might be objected that we are getting third-hand information on the HC's English situation, but these responses can be compared with

each other to determine what consensuses emerge and then these may be compared with English as a Second Language (ESL) research on that particular country. How closely the American perceptions jibe with the facts can speak volumes concerning the dynamics of that particular sociolinguistic situation.

Overview of Chapter Four

Before embarking on this large-scale and ambitious evaluation, we must know what has gone before. As I mentioned above, a preliminary search of the literature yields no research which relates sociolinguistic factors to the military experience, either on a personal or institutional level. Therefore, I must go directly to the source, in this case, the U.S. Air Force Survey Office of the Air Force Military Personnel Center. This survey will initially be used by the Air Force, so it is basically with this service in mind to which this focus will be confined.

However, as mentioned earlier, there proves to be a dearth of pertinent past Air Force morale studies and findings, and no studies dealing peripherally with linguistic or sociolinguistic issues. Thus, in chapter four, we are forced to regroup and return to the academic realm for theoretical assistance in planning and constructing a survey--in this case, a sociolinguistic attitude survey as an indicator of morale.

Also, included in chapter four will be a brief discussion of those Air Force regulatory constraints and requirements which obviously throw the theoretical construction of a survey into a more practical light.

For example, an Air Force survey should not take longer than 30 minutes to complete or contain more than 180 items. In spite of the possible gains to be realized from a survey, in a real world context, Air Force personnel are being paid to work, not spend hours filling out surveys.

Chapter four also deals with what comes after the survey is constructed and ready to go. More than 130,000 Air Force members are stationed overseas ("Defense 87," 28-29). A number of administrative questions need to be addressed: what is the description and size of the survey population? The sample selected? Method of distribution, on-site administration, collection, return and data tabulation? Then what should be done with the collected data?

Therefore, one of Chapter four's missions is to iron out these administrative and logistical details. Military organizations are interlinking parts of a larger schematic defense system, so once we have an acceptable method for accessing and utilizing that system, all we have to do is send the survey "down the pipeline" and then wait for the responses to filter back up the chain. *(It is the length of this waiting period in distributing a survey of this magnitude which prevents me from actually sending it out and at least including raw data in my thesis.)*

However, the main thrust of chapter four is to speculate on the possible utility of this survey, as well as to presage some of the survey's inevitable shortcomings and limitations. In addition, this chapter also supports the rationale behind the design and construction of the sample pilot survey in the appendix.

CHAPTER TWO - AIRMAN JONES' SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND AND ATTITUDES

Language and Culture

Before we journey into the expansive areas of "culture" and "attitude," a brief reacquaintance with the ideas of Edward Sapir would be somewhat useful to illustrate that concepts which I will delineate later such as *language*, *culture* and *attitudes* are not neat, discrete, or independent but can be seen as parts of an ongoing symbiotic relationship. Sapir viewed human existence as residing not in the objective world alone, nor in the world of social activity, but as something which is created by the particular language which has become the medium of expression for that particular society. The "real world" is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group, and no two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same reality (In Blount 1974:120). In a nutshell, what Sapir claims is that two different languages are therefore the prime movers behind two different realities lived and experienced by the speakers of those languages. Sapir's thesis, which he later expanded with a former student, Benjamin Lee Whorf, is the bedrock of what is known as linguistic determinism; put simply, we are born into language, and our language creates us--not vice versa.

However, if we were to take Sapir's thesis to its logical extent,

what implications would this have for bilingualism--both in an early childhood bilingual acquisition context and in L2 acquisition in a host country (HC) after the learner has reached maturity? If language were so deeply rooted in determining our psychological outlook, a potential L2 learner would risk schizophrenic complications by truly assimilating and internalizing an L2. On the other hand, the gist of Sapir's thesis cannot be completely dismissed. Languages do have culturally encoded associations for similar lexicon items. For example, Japanese bilinguals who responded in both Japanese and English voiced the following associations for the word, "moon,": in Japanese: moon viewing; zebra glass, full-moon, cloud; in English: sky, rocket, cloud (Ervin-Tripp 1968:203). Therefore, there is a relationship between language and culture, and there is a relationship between culture and the individual, but how deeply or to what extent they influence and determine each other has not been firmly established. And our purpose here is not to clarify such a philosophical-psychological-sociological-linguistic morass. We want to know how the sociolinguistic issues/problems raised by our survey positively or negatively impact on the morale of a particular airman or group of airmen. But, as we explore the numerous sociolinguistic considerations which impact on Airman Jones' situation and, ultimately, his morale, the Sapir's notions make predictions or firm answers to improving Airman Jones' situation that much more elusive.

Culture

We need to take a look at an individual airman to determine the "hows" and "whys" of his sociolinguistic personality. Obviously, Airman Jones did not grew up in a vacuum. He grew up a society which inculcated him with certain cultural attitudes and values. Therefore, the notions of culture, especially as they pertain to his particular background need to be examined.

One way of looking at "culture" is as an accumulated body of knowledge of whatever one has to know or believe in in order to operate in a manner acceptable to that society's members (Goodenough 1957:167). Many of us think, or would like to think, that we are all basically the same under the skin. However, research by Condon (1973) concluded that American, French, and Hispanic world views differ sharply in their concept of time and space. Americans tend to take a "psychomotor" view of time and space that is dynamic, diffuse, and nominalistic. The French are more "cognitive" with a static, centralized, and universalistic world view, while Hispanic world view orientation is more "affectively" centered: passive, relational, and intuitive (22). Condon goes onto say that:

> To a European or a South American, the overall impression created by American culture is that of a frantic, perpetual round of actions which leave practically no time for personal feeling or reflection. But, to an American, the reasonable and orderly tempo of French life conveys a sense of hopeless backwardness and ineffectuality; and the leisurely timelessness of Spanish activities represents an appalling waste of time and human potential. (25)

Of course, within these cultural generalizations there are going

to be many individual differences which our survey must take into account; however, this considered, it is still necessary to examine cultural generalizations in assessing an individual and his or her background.

Culture Shock

Jack London (1970) in his short story "In a Far Country" wrote:

> When a man journeys into a far country he must be prepared to forget many of the things he has learned, and to acquire such customs as are inherent with existence in the new land; he must abandon the very code by which his conduct has hitherto been shaped. To those who have the protean faculty of adaptability, the novelty of such change may even be a source of pleasure; but to those who happen to be hardened to the ruts in which they were created, the pressure of the altered environment is unbearable, and they chafe in body and spirit under the new restrictions which they do not understand . . . It were better for the man who cannot fit himself to the new groove to return to his own country, if he delay too long, he will surely die. (302)

I briefly alluded to culture shock above, and if we accept one definition of culture as the operational knowledge and beliefs which are acceptable in a particular society, then almost every service member has experienced a somewhat brutal form of "culture shock" long before leaving the United States. I am referring to Basic Military Training, or for officers, Officer Training School or one of the various service academies.

Getting up at five o'clock every day and running endless laps in the cold is not normal for 99% of the American population. Getting a skinhead haircut is also not normal for most Americans, and activities

such as marching, saluting and folding underwear into six by six inch squares is definitely an abrupt lifestyle change for most people. However, it is amazing how in an environment in which everyone else is doing the exact same thing, one becomes accepting and soon acclimated to this "unusual" lifestyle. The process of having "survived" one "culture shock" may bear positively on the ability to withstand culture shock in its more traditional context.

Schumann sees culture shock as the anxiety resulting from the disorientation encountered upon entering a new culture. The traveler is in a dependent state, and his coping and problem solving mechanisms do not work. Therefore, activities which were routine in his native country now require a great deal of effort in his new environment (1976:32). Brown (1987) notes that feelings commonly associated with culture shock are estrangement, anger, hostility, indecision, frustration, unhappiness, sadness, loneliness, homesickness, and even physical illness. These feelings can precipitate psychological phenomena ranging from mild irritability to deep psychological panic and crisis (128). Anthropologist Kalervo Oberg who first coined the term, "culture shock," in 1960 went even further with his description of culture shock as a "disease" and a "mental illness" of those who have been suddenly transplanted abroad (177). Oberg rendered the situation in greater detail:

> Culture shock is precipitated by the anxiety that results from losing all our familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse. These signs or cues can include the thousand and one ways in which we orient ourselves to the situation of daily life: when we shake hands and what to say . . . when to take statements seriously and when

> not. Now these cues which may be words, gestures, facial expressions, customs, or norms are acquired by all of us in the course of growing up and are as much a part of our culture as the language we speak or the beliefs we accept. (177)

The six major aspects of culture shock which emerge from Oberg'sarticle are: (1) *Strain* from the effort required to make necessary psychological adaptations, (2) A *sense of loss* and *feelings of deprivation* regarding one's friends, status and profession, (3) Being *rejected* by and/or rejecting members of the new culture, (4) *Confusion* in role, role expectations, values, feelings and self-identity, (5) *Surprise, anxiety*, even *disgust* and *indignation* after becoming aware of cultural differences, and (6) *feelings of impotence* due to inability to cope with the new environment (Furnham and Bochner 1986:48).

Over the years aspects of culture shock which were first posited largely anecdotally by Oberg have been expanded and elaborated into six phases (Lewis and Jungman 1986:xx-xxiv): Phase one is the *Preliminary Phase* which includes the initial awareness of the future host culture, the decision to leave home, preparing for the sojourn, farewell activities, and the trip itself.

In her life-style study of Air Force enlisted women stationed in Europe, Ojile (1986) found that many of these airmen rely on friends who have been stationed overseas for predeparture information, and that often this information fails to stress the nature and extent of potential problems or to suggest coping strategies and skills. As a result, often there is a gap between expectations and reality which can

led to disappointment and frustration (136). However, this apparent shortcoming in predeparture preparation is not confined to the Air Force. Ojile also cites a Navy study which found that almost two-thirds (65%) of the sample reported one or more problems relating to inadequate preparation (137).

The *Spectator Phase* is Lewis and Jungman's phase two. This begins with arrival in the new country accompanied by a rising tide of emotions and initial impressions. This phase ends when the foreigner is no longer able to maintain a passive stance toward the host culture but must interact, leading to the third phase.

The *Increasing Participation Phase* is characterized by the foreigner becoming more of a participant than a spectator. But there may also be frustration because of the difficulty of coping with even the most elementary aspects of everyday life. Difficulties become challenges to be overcome, and after they are surmounted, the foreigner feels a growing sense of self-esteem, satisfaction, and self-confidence. Along with this mastery, he acquires alternate ways of behaving, feeling, and responding to others, both of which seem equally valid: one behavior system having been enculturated in him in his homeland, the other recently acquired through his interaction with his host culture.

The *Shock Phase*, phase four, strikes both successful and unsuccessful host culture adaptees. Often it is not accurately recognized, if at all. Even the person who has been thriving in the host culture may sink into lethargy and depression, becoming indifferent to both the host country nationals (HCNs) and his fellow

countrymen. This phase is deceptive because it represents an existential confrontation with the abyss of meaningless that separates the two cultures the individual has internalized.

Phase five, the *Adaptation Phase*, is reached when the internalization of the new culture is so thorough that not only has fluency in L2 been achieved but he thinks in the L2 and through the HC perspective.

The sixth and final phase, and the one least written about, is that of *Re-entry*. On returning to his native country after an extended sojourn abroad, the traveler experiences culture shock in reverse. This process may in some ways be at least as painful as his foreign culture shock because it is the least expected. Using my own experience as an example, I found the "decompression" of going from war-ready, heavily militarized, ethnically homogenous South Korea back to the United States somewhat disorienting. For about a month, I felt as if my year in Korea must have been a dream. It took some time to mentally file away my novel experience in light of the culture to which I had now returned.

Our survey of a service member's sociolinguistic situation must determine, if possible, which one of these phases he or she is in. Obviously the *Preliminary Phase* has already been completed, but it would be helpful to know to what extent Airman Jones prepared for his overseas trip. How much time was there between his assignment notification and his departure date? Was he given any information about his destination's culture and language? Did he make any attempt to learn the language before departing? What was his attitude toward

his HC prior to leaving the States?

It is possible for many service members to spend their entire overseas tour without progressing beyond the *Spectator Phase*, especially if the member is single, living in the barracks on-base, and the base is large enough to provide "all the comforts of home." The slang term "barracks rats" has been coined to label GIs who refuse to progress beyond this phase. In a situation in which it is possible to remain in this phase with relative comfort, it is important to examine the survey responses of those GIs in a similar living situation who choose to move into the interactional *Increasing Participation Phase*. Why do they choose to do this? How are they different than their barracks mates?

The *Shock Phase* may be avoided completely by a serviceman because even if he lives off-base, the security of the base and its community is always there to retreat to. However, it would be informative to determine whether the airman recognizes certain "existential evaluations" within himself which have surfaced since he's been in country, even though they may not have emerged with the same force and impact as within an American civilian who finds himself abroad and completely on his own.

The *Adaptation Phase* as defined by Lewis and Jungman is probably not reached by many service members. Most members during their one to four year stay in the new country probably feel well-situated if they are comfortable in the *Increasing Participation Phase*. I would guess that those few members who truly have progressed to the *Adaptation Phase* are those who have "homesteaded" in an overseas assignment for at

least five years or more and, in many cases, are married to a HCN which requires them to use the L2 extensively.

So, how long does culture shock last? We are talking about a phenomenon of degree, not an all-or-nothing, either-or-state. Anthropologist George Foster, writing two years after Oberg's seminal article of 1960, cites one year as being a median recovery time to "get over it" (192). However, his research mostly examined small pockets of American civilians totally immersed in the HC culture. Those who could not adjust had the option of going home. This option is not always readily available to military members who have sworn an oath of allegiance to follow all lawful orders, including those that require them to live in a strange land. Foster goes on to mention that surviving culture shock once does not make one immune from future attacks in different situations, but that future cases may be less severe and shorter (192). This observation raises the possibility that the culture shock of Basic Training may have a universally mitigating effect on any future culture shock a GI may experience in his or her particular HC. However, this conclusion would be extremely difficult to prove because a comparison with service members who did and did not go through some sort of stressful military training program would be necessary, and almost all military members, with the possible exception of doctors, lawyers and nurses, have successfully completed a basic military training program of some variety.

A possible predictor of the degree of culture stress one will experience is found in Furnham and Bochner's *culture-distance concept*. Simply stated, the severity of culture shock can be loosely correlated

with the amount of difference or distance, both objectively and subjectively, between the sojourner's own culture and that of the HC, with the degree of cultural distress increasing proportionally to this distance (139). Therefore, it would appear that an American airman should have an easier adjustment in Germany than in Japan. However, Furnham and Bochner are quick to point out that numerous studies done in many different sojourner combinations (e.g. Chinese students in Australia, Americans in Israel, Africans in Britain) fail to make a direct, predictable case for the *culture-distance concept*, and that only a general consensus emerges. But this could be due to the innumerable methodological variables in the various situations as well as countless psychological and cultural differences within the individuals studied.

Also, it is worth noting that Furnham and Bochner list 15 major categories of travelers, including those who stay in the HC for only a few days or weeks (tourist, jet-setter, explorer) to those whose stay much longer (overseas journalist, overseas student, migrant, and businessperson). Nowhere do they mention the major category, and perhaps the "original business traveler," the military man or woman (142-43). This glaring omission, which reflects the overall paucity of literature of sociolinguistic study of military people, can perhaps be explained by looking at the sometimes insular nature of military communities overseas which can impact on the nature of that base's particular sociolinguistic setting.

Cultural Patterns

Schumann breaks down the general integration patterns of the transplanted overseas community, second language learners (2LLs), into three main cultural patterns. If the 2LL group decides to *assimilate*, they are, in effect, giving up their own life style and values and adopting those of the target language (TL) group. *Acculturation* is the process of adopting the life-style and values of the TL group, but at the same time maintaining one's own cultural patterns for intragroup relations. *Preservation*, on the other hand, is characterized by the 2LL group completely rejecting the life-styles and values of the TL group while attempting to maintain its own cultural patterns as much as possible (1976:136-37). Schumann posits that *assimilation* fosters minimal social distance, while *preservation* creates maximal social distance. Therefore, second language learning is enhanced by *assimilation* and hindered by *preservation*, with *acculturation* falling in the middle.

In a survey of overseas airmen, I would not expect to find many responses revealing that authentic *assimilation* had taken place. First, most GIs are not overseas long enough for this to happen, and, second, even at the smallest remote outpost, the airman must report for duty each day; he cannot "escape" his culture or completely reject it and still function adequately in his military environment. Among the various responses, we are likely to find that some degree of *acculturation* has occurred. The difficulty is in measuring to what degree this has taken place, but this is discussed in more detail in chapter four. Also, we must ask what the varying self-assessments of

L2 proficiency are for those who have acculturated to varying degrees.

For a number of reasons which may range from inadequate advance preparation prior to departure of the 2LL group, as well as individual or group prejudice, a number of respondents may fall into the *preservation* pattern. The self-assessment of L2 proficiency of this group needs to be measured as well.

Schumann points out that there are other factors which influence social distance. If the 2LL group is too *cohesive*, then its members will tend to remain separate from the TL group, thereby increasing social distance. *Cohesiveness* is closely related to *size*; a large 2LL group offers numerous opportunities for intragroup contact and may hinder intergroup contact (1976:137).

In extrapolating these notions to a military context, the idea of *cohesiveness* immediately presents itself as highly applicable to most overseas American military communities. From the first day of Basic Training, the airman or soldier is told that he or she cannot possibly make it through training as a loner; he must become a "team player." This admonishment is reinforced by the fact that mundane chores such as properly making an individual bed or sweeping a floor spotless require two or more people working together. Obviously, this forced bonding is designed to teach people to work together as an efficient military unit and to look out for each other. Military people are "tight." They have to be. However, a by-product of this may be a natural clanishness which in an HC context could obviate HCN interaction and L2 learning. Therefore, an airman who ranks high in *acculturation* and L2 self-assessment should be surveyed on the interaction habits of his military

buddies.

Another factor affecting social distance is *congruence* or the similarity between the cultures of the 2LL group and the TL group. Of course, *congruence* is a subjective and relative term. For exapmle, cultures A and B are said to be more "similar" than cultures A and C. This similarity facilitates integration and reduces social distance (Schumann 1976:137).

The following issues are also involved in Schumann's concept of social distance: In relation to the TL group is the 2LL group culturally, technically or economically *dominant*, *non-dominant*, or *subordinate*? This will figure greatly in the cultural pattern followed by the 2LL group. If the 2LL group is dominant in relation to the TL group, social distance is increased and the 2LL group will tend to learn little of the TL, and a class of interpreters will usually evolve to mediate communication between the two groups (1976:136). Based on this hypothesis, Schumann charts the language learning situation of Americans living in Israel as a good one, while the situation of Americans living in Saudi Arabia is placed under the *dominant* headings in the political, economic, technical, and cultural areas; the *preservation* heading characterizes both American and Saudi cultural patterns; and both groups have limited interaction due to *high enclosure* (1976:140).

A final factor of social distance is the 2LL group's intended length of stay in the TL area--the longer the intended stay, the greater likelihood of the 2LL developing extensive contacts with the TL group (Schumann 1976:138). This intended length-of-stay factor is

easily incorporated into our survey because all airmen know the minimum time they are going to have to spend in the HC. However, before we compare the HCN interaction and L2 acquisition of those airmen on 18 month tours with those on 36 month tours, we must note that another set of institutional variables intervene. An 18 month tour is usually served by single airmen who live on-base in the barracks, whereas longer tours are assigned almost exclusively to married airmen, who often at the beginning of their tour are forced to live off-base with their families, thereby forcing them to either "sink or swim" in their HC environment for the first 6 months to two years.

Shermerhorn (1970) coined the term *enclosure* to describe structural aspects of integration as opposed to cultural aspects. Basically, *enclosure* concerns matters of institutional separation. Examples of this are separate schools, churches, clubs, or recreational facilities. Also, are there restrictions, either by custom or law, against marrying outside of one's own group? As might be expected, Shermerhorn concludes that *high enclosure* hinders L2 acquisition while *low enclosure* facilitates it (125).

In regards to the degree of *enclosure* pertaining to the military overseas, the most striking evidence is the formidable physical barrier which surrounds each base--the barbed wire fence(s). However, GIs in most overseas situations are not "prisoners" on their own base. Usually, they are allowed unrestricted mobility when they are off-duty. Plus, depending on the availability of base housing, most of the assigned base personnel may, in fact, physically reside off-base in the midst of the local community. While most overseas bases do maintain

separate schools, churches, clubs, and recreational facilities, most also have visitation polices which allow HCNs accompanied by an American sponsor the use of some of these facilities--thus, one can go to the NCO Club on Friday night and find many HCNs closely interacting with GIs.

So, even though the *enclosure* barriers mentioned by Shermerhorn are found on overseas American bases, they are not impermeable; they are in place to serve the service members, not to exclude HCNs. Therefore, their presence does not automatically establish a rigid system of segregation or hinder the acquisition of the L2. What is possible, however, is that on larger bases, we will find more *cohesion* due to the larger size of the 2LL group. This also coincides with the truism that larger bases usually have more attractive recreational facilities with more personnel to operate them for longer hours, thereby better effecting Shermerhorn's condition of *enclosure*.

Other factors which may contribute to a relatively high degree of *enclosure* lie outside the domain of the linguist or the sociologist. Something as rudimentary as local weather or geographic location may increase the sense of isolation, even if the service members desire off-base interaction. For example, at Incerlik Air Base in Turkey, torrential rains, plus high heat and humidity are known to make GIs feel as if "'it's just too hot to do anything but breathe'" (Ojile 137). And the long dark winters of Iceland or Greenland which can literally seal off a base from surface traffic are not conducive to attempts at cross-cultural communication. However, before throwing up our hands in resignation, we must ask the surveyed service member if

weather conditions or any other geographic considerations impeded his desire or attempts at interaction and if so, to what extent? (Even Greenland has comparatively mild winters, and if the service member is particularly strongly motivated, he won't be content to be a prisoner to "cabin fever.")

Perception

The cultural patterns described above as well as the institutional configurations which reflect these patterns are rooted in the attitudes one group has towards another group's language, culture, and people. However, before diving into the depths of the unfathomable pool of cross-cultural attitudes, we need to remember briefly an important component of attitude formation which could be possibly overlooked--the "glasses" through which we "see" the world in the first place, perception.

For example, in assessing the social-distance of a given situation, we must be aware of our perceptions of what the respondents tell us and combine this with what we observe. However, any given sociolinguistic situation will be amorphous and dynamic. We need to keep in mind that we are always at the mercy of our own perceptions in evaluating the perceptions of others.

Perception is extremely subjective. Brown (1987) views perception as involving "the filtering of information even before it is stored in memory, resulting in *a selective form of consciousness*" (123). The Japanese film, Rashumon, gained notoriety in its retelling of an event from multiple points of view. There was no controlling eye or

indisputable narrator. The same event is related through the perceptions of the characters who all have slightly different perceptions of the same event. Later, Norman Lear, via All in the Family, brought this concept to a large American audience and added American attitudinal stereotypes. As expected, Archie and Michael, who disagreed on everything, viewed a "threatening" incident concerning their black neighbor, Lionel, through vastly different eyes. Their flashbacks on the incident were so exaggeratedly divergent that both were discredited in our eyes, though, of course, they were very funny. An important issue raised here is that even before we file away "information" to be processed and accumulated to form our attitudes, can we recognize that our perceptions, all of them, are not and cannot be objective observations?

Perceived Social Distance

If we re-examine Schumann's concept of social distance, we might ask, "how can we truly measure it?" William Acton (1987) proposed that we forego trying to measure *actual* social distance and concentrate on determining the *perceived* social distance between two cultures. The actual distance between cultures is not particularly relevant when it is what 2LLs perceive that forms their own reality (in Brown 1987:134).

The Professed Difference in Attitude Questionnaire (PDAQ) was devised by Acton to determine the optimal perceived social distance for a 2LL. Students were asked to quantify their perceptions of differences in attitudes towards various concepts (e.g. "the automobile," "divorce," "socialism") on three dimensions: (1) distance

(or difference) between themselves and their countrymen in general; (2) distance between themselves and members of the target culture in general; and (3) distance between their countrymen and members of the target culture. Acton used a semantic differential technique to compute the social distance scores for each dimension. He found that for learners of English who had been in the United States for four months the *optimal* perceived social distance ratio identified a student who perceived himself as neither too close nor too far from either the target culture or the native culture.

However, Acton's PDAQ was not able to predict success in language learning but only to identify perceptions of those who were already successful. His initial findings, however, do contradict Shumann's hypothesis of an inverse relationship between social distance and L2 learning. There are a number of military "linguists" (foreign language translators) stationed overseas. If we asked them how proficient they are in the HC L2 (assuming the L2 is not the one in which they were trained at the Defense Language Institute), what would their responses yield? We may find some linguists who in addition to knowing their duty L2 have also learned the HC L2 and perhaps a third foreign language as well. How would they score on Acton's PDAQ? It is possible that they are just good language learners and are merely doing something which comes easily to them or interests them, regardless of the social factors we normally associate with L2 learning. Obviously, this matter requires further study.

Perceived Need

This idea of perception can be expanded to address one of the problem areas I raised in chapter one. Working from an airman's general perceptions, we want to know what his *perceived need* is to in learning the L2. By asking a number of situational questions we can determine what his L2 needs are. If he indicates that he lives off-base, does not own a car, and has no American neighbors, we would judge that he has a strong need to interact and learn the L2. But, these would be perceptions springing from a cultural attitude which requires us to think of ourselves as being in control, no matter what the surroundings. Perhaps Airman Jones wants to "get lost" after work and not communicate much with others. Maybe he spends the majority of his on-duty and off-duty time on the base and only goes home to sleep. The important thing here is not his "real" situation but *his perception* of that situation, which will determine what he perceives his needs to be.

Attitudes

So far, I have mentioned *perception* as a prerequisite process in attitude formation. Attitudes are also at the root of the cultural patterns and social distances discussed to this point. So, before proceeding to American sociolinguistic attitudes in particular, I will elaborate on the nature of attitudes in general.

There are two competing theories about the nature of attitudes (Shuy 1983:71-72). The mentalist approach to attitudes views attitudes as a state of readiness or a predisposition to a behavior. (Most language attitude research falls into this camp.) Attitude is the

intervening variable between that which can be considered the stimulus to a person's behavior and the person's response to that stimulus. A person's attitude prepares him to react to a stimulus one way or another. It is important to note, however, that the person's subsequent *behavior* is *not* the *attitude*.

The other approach is behavioristic with respect to the notion of attitude. Simply put, in this case behavior *is* the attitude. While this facilitates the observability of attitude, it eliminates the possibility of predicting one behavior on the basis of another specific behavior. Each instance of observable behavior signifies a discrete attitudinal event.

Wölck (1983) posits the notion of attitude in less clinical terms, preferring instead a more affective psychological assessment. He views attitudes as occupying an intermediate position between superficial beliefs that are relatively easy to change when factual errors are corrected and values which are located at a deeper level in personality structure and are much more stable than attitudes or beliefs. He sees beliefs as usually being based on some personal experience which is often misinterpreted and insufficient for transmission to a deeper personlaity level; whereas attitudes and values are acquired or learned and passed on from generation to generation in a process similar to that of cultural transmission (125).

In his article, "The Neglect of Foreign Languages in the United States," Heller (1983) assesses a newspaper article promoting one of the Kennedys for election and discussing frankly Kennedy's former difficulties with foreign languages at school. "It was then, and still

is, as becoming to an American male to be awkward at foreign languages, as it would be unbecoming to him to be able to drive a car" (11).

A recent example of this attitude of the American public toward bilingual public officials can be found in the media coverage of former President Jimmy Carter, Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis, and Texas Senator Lloyd Bentson. All three men speak fluent Spanish; however, whenever the media mentioned this fact, first, it was obligatory to provide a short history of how these American men had acquired this unusual skill, and, second, there was often a reminder of how this extraordinary linguistic ability could help these men win votes in the Hispanic community. To my knowledge there was never a connection made to the fact that their bilingualism could be helpful, not just in getting the job but after they had the job--especially in the cases of President Carter who as leader of the free world might want to speak the world's third most spoken language and Senator Bentson who grew up in the South Texas Rio Grande Valley, an overwhelmingly Hispanic area, and as a senator represents a state which has a very close ethnic and working relationship with Mexico.

In the Introduction, I stated that we should know something about the airman's foreign language background and education. In assessing his responses, we need to consider some of the observations made by Valdman (1978) who sees strong social forces in the United States which are inimical to the study of foreign languages. First, as a nation of immigrants, we have always viewed multilingualism as a threat to our unity and cohesion, and, second, foreign language holds a marginal status as a school subject, and the dwindling number of students who do

elect to study a foreign tongue do so for an extremely short time (81-82).

Kavanagh (1983) in his article, "The Language of the Other," writes that our "cultural narcissism" has blinded us to the realities of other societies (36). And when we consider how globally pervasive American cultural influence is, especially regarding films, television programming, and music, this attitude might be understandable. I was shocked to find that in many of the small Korean coffee houses in Seoul, far away from the U.S. base, only American music was played, and even Koreans who seemed to have limited English knowledge were experts on such obscure American Jazz artists as Quincy Jones or "Weather Report." In the United States foreign language songs are completely absent from mainstream American radio playlists. Program directors, speaking in Billboard or other industry publications, feel that the American public simply will not accept foreign language music.

Though the case for "cultural narcissism" may be compelling, it is no excuse to succumb to this egocentric delusion. Kavanagh also cites the famous linguistic blunder which cost Chevrolet quite a few pesos. For their attempt to break into the Latin American small car market, they chose the Chevy Nova, but "no va," in Spanish literally means "it doesn't go." Kavanagh asks how could we expect a Spanish speaker to buy "un coche que no va"(36) (a car that does not go). How could a multimillion dollar corporation make such a colossal blunder? Kavanagh posits that an extensive apprenticeship is necessary to adequately learn an L2, and that our excuse for not undertaking this cannot be written off to "a benign provincialism" because of our geographic

isolation from other language communities. For example, Spanish-speaking Mexico is our neighbor to the south along 1,500 miles of common border. However, this proximity is mitigated by the popular identification of Spanish with the language of an underclass--"a group whose otherness hardly challenges our cultural or linguistic solipsism" (41).

Numerous political considerations supercede linguistic concerns in deciding which languages will be offered or sought for study. Before World War I more Americans studied German than any other foreign language; however, during the war, 22 states banned the study of German, and within a decade the number of German language students had declined by 97%. But, during the late 1950's German enrollments increased rapidly (Elling 1983:45).

Dudley (1983) observes that Americans have never been able to distinguish between the *value* of a foreign culture and the political and economic clout of a foreign culture. An example is the prestige of French culture (and language) in the United States, which has been closely tied with the political prominence of France, unquestioned until June 1940 (60). Today French still enjoys a status as *the* prestige foreign language, even though Spanish language enrollments have exceeded those of French since 1962 in American high schools; since 1970 in U.S. undergraduate education; and since 1980 in graduate schools (61). In order to maintain the myth of superior linguistic desirability, Gunnemark (1987) notes that the number of French speakers worldwide has been assessed to be as great as "more than 200 million" when, in fact, probably a maximum of 100 million people actually speak

French as their first or second language, and only 75 million of them speak it regularly at home (80).

However, Heller (1983) notes that:

> There is something questionable about anyone adept in a foreign language or at home in a foreign culture. The protagonists of such outlandish skills or intimacy are suspect of being foreign themselves or of having been corrupted by foreign influence. They are felt to be un-American, or likely to succumb to the familiar disease of ambassadors who fall prey to the environment into which they are dispatched. (12)

This raises an important issue for our inquiry: does acculturation in a foreign land conflict with internalized American values which judge such linguistic and affective acclimation as somehow being unpatriotic? Patriotism may be a dismissible notion or luxury to American civilians, but it is at the heart of what all service members stand for. Therefore, this possible subconscious debate cannot be overlooked.

In the Host Country--Attitudes Toward the Culture, Language, and People

In spite of growing up in a culture which traditionally does not value foreign language instruction, Airman Jones discovers on the last day of Basic Training that all of his buddies have orders to bases in California and Florida whereas he is directed to report to Ankara, Turkey in no later than 10 days. How much of his "cultural baggage" can he or should he leave behind when he arrives in this place he still can't locate on a map?

Schaff (1984), who writes extensively on the function of

stereotypes, observes that a child assimilates the spiritual heritage of his society just by learning the language, without being able to discriminate between what is objectively cognitive and what is subjectively emotional (92). Therefore, we cannot expect or desire that Airman Jones forget his native tongue while in Turkey; consequently, he cannot "forget his roots."

The preamble for the the conference on American Attitudes towards Foreign Languages and Cultures notes: "The dual emphasis on U.S. attitudes toward foreign languages and foreign language areas suggests a basic premise: the conviction that languages and cultures or countries to which they relate are, in fact, inseparable" (Heller 1983:7). The rationale for this contention is made by observing that one can know a language without knowing much about the culture to which it relates, but one cannot claim to have a comprehensive knowledge of a country without knowing the language.

Dubin (1986) concurs that positive attitudes towards the L2 reflect a high regard for and appreciation of both the language and culture it represents. Also important is the attitude a potential L2 learner brings to the process of learning the language, with positive attitudes toward both the language and the learning process believed to bring about the best L2 acquisition results (14). Even though our inquiry is primarily concerned with the larger sociolinguistic issues of the American military-HC situation, in a later section, I will briefly touch on L2 instruction; for as Dubin points out, attitudes are involved here as well.

As for negative attitudes, Dubin mentions that a group of new

immigrants in an English-speaking environment might develop negative attitudes toward speakers of English who act socially or culturally superior. This atmosphere could influence newcomers to band together and emphasize self-identity and group congruence by placing a high value on maintaining their first language while limiting acquisition of the target language to an instrumental level (14).

Obviously, when we formulate an opinion on the attitude of another person or culture towards ourselves, there is plenty of room for cultural misinterpretation which. This may vary from individual to individual and culture to culture, depending on the situation. Leo Loveday (1982) notes that the acquisition of a native-like command of an L2 can, to various degrees, be viewed by the native L2 speaker as an encroachment on his ethnic identity (22). Miller, an American-born professor of Japanese writes that a foreigner speaking halting Japanese will be praised and flattered whereas one speaking fluent Japanese will be shunned because that provides overt evidence of a large scale, long-lasting, and extremely serious invasion of sociolinguistic territorial interests (in Loveday 1982:25). (HCN attitudes are examined more thoroughly in chapter three.)

The internal bilingual battles of our neighbor to the north, Canada, are instructive in observing L2 attitudes. In Canada, it was found that the competence with which an adult speaks a non-native language was shown to influence the social and political attitudes attributed to him by others of his native community. Consequently, French-Canadians who are very competent in English are regarded as being "pro-English" and undesirable as group leaders by other French-

Canadians (Gatbonton-Segalowitz in Loveday 1982:27).

The approximately 100 airmen Ojile (1986) interviewed were stationed in Germany, Spain, Iceland,and Turkey. She grouped their willingness to explore the HC and interact with HCNs into four behavior and attitude categories (140-41):

Group One-"most closed" (9%) were airmen reluctant or unwilling to explore the HC and interact with HCNs. During nearly all of their stay overseas, some women were able to avoid carrying local currency, visiting local scenic or cultural points of interest, or meeting HCNs in an informal setting.

Group Two-"somewhat closed" (52%) were willing to leave the base but usually went to places frequented by other Americans. The proprietors of these places spoke English, and dollars were accepted.

Group Three-"somewhat open" (27%) actively sought local color and experiences and reported enjoying contact with HCNs. This was the best prepared group for intercultural encounters. (Ojile does not elaborate on how they came to be better prepared than their fellow airmen.) They were aware of and respected foreign customs. They traveled more and were more willing to take risks. In confronting the language barrier one woman said: "I always try to speak Spanish because I had it in high school. I don't care if they laugh at me."

Group Four-"most open" (12%) expressed the fewest fears about intercultural contact. These airmen took the most travel and communication risks; they sometimes disregarded caution altogether. They were the most willing to explore areas away from tourist zones and meet HCNs. They described their trips as "unplanned" and

"spontaneous."

Obviously, these airmen were not locked into one group for the duration of their tour--some who were in Group Two at the beginning of their tour had moved into Group Three before departing the HC. What is most surprising is that the greatest dissatisfaction was reported by not just Group One but by Group Four, as well. The Group One airmen might be expected to be relatively unhappy, but the Group Four airmen, while eager, were unprepared to face the intercultural challenges which awaited them. Much of their initial ardor for exploration was cooled because of such experiences as getting lost or having their valuables stolen. Also, their lack of HC culture preparation left them especially vulnerable to misunderstanding with HCNs.

A question for our survey could be to what extent was the airmen culturally educated about the HC either before or after Stateside departure? Preferably this briefing would be given after arrival in the HC because once actually there, the reality of the situation should impress itself upon the airman and heighten his attention and information retention. Also, are intercultural matters presented in the new arrival Introductory (INTRO) Briefings addressed by HCNs, or does an American handle the local do's and don't's?

Stereotyping

Brown (1987) describes a stereotype as "a category that singles out an individual as sharing assumed characteristics on the basis of his or her group membership" (125). Schumann enlarges this perspective to include community or ethnic stereotypes in which either community

positively or negatively values the other (1976:138). Brown also uses the humor of Mark Twain to show that stereotypes need not be confined to negative perceptions towards an individual or group but can embrace all of the speakers of a particular language: "the French 'always tangle up everything to the degree that when you start into a sentence you never know whether you are going to come out alive or not'" (124). And though we laugh at Twain's "linguistic observation," Loveday notes that much contemporary sociolinguistic research has shown that all language groups have covert stereotypical perceptions and reactions to those outside themselves (20).

However, if we know that we harbor stereotypes, and view this as an undesirable trait, why don't we mentally banish such limiting notions? According to Schaff (1984), this is easier said than done. Stereotypes, along with their segregational function, play a socially integrating one. The division into "our people" and "aliens" goes back to prehistoric times and is based on the cohesion of the group. In turn, this cohesion is ensured by the society members' internalization of the norms and underlying system of values of that society (92).

On an individual level, stereotypes serve as a psychological defense mechanism. If someone's opinions and attitudes, usually concerning social issues, are found to vary with the realities of life and if neither of these realities can be reconciled without ruining his ideology, then stereotypes surface to provide a psychological defense mechanism against inconvenient information (94). "The human mind must have recourse to something when it shuns embarrassing information about the hard realities of life. In such cases there can hardly be anything

more convenient than a defensive attitude based on quasi *a priori* knowledge . . ." (Schaff 1984:94).

Language Learning

The province of my thesis is that of a sociolinguistic inquiry which can, in turn, provide a useful instrument that can ultimately show the impact of an airman's particular sociolinguistic situation on his individual and unit's morale. Technically, the pedagogy of applied linguistics, the teaching of language or language learning, falls into its own discrete category. We have already seen that sociolinguistic notions such as attitudes and social distance are thought to influence L2 acquisition. Therefore, because many bases do offer instruction in the HC L2, it is necessary for us to examine briefly some affective issues concerning the L2 classroom and relate them to Airman Jones, who is counting on this L2 instruction to free him from the linguistic apprehension and impotence he experiences when he is off-base.

A good place to start is with a basic question posed by Joan Rubin (1975) in her landmark article, "What the 'Good Language Learner' Can Teach Us,": "If all peoples can learn their first language easily and well, why does this innate ability seem to decline when second language learning is the task?" (41) This may strike us as a rhetorical question, and here is not the place for an elaboration on Chomsky's theory of an innate "Language Acquisition Device" or for an extended juxtaposition of L1 acquisition theory with L2 learning theory. What is central here is that we take it for granted that learning an L2 is a somewhat difficult, if not maddening, experience. Why?

Kavanagh views L1 interference, not only from a linguistic standpoint but from a self-image viewpoint, as the major obstacle in L2 acquisition. The fact that we already know our mother tongue well can aggravate the L2 learning process, so that the real threat to acquiring fluency in the L2 is not what we don't know (the L2) but what we already do know (the mother tongue). If one can already express oneself well, then "translating" can be seen as a troublesome "code" that one is forced to fumble with (38).

Schumann followed up his 1976 article on social distance by devising an acculturation model for second language acquisition (Schumann, 1978). The affective variables he mentions which concern us are: *language shock*, *culture shock*, and *motivation*, (31-33).

Schumann views language shock as the fear we often have of appearing comic and being criticized or ridiculed when speaking the L2. Culture shock has been extensively examined above, and Schumann's definition brings nothing new to this concept.

For motivation, Schumann cites the *integrative* and *instrumental motivation* differentiations posited by Gardner and Lambert (1972). *Integrative motivation* describes the attitude of a student who wishes to learn more about the L2 cultural community because he is interested in it in an open-minded way, to the point of eventually becoming a member of that other group. *Instrumental motivation* reflects language study with a more utilitarian value of L2 achievement, often to get ahead in one's job (Gardner and Lambert 1972:3). *Instrumental motivation* also reflects a more self-oriented perspective in the sense that the learner studies the new "code" in order to derive benefits of

a noninterpersonal sort (Gardner and Lambert 1972:14). Gardner and Lambert found that among English-speaking Canadian students studying French, the greatest proficiency was obtained by those expressing an *integrative motivation* (1972:5). However, Brown (1987) points out that a study conducted in India by Yasmeen Lukmani among L2 English learners found the opposite to be the case. Actually, these two study findings may not be conflicting; they may only point out that there is no single path to L2 acquisition success, and that, in fact, motivations often overlap (116).

It is obvious that our survey is not designed to verify L2 proficiency. First, this would require a different survey for each HC. Second, it would make survey assessment ("grading") on a large scale extremely problematic, and, third, the survey would become a threatening "test" instead of an attitude measuring instrument. However, we should like to know what kind of motivational category Airman Jones falls into and whether there is a difference in overall self-assessed L2 proficiency and self-assessed HC adjustment between those who fall into the *integrative* and *instrumental* categories?

Rubin (1975) lists three key variables to language learning success: (1) aptitude; (2) motivation; and (3) opportunity (42). The first of these, aptitude, can be measured by a variety of methods. The well-known Defense Language School in Monterey, California uses the "Defense Language Aptitude Battery" to assess the ability of a service member to complete its intensive program of foreign language instruction. However, our typical airman has not taken this test, and we have no justification for administering it to every GI eligible for

overseas duty. As for variable two, motivation, this was presented in detail above. But Cooper (1970) emphasizes the "need factor" in motivating students to learn an L2. He feels that if we want the student to learn the L2, then we must put him in situations which demand the use of the L2 (313). At face value, this "sink or swim" approach has its merits, but it doesn't lend itself wholly to a military overseas application. For as we shall see in the section on morale, the mission is accomplished most efficiently by content, secure troops. Shoving them out the gate with a foreign language dictionary in hand does not bolster the morale of already culture-shocked nineteen-year olds.

It is variable number three, opportunity, which ties in with some of the attitudes and cultural patterns already mentioned. Rubin notes: "The good language learner takes and creates opportunities to practice what he has learned, while the poor learner passively does what's assigned to him" (44). Rubin states this in the context of a Stateside classroom situation, but it applies to HC situations as well. The adage, "You can lead a horse to water . . ." applies to those airmen who grudgingly take an on-base L2 class, for whatever reason, but then refuse to leave the base and practice the L2. Our survey needs to assess the extent to which an airman actively seeks out L2 speaking opportunities with the aim of increasing his L2 proficiency, and whether his overall morale is better than a more reticent airman.

As I mentioned in the introduction, we need to have some idea of the approach used in those classes offered on-base. Such classes may range from formal instruction provided by an extension branch of a U.S.

college or university to a relatively informal weekly get-together in the recreation center lead by a HCN who works on-base. Valdman (1978) sees cultural education along with linguistic instruction in the L2 as an inseparable pair (83). In Italy, I knew a linguistically eager sergeant who took an Italian class from the on-base branch of a large American university. He complained that their approach to the language was so strictly confined to the textbook, published in the US, that he might as well have been taking the class in the States. Glaringly absent from his class was any mention of local dialect which in Southern Italy renders "formal Italian" a somewhat "foreign language" on Italian soil.

Once an airmen has achieved some degree of fluency, to what degree is he appropriately communicating and interacting in the HC? Ramirez (1983), considering both linguistic and sociolinguistic factors, coined the term *sociolinguistic competence* to denote a mastery of appropriate language use in different contexts, with an emphasis on the appropriateness of meanings and forms (107). But it would be difficult to assess what degree of *sociolinguistic competence* an airmen has achieved because we would have to rely on his impressions of how he is perceived by HCNs, and this reliance could yield a false evaluation which is either too optimistic or perhaps too pessimistic.

Barriers to Interaction

Aside from the issues of attitude, stereotypes, cultural patterns, linguistic impediments, and even geographic barriers, there are still a few barriers which we have yet to touch on. (Of course, it is

impossible to mention every conceivable interaction or communication barrier. This is just a concluding attempt to touch a few more bases.)

One standing barrier that is ever-present, in spite of the best intentions on both sides, is the irritation felt by a TL speaker/listener when trying to decipher the message being uttered by the 2LL. The unusual form (foreign accent, vocabulary errors, grammar errors) of the message continually calls attention to itself. The resulting irritation created in the TL listener can range from an unconcerned, undistracted awareness to such a conscious, preoccupation to the point that the message is totally obscured or lost (Ludwig 1983:96). Unless the airman is completely oblivious to the situation, he will realize that his listener is uncomfortable in straining to understand him, and this will only heighten the L2 fears the airman harbored before boldly engaging in the discourse.

Of course, to have the opportunity to interact off-base, first the airmen has to get off-base. Earlier, I discussed certain geographic factors which might hinder leaving the base or discourage movement if one lived off-base. Before moving onto morale in the next section, we must note that there are institutionalized restrictions which can hinder interaction with HCNs.

First, especially for those small contingents of Americans stationed in Communist countries, contact or fraternization with HCNs can be severely restricted for national security reasons. The Marine spy scandal in Moscow brought national focus on just how isolated the young Marine embassy guards were in terms of severely restricted HC access and HCN interaction. Consequently, only married, older Marines

are being chosen for that assignment, and they and their families are provided with frequent travel passes to neighboring European countries to prevent the loneliness and boredom which led to such "fraternization" problems with KGB vixens.

Second, if an off-base establishment becomes known for certain illicit activities (drug use, fights, con games, etc.), whether instigated by HCNs or American GIs, that place can be placed off-limits for American service personnel by the local base commander. At Kunsan Air Base, South Korea, for instance, an area extending from the front gate to a six mile radius is off-limits for the troops stationed there. Consequently, an airmen cannot simply walk off-base but must take a bus which will let him off beyond the off-limits area.

Third, he may lack the transportation means to get off-base. Many U.S. NATO bases, especially Air Force bases, are located far from population centers; for a variety of reasons, many are located in "the middle of nowhere." Security considerations may not allow a local bus line to stop on-base. Put simply, at a base such as San Vito Dei Normanni Air Station, Italy, those without a car could plan on going nowhere, unless they made special arrangements with a prized friend who happened to have a car.

And, fourth, military installations operate around the clock, 365 days per year. Airman Jones may have a duty schedule which only allows for off-duty time that is limited and inconvenient for off-base travel and HCN interaction.

Morale

The Introduction mentioned morale impact as the culmination of what we want these numerous sociolinguistic factors to better illuminate. However, our actual look at morale will be relatively short compared to the amount of coverage already provided on sociolinguistic matters. A more in-depth examination of morale would be appropriate for a study which is more sociologically, psychologically, or militarily based rather than our sociolinguistically focused inquiry.

Military sociologist Shibutani (1978) writes that though morale refers to something recognized as intuitively important, authors disagree over what morale is, and popular concepts are notoriously vague in reference. For some, it is the frame of mind of the individual--his dedication, eagerness or willingness to sacrifice. For others, it is a collective phenomenon--collective enthusiasm or the persistence of a group under adverse conditions. And morale is assumed to vary along a unidimensional scale from high to low (3). Military theorist Richardson (1978) quotes a dictum from Napoleon to illustrate the critical nature of morale: "'The *moral* is to the physical as three is to one'" (3). Richardson substitutes the word "emotional" for "moral" in analyzing Napoleon's axiom and cites another Napoleonism, "'In the End the Spirit will always conquer the Sword'" (3).

A brief browse through the military science section of a university library will reveal that the majority of texts on military matters concern tactics, strategy, history, or perhaps politics. Morale is seen as a psychological component of a battle, campaign, or

war, especially when morale problems are a factor; little has been written by the experts on bolstering morale during peacetime.

Richardson presents a taxonomy of morale which breaks down morale into personal or individual morale; platoon (or in the case of the Air Force, flight) morale; and the morale of the larger unit (the base) as a whole. Under personal morale, he lists such aspects as physical factors: good food, rest, and sleep; mental factors: understanding the importance of his unit's mission, self-confidence in his ability, courage, endurance, and a sense of support from the sergeants and officers above him. Group morale is sustained by such factors as: confidence in the group's leadership; confidence in and respect for comrades; and determination not to let down friends or the unit (171-72).

What Richardson's taxonomy, which is appropriate for single men in the field, fails to take into account is the explosion of young married soldiers with families, especially among the lower ranks. The maxim, "If the Army wanted you to have a family, you would have been issued one," clearly does not apply with respect to today's all-volunteer military force. In order to retain personnel, all of the services try to keep imposed family separations to a minimum. Therefore, a 20-year old airman who has never been out of his county back home, can, in most cases, take his high school sweetheart, now his new bride, with him when he moves to the Azores. However, given the sociolinguistic complexities of his new environment, their marriage and his job performance may not survive the cultural and linguistic shock of the move. The military foresees this possibility and provides free, one-

time, one-way transportation back to the States for those spouses who cannot adjust to the HC. In the meantime, how will this domestic turmoil affect Airman Jones' job performance, his attitude toward his base, the area, and the service in general (after all, it was the Air Force who "sentenced" him to be there)? How will Jones' attitude affect others working with him, especially newcomers to the country? These issues will be examined in greater detail in chapter four, on the actual construction of the survey and its possible uses.

CHAPTER THREE - HCN ATTITUDES TOWARD AMERICANS AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

In chapter two, we took an in-depth look at the possible attitudes, mind set, background, cultural patterns, and stereotypes which Airman Jones might bring to the sociolinguistic situation in the HC. However, the attitudes that the HCN holds towards the English language and American people and culture comprise the other 50% of the sociolinguistic equation. But, as I stated in chapter one, we are at a disadvantage in assessing the attitudes of the HCN because our survey will not be recording his responses.

Therefore, we are engaging in conjecture by asking Airman Jones to provide what he thinks the HCN attitudes are towards English and Americans, especially service members. In a sense, this is third-hand information; however, one airman's responses can be compared with another's to look for consensuses, and these issues can be compared with the ESL, sociolinguistic, and sociocultural research available on that particular HC with respect to English and Americans.

In order to ask Airman Jones the best questions, however, we must examine some of the background material available on the position of English in the world, plus look at a few examples of foreign attitudes towards Americans. As we shall see, these attitudes are not always shaped by "personal grudges" against English or American GIs; a variety

of historical, cultural, political, and economic forces may come into play.

The World of English

Kachru (1986) sees language as an agent of power in the following ways: spreading language to numerically expand the speech community; using language as a vehicle of cultural, religious, and other types of "enlightenment" using language to deculturize people from their own traditions (i.e. the use of Japanese in the Japanese-controlled countries of Korea and Malaysia during World War Two), or to gain an economic advantage (122). Kachru also lists four means of employing language as an instrument of power: persuasion, regulation, inducement, and force (123).

English is one of four languages traditionally associated with colonial expansion (French, Portuguese, and Spanish being the others.) These languages have been linked with a particularly strong motivation for acquiring various types of power which may be symbolized to others as representative of one or more of the following: enlightenment in a religious sense; a marker of the "civilizing process"; a distancing from native cultures; the acquisition of various spheres of knowledge; a vehicle of pragmatic success; a marker of modernization; and/or representative of the master's code of control (Kachru 1986:128-29). As we examine the status of English around the world, these power or pragmatically based motives will surface in a variety of combiuations.

The vast global influence of English is a relatively new and perhaps unforeseen phenomenon. In 1582, British scholar Richard

Mulcaster wrote: "The English tongue is of small account, stretching no further than this island of ours, nay not there over all" (in McBee 49). Obviously, Mulcaster could not foresee the sweeping developments in the means of travel and communication which were to spread English both migrationally and electronically.

As Latin was to the ancients, so English has become a dominating language in the modern world as the "lingua franca" of science, technology, commerce, tourism, diplomacy, and pop culture (McBee 49). The majority of the world's mail is addressed in English; English is the language of international air controllers, and English is the medium of 80% of the information stored in computers around the world (Millward 1989:295). English is the mother tongue of 350-400 million people. These people are scattered over the earth, in far ranging communities of divergent status, history, cultural traditions, and local affinities (Strang 1970:17). Additionally, more than 400 million people claim to be second language English speakers (McBee 50).

Currently, English is the official or semi-official language--usually for the conduct of government business--in 33 non-English mother tongue countries. However, with the exception of Ethiopia, all of these countries are former British or American "colonies" (Fishman, Cooper, and Conrad 1977:13). Their adoption of English may be for purely pragmatic reasons rooted in economic considerations tied to their colonialized past dealings. James Alatis, Dean of the School of Languages and Linguistics at Georgetown University, links American power with the spread of English in a growth pattern which he sees as, "ineluctable, inexorable, and inevitable" (in McBee 1985:52).

Fishman, Cooper, and Conrad (1977) in their book, The Spread of English, also attribute the recent, rapid spread of English as a second language to the fact that for the past 25 years or so neither British nor American fountainheads of English have been viewed in an ethnic or ideological context--in sharp contrast with languages such as Arabic, Russian, and Spanish which were (and often still are) strongly associated with a particular nationality, religion, or ideology. English is often identified by some with capitalism, colonialism, or bourgeois values but not uniquely or strongly identified with such (118-19). However, the paragraphs which follow will show that English is not so nearly the benign and featureless entity that Fishman, Cooper, and Conrad posit it to be.

It is not necessary to elaborate here on the importance of English in international academia. A common refrain heard on American campuses against the study of foreign languages is, "If it's important, it will be translated into English." English is viewed as *the* language of higher knowledge. When the Soviet officials want to make a propaganda point in the Mideast, they use English, not Russian (McBee 1985:49). This is because English is probably associated with a "free press"; whereas, Russian is most likely linked with a state-controlled, propagandistic media. However, lies rewritten into English are not magically transformed into truths. English is not a linguistic magic wand, but those who seek to manipulate others through the lure of language may expect it to be.

Wölck (1983) notes that Americans believed so much in the determination of thought and culture by language that the U.S. military

command in Germany after World War Two decided to have English taught to all German schoolchildren in all elementary schools hoping, apparently, to instill democratic principles through the means of language (125). Busnardo and Braga (1987) in discussing the teaching of English take great pains to also detail how Brazilian cultural identity can be maintained and not trampled when teaching such a "potent language as English" (23). This "potency" can be seen in an anecdote related by a Kenyan university student whose brother was arrested for making beer without a license. He tried to gain his brother's release by telephone, pleading to the police chief in their local language but to no avail. Finally, he went to the police station himself. No one was normally allowed in and a police guard was stationed at the door. However, by speaking English to the guard, the student was allowed in, and then by speaking English to the police chief, he attained his brother's release (Scotton 1978:733). Perhaps a number of interpersonal factors intervened on the student's brother's behalf, but, on the surface, in this situation, English would seem to have a strong connotation with power.

Filipino poet Isagani Cruz (1986) notes that Filipino writers use English for two reasons: (1) "to capture certain realities not within the lexical capabilities of Tagalog; and (2) to exploit the musical qualities of English" (167). However, Filipino writers who use English for its lexical and phonological qualities still cannot escape the concomitant political implications. Cruz mentions Renato Constantino's essay "The Miseducation of the Filipino" in which he accuses early American teachers of using English as a way to disorient the minds of

young Filipinos, making them more subservient to American interests. Also, Constantino states that the proliferation of Filipino literature written in English serves to make Filipino writers feel inferior to native speakers of English. American writers are thus perceived as being better writers, and thus worthy of adulation by Filipino writers; thereby making English a tool of American neocolonialism in the field of literature (in Cruz 164).

In Thailand, many marketing directors use English to sell Thai products to other Thais. Many advertisers feel that Thai words sound "corny" or "awkward" for advertising and present a traditional or "square" image which is not how Thai consumers see themselves. Also, English brand names are thought to give Thai products credibility and imply superior standards or production (Masavisut, Sukwiwat, and Wongmontha 1986:203). This English language encroahment prompted a backlash by the Thai government which in 1975 required all broadcast advertising, including brand names, to be in Thai. However, Thais regularly circumvent this regulation through massive use of English in print advertising (Masavisut, Sukwiwat, and Wongmontha 203). This "love affair" with English is not one of blind infatuation. It was conceived by the most basic of motivations--economic need. With the Vietnam War came the stationing of 50,000 U.S. troops in Thailand. This impact penetrated deeply into large segments of the Thai population who recognized that by gaining familiarity with English and Western ways, they could profit from the American windfall (Masavisut, Sukwiwat, and Wongmontha 203).

This pragmatic clamoring for English by the Thai people illustrates what Fishman, Cooper, and Conrad see as a form of economically driven linguistic hegemony by making the "master's" language a matter of self-interest to the dominated groups (54-55). "A second language will be learned if and only if the presumptive learner estimates that the advantages of knowing that language to be higher than the costs" (Traunmüller in Fishman, Cooper and Conrad 55).

Thus far, we can see that English seems to cover the globe, except, of course, in the Sicilian hamlet where Airman Jones is stationed. But what we also see is that the spread of English is not a neutral phenomenon. English is a language of numerous and powerful connotations, and while this may engender feelings of desirability and respect towards it, it also may provoke feelings of antipathy and alienation in some of its grudging users.

Naturally, the linguistic, academic and social status of English will vary widely from HC to HC, but it is important that Airman Jones relay to us his perception of the English language proficiency of those HCNs closest to him, and of the local HCNs as a whole. What is their attitude towards English? Do they seek Americans out with whom to practice English? Is it taught in the schools? Are there English language clubs among the HCNs? Obviously, Jones may not know the factual answers to these questions. But his perceptions of the HCN attitude towards his language are just as important as the facts themselves--because as we saw in chapter two, it is our perception which determines our reality.

Host Country National Attitudes Toward Americans

As we have already seen, attitudes toward a language are inextricably intertwined with attitudes toward the culture and speakers of that language. Obviously, we cannot take an in-depth look at the HCN attitudinal situation toward Americans in every country which hosts U.S. military bases. There are too many HCs and, as with ESL, each situation is influenced by a combination of historical, cultural, economic, and political factors. Also, since the focus of our survey is from the perspective of the American service member, the overwhelming bulk of background necessary to conduct a valid survey is oriented from the American viewpoint. However, we still need to take a cursory look at attitudes toward Americans in some of the U.S. military's HCs--in this case, Germany, Japan, South Korea, and Greece.

In the preceding chapter (pages 40-41), we saw how Ojile in her study of U.S. Air Force enlisted women in Europe had broken the group down into four behavior-attitude categories: "most closed," "somewhat closed," "somewhat open," and "most open." One of her findings was that the establishment of close personal ties with host national families or individuals was rare for all the women. The women repeatedly said that HCN's negative stereotypes about American women in general, and American military women in particular, prevented the formation of friendships (140). Ojile is not specific, however, in naming the country or countries which female airmen found the most inhospitable attitudinally, not does she elaborate on the nature of these negative stereotypes.

Germany

In his book, Defenders or Intruders? The dilemmas of U.S. Forces in Germany, Nelson (1987) examines the sociocultural situation of U.S. troops in Germany in great detail. He notes that the Germans are extremely aware of the sizable presence of female U.S. troops (roughly 10% of the total U.S. military presence of 250,000). The West German Army, by contrast, has a only few thousand female volunteers, most of whom hold part-time positions. West German opinion is divided on the desirability or the efficacy of females in military service. Liberals tend to view female participation as a women's rights issue while conservatives are more concerned with security questions which are raised in their minds by the presence of so many female defenders. Also, the fact that more than 10% of these military women are pregnant at any one time has been reported widely in the West German press, further portraying women's participation in the U.S. military security guarantee as a distinctly weak link (20). Therefore, a female service member is obviously confronted with an additional attitude barrier. Not only can she be perceived as an American GI, which may or may not be a favorable impression, but she can also be stereotyped as someone who is incapable of doing the job which brought her to occupy the HC in the first place.

Negative attitudes towards Americans in Germany are not confined to those held against women GIs. Nelson writes (in 1987) that "There can be little doubt that the perception of too much crime and indiscipline within the U.S. forces has undermined respect for those forces in West German public opinion during the last 15 years" (122).

In 1972, the effects of the Vietnam War, widespread drug abuse, and smoldering racial turmoil rocked both the American civilian and military societies, which were closely linked because of the draft. All of the Armed Forces, especially the Army, underwent sweeping internal evaluations and reforms in light of the war's aftermath and the end of the draft. But once negative stereotypes surface and negative attitudes are formed, it is a slow and monumental task to change them.

These negative German attitudes often result in subtle and not so subtle discrimination against American troops. Nelson, in his extensive interviews with U.S. personnel, found that in a number of cities, taxi drivers refused to pick up GIs. Apartments, otherwise freely available to Germans, could not be rented by U.S. military families. As for night spots or restaurants, some establishments simply posted a guard at the door with instructions not to admit American GIs. Other clubs might admit them but refuse to serve them, and others might use a common ruse--the club card. The management would tell service members that entry required a club card and then demand as much as $200 on the spot. In one case, a soldier forked over the $200 only to be told that the club cards were temporarily sold out. A 23-year old sergeant summed up much of the American sentiment: "I'm expected to die for the Germans, and they won't even serve me a beer" (In Nelson:144-45).

Obviously, such anti-American military sentiments, even if they are not shared by the majority of the German people are going to impact the local sociolinguistic situation. Why should airman Jones want to learn the language of people who do not want him around? Because of

their extensive schooling in English (see page 57), the English proficiency level in Germany is relatively high. However, this factor combined with a negative perception of how the Germans see him makes it easier for Airman Jones to forestall learning German. He might develop the attitude that any German who "counts" knows English, anyway; and if he doesn't know English, he is probably a GI-hater and not worth knowing or communicating with. Negative attitudes which develop on both sides hinder the intercultural communication necessary to improve intercultural understanding. Army Colonel G.H. Heath, a personnel officer, investigated numerous discrimination complaints. He also learned the other side of the story: "Fear and uncertainty are part of the picture on the part of Germans, if we talk about increasing distance between Germans and Americans. They fear fights will break out between rival groups of GIs; they fear irritation because of the language barrier; and they fear that with the Americans, narcotic drugs will automatically be brought into the place" (Nelson 1987:148).

Japan

Not all anti-Americanism can be traced to personal fears, misunderstandings, or misperceptions. As economics plays a pivotal role in the status of a foreign language in a society, so its fortunes also influence public opinion toward an influential foreign power. In 1987, many Americans were calling on Congress to act on the huge trade imbalance with Japan, and these cries for protectionism spurred a rising tide of anti-American sentiment in Japan. Newsweek called it, "America bashing: a new Japanese sport (April 13, 1987)." Copeland and

Martin (1987) note that this Japanese anger has spawned books entitled: Traps Set by America, The Japan-US War Has Not Ended, and Can America Be Trusted?. There was even a book titled, The Battle for the American Continent, in which Japanese readers enjoy a rewriting of World War Two in which their side wins. Japanese farmers who were fearful of competition from U.S. agricultural imports campaigned to convince the public that American food products bring AIDS into the country, and a noted Japanese writer, Shuji Umano, deemed Americans inferior to the Japanese because Americans are a nation of immigrants descended from the lower classes of other countries (42). Judging from this anti-American "literary" output, we still cannot determine if these extreme statements represent the sentiments of the average Japanese citizen or merely sensationalize and capitalize on temporary discord brought about by economic tensions.

However, a more illustrative example of Japanese attitudes toward Americans, in this case blacks and Hispanics, is seen in former Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's gaffe made in a speech to fellow party members. He said: "We have become quite an intelligent society, much more than the United States. In America there are quite a few blacks, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. On average [the level] is extremely low" (1986:"Racial"). What became troubling in the ensuing outrage this provoked from black and Hispanic congressmen was not so much the remark itself but the indifference of the Japanese media and public to the slanderous, insensitive nature of Nakasone's earnest evaluation. Many Japanese with limited exposure to other races saw no offense. I cannot image an American president saying anything similar about a major

minority group of a country with which we have strong diplomatic relations. But sensitivity to matters of race and cultural difference, though not always realized, are an important component of what we are taught constitutes a good American citizen.

Korea

Korea, like Japan, is an extremely homogeneous society. The word "foreigner" carries a great deal of semantic potence there, prompting foreigners in the past to nickname Korea "the Hermit kingdom." Matters of racial purity and difference are rooted in 5,000 years of cultural attitudes. Presently, in South Korea, there are about 25,000 children born of U.S. servicemen and Korean women. These Amerasian children are treated with contempt by a homogeneous Korean society and when they grow older are not allowed to perform compulsory military service with other Korean youths (Lee 1987:83).

In addition to a different perspective on racial matters, the U.S. service member should be aware of just how culturally destabilizing his very presence is in a country which was closed to the world for thousands of years. Lee (1987) in his book on the impact of U.S. Forces in Korea, notes the impact of Americans in Korea after the Korean War, in particular the impact of American culture as transmitted by Armed Forces Radio and Television in Korea (AFKN): "The traditional Korean culture had already been severed and partially destroyed by the Japanese colonial policy, and this resulted in a loss of morale. Therefore when AFKN was established, Korean culture and society were

already in a very vulnerable position. . . The mixture of old and new cultures was frequently indigestible" (78).

Greece

Margaret Chant Papandreou (1986) is the American-born wife of the Greek prime minister. In her essay, "Anti-Americanism: Causes and Cures," she briefly outlines the rise and fall of anti-Americanism as tied to political ploys used by Washington and the CIA to support those unpopular Greek leaders seen by the U.S. as being the most supportive of American interests. Since the fall of the colonels, she states that Greece has followed an independent foreign policy which is neither anti- nor pro-American. The gist of her plea to other Americans is that "for Americans to understand anti-Americanism they must take off their cultural blinders and see their country as others see it" (358-59). However, it is difficult for a service member to see himself as an instrument of imperialism when he fervently feels that he is in the HC on a noble mission, and feels resentment that he is not more appreciated by the HCNs.

We can see how the complexities of an HC's sociolinguistic situation vis-a-vis the English language and/or American culture and Americans could require a college level course to educate a service member being assigned to duty in a particular HC. Obviously, it is too time consuming and expensive to conduct such in-depth cultural/linguistic orientations for the hundreds of thousands of American GIs who go overseas each year. What we might hope to do with the results of our survey is pinpoint areas of misunderstanding or

ignorance which seem to be engendering the most negative feelings in the service member and to better structure the INTRO briefings to let GIs know the HCNs don't hate them personally and what appropriate behavior or attitudes the service member can adopt to make the best of the given sociolinguistic situation.

CHAPTER FOUR - CONSTRUCTING THE ACTUAL SURVEY

The Air Force Survey Program

As mentioned in chapter one, any survey developed for Air Force dissemination and use must conform to certain Air Force regulations, and be guided by parameters defined by the Air Force. Air Force Regulation 30-23, The Air Force Survey Program, details the objectives, policies, and procedures which govern survey implementation in the Air Force. This regulation is ten, single-spaced pages long; what follows is a summary of important points.

The rationale of the survey program is to conduct attitude and opinion surveys of Air Force personnel. The office of primary responsibility (OPR) for this program is the Military Personnel Survey Branch, Research Division, Assistant for Personnel Plans, Programs and Analysis, Air Force Military Personnel Center (DPMYOS). DPMYOS is tasked with ensuring that the survey program is conducted properly in accordance with Air Force Regulation (AFR) 30-23, for developing effective surveys, and for minimizing exposure of Air Force members to repeated or unwarranted survey solicitations ("30-23" 1976:1).

One of the major tenets of the survey program is assuring that airmen's attitudes and opinions are treated as privileged information and that their answers will in no way result in adverse actions against them personally ("30-23" 2). Also, this confidentiality promotes the

kind of accurate, honest, and forthright answers which are necessary to make a valid assessment of the situation which is the focus of any survey.

The four criteria necessary to initiate a survey can be paraphrased as follows: (1) The information desired is not available from past surveys. (2) Surveys currently in use cannot be modified to obtain the required information. (3) The need for the information warrants the administrative and analysis costs of the survey. And, (4) The survey must produce the most valid information with the least burden to individual personnel or participating organizations ("30-23" 2). Nowhere does the regulation mention a time limit or item number limit. However, Charles Hamilton (personal communication, March 6, 1989), Chief of DPMYOS, said that his office will not generally approve surveys of more than 150 items or surveys which would take more than 30 minutes to complete.

Before we continue our monotonous, but necessary, journey through Air Force bureaucratese, I should explain that what I am attempting to show here is how a sociolinguistic inquiry into morale could fit or be made to fit into a "justified" category covered by the regulation, thereby anointing our survey with the necessary prerequisites for authorization. For without authorization, a survey can purport to cure cancer and still not be approved. A survey must satisfy an established category of authorization as outlined in AFR 30-23. Even though the benefits to the Air Force and its personnel may be obvious, there must be specific justification which enables DPMYOS to approve the survey.

The survey regulation lists a number of rationales for the survey program; there are two statements which interest us. The rationales listed in paragraph four, section A, subsections (2) and (3) read as follows: (2) "Measure the impact that new or proposed programs and procedures have or will have on personnel morale and satisfaction," (3) "Identify major areas and causes of personnel satisfaction or dissatisfaction and low morale" ("30-23" 3). Both of these statements concern morale: statement (2) specifically mentions morale as relating to programs while statement (3) is more concerned with the general morale picture, basically covering anything which does not apply to statement (2).

However, a letter from DPMYOS (14 Feb 1989) responding to a number of questions I submitted indicated that the need to initiate a survey must be raised by the OPR of the program that would be affected. For example, if there were a question of whether or not the overseas pre-departure briefings were sufficient to prepare airmen for overseas duty, Outbound Assignments would most likely be tasked with finding out what needed to be done to upgrade the various briefings to an acceptable level. But how do the people of Outbound Assignments know if their briefings are lacking in sociocultural information? Obviously, they need feedback of some sort, and periodically they solicit feedback on certain aspects of their briefings. However, the area of sociocultural information is not breached. So even though this area may sorely need attention, these questions are not being asked to a harried airmen who already has enough on his mind when he is directed to scribble down a few answers to a "how are we doing" survey which is

thrust upon him. This creates a Catch-22 situation in that for a survey to be conducted it must be sponsored by an OPR with a vested interest in the information. But social and cultural variables and morale conceivably cut across a number of bureaucratic lines. Unless a group of airmen initiate a letter writing campaign to Headquarters Air Force or better yet to their congressmen, instead of just grumbling in their overseas barracks, no OPR will be officially aware of the problem. If the perception of a problem does not exist, then there can be no survey to determine if indeed there is a problem.

Theory of Survey Construction

In his letter, Hamilton indicated that he could find no military surveys dealing with sociolinguistic issues and thus could not find any surveys which make a connection between sociolinguistics and morale. Therefore, in order to construct a suitable survey we must examine some theoretical information on survey construction, apply it to the background information this study has covered and ensure that our survey complies with the spirit and letter of AFR 30-23.

Attitude assessment is far from an exact science. Two major problems, among many others, which interfere with interpreting attitudes from behavior, in this case the responses given to certain measurement items, are (1) question formation and response interpretation can be quite ethnocentric; for example, the statement: "Disobedience to the government is sometimes justified" can trigger wide variances of interpretation (Brown 1987:113). (2) Respondents also will frequently try to provide responses which will present them

in the best light. Oller (1981) refers to this as the "self-flattery" syndrome (186). The statement: "I think all foreigners should be deported from the United States immediately" may truly reflect the thinking of some individuals. But on an attitude survey towards foreigners these individuals would be likely to hide or moderate their intolerance because they know it casts them in a somewhat unfavorable light, in view of America's role as a free, heterogeneous, and tolerant nation. Dubin and Olstain (1986) note another shortcoming of survey responses which relates to the "self-flattery" syndrome--namely, that respondents may try to provide the "right" answer to an attitudinal question (15). This insincerity is something many of us have been guilty of in everyday interaction--telling someone what they want to hear rather than what we really think or feel; so, naturally, this evasiveness can spill over and "contaminate" the attitude measurement process as well.

Dubin and Olstain explain that in the questionnaire format of attitude measurement, the investigator can make an evaluative hypothesis of what kind of response a certain attitude will yield. Working from this hypothesis, the investigator forms questions to elicit and elaborate on these pre-supposed attitudes (15). Obviously, question wording is crucial in extracting the most honest responses. (This will be covered in much greater detail beginning on page 76.

In quantifying a large number of responses to arrive at certain group generalizations such as "most first-term airmen are very satisfied with Air Force life," we will find it extremely useful for computational purposes to assign numerical values to the responses,

i.e. A = plus 2; B = plus 1; C = 0; D = minus 1, etc. Then we tally the plus and minus values for the group of first-term airmen responding to the statement: *"I am satisfied with Air Force life" and arrive at* our conclusion. Immediately we encounter linguistic roadblocks which obfuscate a clear-cut conclusion. How can we say with certainty that first-term airmen are "very satisfied" if that was not the exact wording of the statement to which they responded? However, if "A = plus 2" is used to indicate strong agreement with a statement, we could deduce that if all of the airmen responded with "A," then they must be "very" satisfied. There is an inevitable process of interpretation which forces us to leap beyond the raw "data" and draw conclusions. This interpretation process, especially when working in an affective area such as "attitudes," is never unquestionable, unwavering, or irrefutable.

Lemon (1973), in his book Attitudes and Their Measurement, views the very action of assigning numbers to responses along with the context in which the question is worded as examples of an investigator already imposing a classificatory scheme upon his observations. Any information which does not fit into this scheme is thereby lost. Also, once questions have been formed and categories established, the attitudes will tend to be seen more in the narrowing light of the scaling assumptions made by the investigator than in the fuller view of their actual diversity (30-31).

Another aspect of surveys to bear in mind is that of *construct validity.* To test construct validity, we must establish some form of criterion against which our attitude measure can be judged. Then, the

results of our survey must achieve an adequate predictive validity (Lemon 40). For example, if our sociolinguistic survey reveals serious morale problems in Turkey due to sociolinguistic factors, yet attendance in on-base Turkish classes is at an all-time high and the tour extension request rate is setting records, then we probably need to re-evaluate the validity of our measuring instrument in light of its discrepancy with other pertinent observable criteria.

Equally as important as construct validity is the notion of *construct reliability*. The reliability of a measure is defined in terms of consistency or stability (Lemon 1973:45). DPMYOS requires that all Air Force surveys be at least 90% reliable. The survey given to sample group A should yield results that are at least 90% identical with results that would be obtained from that same survey if it were given to a similarly composed sample group B (Hamilton, telephone interview). This 90% requirement falls within the acceptable reliability range outlined by Aiken (1980) who writes that attitude measuring instruments, though having an overall lower reliability than cognitive instruments, should produce a reliability of at least 80% (9).

In addition to meeting the demands of construct validity and construct reliability, our survey must also not confuse the issue at hand. A good survey should be unrelated to similar surveys which are designed to measure different attitudes. This requirement is called *discriminant validity* (Lemon 1973:53). For example, our survey which approaches morale from a sociolinguistic viewpoint should not be confused by Airman Jones as being a survey of morale from an intra-

American sociological perspective, or being purely a survey of his international political attitudes. He should understand the main thrust of the attitudes being solicited from him. On the other hand, our survey must not be constructed and worded in such a way that it encourages the kind of insincere responses we examined a few pages back.

Survey Question Theory

The heart of any survey, whether it be conducted in an interview format or a questionnaire format, can be found by scrutinizing the individual questions. Questions should be ordered in a pattern that is helpful and revealing to the investigator while at the same time not confusing to the respondent. Early questions should introduce the general subject area and be similar to questions asked later in the survey (Lemon 1973:66).

Aside from question ordering, a number of question techniques can be used to facilitate accurate and complete survey completion. The *funnel technique* presents general attitude questions which are progressively followed by increasingly specialized questions (Lemon 68). For example: (1) Do you think the Air Force is an adequately efficient organization? (2) (If "no" to #1) Do you think it is because Air Force members are underpaid? (3) (If "yes" to #2) Do you think that junior enlisted members are underpaid? Lemon claims that the main advantage of the funnel technique is in preventing respondents from forming opinions during the session for which they have no previous knowledge (69). Also, this method should narrow and disambiguate

exactly where a respondent or respondents stand in relation to a particular issue. However, a drawback to this approach is that by probing deeper, we are making the survey more taxing and demanding for the respondent, and this may provoke a backlash by which the respondent randomly fills in the rest of the blanks just to finish the vexing thing.

Ideally, the best question type for facilitating the most complete and informative response is the free response or open-ended question (Lemon 70). The advantages of this question type are obvious: answers can be as long or short as the respondent deems necessary; other important and pertinent areas not specifically addressed by the question or survey may be introduced and illuminated; and it allows the respondent to phrase answers in his own terms, which decreases the bias of the investigator's frame of reference in providing answer choices.

However, for our purposes, in which we will survey thousands of respondents, the disadvantages of free response are also obvious. It would take an army of readers (no pun intended) to wade through and decipher thousands of free response surveys. Also, as Lemon points out, free responses make it very difficult to establish any kind of uniformity between readers in evaluating the responses (70). Dubin and Olstain propose a remedy for this suggesting the use of free response questions with a small pilot sample. On the basis of these responses a better closed (multiple choice) questionnaire can be developed which may use some of the most frequent free responses as choices (16).

A questionnaire with closed questions utilizes multiple choice measures. It is apparent that this method makes tabulating data much

easier and more economical than the free response method. However, we must use caution with this method. This method is used properly when the likely categories of responses are known and the risk of bias is low. Multiple choice measures are commonly used to express degrees of either confidence, agreement, disagreement, or involvement in an opinion, and also to obtain background information about activities and interests which may be used to estimate attitude (Lemon 1973:72). Also, Lemon (1973) writes that there should be no more than six multiple choice options (73). However, Aiken counters that increasing the number of response categories has little or no effect on reliability. It appears that when there is a large number of categories, respondents use only some of them (10). But, if our respondents are routinely ignoring some of our question categories, our data will inevitably be skewed in like fashion.

Question Wording

Anyone with even a passing familiarity with linguistic areas such as semantics or syntax can see why the technique of question wording is far from a settled issue among psychologists or social scientists. And here is not the place for an exhaustive polemic dialogue. What we need are a few established basic principles to guide and justify the construction of our survey.

Lemon stipulates that questions should be as "clear and unambiguous" as possible. They should not be biased or loaded in a particular direction, and they should not be vague or "double-barreled" (include more than one point) (76).

Brown, citing work by Loftus (1976), mentions that subtle differences in the structure of a question can affect the answer. For example, after viewing a film of an automobile accident students who were asked: "Did you see *the* broken headlight?" tended to give more false recognitions of the event than students who were asked: "Did you see *a* broken headlight (138)?"

Dubin and Olstain also note the subtlety involved in asking a question to yield a sincere response. For example, in order to elicit true feelings from ESL students' about the English language, indirect questions might be asked such as: Who are your favorite pop singers?; Who are your favorite authors?; What is your favorite school subject?; What is your favorite TV program? These answers would be examined to see to what degree they correlate with answers to more direct questions concerning ESL such as: How do you feel about your English class?; How do your friends (peers) feel about English (16)? Obviously, ESL students who want to be viewed favorably or who don't want to "offend" the ESL teacher would answer the direct questions positively. However, the answers to the indirect questions can serve to verify the sincerity of these responses.

The use of indirect questions to reveal or correlate honest responses is the inverse operation of the "loaded" or "leading" question. Loaded or leading questions are biased in that they fail to divided the perspective respondents into groups into a suitable portion who agree and disagree with the question (Lemon 1973:78). An item such as: "A new U.S. president should be elected every six months" is not a *bona fide* measurement item. I am sure that well over 90% of

perspective respondents would feel that this is a bad (and undoubtedly chaotic) idea. However, on a closed item questionnaire, the small minority who feel this is a good (and workable) idea would be hesitant to indicate this for fear of being labeled as idiots.

Scaled Responses

There are nearly unlimited options in constructing a multiple choice measurement item. The choices may reflect a desire to know more about the airman's interest such as: "'What aspect of aircraft maintenance interests you the most?' A, computer system repair; B, electronics trouble shooting; C, jet engine maintenance; D, weapon system repair." Or, the multiple choices can be to obtain more precise factual information such as the age, rank, and time-in-service of the airman. Also, the choices can vary to better express the attitudes elicited by the context of that particular question. A question concerning job satisfaction may include options such as: "A, I hate my job; B, I dislike my job more than most people dislike theirs; C, I like my job better as much as other people like theirs; D, I like my job better than most people like theirs; E, I love my job." However, a question asking the airman to rate his supervisor's leadership may offer differently worded responses: "A, Excellent; B, Good; C, Fair," etc.

For the sake of brevity, simplicity and efficacy, our survey will utilize a standard scaled response pattern. (The rationale for this is elaborated in the **Actual Survey** section beginning on page 82.) We have already touched on the quantifiable advantages of scaled responses

earlier in this chapter. If we assign response "A" a plus value of 2 and "B" a plus value of 1, and so forth, tabulating our survey results is made infinitely easier. What is not so easy is constructing questions which are basically parallel in the respondent's perception so that no item is so "out of line" with the others that our arithmetic is flawed even before we begin tabulating the data. Jakobovits (1970) includes a number of foreign language attitude scales towards the back of his book, Foreign Language Learning. These scales in Jakobovits' book can help us in fine tuning and finalizing the many questions we have already raised in the first three chapters which should be included in the survey.

Jakobovits' French Attitude Scale includes items such as: "If Canada should lose the influence of French-speaking people, it would indeed be a great loss." And, "French-speaking people are very dependable" (1970:262-63). His Anomie Scale is designed to index an individual's dissatisfaction with his role in society; sample items: "These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on." "No matter how hard I try, I seem to get a 'raw deal' in school" (1970:264-65). His Ethnocentrism scale includes: "Certain people who refuse to salute the flag should be forced to conform to such a patriotic action, or else be imprisoned." And, "Foreigners are all right in their place, but they carry it too far when they get too familiar with us" (1970:266). Finally, Jakobovits' Orientation Index seeks to discern what motivates students to take a foreign language. All respondents were asked to agree/disagree in varying degrees to the answer options to this statement: "The study of French can be important to me

because:" Sample options: "It will enable me to gain good friends more easily among French-speaking people." And, "It will allow me to meet and converse with more and varied people" (1970:270-71).

Inherent Sociolinguistic Survey Problems

Even though we have just reviewed some of the possibilities of scaled-response questions, we need to keep in mind some of the inherent shortcomings of any sociolinguistic survey, regardless of the item format. Shuy (1983) in his article "On Discovering Language Attitudes" reminds us that even the best sociolinguistic surveys will be hampered by inevitable limitations to be found in the respondents themselves: "Language attitudes are difficult to articulate and often embedded in several layers of social learning or political reality which hamper accurate surfacing in a researchable form" (78). Aiken (1980) cites a 1934 study by LaPiere which found that expressed attitudes do not always correlate with observable behavior. In this instance hotel and restaurant managers were asked if they would accept Chinese people as guests/customers. Their expressed attitudes (accepting of Chinese people) had a low correlation with their actual behavior when, in fact, Chinese people attempted to patronize their establishments (12).

Eight Steps of Questionnaire Development

However, 1934 was more than 50 years ago, so perhaps this low attitude-behavior correlation has improved, perhaps not; regardless, we should press ahead in developing our questionnaire. This development can be summarized in eight steps: (1) Identify the program objective

for which our questionnaire will be used. (What specific information are we looking for?) (2) Choose a response format. (3) Identify the frame of reference of the respondents. (4) Write the questions. (5) Prepare a data summary sheet on which to categorize, collate and summarize the survey data. (6) Critique the questions; pretest and revise. (7) Assemble the questionnaire. (8) Administer the questionnaire (Henerson, Morris, and Fitz-Gibbon 1987:57). Rather than expand theoretically upon each one of these steps, they are subsumed m in my explanation of the actual survey, below.

The Actual Survey

(The sample pilot survey is included as the **appendix**.) In addition to theoretical and regulatory survey material, DPMYOS also sent me copies of two surveys: Use of Tobacco Products by USAF Personnel (1988) and Vital Signs: A Survey of the United States Air Force Nurse Corps (1987). The tobacco survey consists of 46 items while the nursing corps survey has 142 items. Why the almost 100 item difference? First, the nursing survey covers a wide range of morale issues (equipment shortages, overtime, on-call duty) specific to nurses. The tobacco survey is an attempt to determine the demographics, purchase patterns, and psychology behind one behavioral act--smoking. Second, and this consideration greatly influences our pilot survey as well, the nursing survey is obviously a focused attempt to assess and improve working and living conditions for Air Force nurses; therefore, many nurses will see it as a vehicle for improving their lot. On the other hand, the tobacco survey will be viewed by

many as a "nuisance" survey: non-smokers don't care and do not have much to report, while smokers want to be left alone. That is why a survey with a possible indifferent or negative reception must be as short and simple as possible--because the respondent may foresee no personal benefit from taking the trouble of filling it out. Our pilot survey is 79 items long--keeping in mind a probable expansion to approximately 100 items on the final.

The purely voluntary nature of survey participation is mentioned repeatedly in AFR 30-23. If we want our survey to be earnestly completed, in good faith, it needs to be fairly straight forward and short. Because of the general nature of our survey, it will not be perceived as addressing a targeted or special interest area which can be improved fairly quickly, such as pilot retention (increase flight pay) or flight line overtime (increase maintenance manning levels). Conversely, I think many of the items on our survey do strike responsive chords in overseas airmen; so, our survey would not fall into the "nuisance" category either.

In order to provide a semblance of balance, the positive statement items outnumber the negative statements more than two to one. The fact that a survey is being conducted already suggests a problem; therefore a negative bias is unavoidably built in. So, the 23 positively worded statements included is an attempt to dissuade the airman from the onset that he "should" hate his overseas assignment which is why we have bothered to survey him in the first place. Of course, the available options allow him very negative responses to these positive statements if they do not correlate with his attitude.

The factual questions are front-loaded, items 1, 2, and 3, so that we can better focus on his situation with respect to time in the host country (HC) he has served and the time he has left. Also, his living location (off-base or on-base) is important to our inquiry. Plus, by having these questions first, we also allow him to answer more freely that he doesn't know the L2 and doesn't have any HCN friends--after all, perhaps he has only been in country six months.

Many complementary items such as items 10 and 25 concerning the difficulty of the L2 are dispersed by design to discourage the airman from perceiving a pattern or expected answer, and also to retest or reinforce each other. However, some items such as 16-23 on L2 fluency, are intentionally juxtaposed so that he will evaluate the varying degrees of the concept as it applies to his situation; he may possibly change his responses around after reading the entire group, and this is fine, on questions like these, we do not want his "gut" reaction but a considered response; whereas for potentially "emotional" items like 34 or 56 we want a more spontaneous response. Also, if we group a number of negative items together, the airman may feel self-conscious about castigating the local HCNs, so the 10 negative items are spread throughout the survey.

In addition to making sure our survey is soundly constructed, we must be sure that in content all the bases are covered (as many as can be covered in a 79 item pilot survey). Culture shock is addressed in items 30 and 31; Constance Ojile's "open/closed groupings" are central to items 9, 14, 24, and 37; the airman's sociolinguistic situation is elicited by items 16-23, 27, 32, 35, and 50; the airman's personal and

group sociolinguistic attitudes are addressed in items 4-6, 10, 34, 41, 48, 57, and 69; HCNs' attitudes are covered in items 70-78; L2 instruction, which also falls under the sociolinguistic situation, claims items 28 and 29; and matters of pre-departure and new arrival education are covered by items 38-39, 42-44, and 53.

Let us briefly review the eight principles of questionnaire development mentioned on page 82. (1) The specific information we seek is to assess how the sociolinguistic situation of Airman Jones affects his morale. (2) Our response format is a listing of closed-response, multiple choice items with scaled responses: A = plus 2; B = plus 1; C = 0; D = minus 1; E = minus 2; and F eliminates an item from tabulation. (3) The frame of reference of our respondents are busy airmen who do not have to participate in our survey; however, many may be troubled by some sociolinguistic factors which they may not have conceptualized yet. (4) The questions are written based on the sociolinguistic background and the survey development theory examined thus far. (5) through (8) are the responsibility of DPMYOS which pretests surveys for excessive length, difficulty, ambiguity or bad questions (Hamilton, letter). DPMYOS also ensures administrative support (backed by AFR 30-23) for the reproduction and distribution of the survey.

However, DPMYOS does not select the number of respondents, nor the method of their selection. We must determine that based upon our inquiry. Since we are addressing a situation which cuts across all career fields and all ranks, we will not have to make broad demarcations between enlisteds and officers, or flyers and non-flyers.

Extrapolating from a population size-sample size table provided by DPMYOS, we need at least 1,238 responses (based on an Air Force overseas population of 130,000). Obviously, if we send out 1,238 questionnaires, all of them will not be returned. Therefore, if we anticipate a 75% return rate--the tobacco survey had a 60% return rate while the nursing survey yielded almost 100% participation)--we should send out 1,650 surveys. Because we are "looking at everyone" who is overseas, we can select the 1,650 respondents very simply. The computer at the Air Force Military Personnel Center contains the assignment location and social security numbers of all Air Force members. This computer can rapidly scan which members are overseas in non-English speaking countries and randomly select 1,650 potential respondents.

Using the Survey Results

There must be great benefits to be derived for the Air Force so that this survey is approved. No organization is sponsoring our survey--thereby sparing themselves the bureaucratic headaches of taking responsibility for "a problem" which carries the burden of 'fixing" it. But this non-sponsorship means that to be approved our survey must clearly demonstrate or point to definite economic or mission-enhancing benefits. Improved morale is recognized as mission-enhancing; however, the survey has to demonstrate that sociolinguistic factors have a negative morale impact in certain situations and that, in most cases, the unavoidable money it would cost to improve the situation would yield positive results.

If tour lengths are to be shortened because of demonstrable sociolinguistic/morale factors, it will cost the Air Force more money to rotate in replacement airmen. However, low cost tour extension incentives, such as extra leave time for those who extend, could be instituted in certain HCs. Also, if predeparture preparation is found severely lacking, greater printing and dissemination of the American Forces Information Service HC pamphlets could be effected. In addition, INTRO briefings could be modified to include more information on HC culture and language, and in some countries, perhaps a one-week intensive L2 class taught by an HCN could be conducted for those airmen just in country. The public affairs (PA) ramifications of these findings could also be far reaching. PA may have to re-evaluate the activities and effectiveness of its local Community Relations program. The Internal Information branch of PA (base newspaper, Armed Forces Broadcasting) may need to provide more HC cultural and language education to the base population on a more consistent and effective basis. And, of course, once these issues are raised, officers in Personnel, at both the base and headquarters level, should be mindful of our survey's sociolinguistic findings when developing or interpreting many of its future surveys on morale.

Even if the money is not there right away to ameliorate any problems our survey unearths, bringing them to light is the first step in making even overseas airmen feel that the Air Force truly is "a great way of life."

LIST OF REFERENCES

LIST OF REFERENCES

Aiken, Lewis R. (1980). Attitude Measurement and Research. New Directions for Testing and Measurement, David A. Payne (ed.), 1-24. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc.

Air Training Command Presentations Office (1987). Air Training Command Command Briefing. Randolph AFB, Texas.

Ammon, Ulrich, Norbert Dittmar, and Klaus Mattheir (1984). Sociolinguistics: An International Handbook. Language in Society 13, 71-80.

Blount, Ben G. (ed.) (1974). Language, Culture and Society: A Book of Readings. Cambridge: Winthrop Publishers.

Brown, H. Douglas (1987). Principles of Language Learning and Teaching. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Busnardo, Jo Anne, and Denise B. Braga (1987). Language and Power: On The Necessity of Rethinking English Language Pedagogy in Brazil. In: Initiatives in Communicative Language Teaching II. Sandra J. Savignon and Margie S. Berns (eds.), 15-32. Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley.

Condon, E.C. (1973). Introduction to Cross-Cultural Communication. Rutgers NJ: Rutgers UP.

Cooper, Robert (1970). What Do We Learn When We Learn A Language? TESOL Quarterly, 4, 303-14.

Copeland, Jeff B. and Bradley Martin (1987). America-Bashing: A New Japanese Sport, Newsweek 13 April 1987: 42.

Cruz, Isagani R. (1986). English and Tagolog in Philippine Literature: A Study of Literary Bilingualism. World Englishes, 2/3, 163-76.

Department of the Air Force (1976). U.S. Air Force Regulation 30-23: The Air Force Personnel Survey Program. Washington, D.C.: Headquarters U.S. Air Force.

Dubin, Fraida and Elite Olstain (1986). Course Design: Developing Programs and Materials for Language Learning. New York: Cambridge UP.

Dudley, Edward, and Peter Heller (eds.) (1983). American Attitudes Toward Foreign Languages and Foreign Cultures. Bonn: Bouvier.

Dudley, Edward (1983). Profess and Confess: Reflections on a Cultural Displacement. In: Dudley and Heller, 57-67.

Durmuller, Urs (1980). American Sociolinguistics Newsletter 11, 2, 1-6.

Elling, Barbara (1983). German Studies in the United States: Assessment and Outlook. In: Dudley and Heller, 45-56.

Ervin-Tripp, Susan M. (1968). An Analysis of the Interaction of Language, Topic, and Listener. Readings in the Sociology of Language. J.A. Fishman (ed.), 197-210. The Hague: Mouton.

Fishman, Joshua A., Robert L. Cooper and Andrew W. Conrad (eds.) (1977). The Spread of English. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.

Foster, George (1962). Traditional Cultures. New York: Harper & Row.

Furnham, Adrian, and Stephen Bochner (1986). Culture Shock: Psychological Reactions to Unfamiliar Environments. London: Methuen.

Gardner, Robert, and Wallace Lambert (1972). Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning. Rowley, MA: Newbury.

Goodenough, W.H. (1957). Cultural Anthropology and Linguistics. Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics. No.9, 167-173.

Gunnemark, Eric (1987). Myths and Mistakes Concerning Languages of the World. Geolinguistic Perspectives, Jesse Levitt, Leonard Ashley, and Ken eth Rogers (eds.), 75-84. New York: Lanham.

Hamilton, Charles (1989). Letter to the author. 14 Feb 1989.

--- (1989). Telephone interview. 6 Mar 1989.

Heller, Peter (1983). The Neglect of Foreign Languages in the United States. In: Dudley and Heller, 7-19.

Henerson, Marlene E., Lynn Lyons Morris, and Carol Taylor Fitz-Gibbon (1987). How to Measure Attitudes. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Pub.

Jakobovits, Leon A. (1970). Foreign Language Learning: A Psycholinguistic Analysis of the Issues. Rowley, MA: Newbury.

Kachru, Braj B. (1986). The Power and Politics of English. World Englishes, 2/3, 121-40.

Kavanagh, Thomas (1983). The Language of the Other. In: Dudley and Heller, 35-44.

Lee, Suk Bok (1987). The Impact of U.S. Forces in Korea. Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press.

Lemon, Nigel (1973). Attitudes and Their Measurement. New York: Halsted Press.

Lewis, Tom ., and Robert E. Jungman (1986). Introduction. On Being Foreign:Culture Shock in Short Fiction. Lewis and Jungman (eds.), xvii-xxv. Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press.

London, Jack (1970). In A Far Country. Great Short Works of Jack London. Earle Labor (ed.), 301-317. New York: Harper & Row.

Loveday, Leo (1982). The Sociolinguistics of Learning and Using a Non-Native Language. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Ludwig, Jeanette (1983). Linguistic Criteria Which Affect Native-Speaker Judgments of Language Use. In: Dudley and Heller, 95-106.

McBee, Susanna (1985). English Out to Conquer the World. U.S. News and World Report, 18 Feb. 1985: 49-53.

Masavisut, Nitaya, Mayuri Sukwiwat and Seri Wongmontha (1986). The Power of the English Language in the Thai Media. World Englishes, 2/3, 197-207.

Millward, C.M. (1989). A Biography of the English Language. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Nelson, Daniel J. (1987). Defenders or Intruders? The Dilemmas of U.S. Forces in Germany. Boulder: Westview Press.

Oberg, Kalvero (1960). Cultural Shock: Adjustments to New Cultural Environments. Practical Anthropology, 7, 177-82.

Ojile, Constance (1986). "It's Not what I Expected": The Young Enlisted Air Force Woman Overseas. Life in the Rank and File. David R. Segal and H. Wallace Sinaiko (eds.), 134-52. Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's.

Oller, John (1981). Research on the Measurement of Affective Variables: Some Remaining Questions. New Dimensions in Second Language Acquisition Research, Roger W. Anderson (ed.), 183-195. Rowley, MA: Newbury.

Papandreou, Margaret Chant (1986). Anti-Americanism: Causes and Cures. The Nation, 22 Mar. 1986: 358-360.

Pride, J.B. (1979). Introduction. Sociolinguistic Aspectsof Language Learning and Teaching. J.B. Pride (ed.), ix-xvii. Oxford: Oxford UP.

A Racial Slur Stirs Up a Storm (1986). Newsweek 6 Oct. 1986: 35.

Ramirez, Arnulfo (1983). The Uses of Bilingual Education. In: Dudley and Heller, 107-124.

Richardson, F.M. (1978). Fighting Spirit. London: Leo Cooper.

Rubin, Joan (1975). What the Good Language Learner Can Teach Us. TESOL Quarterly, 9, 1, 41-51.

Schaff, Adam (1984). The Pragmatic Function of Stereotypes. International Journal of the Society of Language, 45, 89-100.

Schumann, John (1976). Social Distance as a Factor in Second Language Acquisition. Language Learning 26, 1, 135-43.

--- (1978). The Acculturation Model for Second Language Acquisition. Second Language Acquisition and Foreign Language Teaching, Rosario C. Gingras (ed.), 27-50. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Scotton, C.M. (1978). Language in East Africa: Linguistic Patterns and Political Ideologies. In: Advances in the Study of Multi-Lingualism. J.A. Fishman (ed.), 719-59. The Hague: Mouton.

Shermerhorn, R.A. (1970). Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research. New York: Random House.

Shibutani, Tamotsu (1978). The Derelicts of Company k. A Sociological Study of Demoralization. Berkeley: U of California Press.

Shuy, Roger W. (1983). On Discovering Language Attitudes. In: Dudley and Heller, 71-93.

Strang, Barbara M.H. (1970). A History of English. London: Methuen.

U.S. Air Force Survey Office (1987). Vital Signs: A Survey of the United States Air Force Nurse Corps. Randolph AFB, Texas: Air Force Military Personnel Center.

--- (1988). Use of Tobacco Products By USAF Personnel. Randolph AFB, Texas: Air Force Military Personnel Center.

United States Government Printing Office (1981). A Pocket Guide to Spain. Washington, D.C.: American Forces Information Service.

--- (1987). Defense 87. Washington, D.C.

--- (1988). A Pocket Guide to Turkey. Washington, D.C.: American Forces Information Service.

Valdman, Albert (1978). Implications of Current Research on Second Language Acquisition for Teaching Foreign Languages in the United States. In: Second Language Acquisition and Foreign Language Teaching. Rosario Gingras (ed.), 78-88. Washington, D.C.: Center For Applied Linguistics.

Wölck, Wolfgang (1983). Language Attitudes and Language Learning: Comments After Shuy. In: Dudley and Heller, 125-26.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Pilot Survey to Assess Sociolinguistic Attitudes Which Impact on Morale

(A) - Strongly Agree
(B) - Agree
(C) - Neither Agree or Disagree
(D) - Disagree
(E) - Strongly Disagree
(F) - Not Applicable

1. I have been in country: A, less than one month; B, less than six months; C, between 6 months and one year; D, more than one year; E, more than two years; F, more than three years.

2. I live A, off-base on the economy; B, off-base in contract quarters; C, on-base in family housing; D, on-base in government quarters.

3. My tour length is A, 12 months; B, 18 months, C, 24 months, D, 30 months; E, 36 months; F, more than 36 months.

4. The more I get to know HCNs, the more I want to learn to speak their language.

5. I feel that I understand a fair amount about the HC culture.

6. I have felt uncomfortable at times in the HC due to cultural differences.

7. I would recommend an assignment in this HC to a friend.

8. I would recommend an assignment at this particular base to a friend.

9. I would characterize myself as eager to meet HCNs.

10. The HC language is easy to learn.

11. I have many HCN friends.

12. I have a few HCN friends.

13. I have no HCN friends.

14. I would like to have more HCN friends.

15. I need to learn the HC language.

16. I have many American friends who are reasonably fluent in the HC language.

17. I have a few American friends who are fairly fluent in the HC language.

18. I have no American friends who are reasonably fluent in the HC language.

19. I am reasonably fluent in the HC language.

20. I know only a few useful words and phrases in the HC language.

21. I don't know any useful words or phrases in the HC language.

22. My spouse is fairly fluent in the HC language.

23. One or more of my children is fluent in the HC language.

24. I would characterize myself as willing to meet HCNs.

25. The HC language is very difficult to learn.

26. If I were involuntarily extended for one year, I would be upset.

27. I have taken an on-base class in the HC language.

28. The on-base class I took in the HC language was helpful.

29. The on-base class I took was offered by A, the rec center; B, a college branch extension; C, family services; D, other (specify_____)

30. I found my transition from the States to life in the HC to be fairly pleasant.

31. My family has found the transition from the States to life in the HC to be fairly pleasant.

32. Sufficient HC language instruction is available on base.

33. The HC language instruction offered on-base needs to be improved.

34. Too many HCNs work on-base.

35. I hear the HC language on-base often.

36. I feel comfortable off-base.

37. I have/would take a car trip to an area in the HC which is over 100 kilometers away and not near a U.S. base.

38. I received adequate time between my assignment notification and my port call.

39. I prepared adequately for this tour before leaving the States.

40. Once in country, I received a lot of help getting settled.

41. I can improve myself by getting to know more HCNs.

42. If I had it to do again, I would make an attempt to learn the HC language before departing CONUS.

43. Before departing CONUS, I was given adequate information about the HC's culture.

44. Before departing CONUS, I was given adequate information concerning the HC language.

45. I knew a fair amount about the culture and language of the HC before I was notified of this assignment.

46. My stay in the HC has caused me to re-evaluate certain beliefs which I held before coming here.

47. I would like to extend my tour by at least one year.

48. I could adjust better in another non-English speaking foreign country.

49. The HC culture is much different than that of the US.

50. It is easy to get off-base and interact with HCNs if I wish to.

51. My friends often make negative remarks about HCNs.

52. Patriotism is important to me.

53. The INTRO briefing(s) adequately covered important aspects of HC culture.

54. My job performance would be improved by learning the HC language.

55. The overall morale in my shop is high.

56. My personal morale is high.

57. No airman should have to serve overseas involuntarily.

58. The overall morale in my last Stateside unit was high.

59. My personal morale at my last Stateside unit was high.

60. My AFSC (job) at my last CONUS unit and my current assignment are the same.

61. Becoming more like an HCN is, in some ways, to be more unAmerican.

62. I see ample opportunities to speak the HC language off-base.

63. Upon arriving in country, my coworkers gave me a positive assessment of the HC.

64. Upon arriving in country, my coworkers gave me a positive assessment of our unit.

65. My coworkers often make negative remarks about HCNs.

66. I studied the HC language in high school or college.

67. I studied a foreign language other than the HC language in high school or college.

68. I like the Air Force better since being assigned in the HC.

69. HCNs are generous and hospitable to strangers.

(For the remaining questions, use "F" if you do not know the answer. The designated values for "A-E" remain the same)

70. Many HCNs who work on-base speak English.

71. Many HCNs who work and live off-base speak English.

72. Generally, relations between local HCNs and local U.S. airmen are good.

73. There are English language clubs off-base.

74. English is mandatory in certain grades in the HC schools.

75. There are HC-American friendship clubs.

76. HCNs who **do not** work on-base view a knowledge of English as an important tool for job or academic advancement.

77. The U.S. citizens are viewed favorably by the HCNs.

78. American service personnel are viewed favorably by the HCNs.

79. If I could, I would PCS (move) back to the States immediately.