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Toward an education for crossing cultures: A study of emotional issues related to the cross-cultural experience

Grinnell, John Robert, Jr., Ed.D.

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1987

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TOWARD AN EDUCATION FOR CROSSING CULTURES: A STUDY OF EMOTIONAL ISSUES RELATED TO THE CROSS-CULTURAL EXPERIENCE

by

John R. Grinnell, Jr.

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

Greensboro
1987

Approved by

Dissertation Adviser

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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This study focused on the emotional reactions of sojourners when faced with the differing expectations of a host culture. Experiential and empirical methods of research were utilized along with interviews of five successful sojourners, three from the United States and two from Japan, to gain insight into this issue. Of particular interest in this study was the examination of the nature of processes used by sojourners in dealing with their emotional responses to the cross-cultural experience.

This study suggested that "choice" and "flexibility" are key issues within a successful encounter with the differing expectations of a host culture. Generally speaking, the "flexible" sojourner can be said to have a broad band of compromisable values or "preferences," and a narrower band of uncompromisable values or "expectations." Furthermore, this flexibility and clarity on one's values seems to be created from choice--and lived accordingly.

More than superficial relations with host nationals seemed to be related to lessened feelings of alienation and the diminution of the symptoms of culture shock. These relations, in part, appeared to result from a keen awareness of the host culture's expectations and the origins of those

expectations and the ability to do host behaviors when they were within the sojourners' compromisable band of values.

Borrowing heavily from the James-Lange theory of emotions, the author's own view of emotion was presented. Additionally, the author presented his model of "emotional awareness" which is an operational as well as educational process whereby the sojourner comes to understand his or her emotional responses, and with practice gains awareness and an enhanced ability to act from choice within emotionally laden situations.

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Many people and differing contexts have worked together to influence me directly and/or vicariously--and are too numerous to mention. However, in addition to the natural law I see operating within and between all forms of life, there are a certain few forms of life that seem to have been the most instrumental in my development of awareness. These are, in alphabetical order:

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A special note of thanks to my parents, sister, grandparents, and great-grandfather that I have never met.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
APPROVAL PAGE	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW	1
Introduction	1
Literature Review	2
II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK	18
"The Core" and Cultural Similarity	21
The Periphery and Cultural Diversity	28
Emotional Awareness	34
Review of Chapters I and II	41
III. INTERVIEWS	48
Introduction	48
Specific Questions	50
Presentation of Interviews and Analysis	51
Bob	51
Jim	70
Donna	89
Harumi	105
Jiro	121
Analysis of the Five Interviews	135
Theoretical Analysis of the Five Interviews	147
IV. CONCLUSIONS AND PERSONAL SPECULATION	162
Introduction	162
Conclusions	163
Speculation for Education	170
Further Personal Speculation	179
BIBLIOGRAPHY	191

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This study has focused on the reactions of sojourners when they are confronted by the differing expectations of a host culture. Furthermore, experiential and empirical methods of research have been used in this study, and each of the chapters of this dissertation represents different yet interconnected modes of inquiry into the nature of the emotional response of sojourners during their cross-cultural experience.

Beginning in Chapter I, through a selected review of the literature, some of the basic issues of cross-cultural adaptation have been highlighted. Chapter II, borrowing heavily from the James-Lange theory of emotions, represents my analysis of emotional experience and how it relates to the cross-cultural sojourn. In Chapter III, five sojourners, three from the United States and two from Japan, have been interviewed and their responses have been analyzed individually and as a group. Just as the other three chapters, the purpose of these interviews was to gain insight into the nature of the response sojourners make when encountering the differing expectations of a host culture. Chapter IV, "Conclusions

and Personal Speculation," is just as its title suggests and consists of conclusions drawn from data gathered in the previous three chapters and my own speculations into deeper and broader issues related to education for crossing cultures.

Literature Review

Although I would only be living and working in Japan for two months, I was surprised by the intensity of the anxiety which I experienced as my flight lifted off at Laguardia International Airport. I have only a moderate fear of flying as many people do, yet this anxiety wrenched me to the core. It was a generalized, non-descript and completely irrational anxiety, and it filled me with a sense of panic. I wanted to get off the plane, but I could not. And for those few moments, this non-descript anxiety overcame the thrill and excitement of international travel and adventure which I had been experiencing for months prior to my departure. My experience is probably not an unusual one, especially for sojourners who will be staying in host cultures for longer periods of time.

People, when traveling and living in a foreign culture for an extended period of time, report varying psychological reactions. These reactions range anywhere from extreme pleasure and personal growth to extreme states of loneliness, isolation, alienation, and a profound desire to return to the parent culture--even before the sojourn is completed

(Adler, 197; Barna, 1981; Bochner, 1982; Hoopes, 1981). And although these reactions to the cross-cultural experience have been studied extensively since World War II and the advent of the Peace Corp (Brislin, 1986), there has been little if any in-depth examination of the emotional experience of crossing cultures, or more specifically, of the processes used by the sojourner to handle these emotional experiences, and how these processes relate to the eventual type of adaptation the sojourner will make.

This study is an inquiry into the nature of the thinking and feeling processes used by three American and two Japanese "successful sojourners" (Brislin, 1986). Furthermore, it is a study of the relationship between these thinking and feeling processes and the attainment of what Bochner (1982) calls a "mediating response." Additionally, I am interested in exploring the concept of "emotional awareness" and its relationship to a "successful adaptation" and a "mediating response."

E. T. Hall in his book Beyond Culture states that society could not have prospered without the "stability and predictability" afforded by culture; "For over a million years, our forefathers knew the significance of every act of all the individuals around them" (p. 36). Similarly, Walsh (1979) says that "culture is consensus." And it is this consensus of our beliefs or "expectations of reality" that provides

the predictability and stability necessary to the survival of mankind on the one hand, and the cause of the sojourners' difficulty in adaptation into a host culture on the other.

The predictability afforded by culture is based in human expectations. Culturally generated systems of expectation are for the most part tacit and have evolved over time in relationship to historical and environmental demands. Japan, with limited natural resources, has developed a tacit conservation ethic, whereas the United States, with its vast abundance of land and resources, developed a tacit waste ethic. Beliefs or "expectations of reality" such as these, when in conflict with those of another, can be a cause of difficulties in cross-cultural adaptation. Many of these "differences" in expectations between the sojourner's parent culture and that of the host culture are beneath the threshold of awareness (Hoopes, 1981). The concepts, perceptions, and actions that had previously led to need satisfaction and understanding in the sojourner's parent culture no longer do so.

Gregory Bateson, in his article "Personality and Culture" (1944), elucidates the significance of experiencing another culture's expectational system. He highlights Malinowski's organismic approach to the study of human culture, and says:

> . . . the behavior patterns in any community form an interlocking, interdependent unity; that the "culture" of any people is not to be seen as a set of parts, each separately investigable, but rather that we should see

> the whole mass of behavior and artifacts and geographical circumstances as an interlocking functional system. . . . (p. 717)

When viewing a host culture from the perspective of one's parent culture, one notices differences in everything from the architecture to the use of various verb forms. And all of these differences reflect a similar "unique to the host culture" quality, and in their totality exert a major influence upon the sojourner's mind.

Thus, according to Malinowski, the host environment holds a multifaceted interconnection of differences in virtually all the situations to which the sojourner must adapt. As an example, I remember entering a card shop in Kyoto. I had gone to this shop with the intention of buying some lined stationery and expected that I would easily find what I needed--operating at that time under the unconscious assumption that this store was arranged like the stationery stores in the United States. After ten minutes or so of circling around the store, I asked the clerk to point out the location of the stationery. I walked over, and to my utter surprise, I still could not find the stationery. This situation could have been quite perplexing if it were not for my fascination with the unusual way in which my mind was operating. Finally, a Japanese woman, who had been watching me and who had previously lived in America, came over and asked me if she could help. I told her what I was looking for and sure enough it was right in front of me.

There could have been many possible reasons for my inability to find what I was looking for; however, upon reflection of this experience among other similar ones, I have arrived at an interpretation similar to Malinowski's. That is, there were many subtle differences in the way that the store was arranged in comparison to stores in the U.S. Furthermore, these differences were beneath my threshold of awareness, yet significant enough in their totality to distort my perceptual system to the point that I became somewhat dysfunctional.

My experience in the card store may appear to be insignificant; however, if one were to add to this situation the many experiences a sojourner has in a day, one comes to realize the magnitude of what the sojourner has to deal with in the host environment. My experience in the card shop illustrates how my unconscious assumptions, perhaps as psychological defenses, first guided me in perceiving the differences (inconsistency) of the Japanese card shop as similar to card shops in the U.S., when in reality quite the subtle opposite was closer to the truth. Thus, the sojourner is accustomed to perceiving, thinking, saying, and doing things in a certain way in the parent culture which led to certain "expected outcomes." In the host culture these habitual behaviors no longer lead to the expected outcomes--and the sojourner finds him or herself fairly helpless in the face of this inconsistency and ambiguity.

The ambiguity and inconsistency that the sojourner experiences in the host culture can be a context for the actualization of self-awareness, cultural awareness, personal growth, and a sense of accomplishment (Hall, 1976; Walsh, 1979). It can also be the source of need-goal frustration, anxiety, and excessive stress--eventually leading to varying degrees of "culture shock" (Barna, 1981).

My definition of culture shock is that it is the symptomatic result of energy used in psychological resistance and adaptation to the ambiguity and inconsistency which the sojourner experiences in the foreign environment. In other words, it takes a great deal of energy for the individual to first resist cultural differences and the associated anxiety; and then it requires even more energy for the individual to turn around and change his or her way of thinking and doing so it works toward need satisfaction in the host culture.

Brislin (1986) points out how the term "culture shock" has become "taboo"--even though it was not originally intended to be understood in this way. According to Brislin, during the eary days of Peace Corps training, the word and its meaning were distorted by volunteer-trainees to indicate that the sufferer of culture shock was in some way weak or unsuited for cross-cultural experience, when in fact some recent research by Kealey and Ruben (1981) (which I will

discuss later) indicates that quite the opposite seems to be true. However, culture shock does represent the psychological and physical "down side" of cross-cultural experience, and as such culture shock lies somewhere in the middle of the continuum of a negative outcome of complete non-adaptation and its ethnocentrism on one pole, and a positive outcome of "successful adjustment" (Brislin, 1986) and a "mediating response" (Bochner, 1982) with an associated efficacy in the host culture on the other.

Reddin (1975) identifies seven characteristics which he feels are associated with varying intensities of the experience of culture shock. The seven characteristics are: (1) lack of western ethnocentrism, (2) previous experience, (3) cognitive flex, (4) behavioral flex, (5) cultural knowledge specific, (6) cultural knowledge general, and (7) interpersonal sensitivity. With data gathered from his culture shock inventory, Reddin concludes that people who will adjust best to a foreign environment will score low on the first variable and high on the remaining six.

Behavioral flex refers to the ability to do and to not do the "right" thing at the right time. This ability not only requires an understanding of the host culture's ritual system (cultural specific/cultural general knowledge), but also a flexible and non-culture-bound expectational system (cognitive flex). In other words, one must be able to

cultivate a consciousness which can think and allow one to act in ways that one's culture bound mind may perceive as strange. If the sojourner is not cognitively and behaviorally flexible, then these strange experiences can evoke an extreme dissonance response which will not allow the sojourner to do these foreign behaviors with a minimum of guilt, worry, or suffering with their associated waste of energy. It is this waste of energy which I think eventually leads toward psychological and physical dis-ease or "culture shock."

Having defined culture shock, I would now like to define what I think constitutes an effective or appropriate adaptation. Certainly there are times when one will not want to adapt to the host culture's perspective and customs. For instance, I would not want to adopt the exploitive practices of cannibalism or slavery. Nor would I want to adopt the practices of bigotry or stereotypic thinking which gives one race of people higher status or worth than another. For me, the fundamental issue in effective and appropriate adaptation is whether the sojourner is at choice.

The act of reflection with a subsequent ability to consciously choose is a key element in my analysis and approach. The sojourner who is at choice and who can act outside the dictates of his uncomfortable feelings is freer than the individual who cannot. Yet, this "free" individual is also free to choose to act in ways that are inhumane and

destructive to our planetary biosphere. In spite of this fact--that is, that a few reflective people will choose the path of destruction and irresponsibility--it is my belief that the benefits to humanity accomplished by the "good" reflective people will outweigh the detrimental effects of those who are reflective and irresponsible.

An appropriate "chosen" adaptation as I have detailed above seems to go through certain stages, and one of these stages seems to be the experience of culture shock. It is interesting to examine how this act of reflection is related to culture shock. Apparently, the more reflective person may experience a more intense experience of culture shock than his or her less reflective counterpart.

Generalizing from the research of Kealey and Ruben (1981), culture shock is a developmental stage that the sojourner either does not reach, or else passes through on his or her development toward cultural efficacy. They found that many of the sojourners who eventually adapted successfully (as evidenced by their efficacy and good relations in the host culture) were usually less ethnocentric and had insight into the relative nature of cultural beliefs. That is, they were more aware of their own cultural assumptions in contrast to the differing patterns of thought and action of the host culture. They thus tended to be less blinded by their own cultural assumptions than were their more

ethnocentric counterparts. I call these people "cultural relativists."

The more ethnocentric sojourner was found to suffer, in general, fewer negative symptoms of culture shock than the cultural relativist (Kealey & Ruben, 1981). Yet at the same time, these ethnocentrics were not able to achieve the level of success with host nationals that the cultural relativists were able to reach. These findings led Kealey and Ruben to speculate that the experience of culture shock is not indicative of poor adaptation.

Kealey and Ruben suggest instead that culture shock is perhaps an experience that most sojourners must go through before they can attain real "success" in the host culture. They further speculate that culture shock may be associated with the perceptual and behavioral shifts required for effective functioning in the host culture. In other words, the cultural relativists, with lessened cultural-perceptual defensiveness, will go through a more profound "change of mind" in the direction of the host culture.

In sum, according to Kealey and Ruben, culture shock is somehow related to a conceptual, perceptual, and behavioral shift. However, I think the negative symptoms of culture shock experienced by a cultural relativist results not only from conceptual and perceptual shifts, but also from a lack of "emotional awareness." In other words, the degree of

emotional understanding or emotional self-awareness that one brings to the cross-cultural experience will alter the severity of culture shock. An increased emotional understanding can actually reduce the severity of culture shock without reducing the potential for adaptation and efficacy in the host culture. Before explaining "the relationship between the awareness of emotion and the ability to be at choice," I think it would be appropriate to identify some of the goals of cross-cultural adaptation.

Numerous researchers have inquired into the processes and outcomes involved in adjusting to a foreign culture (Adler, 1975; Barna, 1981; Bochner, 1982; Brislin, 1983, 1986; Hoopes, 1981; Ruben & Kealey, 1981). And although these researchers discuss several different goals of adaptation, I have chosen to focus on two particular conceptual goals or "outcomes" of the cross-cultural experience. The first is Brislin's (1986) pragmatic concept of "successful adjustment" and the second is Bochner's (1983) psychological concept of a "mediating response."

Brislin (1986) defines successful adjustment in three parts: "good personal adjustment, good interpersonal relationships and task effectiveness." The outcome of "good personal adjustment" is realized when the sojourner experiences a psychological sense of well-being, and feels comfortable in the host culture and thinks that he or she is "doing well."

The attainment of "good interpersonal relationships" is marked by the development of more than superficial relationships with hosts. Brislin states that for this criterion to be met, the hosts must say that "this person interacts well here and gets along with others."

"Task effectiveness" is defined as the ability to complete the job that one set out to do. For example, Brislin talks about the technical assistant's successful program development, and the business executive's establishment of a trade agreement and the student who gains a degree. However, these examles are to be viewed in relationship, and all three criteria must be met for the sojourner to be considered to have managed a successful adaptation.

With Brislin's model we see the amoral chisel of pragmatism operating, a pragmatism not tempered with long-sightedness, and the awareness of the interconnection of all life and men. I grant it that Brislin identifies three criteria that are probably indicative of a "successful adaptation." However, if "good relations" are reported by host "bigots" who worked with the sojourner to "get the job done" which was to exploit the poor and hungry, I would not consider it a successful adaptation toward the long-term goal of planetary survival.

Bochner (1982) delineates four possible psychological responses to cross-cultural contact. They are: (1) passing,

(2) chauvinistic, (3) marginal, and (4) mediating. The fourth or "mediating response" is a view that certainly tempers Brislin's pragmatic position, and is more in line with the type of adaptation I believe is "successful" in the long term.

A "mediating" response is marked by "personal growth, intergroup harmony, pluralistic societies and cultural preservation" (p. 27). The mediating individual is able to take the best from both cultures without losing his or her core of stability. These individuals can act as effective "links between different cultural systems, bridging the gap by introducing, translating, representing and reconciling the cultures to each other" (p. 29).

Next to the mediating response is the "marginal" response, and it is marked by confusion over ethnic identity. The person is "between cultures" and without a clear sense of personal identity in either the host or parent culture.

At the other end from the mediating response is the "passing" response, and it is characterized by a rejection of ethnic identity. That is, the sojourner adopts the host culture's values and completely rejects the parent culture. Next to the passing response, and similar in terms of its defensive nature, is the "chauvinistic" response. The chauvinistic response is marked by nationalism and racism with a complete rejection of the host culture.

Certainly the sojourner who attains a mediating response or successful adaptation brings certain awarenesses and understandings to his or her cross-cultural experience that others don't. And if I might summarize from the literature in my own words, there seem to be three dimensions, two thought processes, and one behavioral that appears to significantly influence the sojourner's ability to adapt to host culture expectations, and it is currently held that the degree to which the sojourner is able to conceive, perceive, and behave in these three ways will, to a large extent, determine cross-cultural efficacy (Adler, 1973; Barna, 1981; Bochner, 1982; Brislin, 1981, 1983, 1986; Gudykunst, 1977; Gudykunst & Hammer, 1981; Hoopes, 1981; Kealey & Ruben, 1981; Redden, 1975, 1978; Ruben, 1977; Triandis, 1974).

The three dimensions are:

1. Awareness of the relativity of personal and cultural belief systems.
2. Awareness of the host culture's differing expectations, i.e., knowing the context specific "distinctions" for appropriate and inappropriate behavior or "social skills."
3. The ability to "do" and "not do" behavior which may seem strange or unusual.

As one can see, these three dimensions have to do with an ability to operate outside of one's culturally induced

patterns of thought and behavior. In other words, these three dimensions are about the creation of a conceptual and perceptual system that is less culture bound and therefore more able to understand the host culture's expectations. Thus, the sojourner is enabled to choose to adjust his or her behavior to the expectations of the host culture. The efficacy with which the sojourner can choose to do host culture behavior at appropriate times will be reflected in the host culture's assistance in need satisfaction.

In being less defensive, thereby appearing more patient and doing appropriate behavior, the sojourner is perceived by host nationals as less threatening and more of an "in-group" member--eventually resulting in host assistance toward need satisfaction.

I believe that a common thread of "flexibility" runs through all three dimensions I summarized from the literature. Just as Reddin (1975) points out, this flexibility is related to the sojourner's experience of culture shock, and is found in both the thought processes and behavior of the sojourner who achieves a successful adaptation. Furthermore, I have a notion that this flexibility has to do with the way the sojourner approaches his emotional experience of crossing cultures. Flexibility is at least in part cultivated through the practice of what I call "emotional awareness." "Emotional awareness" is a process whereby one brings awareness to one's

emotional states, and as a result of this process the sojourner gradually comes to understand his or her habitual thoughts and emotional responses and is thereby allowed the choice to "think and do from choice in previously uncomfortable situations." Through the practical use of the process of "emotional awareness" it is cultivated, and therefore simultaneously operational as well as educational.

It is my contention that the sojourner who achieves a "mediating response" or "successful adaptation" will not only report having realized the three dimensions I have summarized above, but will also report having the ability to feel their emotions throughout an emotionally uncomfortable situation, and still be able to act from choice in ways that are not necessarily for the purpose of reducing those uncomfortable emotional sensations.

The crux of the problem for the sojourner in dealing with the differing expectations that the host culture has to offer is emotional as well as intellectual. It is one thing to study about a culture's customs and history, and another to break one's own consistent patterns of thought and behavior. To do so is disruptive to the equilibrium established by one's parent culture's expectations--which can be quite uncomfortable.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

I had been living and working in Hiroshima for about three weeks, and upon arising one morning from an unusual dreamless sleep, I noticed that I was experiencing some moderately intense anxiety. I could not put my finger on its cause, even though it was more intense than the "undeterminable" anxiety that I had occasionally experienced before in my life. Later that morning I was surprised to find that the anxious feeling didn't leave me as it usually does once I have become involved in some type of work or daily routine. During this particular day I also noticed that I was mentally preoccupied and more clumsy than usual.

I have only been injured once in seven years of practicing the gentle martial art called "Aikido," yet this same evening, while practicing Aikido, I severely bruised my right hip--an injury that I now believe was related to my peculiar state of mind. Upon returning home that evening after Aikido, where I lived with a Japanese family, my friend Saji suggested that a Shiatsu-shi or "traditional Japanese doctor" come over. Upon finishing her medical practice consisting of acupuncture and massage, I found that I could walk once again. To my much greater surprise, however, the anxiety

that I had been experiencing during the day and the associated clumsiness had left me, and I felt normal once again. Later that summer I was to find out that this was not such an unusual story.

While I was in Tokushima attending a festival with some American friends who had been sojourning in Japan for over three years, I told them about my experience with the undeterminable anxiety. However, quite to my relief (misery loves company), they all knew this anxiety associated with cross-cultural adaptation quite well.

John, who worked for Berlitz in Kyoto, said that the topic of cross-cultural adaptation processes was "regular talk" among the foreigners he knew in Japan. John said he had experienced a similar type of anxiety, and said that most Occidental sojourners report having another longer and more intense phase of anxiety and depression about six months into their sojourn. John and his friends had noticed that the longer and more intense second bout with anxiety and depression brought on thoughts of going home because the "newness" and the adventure of living in a host culture had worn off by that time.

For the sojourner, the experience of anxiety and other uncomfortable and anti-social emotions is based in his or her reaction to the ambiguity and inconsistency afforded by cultural differences. That is, when the sojourner's "expectations

for reality" do not match those of the host culture, anxiety usually results with associated perceptions and behaviors for the purpose of blocking the experience of the anxiety. As an example, when I was shopping for stationery I could have become quite frustrated or "angry" and projected (blamed) my inability to find the stationery on the clerk or the "poor store arrangement." However, there is more to consider than just the avoidance of anxiety when investigating an emotional experience in a cross-cultural setting. Therefore, I have borrowed Maddi's (1980) "core and periphery model" of personality to examine emotional reactions at two related levels.

The first level has to do with the anxiety and defensive behaviors that arise from the more fundamental "core of personality." The core of personality is that part of personality that is characteristic of all cultures and to all men.

Through exploration of the second or "peripheral" level, differences between cultures and individuals can be accounted for. At this level I will explore the emotional responses at a more culture specific and situational level of need satisfaction, need frustration, and loss. Having broken the emotional responses down into the core and peripheral levels of analysis, I will then clarify my notion of a non-habitual option of practicing "emotional awareness" as a way of "choosing" behavior when the sojourner is confronted with cultural differences.

"The Core" and Cultural Similarity

> "I looked into the wolf's eye and saw the wisdom of thirty million years of experience."
>
> --Paul Winter

Throughout time, within the constraints of evolutionary processes, man, in relationship to all other forms, has and continues to organize and develop his system of thought, emotional response, perception, action, and evaluation in ways that are perceived as enhancing his or her chance for survival. This process is called "adaptation" and its function is to reestablish stasis or "form" in ways that avoid that which is perceived as life threatening and unknown.

Theoretically residing at a biological level, earlier perceptual adaptations such as avoidance of death and the approach of that which is life enhancing was formed in relationship to ancient environmental contexts. Over time, those forms of thought and action that led toward survival and life were associated with pleasure, and those that led toward death were associated with pain. These anxient precepts of pain and pleasure are linked to specific physiological responses, e.g., certain types of brain activity, muscle tension, changes in breathing, adrenaline dispersion, heightened awareness, etc. When mankind developed culture and language, the same pleasure-approach, pain-avoid system and associated emotions were reestablished at the psychological level. Borrowing Maddis' (1980) term, this is what I think is the basis of the "core

level" of human personality--that which works through all cultures.

Emotional responses are pre-verbal (Freud, 1937; Hall, 1979), and the psychological processes and the associated physical and emotional responses of fight or flight at the pre-verbal level are universal among all species, yet in man it is hidden behind the shrouds of assumption and habitual thought and behavior.

However, these pre-verbal arrangements have guided the most fundamental assumptions at the cultural level. The cultural concepts behind an emotional response are psychological in nature and range on a continuum from those that are universal or "core" and deeply hidden in cultural assumption to those concepts which are "peripheral" or specific to a particular cultural expectational system or "context" and are somewhat more accessible to consciousness.

As an example at the universal or "core" end of the continuum, we have universal cultural constructs such as "insider and outsider," "inappropriate and appropriate behavior," and the "known and the ambiguous and inconsistent." The way each culture has worked out the "details" or the "expected" in each of these categories may differ, but all cultures at some level understand these categories.

Hofstede (1980), for the purposes of his research into intercultural values, has identified what I think are four

"core" categories that each culture has worked out in their own particular "peripheral" way. These four categories have to do with the user of power, individualism, uncertainty avoidance, and issues of masculinity and femininity. It is my opinion that cultures answer the question presented by each of these "categories" of values, with the purpose of creating consistency in expectation and the avoidance of anxiety. And from Hofstede's perspective, it is each culture's unique ordering, blend, and balance of these categorical values-hierarchies that determines the nature of a culture. The greater the difference in the natures of two cultures, the greater the chance for misunderstanding and miscommunication.

Anxiety is, according to May (1950) and others such as Freud, Horney and Kierkegaard, the emotion associated with the fear of "inner confusion, psychological disorientation and uncertainty with respect to values and acceptable standards of conflict" (p. 7). As such, anxiety represents that which is antithetical to the psychological form established by cultural expectation. May further points out that anxiety is the result of "conflicting patterns" (p. 9) and says that "Culture is the product of man's conquest of anxiety in that culture represents man's progressive making of his environment adequate to himself, and himself adequate to his environment" (p. 57). What May is pointing out here is that man has created internal and external consistency or "equilibrium" through the development of cultural forms of thought.

It is my contention that the principle of the "avoidance of the uncomfortable" has guided the development of cultural assumption at both the core and peripheral levels. The "uncomfortable" is anxiety, and anxiety is pain at the psychological level. And as I pointed out in the first chapter, culture is mostly unconscious (Polyani, 1969) and is a consensus of expectations for thought and behavior. To encounter the differences of a host culture is threatening, and to break the pattern of one's parent culture is to break the bone or scrape the knee of the mind.

Hall (1976) says, "It is not that man must be in sync with or adapt to his culture but that cultures grow out of sync with man." And he further states that "cultures are dictatorial unless understood and examined" (p. 245). All thought, behavior, and subsequent judgments that are made in line with the cultural expectational system are internally and externally perceived as pleasurable or neutral. However, those behaviors that run contrary to the established pattern of the sojourner's own culture, such as those experienced in a host culture, are perceived as "meaningless" and therefore potentially "life threatening," and the sojourner then becomes open to experiencing the associated core level of anxiety.

In the first chapter I cited Kealey and Ruben's (1981) speculation about culture shock being associated with the

successful adaptation the cultural relativist eventually makes. In contrast I pointed out that the more ethnocentric sojourner seems to experience fewer symptoms of culture shock, and he or she does so primarily because his cultural expectational system is so impermeable--as it adequately protects his consciousness from the "dissolution of cultural form" and thereby maintains equilibrium and defends the sojourner from the associated anxiety and the experience of culture shock.

> But when this form of anxiety is confronted affirmatively--when the individual both realizes the threat of meaninglessness and takes a stand against the threat--the result is a strengthening of the individual's feeling of being a self, a strengthening of his perception of himself as distinct from the world of nonbeing, of objects. (May, 1950, p. 45)

It is my contention that the cultural relativist is not afforded the curse and the blessing of a rigid and more ethnocentric expectational system. Therefore, the relativist, with his or her "at least" intellectual awareness of the human ability to "create reality" (Freire, 1979), experiences a more profound dose of anxiety associated with the shifting of his or her expectational system towards that of the host culture. However, this anxiety is basically a core level phenomena and is a fear of the anxiety associated with the shift. I have a notion that culture shock is in large part due to the energy expended in psychological resistance to the experience of core level anxiety. If this is so, then

the ability to not resist but rather to accept anxiety would be a valuable skill in cross-cultural adaptation.

The culture bound judgments and subsequent behavior of the unenlightened sojourner will be done according to the dictates of his or her own culturally induced sense of equilibrium. However, May (1950) suggests that through the experiencing of anxiety, and not the avoidance of anxiety, one can gain awareness and thereby become more free of the shackles of historical culturally induced thought. In other words, anxiety associated with the "core of personality," i.e., the universal-cultural type, seems to be both the lock and the key to awareness and eventual psychological freedom. I would also like to posit that it is an important key in the actualization of a "successful adaptation" or "mediating response." Further, I believe that the "apprehension anxiety" that I felt when leaving Laguardia International Airport for Japan was in some way connected with a tangential recognition of the threat a host culture offered my established cultural patterns of expectation and the function these patterns serve to maintain equilibrium and the avoidance of anxiety.

May (1950) summarizing Kierkegaard says: "Anxiety is a better teacher than reality, for one can temporarily evade reality by avoiding the distasteful situation; but anxiety is a source of education always present because one carries it within" (p. 43). Again, I have a notion that "emotional

awareness" or the ability to experience uncomfortable emotions originating from the universal "core" of perosnality, and those defensive and anti-social emotions seemingly oiriginating from a more situational and cultural relative need goal level are significant factors in both a "successful adaptation" and "mediating response."

However, before examining the notion of "emotional awareness" in more detail, I would like to shift the focus of this inquiry into the more cultural and individual specific "peripheral" level where the sojourner must deal with survival on a day-to-day basis through the satisfaction of need states and expectations in conflict.

At the core level of analysis we took a transcultural look at such basic issues as anxiety stemming from the conscious and unconscious experience of the ambiguous and inconsistent, and fight or flight behavior in resistance to the experience of that anxiety.

However, at the peripheral level we will begin to examine specific distinctions of expectation and the behaviors that lead toward perceived need satisfaction and survival at a more immediate and behaviorally observable level. In other words, at the core level we can only examine the similarities between men and women of all cultures, whereas at the peripheral level we are able to explore the differences in expectation between cultures and individuals and the associated

emotional responses when those expectations for reality are in conflict.

The Periphery and Cultural Diversity

Weinhold and Elliot (1973) believe that there are five basic feelings that relate to perceived and actual "need and want" satisfaction, frustration, and loss. Further, they posit that all potential feeling states are either the same as one of these five yet carry a different label, or are a combination of two or more of these basic five.

The five basic feelings or "emotional" states identified by Weinhold and Elliot are happy, angry, excited, scared, and sad. Very simply, "happiness" is getting what you want or need, whereas excited is defined as the **anticipation** of getting what you want or need. On the other hand, "anger" results from not getting what you wanted or needed, and scared is the **anticipation** of not getting what you want or need or not having the resources to solve a problem. "Sadness," according to Weinhold and Elliot, is what one feels when they lose something or somebody they wanted or needed. Frustration, according to Weinhold and Elliot, is a form of anger and the result of repeated smaller angers. Hurt is a "combination" of anger and sadness.

What I particularly like about Weinhold and Elliot's operational model as it applies to cross-cultural experience is that it is based in the concepts of want and need

attainment, frustration, and loss--which is a universal in human experience; yet due to the model's cognitive component, it provides a framework that allows for cultural differences in perception to be understood. In other words, this model could be used in any culture to understand emotional reaction. Even though the patterns of perceived need, want, and expectation of the various cultures (at a peripheral level of analysis) will be different, the emotional reactions to these perceived states will be the same.

Within my first few hours in Japan I experienced a situation which will illustrate the five basic feelings quite clearly. My friends and I had been en route from the U.S. to the ryokan (Japanese Inn) we would be staying in our first night for about 24 hours. We were all exceedingly tired, lost, and supposedly only a few blocks from our destination, yet couldn't find the Ryokan. Finally, a policeman came by and the group decided to send me with the officer to find the Ryokan. Once found, I was to return to guide the others to our destination and much needed rest.

After ten minutes, and to my surprise, I realized that the police officer couldn't find the Ryokan either, and we rode around Tokyo for over 45 minutes in which time I began to "frustrate" myself. I was worried (scared) about the others, yet because of my poor facility with the Japanese language I could not communicate my intention, nor could I

assist the officer. I had what I perceived to be an important mission yet was completely helpless.

After becoming frustrated for the first 20 minutes of the 45, I remembered two bits of advice a friend had given me. They were, "expect the unexpected" and "go with the flow." Once I had "let go" of my expectations for "having to be responsible" and for "not wasting time," I realized that I had a guided tour of Tokyo, paid for by the Japanese government.

In the scenario above, what I thought I "needed" was to find the way to the ryokan. This was intensified by the fact that I thought my five friends were depending on me to do so, and I became "angered and frustrated" because I didn't achieve what I thought I needed to. I became "scared" when I thought that I might not be able to have the resources to help my friends. I became "happy" when I found that my goal was achieved (without my help) as my friends were waiting for me on the front step of the Ryokan when the police officer finally found it.

This scenario hopefully illustrates Weinhold and Elliot's model. However, I would like to move from this more "personal" situation to a situation illustrating emotions associated with the conflict between two differing expectational systems at a cultural level.

A typical scenario that illustrates a peripheral interaction between Japanese and American men and sometimes women

who work together is the frustration that both Americans and Japanese often feel when working together. Viewed from an American (more masculine) expectational system for proper work procedures, the American will often feel frustrated and sometimes angry with the Japanese who hold an expectation for consensus and agremeent, which, in the American way of seeing things, is a waste of time. In this scenario, what the American expects or "wants" is **results--**in a short time, because **time is money.** "And dammit, if I don't get it soon I'm gonna be pissed."

On the other hand, the Japanese feel frustration with their perception of the American expectation for **speed** in decision-making and **lack of consideration** for **hierarchy** and **consensus.** In other words, when the Japanese expectation or "want" for consensus and detailed consideration is thwarted by the Americans' time demand, the Japanese will also become frustrated or angry. And "I'll bear my feelings in quiet humility until circumstances change."

My friend Jim employed a Japanese man to work in his firm. The Japanese man was a friend of Jim's and had been hired to act as an office clerk. A few months into his new job the Japanese man became somewhat disgruntled and often appeared depressed, so Jim finally asked him what was the matter. Jim's Japanese friend had expected to be in on all of the major decisions the firm was making and felt left out

and thereby became frustrated and dealt with his frustration in a typical Japanese way, which was to become depressed (Benedict, 1946).

People from differing cultures will not only perceive, but will also react to their emotions in ways that their culture dictates. The Japanese, when confronted with frustration, anger, or any other strong emotion, will usually hold it in (unless they are drinking sake with you). According to my friend Genzo and other Japanese I have talked with, this is based in their cultural expectation that the external circumstances will eventually change, and the most effective means of coping with the present frustration is to accommodate one's behavior and internal state to that which the situation demands. This culture bound behavior, according to Weisz, Rothbaum, and Blackburn (1984), is called "secondary control." They go on to point out that Americans, in a similar situation, would probably elect to control the outward circumstances through verbal or physical manipulation and this form of behavior is called "primary control." Ideally, an individual would have a balance of these two modes of awareness and control.

Fundamentally, I believe that an insistence upon one's particular cultural or personal "peripheral" way of perceiving and doing is based on a fear of anxiety. At the "core" level, the anxiety is behind the more universal constructs

such as insider and outsider, and the known and the ambiguous and inconsistent. However, at the "peripheral" level the individual is more concerned with immediate goal and need achievement and the perceived control resulting from manipulation at this level.

The sojourner's perception as to the most effective way of achieving goals and meeting needs will be, in a large part, dictated by his or her own cultural pattern. However, one's own personal experience and awareness from past experience can have a mediating effect upon these "dictatorial" cultural expectations. In this way it can be said that there is a dialectic operating between the sojourner's inner experience and his or her perceived and actual outer reality. And a change in an internal state or perception can have an effect upon the outer dimenison just as awareness of one's internal dimension promotes awareness in external reality and vice versa (Macdonald, 1972).

The differences in expectation between cultures that on the one hand cause frustration and an opening to anxiety can, on the other, provide the necessary contrast so we can come to perceive outside of the dictates of our parent culture. And the differences between cultures once viewed as a curse and the cause of such ignorance as war and irresponsibility toward the planet becomes the blessing--a foothold for mankind to step out of its ignorance. In this light cultural

difference is the basis of real hope for the expansion of planetary awareness, cross-cultural understanding, and a world at peace.

Even though the attributions and related emotional responses may differ from culture to culture according to individual and cultural expectations, of primary importance is how the sojourner responds to both his internal and external situation.

Emotional Awareness

As I have previously pointed out, at the more cultural specific or "peripheral" level we have, for example, the Japanese valuation of the concept of "hierarchy" and the differing American valuation of the concept of "equality." When the expectations of the sojourner mismatch those of the host culture there is conflict (inconsistency). Even though the specific concepts may differ from culture to culture, when there is a mis-match between that which is expected and that which is encountered, the universal "fight or flight" emotional repsonse which may take the form of anger, fear or frustration, with all of its associated physiological changes and habitual behavior, may result.

However, if the sojourner instead of fleeing or fighting chooses to stay and adjust his or her behavior to fit that of the host culture, he or she may experience the

anxiety, guilt, or shame associated with the breaking of patterned cultural expectations.

In all instances of encounter with his or her own uncomfortable emotions, which represent a perceived state of disequilibrium, the sojourner has the option of repressing it, projecting it with anger and fear onto the host nationals, or staying aware and choosing his or her behavior.

I have a notion, based in part upon what I have learned from Jim Farr (a psychologist who has been practicing therapy for 40 years), that the continual repression of emotion eventually leads to stress and the associated dis-eases of that stress. As I pointed out in the first chapter, there seems to be a relationship between stress and the negative experience of culture shock (Barna, 1981). Barna's position highlighted by Dr. Farr's view leads me to believe that the continual repression of feeling will have an eventual negative outcome and is therefore not an effective long-term solution in handling one's uncomfortable emotions.

Admittedly, through the projection of anger and fear one feels better temporarily; yet, in the long run, it can severely damage relations with host nationals which makes need satisfaction through their assistance more difficult--diminishing the sojourner's chances for a successful adaptation. This may seem like a superficial statement, but when you consider the original purpose of culture which was to enhance

survival by cooperative living, one comes to realize that even in a competitive society like America we can't be very successful without the cooperation of others.

Another option is to practice "emotional awareness" which will allow the energy associated with the emotion to be dissipated while not damaging relations with host nationals. I also believe it leads to greater self-understanding and understanding of others and greater patience. And this fourth dimension in combination with the other three dimensions or "awarenesses" I presented in the literature review should increase the likelihood of a successful adaptation in line with the criteria of a mediating response.

However, before we take a more operational look into the process of "emotional awareness," I would like to share a more detailed view of my concept of emotional awareness which borrows heavily from the James-Lange theory of emotion.

The universal emotional response based in organismic survival was originally posited in Darwin's theory of emotion (Calhoun & Solomon, 1984) and most clearly and operationally defined in the James-Lange theory of emotion (Fadiman & Frager, 1983).

Within the culturally induced scheme of things, at both the "core" and "peripheral" levels of analysis, behaviors that are perceived as "different" are met with varying intensities of anxiety. And the object of one's attention, whether real

or imagined, is recognized by the preconscious perceptual system, and an unconscious "fight or flight" message is sent to the body.

Upon receiving the message, the body begins to make its preparation for fight or flight through certain physiological changes which I have mentioned earlier. At this point the conscious mind receives the impression of a change or "difference" away from the normal homeostatic state. In other words, and according to the James-Lange theory of emotions, "the conscious mind is informed by the body."

The magnitude of change from the normal homeostatic state to the aroused state will determine the perceived significance of the threat with an associated emotion of relative intensity. At this point in the process the rational mind <u>can</u> become involved in the type of action that is taken, and it is my contention that the "emotional awareness" of the sojourner will in a large part determine if a habitual or chosen response will be actualized. However, the "emotionally unaware" sojourner will react with a habitual, defensive, and therefore mostly unconscious response.

In the utilization of a defensive "flight" mode, the sojourner is attempting to avoid not only the encounter with the object, but also the associated anxiety. The flight mode can have an internal dimension as one "flees from the awareness" of uncomfortable feelings, i.e., anxiety through

repression. These reactions on the external plane can range anywhere from dropping the eyes to hiding in a secluded cave.

In the utilization of a "fight" response, the sojourner is attempting to manipulate his or her external environment or internal feeling state back to that which supports equilibrium or "perceived safety." As I have pointed out earlier, the fight mode can take the form of external manipulation, or an internal form through the manipulation of thought by rationalization processes. Behavior associated with the fight mode can range from warfare to missionary persuasion.

Within each of these defensive processes, vast amounts of energy are used to uphold the sojourner's notion of reality which can eventually lead to stress, exhaustion, and perhaps an exaggerated experience of culture shock (Barna, 1981)--not to mention poor relationships which leads to misunderstanding and poor communication. Considering that the literature suggests that "close personal relationships with host nationals" (Brislin, 1986) is essential for successful adaptation--which I posit is related to effective communication--it doesn't make sense to do defensive behavior in the face of the unfamiliar unless it is absolutely essential.

> All our life, so far as it has definite form, is but a mass of habits--practical, emotional, and intellectual--systematically organized for our weal or woe, and bearing us irresistibly toward our destiny, whatever the latter may be.
>
> --William James

Another possible course of action is "emotional awareness." Emotional awareness is a process whereby the sojourner develops the capacity to experience their anxiety and other associated uncomfortable feelings more fully without necessarily acting habitually upon that physiological information.

At a point just past the moment when the conscious mind received an impression of a change in the body's level of arousal, and just prior to the onset of habitual behavior, **a choice can be made.** This choice is between letting the habitual system of thought and behavior run on automatic to reduce perceived disequilibrium and the experience of the uncomfortable feelings, or to bring awareness to the emotion and act on choice.

In other words, the emotional information the body is providing the sojourner should not be repressed, since he or she may need the information and arousal the physiology is giving him for survival purposes. However, how the sojourner responds to that information is a choice the sojourner can make once he or she is aware.

Each time the individual brings awareness to his or her emotional state, there is an addition made to one's understanding of their habitual responses. It is my belief that with repeated practice, the sojourner will gain added insight into his own habits of thought and associated patterns of emotional reaction. And it has been my experience that over

time, if this process is followed, there is a gradual re-shaping of the automatic emotional responses. Those situations that I once considered uncomfortable and stress producing no longer have the same hold upon my psyche, and I am therefore more able to behave in ways I choose--instead of my culture choosing for me. An individual can use this process for "penicillin or poison," and I urge all who use this process to carefully consider if they truly want to change the way they feel about a certain situation. There is nothing wrong with an emotional response that helps limit one in ways that benefit self and others; however, I do believe there is something wrong with a man chained unconsciously by habitual response.

The ability to bring consciousness to one's emotions and to act from choice can have the effect of maintaining psychological integrity. If the sojourner "reacts" through flight, fight, or unthinking compliance, he or she is being manipulated and thereby shaped by the culture he or she is in contact with. However, if the sojourner has the ability to not be manipulated by the uncomfortable feelings associated with the experience of a different culture, he or she can choose and thereby create his or her position. In this way, the ability to feel feelings is not only a way of making change, but can also be a protection from unwanted change.

The sojourner that continually brings awareness to their emotions will gradually begin developing "emotional

tolerance"--the ability to feel greater amounts of physiological arousal while maintaining the ability to act from choice. The ability to reflect and act from choice is not only essential in cross-cultural adaptation, but is essential in becoming fully human, and a central issue under investigation in this dissertation.

Review of Chapters I and II

Sojourners, during their adaptation into a host culture, must, in one way or another, deal with the differences the host culture offers. The way the sojourner responds to these differences will, in a large part, determine his or her efficacy and comfort in the host culture. Culture is a consensus of expectations for thought and behavior that provides human beings with the "predictability and stability" necessary for cooperative effort. On the other hand, this same system of expectation is the basis of the inconsistency that the sojourner must deal with, and a major factor in many sojourners' difficulty in cross-cultural adaptation.

Malinowski's organismic view of culture illustrates how a culture's pervasive "matrix of influence" influences and shapes all things according to its paradigm--mostly at levels beneath our threshold of awareness, which I illustrated with my experience in the card store. The cumulative effect of these multifaceted differences that the host culture holds can have a profound effect on the perceptions and subsequent functioning of the sojourner.

The sojourner is continually bombarded by the host culture's differing arrangement of stimuli and expectations. In the face of these differences, the sojourner attempts to maintain equilibrium the best way he or she can. However, when in a foreign "matrix," the sojourner, at conscious and unconscious levels, experiences the environment as inconsistent and ambiguous with his or her previous understanding generated in his or her parent culture. At first, the sojourner utilizes vast amounts of energy in psychological resistance to the differences the host culture provides; and then, if the sojourner stays, he or she must turn around and utilize additional energy in the process of adaptation. The stress and subsequent symptoms of dis-ease associated with this tremendous energy expenditure is known as "culture shock."

Culture shock is a sign that a deeper adaptive process is taking place and is therefore not necessarily something to be avoided. I illustrated this position with research that Kealey and Ruben (1981) did which indicates that sojourners who eventually adapted into the host culture, reported a more significant experience of culture shock than their more ethnocentric counterparts who resisted adaptation. The point is that culture shock, and the associated uncomfortable feelings, are not necessarily something to be avoided, but is evidence of a deeper transformative process taking place--many times beneath the threshold of awareness.

The sojourner who allows this deeper process to take place has been studied in the literature quite extensively and appears to hold certain dispositions toward the cross-cultural experience, and at this point in my inquiry I presented two different views of these individuals. I first presented Brislin's (1986) pragmatic view of the "successful sojourner" who (1) successfully completes work assignments in the host culture, (2) has good relations with host nationals, and (3) has made a good personal adjustment to the host culture. I then presented Bochner's (1982) psychological view of the "mediating response." The mediating response is marked by (1) personal growth, (2) intergroup harmony, (3) pluralistic societies, and (4) cultural preservation.

The literature is full of information describing the processes that sojourners use in making their adaptation into a host culture, and in my own words I summarized these processes as having "three dimensions": (1) awareness of the relativity of cultural belief, (2) awareness of the host culture's expectational system, i.e., social skills, customs, etc., and (3) the ability to think, do, and not do in strange and sometimes uncomfortable ways. The characteristic of "flexibility" seems to run through all three of these dimensions.

At this point in the inquiry I presented my conceptualization of "emotional awareness" and posited that "the

ability to progressively think and do in previously uncomfortable situations" is both an "operational and educational" fourth dimension that was not examined in the literature. However, before I went into more detail about this particular aspect I thought it would be necessary for me to share my particular view of emotional experience as it relates to the cross-cultural experience.

In Chapter II, I borrowed Maddi's (1980) terms of "periphery and core of personality" and used them to analyze the sojourner's experience with the inconsistency and the ambiguity of the cross-cultural encounter. In my analysis of the core of personality, I posited that it relates to the deeper structures of expectation that are universal to all men, and characteristic of all cultures. These structures have to do with such basic issues as outsider vs. insider, the known and unknown, and the consistent and inconsistent. I then shared Rollo May's (1950) view of anxiety and how it relates to the experience of the unknown and psychological growth. I then speculated that the cross-cultural experience is a venture into the unknown with an associated potential for anxiety which, if encountered instead of avoided, can lead toward personal growth, psychological freedom, and improved relations with hosts.

I next examined the "peripheral" level, within which we can view the "differences" in expectation between cultures

and between individuals. I characterized this level of analysis as being more immediate and readily observable than the core level. Further, the periphery has to do with need and want attainment, frustration and loss--and the associated feelings of happiness, anger, fear, and sadness. To illustrate this connection between need and want attainment, frustration and loss and the associated feelings, I presented Weinhold and Elliot's (1979) model of the "five basic feelings." Sojourners from all cultures must deal with emotional issues relating to both the core and peripheral levels. However, there are certain generalized differences in the way cultures respond to their external environment, and this is an important issue to consider when studying sojourners from two radically different cultures such as Japan and the United States.

Recognizing that there are differences between cultures in the way they try to control their internal experience and external environment, I presented Weiss and Blackburn's (1984) view of "primary and secondary control." This is a particularly salient article for this dissertation because it uses examples from the Japanese culture to illustrate secondary control or "internal accommodation" and examples from the American culture to illustrate primary control or the "manipulation of external reality." Both of these approaches are done in an attempt to maintain psychological equilibrium and an attendant state of comfort.

The maintenance of equilibrium with its associated comfort is central to the James-Lange theory of emotion--from which I borrowed heavily in my clarification of the process of "emotional awareness." Emotional awareness is "the ability to think and do in a previously uncomfortable situation." It is a process that allows one the opportunity to be at choice, and operate outside habitual modes of behavior. In the face of the differing expectations a host culture provides, which the sojourner perceives as inconsistent with his own understanding, "uncomfortable feelings"--a sign of disequilibrium--can be triggered. The system that generates these uncomfortable feelings is beneath the threshold of awareness and control--however, the sojourner does have a choice. He can do his or her habitual and defensive behavior to relieve the uncomfortable feelings, or she can make the "choice" to act in ways that are contrary to his or her habitual responss. I posit that this particular fourth dimension of "emotional awareness" is an important aspect of an eventual successful adaptation and mediating response in a host culture-yet has been ignored within previous investigations.

This dissertation involves a variety of modes of inquiry into the nature of the emotional processes used by sojourners during their cross-cultural adaptation. These modes include a critical review of existing conceptual frameworks and

empirical research projects. This dissertation also employs the insight and understanding of the writer and five other experienced sojourners. It is my opinion that the study of the data by conceptual, empirical, and experiential means will lead to a deeper understanding of the issues.

CHAPTER III

INTERVIEWS

Introduction

In the last chapter I presented my particular orientation, and I have developed this view through ten years of experience with other people, and through study in such areas as philosophy, humanistic education, social psychology, and humanistic psychotherapy. Of special significance in my personal development in this area has been my experience of living and working in a low-income community for three years (which was my first significant cross-cultural experience). Furthermore, last summer I lived with a Japanese family and worked with Japanese in Hiroshima which further broadened my experience in cross-cultural living.

As a result of my selected review of the literature in Chapter I, I found that there was little experiential research grounded in the personal reflections and perceptions of sojourners--into their experience of their cross-cultural adaptation.

In Chapter III, as the third investigation of this dissertation, I have interviewed five sojourners, the purpose of which was to learn from their perceptions of their cross-cultural experience. Collectively, they represent over

31 years of rich cross-cultural experience. The beauty of this interpretive approach is that it allowed me the opportunity to come to understand the sojourners' meaning behind their cross-cultural experience. Two of the sojourners are from Japan and three are from the United States, and all have lived in their host culture for at least two years and have achieved a "successful adaptation" according to the criteria set by Brislin (1986).

An additional value of the interview process is that it allows the sojourner to share their distillation of their story in dialectical relationship with the interviewer. In essence, these five people are resources for insight, and through an interaction of their values and experiences with mine, all gained a deeper understnading of the issues under investigation.

The interviews were intended to be conversations centering around the sojourner's experience as it related to his or her encounter with the differing system of expectations the host culture provided. In this type of interview process such skills as reflective listening, selective feedback, and body language are essential skills in expanding and focusing the comments of the interviewee. Probably the most important skill is the interviewer's ability to "talk only when absolutely necessary." These are all process skills, and in large part efficacy in their use is dependent upon

the sensitivity and experience of the interviewer. However, I developed a series of questions to be used "sparingly," and only when the topic was not covered in the general course of the conversation. These questions are similar in that they focus on the sojourner's perceptions and behaviors associated wit his or her encounter with the host culture's differing expectations.

Specific Questions

1. How would you describe Americans/Japanese?
2. What were some peculiar things you noticed about Japanese/Americans?
3. What did you like about American/Japanese behavior?
4. What did you not like about Japanese/American behavior?
5. What types of things upset you the most?
6. If you were going to another culture, radically different from your parent culture, what guidelines would you follow?
7. During your cross-cultural experience did you experience any atypical mood swings or changes in the way you felt or responded to situations?
   (a) If so, how?
   (b) What did you do to cope with them?
8. Tell me about other Japanese/Americans you have known that did not adjust well; how do you account for this?
9. Please give me some feedback on the concept of emotional awareness.

The interviews became informal conversations centering around the sojourner's experience in a host culture. All the interviews were taped and transcribed, and from these transcriptions I prepared a write-up of each sojourner. I gave ech sojourner a copy of the write-up of their interview and asked them to respond to it to insure accuracy.

Presentation of Interviews and Analysis

Bob

Bob was recommended to me as a potential participant in this study by his brother Les. Les arranged a meeting between Bob and me approximately three weeks before the interview took place. I traveled about one hour to a restaurant that Bob's family owns which Bob and his brother Les operate. I had told Les to tell his brother Bob that I was interested in learning about Japan, and Les set up a meeting between Bob and me. Upon arrival at Bob's restaurant, he suggested that we go to a local cafe to talk.

Over several cups of coffee, Bob gave me enough information to lead me to believe that he had in fact attained a "successful adaptation" (Brislin, 1986) in Japan. At the end of our meeting I said I was interested in interviewing him and would get back in touch with him to set a date and time. About two weeks later I called Bob and scheduled an interview to be held two days later.

It had been a warm and sunny day, and it took about 45 minutes to reach the restaurant from my house by car. When I arrived at the restaurant Bob was waiting and suggested that we go somewhere else to talk. I suggested that we go to the same cafe that we had gone to before since we had already had one conversation there, and I thought that might help the interview process. Bob thought that going to the same cafe was a great idea. Upon arrival at the cafe, we found that we were able to seat ourselves, so I chose the same booth we had sat in before. Bob and I sat down and ordered some iced tea to drink during the interview process.

I began the interview by asking Bob about his family history. Bob said that his mother had not traveled very much and had grown up in a small town in New York. However, he did say that his mother's brother was a missionary in Peru for a number of years. Bob also shared with me that his mother's sister had married a theologian who traveled to Greece frequently to study religion. Upon marrying Bob's father, his mother moved from a small town in New York to a large city in Texas.

Bob's father grew up on a dairy farm in Minnesota. His father had a number of brothers, but none of them have traveled internationally. After marrying Bob's mother, his father took a job with Dr. Pepper, and while growing up Bob

remembers moving to five different cities in the United States. Bob said his father eventually took a position with the Pepsi Cola Company, and that Pepsi had originally sent his father to Japan when Bob was seventeen.

Bob said he was quite "rebellious" about the idea of going to Japan because he didn't want to leave his girl friend behind in the United States. Bob said it took him about two years to get over this relationship. Later in the interview Bob pointed out that getting over this relationship with his girl friend in the U.S. coincided with his lessened experience of culture shock.

While in Japan Bob attended an international high school, and according to his brother Les, Bob was the one in the family that "immersed himself completely" into the Japanese culture. Both Bob and his brother Les pointed out that most of Bob's high school buddies were Japanese.

Bob has extremely fond memories of Japan. Two years ago Bob married a Japanese woman and has a two-year-old daughter. Bob is fluent in Japanese, and he and his wife speak Japanese together at least half the time at home. He smiles and speak with great enthusiasm when talking about Japan and looks forward to returning this coming summer.

After attending high school in Japan Bob began teaching English as a second language. After a short time Bob and a Japanese friend started a "juku" or "a profit making school."

He and his partner were quite successful in this undertaking. Bob also became a direct distributor for the Amway Corp. while in Japan and still receives checks for the work he did with Amway.

Bob's parents left Japan two years before he did. His businesses were going so well, and his younger brother Les wanted to stay and finish high school in Japan, so he and his brother stayed until two years ago. Bob lived in Japan for approximately seven years, two of those years without his parents. Shortly after his parents' departure from Japan, Bob was involved in a serious motorcycle accident that put him in the hospital for one month.

Bob reported that his first impression of the Japanese people was that they were extremely "kind," and that they enjoyed giving gifts. Bob pointed out that the Japanese don't need a holiday or special occasion for the giving of gifts, and he thought this would be a great practice in the United States. Bot went on to say that people could "take too much advantage of them [Japanese]" if they wanted to "because they were so kind."

Throughout the entire interview Bob stressed the importance of understanding the culture. He referred to this process as studying the "historical culture," and Bob thought by understanding the history one could come to better understand present-day behavior. Bob also pointed out that he

"hated to be ignorant" and that he "wasn't afraid to ask when he didn't understand something." He also went on to say that he thought the ability to "not be afraid to be embarrassed" was very important for the sojourner. The example he gave was from a time when he had just begun speaking Japanese. He said that he would sometimes say a word out of context, and the Japanese would laugh at that. He thought that this type of situation might discourage some sojourners, but that it was "the price one had to pay" if one was to really come to understand the host culture.

When I asked Bob about the differences in the Japanese culture, he first mentioned the difference between Buddhist and Christian beliefs. Bob is a Christian, and mentioned a number of times how important his faith was to him. Bob mentioned how the difference in morality was one of the first things he noticed.

Bob shared an incident that was quite shocking to him that happened one evening when he went out to eat dinner at a restaurant with some Japanese colleagues. Just after the meal ended, some soji panels or "movable screens" were erected around the eating area. Once the screens were in place two Geisha walked out and around among the men in the party. After a few minutes of contemplation, the Geisha selected Bob to do a sex show with in front of all the other men. One Geisha lay down on the floor and pulled her dress

up while the other woman began undoing Bob's belt. Bob said that he just wanted to get out of there, and he was really scared and didn't know what to do. If he said a flat "no" his Japanese friends would be offended and this act would have the potential of hurting his work relationships with the other men. On the other hand, his Christian beliefs were in direct conflict with what was going on. As a last resort Bob threw up his hand in a "time out" gesture like they use in American basketball. "Everybody was pretty much plastered. I said 'time out,' and did this [time out gesture]. Surprisingly, I didn't realize it, but Japanese realize what 'time out' is. I'm serious. I didn't have to say anything, I just said 'time out.'" The Geisha stopped long enough for Bob to get up, excuse himself, and go to the bathroom. Upon returning from the bathroom Bob found that the screens had been removed, the Geisha had gone, and "everything was pretty much back to normal."

His colleagues welcomed him back, and from that time on Bob experienced a comradeship with his colleagues that he did not have prior to this episode. Bob said that because he avoided saying "no," he allowed the giver of this expensive gift to "save face," and that by his at least partial participation was somehow perceived from that time on as more of an insider.

Following the interview, Bob told me that there is a subtle balance that must be maintained in a situation like

this. If the receiver of the gift becomes too wrapped up in it, and overindulges himself, then his behavior is looked down upon by the Japanese. On the other hand, if he refuses the gift, this refusal is looked down upon too. Bob said that the ability to accept the gift, but maintain control, which he cadlls "au," is the best choice for behavior in situations such as these in Japan.

Bob said that he was able to fully immerse himself in the Japanese culture, yet kept his Christian beliefs. He said that he "drew his line" and didn't go beyond it and "never went all the way" to a point where his morals were broken.

Another "uncomfortable" situation that pushed the limits of Bob's Christian beliefs was again work related. After work one night a friend took Bob out to eat. At dinner, a Geisha served as a hostess, which, according to Bob, is a very expensive undertaking. After the meal was over, the Geisha invited Bob upstairs to one of the "play-rooms." Bob said he was very uncomfortable but decided to go because he wanted to show his friend "respect." Bob went upstairs and didn't do anything. After a few minutes Bob returned and his friend was quite pleased. Again, from that time on Bob's friend "respected" him more because he had acted in a "respectful" way toward his friend's gift. Bob said that because he had acted "respectfully," from that time on his friend would "bend over backwards" for him.

Bob said, "I could be Japanese when I had to be Japanese, and be foreign when I had to be a foreign." At certain times Bob felt obligated to do things the way the Japanese did, even though he would have preferred to do things differently. As an example Bob pointed out how "no one goes against the flow--I didn't make waves unless it was absolutely necessary." A situation Bob found himself in illustrates this point quite clearly. Four of Bob's friends, two "full blooded Japanese" and two "half Japanese and half American" wanted to go to a movie. Everyone in the group had seen this particular movie at least once before, so Bob suggested that they go see another one. Bob noticed that the two full blooded Japanese appeared to ignore his suggestion, whereas the half Japanese friends noticed his suggestion but did not comment. With this non-verbal information Bob decided to "go with the flow" and see the movie once again.

Bob pointed out that "if you follow conformity as a group, everybody will respect you." He went on to say that the Japanese take longer than Americans to decide to do something; however, once they have decided, there is no turning back and everyone goes along. I asked Bob if he thought the Japanese heard him, and he said they may not have because disagreement is so unusual. He further stated that he thought the half-Japanese would have been amenable to the suggestion, but had acquiesced due to the mind set of the other two.

Disagreement within the group or with an individual in the group is looked down upon in Japan. However, Bob pointed out that one could go out after work hours, in private, and after a few drinks could talk directly and disagree with another. However, no one ever blames the other person, and it is best to just state one's position without reference to the other person's thoughts or behavior. Bob called this ability to disagree or to sway the group in a way that didn't cause any bad feelings "timing."

Bob said that "conformity is not my nature," yet occasionally he had to "bite his lip" and wait until an appropriate time to discuss problems and make suggestions to others. Acording to Bob, knowing "when," "where," and "how" to do things with individuals and groups was an extremely important skill when working with the Japanese and the way to "bring things about in larger public meetings." Everyone in the meeting must know ahead of time what to expect to hear at the meeting. In other words, the decisions are made in private prior to the meeting, and the group consensus in the meeting is acknowledgment of what has already been decided. He said that a few "older Japanese" had brought these points to his attention, and with practice he became adept at using them.

When one did not understand how to communicate effectively with the Japanese, Bob said they were usually met

with "coldness" and the feeling of being an "outsider." Bob further stated that this coolness appears to him to be like a "shyness" and a "non-openness." He further pointed out that "the Japanese will not put out until they are sure that you will 'put out 110%.'" As an example, Bob said that it was amazing how quickly a supposed non-English-speaking Japanese would start speaking excellent English with you once he or she "respected" you.

Bob thought that a successful foreigner in Japan had two basic characteristics, and they were a sense of humor and that they were not shy. Bob said "someone who wasn't afraid to be laughed at" seemed to gain access to the culture better than one who was "afraid to make mistakes." Bob, in his next breath, showed a problem-solving orientation when he said: "Nothing bothers me [pause] I find a solution and keep wacking away until I find something that does work."

When I asked Bob to tell me what happened when things didn't go right, he said that sometimes he "hated Japan" and simultaneously slammed his fist gently on the table. He said, "When things didn't go right, I took it out on Japan . . . on the Japanese people . . . I hated them." He mentioned times when people would stare at him on the train and he would aggressively stare back, or say, "What are you looking at?" in a menacing way. On the crowded trains, with the inevitable bumping of shoulders, Bob said he would become angry at times and purposely "bump them back."

Bob now believes this anger was what he calls "culture shocks." "A couple times I was boiling over with hatred, and I didn't want to be there any more, I wanted to get out." For the first two years he was in Japan these "culture shocks" happened about once every two or three weeks and eventually tapered off after he broke up with his girl friend who lived back in the United States. He said that the difference was that "his concentration wasn't back in the U.S. . . . and I wanted to be more of a part of where I was at."

Bob said that his "culture shocks" were a way of "putting things off on the other culture." When Bob first began to become aware of his culture shocks, he said he would be lying in bed before going to sleep and would think about his day and realize what he had done. "I'm the kind of guy who knows myself and knows my body . . . and I can go to bed and know today was crazy [pause] I shouldn't have been this way I was . . . shouldn't have been out of control like I was." At these times he said he would realize that the people who stared at him or bumped him meant nothing by it and he was just experiencing a "culture shock." Bob said that you don't realize culture shock the first few times, "but when you experience it a few times, you start to realize it . . . then you start to be able to overcome it.

Bob thought the way to overcome culture shock was to come to understand it. "At first it's right after, and then

it would come to the situation where I would actually catch myself in culture shock. I would tell myself, 'I don't really hate these people'." After Bob had this awareness he could tell it was "culture shock" while he was in it and could stop his habitual response. After catching it a few times, he said he began to be able to recognize it coming and could control it. Interestingly, Bob said that it was at this time that he noticed that the "culture shocks" came less frequently and carried less intensity--until a point where he didn't experience them any more. "I accepted it and I adjusted."

Bob thought that his interaction with host nationals and his awareness of his feelings was important in his eventual conquering of culture shock, and subsequent good feelings. As a contrast he said, "These people [who] don't adjust to Japanese culture and they might say they had a good time, and they might say they enjoyed Japan, but they didn't enjoy Japan--they enjoyed the isolation they were in." Bob said there were two ways to enjoy Japan, and they were to submerge oneself or to isolate oneself. Even though unstated, by the context of the conversation Bob posited a relationship between submersion and the eventual conquering of culture shock.

When asked how he thought he was different as a result of his cross-cultural experience, Bob said he became less

prejudiced as a result of his cross-cultural experience. He thought that the majority of people who have not had a cross-cultural experience are generally more prejudiced than those that have had a cross-cultural experience. He went on to say that once you have experienced being a minority, you look at minority people quite differently.

Bob also feels like he is more open-minded than he used to be even though he recognized the "immoral" side of Japan and was able to deal with it. Many times Bob "didn't know what was going to happen or how far it was going to go," yet he said "it was a challenge," and by the way he said this, I'm led to believe he thinks he met these challenges effectively.

Bob said that he enjoyed Japan because he submerged himself in the culture, and he thinks there are three guidelines to follow when attempting a successful adaptation in a host culture. They are: (1) live with the society, (2) be positive-minded, and (3) be able to change when needed. Bob went on to suggest that the sojourner should try to meet a wide variety of people from the various levels, ages, and occupations in the society. As a last bit of advice, he said that "not being afraid to talk to the people from a broad range [of society]" was very important.

When I asked Bob if he thought there was a relationship between "emotional awareness" or the ability to "feel uncomfortable feelings and act from choice" and a successful

adaptation, he said: "I think you've got something there." He went on to say that this skill was helpful when he got into "situations I couldn't get out of, I would have to live through it even though I didn't want to." He said that many times his "gut feeling says 'drop this' . . . you'll be a better person if you do . . . and then not doing that [pause] later being glad I was in the situation."

Analysis. Given Bob's success working in Japan, his development of deep and lasting friendships with host nationals, and his desire to return to Japan, I feel comfortable suggesting that Bob actualized a "successful adaptation" (Brislin, 1986). And I would further contend that he actualized a "mediating response" (Bochner, 1982) through his statements concerning his own personal growth and his sense of lessened ethno- and egocentrism. Even though many of the acceptable Japanese standards of behavior were in direct opposition to his own Christian orientation, he was able to maintain a respect for the individuals and their cultural heritage. The ability to do so signifies a sense of "unity in diversity" with its inherent respect for "pluralistic societies."

Throughout the interview Bob illustrated a deep understanding of the "social skills" of the Japanese culture. He stressed the understanding of cultures through the study of their history. In this way, he felt, one could form an

understanding of the thinking behind contemporary patterns of behavior. A particularly illustrative example of this is his elaboration of the concepts of "au," "timing," "respect," saying no," etc.

Many times throughout the interview Bob stressed the importance of "the ability to change when needed"--an essential skill in Japan. Bob found himself in situations antithetical to many of his own Christian beliefs, and while Bob had a broad band of compromisable values, there were certain issues about which he was adamant. Though he said at times "he didn't know how far it could go," he never compromised certain of his most fundamental convictions because he had "drawn his line." This indicates that Bob had examined and ordered his own values and beliefs to the point that he knew which he would compromise and which he would not. Such flexibility was significant in his development of working relationships with his male Japanese colleagues--it provided him with the ability to adapt demands of the situation.

Through his cross-cultural experience Bob thought he had become much less prejudiced, and within the context of the interview, I would suggest that he not only became less ethnocentric but also became much less egocentric as well. Bob said that he could be Japanese when he needed to be Japanese and a foreigner when he needed to be a foreigner, thus

illustrating a flexibility demonstrative of lessened ethnocentrism. His example of going to the movie house with his friends indicates a partial lessening of egocentrism, or at least a process leading up to it.

Bob suggested four guidelines that he would follow when entering a foreign culture. They are: (1) live with the people of the society, (2) be positive-minded, (3) be willing to change when necessary, and (4) associate with people from a broad range of ages and economic and political persuasions.

"By living with the people of the society" Bob is suggesting living as the hosts do--among them as opposed to the foreigner who isolates himself with his own kind, and does all he can to make the host culture like his parent culture. "Being positive-minded" is the ability to find positive qualities in people and situations one finds oneself in. "Changing when needed" involves adjusting one's thinking and behavior in ways that work toward need satisfaction and the development of good relations. Given Bob's mention of "drawing his line," this does not necessarily mean changing all of one's values and subsequent behavior. Rather it is a willingness to change those that are compromisable. The last guideline, "Be with people from a broad band," helps the sojourner attain a well rounded and more accurate picture of the culture he or she is experiencing. It is very easy

to find oneself isolated in the host culture due to the shaping effect of the cultural context. Without awareness of this cultural phenomena, the sojourner can find him or herself isolated with other foreigners.

Bob perceived the concept of "emotional awareness" to be an important element in cross-cultural living, especially valuable in situations one couldn't get out of and "had to live through." He also said that many times an initially uncomfortable situation, one which he normally would have avoided, turned out to be a valuable learning experience. It is clear from what he said that Bob consciously used this process to expand his limits of "comfortable behavior." Again, however, he did not use it with certain of his most cherished Christian behavioral expectations. Although largely unstated, throughout the interview I got the impression that Bob had certain definite Christian expectations which he would not compromise, yet he did not require others to live up to them. I would contend that he respects others' ways, and perhaps because he does, he is, in turn, respected by them.

Bob mentioned his propensity for "laying back at night and thinking about my day." He said he was the kind of guy that knew himself--both mind and body. This awareness not only allowed Bob to modify his behavior, thereby improving his relationships with host nationals, but also lessened his experience of "culture shocks."

During Bob's period of culture shocks, which lasted about two years, he noticed that he would become quite angry and project that anger onto host nationals. Initially Bob did not recognize that he was doing this, but upon reflection he realized that "they" were not doing anything wrong--that the anger was "his own."

Bob noticed three phases in his experience of culture shock which illustrates the process of "emotional awareness." During the first two years of Bob's stay in Japan he experienced what he calls "culture shocks" or episodes in which he would become quite angry and frustrated and would project this frustration off onto the Japanese. This type of habitual blaming response is related to the defensive "fight" mode of behavior. At first, Bob reported that he did not realize he was doing this; but eventually, through a reflective process he did at night before going to bed, he realized that "it wasn't the Japanese, but it was me."

Through this initial insight into the nature of his culture shocks he began to be able to notice them as they were in progress--and he could stop them if he chose to. This second step of "choosing" to do behavior that is contrary to his habitual response of projection and subsequent blaming led to the "culture shocks" eventual control and dissipation.

Bob was eventually able to anticipate his shocks which resulted from deeper insight into the origin of the culture

shocks. Bob posited that his deepening awareness was somehow related to his practice of choosing how he would respond, instead of actualizing his habitual blaming reaction. In other words, Bob began developing a chosen habit of reflection before action. Further, Bob said that his ability to notice the culture shocks coming on coincided with their lessening frequency of occurrence and seemed to facilitate their eventual disappearance.

With his awareness, Bob broke the habitual connection between his blaming and anger response and the physiological arousal associated with "fight." As he was able to gain insight into his feelings, he gained conscious control of his reactions. With this conscious control of his reactions (not the body state), there was a subsequent re-programming of the mind's perceptions of the situation. In other words, Bob's inner dimension adjusted itself to the current external reality--and a new inner paradigm for equilibrium was formed, and this new paradigm for equilibrium now matched his life in Japan, not America. Somehow the ability to consciously choose stands between the inner and outer dialectic, and is instrumental in psychological adaptation.

Bob's Response. Bob thought that the narrative of the interview was accurate. He said the analysis was accurate, too, and helped him to look at his cross-cultural experience in some new and different ways. Further, Bob said that through the interview and subsequent reading of the write-up, he felt

that he had gained a deeper understanding of what his cross-cultural experience had meant to him. I spoke with Bob's brother Les, who had read his brother's write-up, and who said that through the reading of the narrative and sitting in on one of the conversations Bob and I had, he had gained a deeper appreciation for his brother. Les said he had never realized how aware and sensitive his brother is.

Jim

Jim was born in North Carolina, is a single child, and Jim's mother died when he was very young. Jim's father worke for the U.S. government, and as a child Jim lived "all up and down the east coast." As a child Jim also lived in Puerto Rico for five years and became fluent in Spanish, yet remembers very little of that language and experience. During 1981 Jim lived in California for a short time, and then moved to Oregon for two years prior to his sojourn in Japan.

Jim's interest in Japan sprang from his study of Japanese art, philosophy, and "eastern ways of thinking." Jim had been teaching in the North Carolina school system but became tired of that and moved to Oregon. In Oregon Jim started a business, and after awhile he began to tire of this and decided to check into teaching abroad. Jim had a chance to teach in China, but when an offer came through to go to Japan he quickly jumped on it.

Jim thought it was a tough question to "describe the Japanese." Jim believes in a concept he calls "case by case" where one must look at every situation differently. Jim's initial difficulty in generalizing about the Japanese sprang from his way of seeing "people" and not stereotypes of "Japanese."

However, he did go on to say that during his experiences in teaching English to Japanese he had noticed that they have a "strong sense of reserve" or what he called enryo. Enryo translates as "embarrassment or shame," and is similar to the concept of "losing face." Jim said that appearances are important to Japanese, and it was difficult for him to get his students to "loosen up." He said that he would tell his students in Japanese to "try not to be a perfectionist about everything and to go ahead and make mistakes."

At this point in the interview Jim made a generalization and said that sojourners who have a lot of pride are not going to get along well (in a foreign country). "You are going to stumble and fall down a lot." Personally, Jim doesn't care what people think of him in terms of judging his use of the Japanese language--it is "ok" for him to make mistakes. Jim feels like this is important in learning a foreign language and culture.

Even though Jim's students were Japanese teachers of English and English majors in college, he found it difficult

to get them to "flex their language muscles." Again, he thought this comes from a strong sense of reserve.

"The way one comes across is a very important thing and you don't find people being very open with themselves a lot of the time . . . you have to really get to know somebody before they can . . . shut down their facade of respectability. And the way Japanese people in general, as far as the people I became friends with, do is they use alcohol. And alcohol is more of an excuse than anything else."

"When they [Japanese] start drinking then they become what you would term a regular person . . . they can then show affection and so on . . . it's almost a schizophrenic thing, it was really dizzying, they'd have one drink and they'd be all over me telling me things. . . ." Jim said that experiencing this shift in behavior was like meeting "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde."

One big difference Jim found was that the Japanese were not held accountable when they were drunk, and just about any behavior was excused. Jim said he saw a worker vomit on his boss and get into a fight; and the next day all was excused because of the alcohol. Jim tends to think "I'm the same person no matter what . . . and if I do something horrible and outrageous that's the way I am in a certain situation." In this respect Jim saw his attitude and subsequent behavior as very different than the Japanese's in this respect.

Jim felt like the Japanese use of alcohol was a little tough to take because "consistency is important when I try to judge people." As an example, Jim was taken back when some of his professional cohorts would be very formal at work and would become raving maniacs with a few drinks under their belt. There were, however, many things Jim liked about the Japanese.

According to Jim, the Japanese, as compared to Americans, seem to appreciate the quality of ambiguity. "Americans tend to see the word ambiguous or the term ambiguity in a negative light, they think it means vague or unclear. The Japanese interpret the word to mean there are a lot of potential meanings to something, if something is ambiguous they see that it's complex and it has many possible answers." As an example Jim pointed out how Americans in business situations always want a "yes or no," whereas the Japanese tend to say "maybe."

One of the strangest things Jim noticed about Japan happened to him when he was in Nara. Jim was walking down the street with a soda in his hand when his friend told him that to drink in public was really bad form. From the Japanese perspective "it shows that these other people don't have something to drink--a lack of humility." Jim said he liked this particular way of looking at things, and even to this day in America he still holds this attitude about drinking in public.

The following day, Jim was jogging at noon and "people were staring at me because they don't do that much except in a park and I was on the street, and I saw this guy [in a three piece suit in front of the Bank of Tokyo] was pissing off the sidewalk during the middle of the day and I was stunned because in America you can be arrested doing that kind of thing." This is called Tachishoban, and is a sign of "manliness." In these two situations Jim said that he felt a little pulled by their contrast with American values. That is, drinking a soda in public being interpreted as "bad form" and pissing in public being seen as "not such a bad thing." Jim said he didn't resent this, and knew that it was a "whole different way of looking at things," and "maybe I had something to learn by thinking about that."

Jim mentioned the two concepts of "tatemae" and "honne," and honne is the "true feeling" and according to Jim the Japanese think Americans present this to others. Jim had a little difficulty with tatemae which is a "white lie" and a way of masking feelings. The practice of tatemae made it difficult to really get to know people until you knew them quite well, and Jim went on to say that it is probably the same way in America--just not so obvious.

"Especially when they are drunk [Japanese men]--the way they treated women was pretty disgusting." Another thing that Jim felt uncomfortable with was the lack of understanding

for his practice of vegetarianism. Jim pointed out that vegetarianism was an early tenet of Buddhism, and in line with Buddhist compassion for all beings. Jim said he thought that this belief and subsequent practice had "gone by the boards." He said that some Japanese thought he was some kind of religious lunatic or something because of his vegetarianism

Before Jim could speak Japanese and fully explain himself, he would find himself in tenuous situations when he left food on his plate. "Waste," according to Jim, is very frowned upon in Japan, and it is especially important to finish your rice as it shows appreciation for where the food comes from--"yet I would be turning back whole meals because there was raw octopus on it [the rice]."

Jim went on and pointed out that because of the small size of Japan and its large population, there was a complex system of mores designed to "lubricate the wheels" of such a crowded nation. Jim felt like the concept of "politeness" was central in the Japanese mores, and to turn down food was considered impolite, and to use his honne (true feelings) in such a way was quite disruptive. Jim went on to point out that it goes beyond being polite--"it upsets the rhythm of the experience."

Jim said that in many ways it is difficult for him to compromise, but it is important to compromise--especially when living in a foreign country. However, there are certain

things that he chooses not to compromise and went on to say that he was willing to compromise comfort and general things he was used to, but his vegetarianism was something he wouldn't compromise.

Jim went on to say that he would compromise the "mechanics of living" but he would not compromise his "basic values."

Jim felt that nothing ever went wrong for him. Comparing himself to other foreigners though he knew what he was getting into and that was his life . . . "I was going to Japan to learn." Jim felt like other foreigners went to Japan thinking that "it was just another foreign country," not realizing that it has a very unique system of values and history. Jim said "unless you're willing to go with any flow" it is quite different. He went on to say that many foreigners had a problem with the differences. Jim thought that many Americans have trouble with always being an "outsider" and considering Japan's history as an island nation virtually void of outside influence for a long time, Jim thought that this was certainly an understandable characteristic.

Jim thought that most of the foreigners he met while he was in Japan were really not very interested in Japan. Most of the foreigners Jim met had "horrible problems" of one kind or another. Jim observed that they would react in the beginning with a "us and them" reaction, and he said "any situation that ends up like that is pretty disastrous." Jim

said that he did not have many non-Japanese friends because he "avoided them like the plague." At one school Jim taught at, the teachers were mostly American and Australian and they were pretty racist, and they would call the Japanese people "Japs" and they were there basically to make money. On their off-hours these same teachers would form "foreigner cliques."

Jim went on to say that he did meet one foreigner that he thought handled himself very well. Jim said he did meet a man named Bill who he thought had more of an intellectual appreciation for Japan instead of a real love for it. Bill had spent years studying the Japanese language and was apparently really "getting into" the culture. He said that this person married a Japanese woman while he was there. But Jim thought Bill was a "funny guy" in a lot of ways, too, because of his intellectual stance toward Japan. He didn't think Bill had any true friends; it didn't seem to matter to him too much.

Jim felt that he was able to make Japanese friends by doing things with them. Jim is a long-distance runner; and even though Jim had never joined a running club before, he did so in Nagoya. Since he couldn't speak Japanese at first, this physical connection with the Japanese in the running group worked to help him immerse into the culture. Jim said he thought the people in the group appreciated his integrity, that is, things he felt strongly about. Furthermore, he was

working, yet was not in Japan only to make money, which his Japanese friends liked. He went on to say that he lived a simple life and there is a great appreciation for simplicity in Japan. "They got to see me and know me and know what they were seeing was the real McCoy."

Jim said he feels a little sense of alienation in America, and pointed out that he and most of his Japanese friends called themselves "gaikokuzin" or "international people." And his friends said they didn't feel like Japanese like Jim doesn't feel like an American. He thought that his friends, just as he, felt a little eccentric when compared to the general population of their parent cultures.

Jim said that the same things that bother him here bothered him in Japan. For instance, Jim pointed out how bad the noise pollution was and how there was trash on the beach. He became especially empahtic when he mentioned the filthy public bathrooms. Jim said it was quite a paradox that in the land of the Tea Ceremony you can have public bathrooms that look like sewers.

Jim said that he became a little tired of Japanese xenophobia. He said he tried to keep it in perspective, but by the end of the two years he got tired of hearing "gaigin" all day. Gaigin means "outsider" and sometimes he would feel like the "Frankenstein foreigner." He told a story of how he was in a rural area and came around a corner and a child

saw his blue eyes and was extremely frightened. He said that a blonde was an instant sex symbol, no matter what she looked like. Jim says he is a shy person and said that it got a little tiring to always be on show, and when he got to Hawaii on his return home he signed a huge sigh of relief.

Jim said it was real hard to get submerged in the culture, and with his friends he was known as "Jim," but anywhere else he was the "gaigin." He said that his friends knew no English, and had to rely on Jim's "shaky" Japanese. But he said that his friends "knew my heart" and it didn't matter that he was half way around the world, with a different heredity--people could still see you for what you were.

Jim's friends said that he was American on the outside and Japanese on the inside, and they offered him a business deal that would mean he would stay in Japan forever. But Jim had to tell them, "I am always a foreigner here, and you guys are like a breath of fresh air." Jim's friend Jiro said that "if everyone felt like we did [running group] the world would be a better place." Jim said it was great to meet like-minded people that felt this, and everyone wants to feel like their life style is a healthy one but "you get back on that subway and you hear "gaigin-gaigin" and it gets a little tedious to say the least." Jim thought that this "gaigin phenomena" forced foreigners into their ghettos sometimes.

Jim said that most foreigners "can't take it" and leave Japan within the first six weeks or three months. Jim said

that the most important guideline for the sojourner is to "know yourself," and he thought this was a difficult characteristic to develop. Onore-o-shiru is the Japanese word to describe this "knowing oneself," and Jim pointed out how this word of samurai origin is very important in the Japanese scheme of things. Jim then said that "you have to know what you want all the time," and he thought that many foreigners were confused all the time and for this reason Jim thought the environment could be threatening and confusing.

"Some people think they want a lot of things, and then they'll stop." Jim thought that "knowing oneself" comes down to "values clarification." And the sojourner who does well is clear on what he or she values, likes or wants. Jim thought that when a sojourner is going to a country very different from his or her own, it is very helpful to know why he or she is going. Later in the interview Jim said that he did know some foreigners who he thought "knew themselves" and still hated Japan, but the ones that had the most severe problems and hated where they were--they weren't satisfied with their life style and Jim thought they were there only to make money. Jim said "they didn't know why they were there--they didn't know what to look for."

Jim also thought it was important for the sojourner to "keep open," and he thought this was difficult to do a lot of the time. "Things are so incredibly different," and Jim

thought that there is a certain amount of "avoidance reaction" and "confusion." Jim illustrated the "juxtaposition" of values and the potential "defensive reaction of hostility" resulting from that perceived difference by again sharing the story about "not knowing about drinking in public and pissing in the street." He thought the hostility one might feel would be fueled by the confusion one feels.

Jim at this point in the interview reasserted his basic position of "not feeling comfortable in generalizing about people." He thinks it is very important to recognize our similarity with others "in the heart" and do not set up an "us and them" situation. Jim thought it might be "hopelessly idealistic" but he thought that there are no "real cultures," because mankind is of one kind. Jim hoped that this way of seeing things was what he could "teach others" as a sojourner in another land. That is, a human being from a different land that his Japanese friends could see as "like me."

Jim said that he experienced some periods of depression while in Japan during the first six months. He said he had had an anxiety attack one time, and it was the first one he had ever experienced--and he got very hot, started shaking uncontrollably, and got the sweats. It had been a tough day as Jim was having visa problems, along with a generally tough time in the country, and was real down. He said the attack lasted about ten minutes, and after it was over he said to

himself, "I must have just had an anxiety attack." By his gestures he seemed to be "observing" the anxiety attack he was having.

Jim pointed out that because he was an experienced marathon runner used to extreme physical states, he doesn't usually get shocked; however, he said that "when something like this happens you can almost get clinical about it--and make notes while it was happening." He said it was quite "bizarre" because it had never happened to him before, and he was sure it came from being under so much pressure. He then pointed out how running "helped keep me glued together." Jim then went on to say he had gone through some periods of "real black depression" when he first got to Japan--"I was all alone."

He remembered waking up and "being so disconcerted and in such a completely different situation." He had just gotten out of a divorce, and in combination with being in a completely different place it was "like being in another world." Jim didn't know if his feelings were due to the jet lag or not, but he did feel a "very heightened sense of sensation." "Everything seemed so radically different . . . the smells are different, the colors are different, the people are speaking in a bizarre-sounding language."

Jim said his depression was very severe and he calls it the "black period," and he said it eased off after the first year. Jim said he thought it might sound strange but

he is a "security-minded person." And after the first year he had established himself financially and had made a number of good friends. Jim said that he didn't want to go back yet, but for the first time he had saved enough money so he could go back to the United States if he wanted to. He said for a long time he didn't have enough money, and he didn't have a family--so he was "real stuck." Even though Jim has a lot of confidence, he would continually ask himself, "Is this going to work out?" He said that it turned out great.

Besides running, he said he used to read and listen to his "walkman" radio. "That [the radio] and dark glasses" were very helpful to Jim when he would ride the subway. Jim said that alcohol helped at times. Jim also said he got into photography and said that walking around the neighborhood taking pictures was fun and helped too. Jim went on to say that at this time return correspondence from American friends seemed to take forever. "Time was real strange for me," and he said that the first three months were real tough for him because he went there cold with no connections.

When I asked Jim about my model of "emotional awareness" he had some hesitancy in answering, and I sense some problem with the concept. He then said the concept sounded like "long distance running" or the ability to keep running when you feel like stopping. Perhaps this is similar to Bob's response when I asked him the same question--great for "living through

experiences I didn't want to do." Jim went on to say he thought that "having your feelings" is "being open."

Jim then said there are some things you don't compromise. Jim said it all comes back to "knowing yourself." For Jim "knowing yourself" has to do with knowing your values and knowing what you are willing to compromise and what you are not. He then went on to say that he had a hard time dividing his "head and his heart." He then went on to say that dividing "head and heart" is very hard for many Japanese to understand.

I then asked Jim if he could change the way he felt about something. He said "sure," and it is done through experience. Jim gave the example of a food that he didn't like, but he would eat it because it was good for health and "emotionally I hated eating it but . . . I was making enough waves about things anyway so I would always eat certain foods I didn't like anyway." Jim said he tried to look for the positive side or aspect in behaviors he didn't want to do, and he said he would find that it was there; however, if it wasn't there, he would not do the behavior.

Jim said he thought that "emotional awareness" is key when a sojourner is in a foreign country. He said that life in a foreign country is like "rarefied air," and it really does hone your values--"it separates the wheat from the chaff real quick." Jim again said, if you don't know your self

(the wheat), then you can just disintegrate. And "To be refined there has to be something there to begin with." Jim said he saw sojourners who were "shattered"--hopeless drunks, individuals bouncing from sexual relation to relation usually being very dissatisfied, and he said that he would generally refer to this as destructive behavior.

Analysis. It is evident from the interview that Jim has made a "successful adaptation" (Brislin, 1986) as illustrated by his success in work, relationships with host nationals, and his enjoyment of the cross-cultural experience. It is likewise clear that he manifests Bochner's (1982) concept of a "mediating man." Jim made numerous references to the potential for "personal growth" in a cross-cultural setting, and genuinely lives the life of the gaikokugin or "international person." This was illustrated initially by his hesitancy to generalize about a particular race or people. However, there are cultural differences and Jim holds an ideal, yet in the interview he did share his perspective of numerous differences in expectation between the American and Japanese cultures. From Jim's initial hesitancy to make generalizations about the Japanese, it is clear that he holds a pluralistic view of culture with a transcultural view of human beings. And just as Bochner posits that the "mediating man" can serve to link different cultures, in the short time I spent with Jim I feel I came to better understand the Japanese.

Jim's interview supports the theory that a good understanding of the host culture can facilitate a successful adaptation. Throughout the interview Jim demonstrated this by his knowledge of the Japanese with numerous examples, not only of Japanese behavior, but of the assumptions and perceptions that guide their behavior.

As was mentioned earlier, Jim saw himself as a gaikokugin, which evidences the assertion that successful sojourners have a sense of "cultural relativity." I believe Jim's sense of "cultural relativity" went beyond an intellectual understanding, as I believe he sees the responsibility men have for consciously creating their own life. Jim's elucidation of his concept of "know thyself" indicates an understanding of and appreciation for this process. He stressed the importance of being "open" and able to adapt to many of the host's ways. He pointed out, however, that there were certain values he held, such as "vegetarianism," which he would not compromise. And though Jim does have such convictions, he allows others this same freedom. This is important, for Jim considered it essential that the sojourner "know him or herself" well enough to know which values he or she would compromise and which he or she would not. In this way, the sojourner would be able to adapt his own value system to that of the host culture more easily though only to a certain point--willingly chosen.

When Jim juxtaposed his chosen though adaptable position with that of many of the other foreigners he met in Japan, he

realized that they had created a "we and they" attitude which served as a defensive barrier between host nationals and themselves. In other words, if one does not create a "we and they" attitude, then they conceive of themselves and others as belonging to an interdependent whole. Jim indicated that he hopes enough men and women in the world would one day come to this level of awareness so mankind can choose to work and live in harmony and cooperation.

Somewhat differently than Bob or the other sojourners, Jim had a cross-cultural experience and lived in many different locations as a young child. This fact, plus his early interest in Japanese art, philosophy, and thought, probably contributed significantly to his lack of ethnocentric thought; and for this reason, these early experiences that reduced his ethnocentrism may have contributed to his somewhat severe bout with culture shock.

Jim was able to give a lucid description of his emotional experience of culture shock. It is evident from the interview that he believes culture shock comes from an encounter with cultural difference or the "unknown," and that it also involves certain feelings of estrangement. Jim said that he had a difficult time, and I believe that this tough time was the result of feeling like an outsider and very "different" in appearance and behavior than the Japanese. In other words, he felt a strong sense of alienation from the other human beings and environment of Japan.

Jim's period of adjustment with the attendant emotional discomfort lasted about a year--the first six months being the worst. Jim told me he thought it might surprise me but he was a person who liked security, and thought his adjustment coincided with the establishment of more financial security and the development of close personal relationships with host nationals. This is understandable since money would provide Jim with a way of escaping the alienation he was experiencing by going back to America where he would not "stick out" and understood the expectations. The choice Jim made--the creation of close personal relations with Japanese--served the same function, except with this choice Jim confronted his alienation by opening to relations with other human beings. During the times when his experience of culture shock had gotten intense, Jim was able to cope with it through physical exercise (running). He also managed his stress by drinking alcohol and isolating himself behind dark glasses and a "Walkman" radio, and in this way "tuned out" the sensory overload due to the inconsistency between the Japanese environment and his expectations.

The clarity with which he could describe his emotional experience was exceptional which, he said, was due to the fact that he kept a journal and "thought about things a lot." Such journals force the individual to reflect upon himself and his experiences. It is a process whereby one can gain

increased insight into emotional states. I am led to believe from the emphasis Jim placed on his journal that he considers this kind of "reflection" instrumental to his adaptation.

Jim's response. Other than his suggestions to change a few of the spellings of the Japanese words in the narrative, Jim felt like this write-up was an accurate reflection of his position. He further stated that the analysis was "flattering." During our follow-up conversation Jim pointed out how the interview had sparked his reflection of his journaling process. He said that now, more than ever, he felt like it was a very important part of his successful adjustment in Japan--especially through the rough periods of depression and anxiety.

Jim also said that as a result of the interview, he and his friend Donna had opened up a dialogue about their experience in Japan to a deeper level where they were finding out things about the other and their experience that they never knew before. All in all, the interview was a process that facilitated Jim to deeper insight into himself and his experience in Japan.

Donna

Winston-Salem is Donna's home town. Neither Donna's two parents nor her two sisters have traveled very much. Donna holds a bachelor's degree in sociology from The University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Donna comes across

as being an extremely intelligent and self-assured person, and these characteristics came through very clearly during the interview and the times I have spoken with her before.

When I asked Donna to describe the Japanese for me, she began by describing the male Japanese's expectation for women to wait on them. Apparently Donna was quite surprised to find such a difference when she first went to Japan. At parties and other types of social gatherings given by her friends, she said that there was an expectation for the women to wait on the men, and when she didn't do it the Japanese men seemed quite surprised. There was an expectation for Donna "to be aware of what they need and to provide it, even though I'm drinking and having a nice time."

She reported that at first the Japanese men would try to coerce her into getting them a beer or some food because they did not know any differently. She said: "I could drink with them, and keep up with them, and still carry on a good conversation." Donna went on to say that she thought this surprised the Japanese men because Japanese women generally become "silly" when they drink.

Donna pointed out that her close friend Fumiko, when they were together with the men, would not wait on the men like she did when they first met. Donna thought that it was good for her friend to enjoy herself more. "Fumiko and I would be drinking and laughing and having a good time and

the men would be thinking 'why aren't they getting our beers' [pause] but when Fumiko was with me she didn't have to deal with that old way, which I think was very good for her."

Early in her sojourn experience Donna said that it was difficult for her to assert herself, "but with time I gained much confidence." "I'm a shy person, the more comfortable I got being there, the more confidence I gained in being myself like I am here--maybe not waiting on them hand and foot." Donna thought that in the long run the Japanese men respected her more for being herself. "I'm not very outgoing a lot of times. So I'd let people run over me and I thought, 'Well, this is just the way it is. I've got to get used to that.' A lot of that is not being myself. The more comfortable I got being there, the more confidence I gained. Then I could just be myself, like I would be here, which meant maybe not waiting on them hand and foot. But I think they respected that after they realized the true Donna was coming out. They probably thought then, 'Ah, she's American.' That's the way it is, and we have to deal with it. We kept trying to change her around and make her do that."

Donna told a story of how Japanese men would proposition her, and she would reply with "Watakushi wa isagashi" which translates as "I'm busy right now." Donna pointed out how she stopped their advances without saying "no" (which is taboo) and surprised the Japanese men with her "tact" when

their expectation was to hear a response from a "dumb American blonde."

Another aspect of the Japanese culture that Donna particularly liked was the concept and practice of "shoganai." Donna defined shoganai as the ability to accept things as they are. When I asked her to contrast it with its opposite, she said most Americans in Japan emulated its opposite by being so "brash," "loud," "wild," and "really sticking out." Later in the interview we came back to this concept, and she said it was similar to empathy and had to do with awareness of what is going on around one's self. She also said that "it's a feeling . . . sometimes a compromising feeling." She went on to say that it is an awareness of "extenuating circumstances" and a realization that something "can't be helped."

As an example of shoganai, Donna told about times she would become upset when she would miss the train by just a little bit (showed me with her fingers). She said she would look around and the same thing had happened to many others (Japanese), but they didn't show any frustration or anger because "that's the way it is." She also said that the Japanese would inevitably "bend over backwards for others," and she said that this is shoganai too, and the way you have to be with the Japanese--"and perhaps should be with everyone."

Donna said that she sometimes felt uncomfortable with the formal treatment she received at people's houses. Even at her friends' houses she was not allowed to help with the dishes or anything and was always "treated like a guest, I wasn't made to feel comfortable like you are here, you come in and help yourself and you relax . . . I never really felt like I was relaxing in someone's home. I felt like I was being treated special. I'm not comfortable with that, and I don't think most Americans are."

Donna found the Japanese people to be very understanding. Even when things went wrong, like a misunderstanding over an appointment time, there were apologies on both sides. "Even when I was late to teach my class I found them very understanding people." Donna pointed out that to "make a joke" of the matter was the best way to get things back together. According to Donna, a joke means "I am humble--they are very humble people." When I asked Donna how she dealt with problems, she said, "I never had any problems, I'm the kind of person that when something goes wrong I can deal with it. If I miss a train it's ok."

"Ma" was another important concept and practice in Japan. Donna defined "Ma" as "timing." She said it is about "being plugged in to whoever you are talking with--anticipate what the other person is going to say." When I asked Donna to contrast this concept with its opposite, she said: "You lose

control, you let your emotions come out. You forget everything and just you and what's inside comes out. That's being tactless. You have to be in control, and understand the situation and who you're speaking with. Putting it in empathy again. It all works together. Talking about it I realize it's all together." Donna pointed out that she thought that shoganai and ma and perhaps most systems of expectation and behavior worked together.

I asked Donna how she would be if she didn't do shoganai and ma and she said: "I would have been like a lot of foreigners that I saw over there . . . totally out of touch with what was going on around them and they didn't care. To me this is very rude. They didn't care about what people thought about them."

Donna thought that learning the common courtesies, words such as "thank you" and "excuse me," were important to learn when first entering a foreign culture. She also said that the sojourner needed to be "open for surprises because you don't know how poeple are going to take to you." A third guideline which she thought was extremely important was to learn to be yourself, and not put up a front or an act or be "showy or snobbish." Donna thought that the most important thing was to be willing to communicate and not be afraid to make a mistake.

If Donna were to travel again she said she would not go as a tourist. She said she would go by herself or with

one other person, and would not do the usual "touristy" things such as a "shopping spree" or visit all the heavily trodden tourist locations. She also thought it was important not to go with the intention of "taking advantage" of the host nationals. When I asked Donna what advantage there was in following these guidelines, she thought that by doing these things the sojourner would get to know the people of the host culture in an intimate way. After teaching her classes, Donna had some of the most meaningful conversations with her students; and doubted whether she could have learned from them if she would have looked down upon them, or talked to them like they were children. She said that she saw many Americans doing this, and considered it quite demeaning and not showing respect.

Donna pointed out that conformity or "not disrupting" is a fundamental part of Japanese culture, and Donna followed this principle whenever possible. However, Donna is a vegetarian, and a few times she was served certain fish or meat dishes that she did not want to eat. She pointed out that this is not such a big deal in America, but in Japan "to not clean your plate" is almost a cardinal sin. Most of the time Donna would eat only what she chose to because she was not going to follow "some silly belief like you have to eat everything on your plate." As she said this to me, she made mannerisms like a mother scolding her child. She went on to

say that people would sometimes try to coerce her into eating, and at those times she got angry. At other times, especially in the beginning of her sojourn, she might even try a little bad vegetarian food to appease the host but she never ate meat.

Several sad things happened to Donna while she was in Japan. For instance, two of her cats died, and she said that at certain times when she was under stress she would think about them to make herself cry. She said she didn't know why she would do it, but it felt good. She thinks that stress comes out in strange ways; sometimes she would be drinking and for no reason might start crying. "You don't realize the stress you're under a lot of times, and it comes out in odd ways. Sometimes I would be drinking or eating with a group of friends, and all of a sudden something would hit me and I would feel very depressed."

Donna had some bouts with fairly severe depression in her life, but she thought this was more uncomfortable because "you're in a situation where there's no one around you who can really understand what you're going through. So you really have to hide it. You can't just say, 'Oh, I've had a bad day.' You can't really say that, or at least I didn't feel like I could, to anybody, even my running club friends. I really didn't have that connection. So you have to hide it and it wasn't so much fun sometimes."

When I asked Donna how she coped with these strong feelings, she laughed and said, "Some days I'd go shopping and sometimes I'd drink at night to go to sleep." She also said that she would go for walks with friends but most of the time "there's nothing you can do and you just have to wait for the next day, because you know you'll feel better."

She said she didn't recognize it until later but during the first six months her back and neck would ache and she realized she was working very hard. She only taught 20 hours a week, but she pointed out that you add to that all the stress involved in doing day-to-day things like traveling on trains and communicating in a foreign culture.

Donna's greatest shock was not being able to read the written language. She said this stemmed from her not being a verbal person. Donna considers herself to be a shy person, and in Japan she had to start asking for everything including help many times a day. Along with the size of the homes, having to talk provided the most stress for Donna.

When Donna first arrived at her home in Nagoya she said that she sat on the floor and cried. "It was so small" and she didn't know how she was going to live with her friend in such a place. With time she adapted to this situation.

Donna thinks that knowing in advance how you will be living is very important in reducing shock. When she arrived in Nagoya she didn't know what to expect, and it shocked her.

Donna also thinks that it is very important to make friends with the host nationals. Further, she thinks it is very important to be willing to act and sound stupid. She went on to say that a little knowledge of the language will go a long way to reducing the stress of day-to-day living and getting around.

Donna thinks that successful sojourners are confident and secure. She said she couldn't stand some foreigners because they got blown apart while they were there. She said these people didn't know themselves and were many times running away from something and trying to prove themselves.

Donna said she could spot these people by the way they interacted with the Japanese. She said they would treat the Japanese as if they were strange or below them or "something they had to reckon with," instead of just realizing they were people too. According to Donna, sojourners who did well didn't have any questions about themselves, "they weren't searching for answers." In other words, "they have their shit together."

When I mentioned the concept of emotional awareness to Donna, her reaction was that it made sense. She said, "Most people don't think about what they have done during the day. She went on to say that she thought her experience in Japan had made her more thoughtful and aware of herself in context with others. She said she thought the concept would go over

big in Japan because the Japanese are so thoughtful. "Japanese think about everything . . . they are predominately blood type A, you know the Japanese are into blood types and that type is supposed to be meticulous."

Donna thought that emotional awareness would be a way to reduce heart attacks. She said that the Japanese men were workaholics, and were not in control of their level of stress. "They don't know how to recognize or control their stress, they are too busy . . . some of my friends' husbands died of heart attacks in their late thirties, they were workaholics."

Analysis. Given the fact that Donna developed and maintains friendships with many Japanese people, worked successfully, and eventually came to enjoy Japan, she certainly meets the criteria of a "successful sojourner" (Brislin, 1986). Further, by her difficulty in making generalizations about the Japanese people, along with the reflective quality of her answers during the interview process, and her liking of certain features of both cultures, leads me to believe she has at last begun actualizing a "mediating response" (Bochner, 1982).

Donna seemed to have some difficulty asserting herself in the early stages of her sojourn. This is interesting because she does not come across like that now, as she appears very self-assured and confident. Donna said that her difficulty in asserting herself stemmed from a lack of confidence

and a basically introverted nature. Donna found that the "strangeness" of the new environment, and her inability to read the Japanese language required that she be more extroverted in her attempts to get her needs met. Along with her need to increase her outgoing behavior, she also had to be more assertive because of the male Japanese expectation for her "to wait hand and foot on them." She remarked on the way Japanese men would try to "pick her up" and how she had to not only be assertive without saying no, but could not allow their behavior to intimidate her. Donna not only had to adjust her behavior, but was forced to adjust her behavior in ways she chose to according to the role of Japanese women. This illustrates the interction of differing expectations for sub-cultures. Perhaps the expectations for behavior between Japanese women and American women are relatively more inconsistent than the expectations for behaviors between Japanese men and American men. If this is so, the adaptation process could be more difficult for American women in Japan than for American males. Either way, this adaptive response Donna made is illustrative of a basic flexibility which both Bob and Jim have reported as being essential.

Donna also found the differences in the living arrangements, such as the size of the home, to be quite disconcerting at first, but she seemed to eventually adapt quite well. Further, she reported that because she was a vegetarian, she

sometimes had difficulty getting certain Japanese to understand why she didn't eat meat, and had to come up with creative ways of saying no. What is most interesting to me about Donna's experience in Japan is that in spite of seemingly many things that "bothered" her, she eventually adapted. Unlike Jim and Bob, Donna had no childhood experience with living in different cities or cultures, and this could at least in part account for her initial difficulty in Japan. Again, what seems most interesting is that she did make a successful adjustment.

I believe there is a general theme that emerges from what Donna shared, and this particular theme runs through all the interviews with the Americans. That is, how does an American who is used to asserting his or her individuality assert themselves in a culture that highly values conformity. On the other hand, Donna reported that she had to become more assertive during her sojourn to discourage Japanese men's expectations for her. I think Donna, just as Jim and Bob, knew themselves and had a clear sense of the values they held uncompromisable and those that could be compromised. The cross-cultural experience clarifies the essential from the unessential, and forces one to accept active and passive responsibility for both. In other words, in America, Donna could get by with being less assertive; however, in Japan the context forced her not only to be clear about her stance, but to actively do behaviors associated with that stance.

The compromisable values could be adapted when the need arose to maintain harmony and minimize disruption. Perhaps the creative solution to living in a foreign culture is in knowing how to blend with the host culture while knowing one's limits, or the "bottom line" as Bob said. It appears to me that Bob, Jim, and Donna not only had an understanding of their own values and subsequent expectations, but also had a clear sense of host expectations too. From this awareness they made a creative adaptation by selecting salient and acceptable features from each system and came up with a creative solution. For example, Bob's use of the basketball time-out to stop the action in the restaurant without saying no. Donna, more than Bob or Jim, pointed out how "shoganai" or the ability to see what was going on is perhaps the process the successful sojourner uses to learn the salient features of host culture expectations--an initial step for a creative adaptation.

Unlike the other two Americans, Donna stressed the concepts of "shoganai" and "ma." Shogani has to do with accepting things as the way they are, and "ma" with timing. I believe these concepts are an operational definition of "flexibility" and although unstated the process that Donna used to cope. Through shoganai and ma, Donna became aware of the expectations for her behavior by "tuning in to the environment." She used shoganai to buffer the experience of not having her needs met as easily as in America--up to

her expectation. Donna mentioned how she found this concept and the associated behavior very appealing, and I would venture to guess that Donna used this concept in her adaptation processes to her benefit.

Donna, just as the other two American sojourners, found that it was very importnat to be able to do behaviors with a minimum of concern over making mistakes. Many times in learning the Japanese language she would use words out of context and the Japanese would laugh. It was essential that she practice the langauge, and if she was overly concerned with mistakes she would not have learned an essential skill of communication. She also said that the experience in Japan had made her more thoughtful or "reflective." She thought that the ability to be reflective was an important factor in her successful adjustment.

Ma has to do with awareness outside oneself or "empathy." Donna commented on the fact that many foreigners she knew were not aware of others or the impression they were making in their environment. Again, I think Donna used this concept and subsequent perceptual sensitivity to her advantage.

The cross-cultural experience provided Donna with a context that required her to change her thinking and behavior. As I mentioned earlier, it required that she become more extroverted and assertive, not to mention consciously reflective of both her inner and outer environment. It is

interesting to consider this change in light of Macdonald's (1978) model of a dual dialectic, and how transformation on the exterior plane of reality influences the inner and vice versa. I have a notion that Donna, as with other sojourners who achieve a "mediating response," experienced personal growth and perhaps a new-found "dynamic balance" or sense of self that is solid in the midst of the unknown. This dynamic balance is at least partly based in the ability to consciously choose how one responds to the external and internal environments--the environments of matter and emotion.

Donna reported that her experience of culture shock was quite severe at times. She said that it resulted from an inability to talk with others. I have a notion that what she was pointing out is that she felt isolated, just as Jim said he had felt during the initial phase of his experience in Japan. Donna said that she would cope by taking long walks, and sometimes she would drink. She used the drinking primarily to help her go to sleep because she had a high energy reaction as opposed to a depressive response to her culture shock.

By Donna's statements I could tell that she felt the feelings associated with her culture shock. She said that most of the time she would just wait them out (the feelings) and know that things would be better tomorrow. Just as with Donna, both Bob and Jim reported that they would just have

their "bad feelings" and they usually went away the next day. Bob thought there was a relationship between the acceptance of the feelings anad their dissipation. I have a notion that these uncomfortable feelings are related to deeper adjustment processes that are going on in the psyche of the relatively non-defensive sojourner in movement toward a mediating response.

Donna's response. Donna said that she thought the write-up and analysis of her interview was accurate and reflected her position clearly. She went on to say that she felt it was wonderful to see her experience written down on paper. During our discussion, she reiterated that the greatest learning she felt like she got from her Japan experience was her comfort with being assertive.

Harumi

Harmi was born in Japan, both of her parents are living, and she has a brother ten years younger than her. Harumi's parents and brother are still living in Japan. She said her parents have not moved since they were married. Her brother has not travelled internationally, but travels a great deal in Japan and has lived in two different locations in Japan. Harumi said that she had one uncle who lived in the United States and studied at Duke. She also told a family story, which she qualified by saying that it may not be true,

about a great-grandmother that could speak English very well who was a friend of General MacArthur.

At the very beginning, it was not Harumi's "will" to come to America. Her father was a "very traditional man" and wanted her to come to America on a scholarship so she could learn to speak English and have international experience as a way of making her more desirable as a wife for "wonderful" Japanese men. Harumi came to America the first time on a scholarship in 1969 when she was 17 years old and set up residence for 11 months in a small town in Kansas. After her 11-month stay in kansas, she returned to Japan to complete school at a college near her home in Japan and during that time returned to the U.S. for six weeks during a summer vacation.

Four months after graduation from college in Japan, Harumi returned to the U.S. to go to graduate school at the University of Chicago. She has been American since that time with occasional trips back to Japan.

When I asked Harumi to describe her impression of Americans, she had a difficult time making the generalization the question required. She said that contrary to the stereotypes she had heard in Japan, she found that "they aren't that different." Before coming to America she had heard that Americans are aggressive, outgoing, and loud. She said that the family and friends she lived with in Kansas were

not that way at all. If anything, Harumi thought that Americans were more friendly than their Japanese counterparts, and the people who lived in her American home town were always trying to help her out. Harumi pointed out that her initial contact with Americans was during her high school years in a small town in Kansas, and she admitted that her experience could have been quite different if she would have lived in a larger city such as New York.

When I asked Harumi to tell me the things she likes about Americans, she said, "I don't think about Americans and Japanese in separate categories any more." "They are just people"; yet, at the beginning, she said she may have thought there were differences between the two -- "Japanese such and such a way, and Americans such and such a way." She said that there are "textbook" and "stereotypic" types of things she has read and heard about, but she didn't want to say that. Harumi said she really didn't see cultural distinctions any more and saw people as individuals. Even though Harumi said this, later in the interview she began presenting distinctions about American expectations that made her feel uncomfortable.

Harumi said she didn't really feel Japanese or American. She pointed out that when she goes back to Japan she really doesn't fit in there any more. In a sense, Harumi feels isolated and alienated from not only America, but also from

her parent culture Japan. She said that her attitudes and thinking was now very different from that of her childhood friends, and that it is hard to tell where she fits. She went on to say that she thought she was "somewhere in between right now." As an example, she told how she and her husband are trying to get a baby-sitter to come from Japan to take care of their infant son while both she and her husband work. To do this, she wrote up a contract agreement relating to the amount of time spent working, pay, and the amount of travel money they would provide for a return trip to Japan.

She received feedback from her friend who was helping her, and the friend said the contract Harumi had developed was "awfully American and awfully dry." Harumi had written it naturally, indicating a shift in her consciousness to that which is more American. In other words, without the feedback provided by her Japanese friend, she would not have recognized that she was writing in a "legalistic" American way.

Harumi said that even after fourteen years in America she still feels very uncomfortable when "you have to self-advertise." When Harumi was in high school in America she had to travel and give talks to other high school students and was also involved in music recitals. She said she had a most difficult time doing these types of things because of the attention it brought her. She said that she was not aware of it until a friend pointed it out to her that she would

apologize profusely before giving a speech, such as: "This will be rather bad but. . . ." She went on to say that it is rather bad to talk about oneself, and it is important to "humble oneself even if you are rather good at it."

Harumi found out that her apologies were giving the Americans "uncomfortable feelings" which means they were not accepting her for who she was. She said: "I thought I'd take the blame, and be uncomfortable, and stop saying those things." Harumi said that it was "extremely uncomfortable" for her to stop saying the apologies. Later, in graduate school, after having previously worked through the apology habit, she had a similar problem of non-acceptance in another area.

Harumi found that to be successful in an American job interview one must "say how good you are." "It's more than not apologizing and I had to do that." She went on to say that Americans, as contrasted with Japanese, have to not only talk good about themselves, but many times have to tell a potential employer that they can do more than they actually can or know how to. She said that in Japan if one said "I can do this and that . . ." the employer would think that the person is "over-confident about himself" and "has no modesty" and may not get the job. To this day, Harumi still has some difficulty in "talking good about herself" and says that she has to practice before taking an interview for a job. As an interesting side note, she said that it was more difficult for

her to "brag on herself" when someone close to her (like her husband) is around.

When things didn't go well in America, Harumi thought it was usually due to a language problem. She referred to a poor grade she got in high school social studies and how she got high grades in math and biology. She thought this was sort of peculiar since she had only been an average math student in Japan.

At another level of analysis, Harumi went on to say that she also remembered that she didn't get a date in high school and at the time considered this to be a problem. She could never understand why this happened, yet speculates that the small town atmosphere or language problems may have had something to do with it. I got the feeling in the interview that this bothered her very much--feeling like something was wrong with her. Fortunately, her American sister from her American home family had the same problem, and the two of them had a great time together anyway. When she returned for graduate school the problem was reversed as five or six people would ask her out all the time, but in high school it was quite a different story.

When Harumi went back to Japan after her initial stay in the United States for eleven months, she took a job as an interpreter for two Americans for two weeks. When it came time to pay Harumi for her services, they only had a larger

bill than what they owed her, so they said "take it" and keep the change. Harumi said "oh no thank-you" and they proceeded to get the bill changed and paid the exact amount owed. Harumi said that she had responded in the "Japanese way" of refusing at least once before saying yes, and the Americans had acted in an American way and had taken what Harumi had said at face value.

Harumi realized that at that time she had slipped unconsciously back into her Japanese pattern of behavior and to this day regrets not having taken the money the first time they offered it. Later on in the interview when I asked her if there were any differences in the effect of a long-term sojourn and a short-term sojourn, she speculated that perhaps this story illustartes how a person after a short-term sojourn slips unconsciously back into parent culture behavior patterns.

As a guideline for living in another culture, Harumi thought it is very important "to do what other people do over there." She suggested that one should not stick to parent culture behavior in a host culture. She said it was very important to live the same type of life style as the host culture. I asked her how far she would take this and she said: "until I feel extremely uncomfortable."

Harumi thinks it is very important to "feel uncomfortable" when entering a host culture because it relates to the

process of adjustment. She said it is always possible to continue to live one's parent culture life style in the host culture if that is what one wants, "but if you stick to it, you will not learn about the other culture." Harumi said it is important to go through the discomfort and "as a result I will enjoy it." She said that she adjusted to America with this process, and that it was advice given to her by other Japanese who had come to America before her, and they said: "There will be things you will be asked to do that you don't normally do . . . go ahead and do it, and even if you don't feel like doing it--do it."

Harumi said she was uncomfortable at large gatherings of people, i.e., parties, talks, etc. At first she said she thought that this was an individual-personal thing. But then she went on to say that it may in part be accounted for by her Japanese background because Japanese don't have American types of parties. She made herself go to these group functions, and it wasn't always comfortable, but she was glad she did because it taught her how to function in America like an American. Harumi also said that she would read and study a great deal about the idiosyncrasies of the culture she would be entering.

Harumi went on to say that there were certain values that she would not compromise. For instance, she did not become involved in the use of drugs or alcohol while she

lived in Iowa or while attending the University of Illinois. She also said that she would not break the law in any way. Harumi said her uncompromisable values were due to her upbringing. She thought that "following certain rules" was not a Japanese cultural phenomena, because she knew other Japanese that "tried everything" and "they had their own experience, be that good or bad or whatever." I have a notion that Harumi mentioned that this was not a "cultural phenomena" because she knows that most Americans have heard about the Japanese propensity to "follow the rules of society." Further, if you will notice her wording, "they had their own experience, be that good or bad or whatever." This statement appears to hold a non-judgmental and "accepting" quality of personality--a feeling I got about her nature throughout the interview.

Harumi thought that the Japanese who did not adjust well were basically "inflexible." She said that they "stuck to their own habits." She pointed out how they would stay with other Japanese and almost totally exclude contact with Americans unless it couldn't be helped--"it was almost like a Japanese village." She also went on to say that they tried to preserve the Japanese ways of eating and doing while they were still in America and thought that their difficulty with English may have been a major barrier.

Harumi said that there were three types of Japanese she knew, and they were the ones that did everything Japanese and only spent time with Japanese, those that were almost the opposite and tried to avoid "things Japanese" and other Japanese people whenever possible. Harumi said that the folks that avoided other Japanese had the excuse that "they wanted to practice their English," and Harumi thought both of these groups were "kind of silly," and she didn't feel a part of either group, yet said she had tendencies to avoid other Japanese.

Harumi pointed out that there may be a difference between going to a culture that one really wanted to go to, and going to a culture that one didn't know much about. She said it would be important to study about the culture that the sojourner didn't know about, and find points of interest or "positive qualities" about that culture.

When I first asked Harumi if she had had any unusual feelings or mood swings during her initial adaptation period in the United States, she said she could not remember any. However, she did mention later on in the interview that she did gain twenty pounds, and once she left America the first time and upon her return and during her present sojourn, she has not had a recurring weight problem. She speculated that this weight gain was in repsonse to her experience of culture shock.

Harumi said that the greatest thing she learned in her cross-cultural living was "adaptability." That is, she thinks she can "live anywhere" and can at least "pretend" in ways that are appropriate to the culture she would find herself in. She said, "There would be likes and dislikes," such as a society in which women were oppressed, but she could live there. She also said that she valued the "assertiveness" that she has learned from being in America, and said: "It's hard to say, but I came into this culture from the Japanese culture, it might be different if it went the other way around, OK--now what I like most as a result of my experience in this culture is that I am more outgoing and assertive than I was before." She went on to say that if she were an American going to Japan, she doubted if she would have learned assertiveness because assertiveness is not valued in Japan.

Previously in this interview I mentioned how Harumi had been given advice by Japanese who had been to America before, and that she used this advice to successfully adapt to the American culture. The advice was to "do what is uncomfortable," and this is an operational definition of "emotional awareness." She went on to elaborate more fully upon the concept of "choice" as it relates to "doing what is uncomfortable" and said if you really don't want to do it, don't. That is, if you get to the point where you are

totally uncomfortable you should say NO! She generalized and said that she thought it was very important for the sojourner to decide what kind of experience they wanted to have. She pointed out that it is OK for a person to decide to isolate themselves in the host culture, just as it is OK to immerse oneself fully. The key, she said, is that the individual must be clear about what he or she wants out of the experience.

Analysis. It is evident that Harumi has actualized a "successful adaptation" given her work experience, the relationships she developed and maintained with Americans, and the fact that she has chosen to remain in America. Furthermore, Harumi's acceptance of both American and Japanese cultures and her ability to integrate them indicates that Harumi has actualized what Bochner (1982) defines as a "mediating response." The extent of her acceptance of both cultures permeated the interview--it was present in both what she said and the way she said it. Her willingness to accept cultural differences was reflected by a quality in the way she talked about her adjustment experiences and the way she handled cultural differences was indicative of a "mediating response."

In spite of her pain and bwilderment during the initial phase of her sojourn, there is a calmness in Harumi's voice which left me with the impression that she has, as she says,

accepted "the cultures as they are" and resolved conflicts within herself and subsequently with the new culture. Perhaps this response is a function of time--she has been living in her host culture longer than the other sojourners discussed in this dissertation.

Harumi had the same difficulty generalizing about behavior in their host culture as the other sojourners discussed in these interviews. However, just as Bob, Jim, and Donna, she eventually shared her perceptions of some differences in cultural expectations. She sees people as people--not as citizens of a particular country. In a consistent manner, she feels completely at home in neither America nor Japan. She said she was somewhere in between, and this, again, may be the perspective of an alienated human being or the response of the "mediating man." In Harumi's case I think it is the latter.

Harumi has a good grasp of the social skills of American life. She speaks English with only a slight accent, and with a clarity uncommon to foreigners. She is able, in short, to convey herself in an "American way."

Despite her ability to express herself, there remain aspects of American life with which she feels uncomfortable. For instance, she still felt uncomfortable in job interviews where she had to "brag" about herself. This could very well be the result of less practice because this behavior is not

required on a day-by-day basis. In other words, this "bragging" behavior is only valued in a certain context such as the job interview, and is not so highly valued in other situations so the importance of this behavior is relatively unimportant.

Harumi identified two diametrically opposed tendencies in the behavior of Japanese in America. One tendency is for Japanese to spend the majority of their time with other Japanese, thereby attempting to maintain their Japanese life style in America. This is, as was mentioned, also a frequent American tendency as reported by Bob, Jim, and Donna (who attributed it to themselves). All agreed that it is a behavior which impedes adaptation. The other tendency she observed involved the virtually total avoidance of other Japanese in the U.S. Although Harumi largely excluded herself from both these tendencies, she regularly chose to participate in the American life style. (Bob, an American sojourner, after the interview indicated a similar position; although he spent considerable time with Japanese friends, he did not disassociate himself from other Americans.) It is likely that in both cases the ability to remain somewhere between the two extremes was integral to the eventual mediating response.

It appears that both complete and unthinking immersion in a host culture with a simultaneous avoidance of other foreigners can indicate a less than optimal adaptation--such as a "passing" response (Bochner, 1982). Another less than

optimal response can occur when the sojourner avoids participation in the host culture's life style--a response which Bochner (1982) terms "chauvinistic."

Harumi's ability to feel comfortable with both the Japanese and the American cultures required an adjustment in her perceptions and behavior. She began her sojourn, as did Jim and Donna, with feelings of isolation and alienation. In response to these feelings, both Bob and Donna actualized an anger response, whereas Harumi and Jim actualized an avoidance response. Harumi's reaction was to adopt American behavior in spite of her own feelings and to avoid groups of Americans. Jim, conversely, coped with his alienation by means of escape--dark glasses, "Walkman" radio, and alcohol.

Harumi demonstrated the ability to think and act in ways that are strange to her, though her acceptance of such strange ways is not necessarily reflected in participation. The realization of this flexibility, she felt, was the most valuable learning experience of her sojourn. Harumi has the ability to accept life as it is, and seeks only to control her own experience through her own choices of behavior.

Harumi did not dwell on experiences of anxiety or any sense of estrangement. She did, however, relate her inability to get a date during the year she was in high school, and I suspect that this experience led her to question the extent of her participation in society.

Harumi showed from the beginning that she has the ability to adapt her behavior, even in ways contrary to deeply held parent culture values. As an example, she was able to "not apologize" before giving a speech or performance to "ease her American audience." In Japan, modesty or "being humble" is highly valued and to break such a cultural dictate must at least be extremely uncomfortable and anxiety producing. This, among the other examples that Harumi gave, illustrates her ability to respond to strong emotional sensation with reflective rather than reflexive responses.

On the other hand, Harumi emphasized that the sojourner should be aware of his or her expectations regarding the cross-cultural experience. She clarified this point by saying that it was important to say "no" if one were to ameliorate the effects of culture shock--as a way of limiting uncomfortableness. At the same time, however, she maintained that there were certain values she would not bend, such as her beliefs about drugs, alcohol, and breaking the law.

In a manner consistent with Bob, Jim, and Donna, Harumi feels that the sojourner needs to be conscious of his or her own values and make behavioral decisions within one's latitude of acceptance. It is likely that this ability to choose is the best one can do to control experiences with unknown or new experiences. It is perhaps close to the center of a dynamic equilibrium the successful and mediating sojourner develops during a cross-cultural experience.

Based upon her own experiences, Harumi said that before embarking upon any sojourn she would study the history and social practices of that culture, immersing herself in the new culture and adopting its life style in as many ways as possible.

Harumi's response. Other than changing a few dates and locations that Harumi thought might jeopardize her anonymity, she said the write-up and analysis of the interview was accurate and reflected her position clearly. I specifically asked her about the section on alienation, and her response was that, yes, during her initial phase of her adaptation she felt extremely alienated, especially when she wasn't able to get a date in high school. She thought that all sojourners in one way or another had to go through their feelings of alienation before coming to comfort in the host culture.

Jiro

Jiro has previously finished one master's degree in the United Stats, and is now almost at completion of a Master's of Business Administration. He has been living in the United States for a total of five years.

I called Jiro one week before the initial interview was scheduled. Jiro suggested that we meet in the library. As I began the interview I noticed that Jiro was becoming quite uncomfortable. I stopped the tape recorder, and he

said that he felt uncomfortable answering my questions without being able to have more time to give thought to the answers. We agreed to meet a few days later, and I wrote each of the questions down for him to think about between meetings. On the way out of the building, he shared with me that, in Japan, the higher a man or woman is in the hierarchy, the more he or she will be concerned with "appearances" and will not speak without considering the implications for his or her image.

Jiro's mother and father are still living in Japan with his younger sister. Except for his father taking a trip to Taiwan for a week or two, no one in his family has traveled very much. Jiro mentioned that when he was a little boy, he would sing, "The ocean is deep, the ocean is wide." He thought this was not unusual behavior, yet it is interesting none the least when you consider how much Jiro has traveled as an adult.

Before going abroad, Jiro traveled in Japan but said that it was not unusual for a young Japanese to do this. However, in 1976, a year after "exam hell," Jiro traveled to West Germany on a scholarship. During this initial three-month sojourn, Jiro was able to travel to France, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, and the Netherlands. In 1980 Jiro made a work-related trip to Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia. He was able to spend a week in each country at

that time. In 1981 he traveled to the Philippines for five days and in 1982 traveled to Singapore for five days.

Initially, Jiro thought about coming to America in 1973 when he was entering college, and at that time wanted to do something different--so he studied conversational and written English for ten years in preparation for coming to the U.S. He got his first real opportunity to come to America in 1982 when he was chosen as a scholarship student by the Monbusho (Japanese Ministry of Education). Jiro has been in the United States for five years now, and in that time has completed one master's degree and is working on a second. He said that the reason he decided to travel was to "add some values to my life" and is why he enjoys watching television and reading books about foreign countries.

In the initial portion of the interview Jiro felt it was important to point out to me that more than one factor comes into play in any situation or "something that happens." He gave an example of a car accident and how there are many factors and previous situations that have, and are currently contributing to the accident's "happening." Although unstated, I think the Japanese tendency to say "maybe yes" or "maybe no" is related to this recognition of the complexity of circumstance.

Jiro went on to say that the Japanese have been open to foreign cultural influence since Commander Perry first

came to Japan. He felt like the Japanese were generally interested in assimilating any experience or technology that would add value or quality to their life.

At first Jiro, just as the other four sojourners, found it difficult to generalize about the characteristics of host nationals. He said that people are different, and each person is an individual case. He pointed out how there are many different subcultures that make up "American" and that it is easier to give generalizations about a culture such as Japan because of its relative homogeneity.

Jiro pointed out that Americans think that America is a free place, but in many ways Americans are not free. As an example, he pointed out how America thinks it is the free trade leader, but uses taxes, tariffs, and trade embargos. He also went on to say that to make any kind of a joke about religion in this country is considered bad, but in Japan it is not that way. He said that the core of Japanese religion is made up of many religions, and that there is no tension about a true religion. Jiro feels like there is less dogma in Japan; and Buddhism, Shintoism, and Christianity are all acceptable spiritual practices. Jiro felt like the Japanese were more ethical than religious.

Jiro described some characteristics that some Americans have that he doesn't particularly like. He said that the stereotype of Americans being loud, rude, and unaware of

what's going on around them is true. But again, he qualified this statement by saying that one could not generalize. He said that some Americans were superficial, hypocritical, rude, and lacking in consideration of other people. He gave an example of how some students in the dormitory will play their stereos very loud, yet don't seem to care and are indifferent. He felt like these people are very selfish. He said that his main problem with Americans is that they "cannot see things from other people's point of view." He also said that when things went wrong for him in the United States it was usually the result of American lack of consideration for others.

Jiro said that he liked the way American students disagreed with their professors in an attempt to gain deeper insight into issues. He perceives the relationship between student and teacher in America to be more informal than in Japan. He said that in Japan there is not such a practice and students never disagree with their professors.

Jiro said that he had difficulty in asserting himself just as Harumi did. He thought that the American value for the lack of humility results from a basic American notion that one has to "fight" for what one gets, and reflects a basic aggressiveness in American values. He said it was not this way in Japan. He gave an example by illustrating the differences in resumes between the U.S. and Japan. In Japan, instead of a focus on past accomplishments, the

Japanese are also equally interested in things such as the person's hobby and information about family members. He said this reflected a tendency not to compete for jobs by comparing past accomplishments or conquests. He said that Japanese looked more for the potential capability to be able to work harmoniously in the company.

When I asked Jiro about the types of guidelines he would follow if he were going to a foreign culture, he said it would depend on the culture a sojourner was going to because the "expectations" are different. He said that the sojourner must come to understand the expectations of the culture he or she was going to enter.

Jiro said that if he were going to another foreign culture he would first give up his preconceptions or "stereotypes" about the other culture and then study so he could learn the real expectations. He thought it would be especially important to study the religions of the culture to gain insight into the fundamental expectations of the culture. As an example, he has noticed that "here in the United States when we invite people in the Sunday morning--they don't like that." He also pointed out how it would be helpful to study the historical background of the host culture to gain further insight into the present day cultural expectations.

Jiro thought it would also be very important to study the language of the culture the sojourner was going to enter while still in their parent culture. He said "language contains everything," and that one can come to learn a great deal about the host culture through the study of the language. He pointed out that there are gestures associated with the words, such as bowing while saying "ohayoo-gozaimasu" (good morning). He believes that there is a connection between the words and the understanding of certain behaviors. What Jiro was pointing out here is that one must learn the "body language" of the culture as well as the spoken language.

Once in the host culture, Jiro suggested that one should first walk or drive around and see the sights and smell the smells--"feel the differences." He also said to watch television, and said that this practice will not only help one with the language, but will also help the sojourner to come to understand the host culture's perspective. On an additional sheet of paper that he provided me with, he named the following suggestions: (1) don't expect anything to be the same as ours; (2) don't generalize people--they are different from each other; (3) avoid meeting such kind of people whom you don't like, as much as possible; and (4) try to meet educated people.

Jiro thought that the initial problems sojourners have are related to their inability to comprehend the spoken

language which is due to the speed with which hosts talk. He said that it is a function of time until the person will adjust.

Association with other international students has been helpful to him. He said that they are sympathetic to the problems of the sojourner and have perhaps already figured out certain things about the host culture.

When I asked Jiro if it was important for a Japanese person who comes to America to involve himself in American activities with American people, he said he did not know. He then went on to say, "I do whatever I want to do, or things I'm interested in. I don't have to do what I don't want to do." I then asked Jiro if there ws a difference in those things you will compromise and those that you will not.

Jiro replied to my question with "yes." He then went on to say that my basic assumption in my question is that of "conflict." He clarified his statement by saying, "If you love to do it, just do it--be natural, not in conflict." Jiro said, "For the whole of me, this kind of conflict is very odd." He said that Americans are used to looking at things in a "conflicting" way. He pointed out the fight between human beings and nature. According to Jiro, for Americans there is always a "fight between human beings and nature. There is always conflict, conflict. A Japanese does not see it as conflict. We are in one group. Human beings are one factor of nature."

Jiro reported that he experienced some anxiety associated with his proficiency with English the first time he came to America. He said he couldn't understand about twenty percent of what they were trying to say. Jiro went on to say that the anxiety was associated with his not being able to understand what was being said, or what was going on or how to do things. When I asked him what he would do when he felt this anxiety, he said that he would approach other international students to help him with his problem, even if they didn't speak the same language, because they were more sympathetic than Americans.

Jiro felt like everyone would eventually adapt, that it was a function of time and proficiency with the language. He went on to say that he thought it was a Japanese propensity to harmonize with one's environment.

Analysis. Jiro has been living in the United States for five years. During that time he has successfully completed one master's degree and is about to finish a second. He has developed good relationships with his instructors and is respected by them. Jiro appears to enjoy living in the United States as evidenced by his plans to stay and work for a Japanese firm. Given this information, I would say that he has actualized a "successful adaptation" (Brislin, 1986).

It has been difficult to determine if Jiro has actualized a "mediating response" (Bochner, 1982). During the interview he demonstrated that he has actualized some of the characteristics of a "mediating man," yet some of his responses are identifiably "chauvinistic." For example, he mentioned that he preferred the company of international students as opposed to "insensitive" American students. On the other hand, he gave an answer wholly indicative of a "mediating response" as he recognized the difficulty of categorizing people according to cultural stereotypes. However, as with the other sojourners in this study, after initial difficulty with cultural generalizations, Jiro went on to laborate the differences between Japanese and American expectations.

Because of a more common cultural heritage, Jiro thought that it was easier to generalize about Japanese than Americans. By his recognition of this cultural phenomena Jiro illustrates his intellectual understanding of cultural pluralism which is essential to a "mediating response." However, I have the feeling that he presented this awareness of cultural pluralism as a means of withholding his feelings. Throughout the interview when he spoke of Americans, he avoided answeing or gave a somewhat negative view. When I asked him if there were certain American behaviors he would not do, he replied with an emphatic "I do what I want to."

Jiro had difficulty describing the things he liked about America and Americans, and I get an impression of "ethnocentrism" when I compare his answers to the answers of the other sojourners. Although unstated, Jiro appears to enjoy the company of international students more than Americans. Instead of interpreting this as a sign of "chauvinism," I suggest that it is the result of being a "gaikokugin" or "international person" which is one characteristic of a "mediating man." Furthermore, my impression of Jiro is based in my own cultural assumptions, and for Jiro to "speak negatively" about something may be a sign of Japanese growth and development as contrasted with the United States, where one generally becomes more reserved, thoughtful, and aware of others--as a sign of growth.

Throughout the interview I received the impression that he considers many Americans to be shallow and simplistic. For example, early in the interview he emphasized the "many factors that are involved in any situation." Looking back, I have a notion that he was trying to teach me. I would have liked to inquire whether he thought the Japanese were the same way. On the other hand, he seems to make distinctions of education and sophistication which perhaps reflect his need to establish contact with other educated people in America. These standards are familiar in both America and Japan. In other words, he has found an American subculture of which

he considers himself to be a part--and identifies with individuals of a similar sub-culture in the host culture. Additionally, given his experience as an international traveler, this could also account for the fact that he prefers the company of gaikokugin (international people) over Americans--perhaps illustrating a sub-culture phenomenon too.

Jiro pointed out that he just "does what he wants to do," which on the one hand points to a "chauvinistic" response, while on the other could be taken as a sign of an integrated personality--void of intrapersonal conflict.

Jiro contended that the American concept of conflict is an "illusion," and gave the impression that he was referring to the synthetic quality of our personal reality according to our culturally based expectations and perceptions. This statement leads me to believe that he has a sense of "cultural relativity," yet I question whether he has chosen to live outside of the dictates of his parent culture's view of reality. If you remember, the mediating man feels comfortable in both his parent and host culture, and because of this can reconcile the two. I don't know if Jiro could do this.

Another of Jiro's statements suggests that Jiro has in fact made a mediating response. I base this contention upon his stated purpose for living in a foreign country. Jiro said his purpose in traveling is to "add values to

his life," and I interpret this answer to mean that he is interested in the "personal growth" which the cross-cultural experience can provide. This characteristic, I submit, is of primary importance when actualizing a "mediating response." The sojourner with this attitude is involved in a learning experience which will better his understanding of himself, the world, and the relationship between the two.

Many times during the interview, Jiro emphasized the importance of studying the culture, especially through the study of religious heritage. He also emphasized the importance of studying the spoken, written, and body language of the host culture. Clearly, with these answers, he demonstrates awareness of the importance of knowing host culture social practices and "expectations."

Jiro said that it was a Japanese characteristic to adopt or assimilate practices and attitudes from the various cultures of the world. At another point in the interview he pointed out that it was difficult for him to "create an image of himself." By "creating an image" he was referring to the same practice of talking about oneself in a positive way that gave Harumi such difficulty. He clearly contradicted himself here; on the one hand he led me to believe that the Japanese are super "assimilators," yet he also told me that "he does what he wants to" and has difficulty in doing certain behaviors.

Many times, especially in the company of Japanese who have had little experience with Americans, I have experienced a tension which I think results from inconsistencies in behavioral cues beneath the threshold of awareness. Jiro leads me to believe that he has incorporated most of the American behaviors required for success in this culture--and I base this position on the comfort which I feel in his company. Therefore, I would posit that he has the ability to adapt his behavior to the demands of the current environment. Perhaps he only tolerates the situation, but he does so in a way that works with me and other Americans I have seen him interact with.

Jiro said that he felt anxiety associated with confrontation with the unknown. He said that he did not think anxiety was specific to any culture; rather, it had to do with facing new situations. When he had these strong feelings, he said he sought aid from other international students who would help him understand what was going on. He said he went to international students because they were more considerate. He went on to say that in most countries the hosts are considerate of the foreigner's problems, but that he had found the U.S. was the exception.

Jiro felt that giving up one's prejudice or preconceived notions about a culture was essential to a successful adaptation process. Even though Jiro said this, as I have pointed

out earlier, it is clear that he has at least reformed some stereotypes based in a Japanese way of seeing things.

In conclusion, Jiro feels that adaptation is a natural process and will happen eventually. My interpretation of his overall advice is that one should relax, act naturally, and experience the change.

Jiro's response. Jiro felt it was important to clarify one point in particular. Jiro said that his initial feelings of anxiety associated with culture shock lasted approximately a month. During that time he did seek assistance from other "international students." However, he said that after that initial month, he has developed and maintained friendships with many Americans.

Analysis of the Five Interviews

As the five sojourners shared their perceptions of their responses to the host culture's expectations, the differences in their responses to specific situations emerged, yet there were some common threads of perception and response that ran through all of the interviews.

Each of the five sojourners had, according to Bochner's (1986) criteria, achieved a successful adaptation. However, their individual paths of experience that led to their successful adaptation were different in many ways, and I found it much more difficult to make a jdugment as to whether the sojourner had made a "mediating response" or not.

Each of the sojourners reflected qualities considered essential to the actualization of a mediating response, but they also illustrated characteristics of either a "chauvinistic" or "passing" response and not a "marginal response." For instance, I would say that Jim and Donna have made a "mediating response" but have "passing tendencies" as illustrated by their rejection of other Americans while in Japan. Jiro, on the other hand, has achieved some mediating qualities in his thinking, but strikes me as being predominately in a "chauvinistic" mode. Add to this the fact that Jiro's parent culture is Japan, a culture that values conformity and devalues open disagreement, and perhaps Jiro's apparent "chauvinistic" response is actually a sign of his growth into mediation. With qualitative data such as the interviews generated, these seeming paradoxes emerged for all five of the sojourners.

Bob and Harumi are the two sojourners who I feel have made adaptations most in line with a "mediating response," yet both of these people illustrated other than mediating tendencies. For instance, Harumi had "passing" tendencies as she coped with her feelings of alienation by adopting host practices almost in toto, whereas Bob in the early stages of his sojourn had "chauvinistic" tendencies he actualized with anger and resentment toward the Japanese.

Both Bob and Harumi have spent the most time in the host culture and began their sojourn as adolescents. This

information leads me to believe that the "mediating response" is a developmental goal, dependent upon time as well as one's attitude toward their cross-cultural experience. Perhaps the other sojourners, who have spent less time in their host culture and appear to have more passing and chauvinistic tendencies, will--with time--actualize a more completely mediating repsonse.

Each of the sojourners had varying reasons for entering the host culture. Bob and Harumi, both adolescents at the time, didn't want to go. Bob went to Japan because his father went for work purposes, and Harumi was encouraged to go to America by a father who wanted to prepare her to be a "wonderful wife" for a wealthy Japanese man. Jim and Donna both traveled to Japan for the purpose of studying the cultural arts and for a break from routine life in America. Jiro stated that he wanted to go to America for the purpose of "adding values to his life." Whatever the reason for going, it was a significant undertaking, as they submitted themselves to feelings of alienation and isolation.

All the sojourners, in one way or another, shared that they felt a sense of alienation and isolation with an attendant difficulty in being able to fully participate in the host culture. Each responded differently; for instance, Bob and Donna reacted with anger, whereas Bill and Harumi seemed to react with a more "inward" response resulting in

anxiety, confusion, and depression. Jim's response was to escape through the use of alcohol and sensory deprivation, whereas Harumi's escape took the form of overeating. I was not as clear about Jiro's response, but I gathered, through the texture of his interview, that he is having an anger response which he is currently projecting onto Americans.

In spite of their feelings of alienation, all of the sojourners, except perhaps Jiro, responded to their being an "outsider" in a similar manner--which they all felt was instrumental in their adaptation process. Each of the sojourners, instead of isolating themselves with "fellow foreigners," did exactly the opposite. They, in one way or another, immersed themselves into the host culture and spent most of their time with host nationals. Jim and Donna did this to the extent that they avoided other foreigners. Harumi pointed out that even though she didn't avoid other Japanese in America, if she had the choice she would spend time with her American friends. Bot immersed himself with Japanese friends and businessmen, but also said that he thought being with Americans was good, too--because they could teach him things he didn't already know.

Jiro, on the other hand, doesn't appear to isolate himself with other Japanese, but seems to isolate himself with gaikokugin or "international people." However, this behavior could be associated with the fact that there are

so very few Japanese at the University. This behavior could also be indicative of a truly "mediating response" with an associated preference for other gaikokugin.

All of the sojourners contrasted their immersion response with that of other foreigners who they felt had worse problems than they did. These other foreigners, when confronted with the differences of the host culture, responded by isolating themselves with other foreigners.

A common thread that ran through all of the sojourners' stories was their ability to think reflectively. Bob, Jim, Donna, and Jiro all stated that being aware of their behavior and thought, and to make changes accordingly, was of major importance in their adaptation. A further distinction that Bob, Donna, and Jim made was that it is important to "know yourself." To "know yourself" is to have clarity about which values one holds essential and uncompromisable, and those which can be changed. Furthermore, they all felt like it was an important quality to be flexible, but said that flexibility without this conscious knowledge of one's uncompromisable values led toward difficulties in adaptation. Harumi, with a more affective yet similar definition, pointed out that it was essential to "know what you want." In other words, she feels that it is essential that the sojourner knows not only why he is in the culture, but must also know his or her limit of "uncomfortableness"-- and to not go too far beyond that point.

All of the sojourners had initial difficulty in sharing their perceptions of stereotypes of host nationals. However, after further prompoting, they all shared their view of the differences in expectations between their parent and host cultures. I have a notion that this initial difficulty stems from an understanding of the relativity of cultural belief, which by assertion posits that "mankind is one." In that oneness, each individual is a unique combination of genetic predisposition and experience in dialectical relationship with their culture. However, at this time in these people's lives, this view is an ideal; and in an attempt to live up to this ideal, they initially resisted responding with a stereotypic and culturally patterned "us and them" response.

Each of these people, either by predisposition or through their cross-cultural experience, seems to enjoy the study of other cultures. Furthermore, by the examples they gave, I have a notion that they see the cross-cultural experience as a challenge that they approach with a problem-solving response. Even Jiro, with his admonition of the American "conflict" model, seems to approach his cross-cultural experience as a problem-solving exercise. This could, at least in part, account for their initial interest in studying of cultural differences.

Each of the sojourners had an astute understanding of not only the host culture's differing expectations, but they

also mentioned the importance of knowing the historical background that led up to these present-day perceptions and practices. Perhaps by viewing the present in such an analytical way the individual comes to understand not only the form of culture, but also its function--and is thereby distanced from his culturally programmed habitual responses of anger and resentment toward the differing expectations of others.

All of the sojourners, to varying degrees, had difficulty in relating their emotional experience during their cross-cultural adaptation. Bob, Jim, Donna, and Harumi all reported having experienced feelings of alienation and isolation and in one way or another pointed out that they felt like an "outsider." This feeling seemed to stem from their inability to fully participate and relate to others in the culture. Jim, who I feel had the most sensitivity to his feeling states largely because of his reflection through journal writing, reported heavy depression and a severe anxiety attack. Jim copied with these uncomfortable feelings through the use of running, and through escape with alcohol, dark glasses, and a "Walkman radio." Donna, like Jim, reported feelings of depression and how "crying felt so good." Donna coped with a "fight" response through projection of her anger onto "male Japanese," talking to friends on long walks, and alcohol.

For Jim this period of depression and anxiety lasted for approximately one year, and its resolution seemed to coincide with his establishment of friendships, job security, and "enough money to buy a ticket home." Donna, who was less specific about the amount of time she was actually in the period of depression, said that once she gained confidence and was able to "be who she was," the depression and crying subsided.

Bob, quite appropriately, called his periods of uncomfortableness "culture shocks." He said that during the first two years of his sojourn, about every two to three weeks he would have a "bad day." During these periods Bob said that he was extremely angry and "hated the Japanese." He would find himself bumping and shoving the Japanese in trains and boldly staring at them. These staring responses were sparked by Bob's hypersensitivity to "being different." Just like Jim, Bob said that he got "real tired" of being looked at as a "gaigin" or "outsider." Whereas Jim reacted with avoidance through alcohol and dark glasses, Bob reacted with anger and aggression.

Bob's response to core level anxiety, with its associated feelings of alienation and isolation, was to actualize a "fight" response. He also reported that he wanted to leave Japan, which is indicative of a flight response. Bob's "culture shocks" began lessening in their frequency and

intensity when he became more aware of the fact that he was projecting undeserved anger onto the Japanese. Similar to Jim and his journaling, Bob said he gained this awareness into the nature of his culture shocks through the practice of a daily "reflection" before going to bed. Further, Bob said that their lessening also coincided with his breaking off a long-distance relationship with his girl-friend in the United States--which allowed him to want to be where he was for the first time.

Harumi and Jiro shared less about their emotions than the American sojourners did, which makes me wonder if the Japanese tradition of withholding honne or "true feelings" is in fact still operating in the lives of these individuals beneath their threshold of awareness. However, Harumi, after the interview, did share with me that she felt a sense of isolation and alienation, especially when she didn't get a date the year she attended high school in Kansas. Also, during the interview she referred to her "uncomfortableness" in doing certain American behaviors. Harumi felt like her sudden gain in weight was somehow related to her coping with the stress associated with her adaptation process. Jiro, in his anxiety reaction to the taped interview "without time to think," illustrated quite clearly that he, too, has intense emotional reacitons to differences in cultural expectation.

Jiro pointed out that he experiences anxiety in America when he doesn't know what to do. He stated that he feels

like this is a natural transcultural response that human beings make with any new situation they don't know how to respond to. Both Jiro and Harumi reported difficulty dealing with certain differences in American behavior.

At a more peripheral level, Harumi's and Jiro's difficulty with American differences in expectation seemed to be based upon an American propensity for individualism. This individualism is apparently in conflict with the Japanese's quite antithetical expectation for conformity. Harumi said she had a hard time giving speeches in front of large groups and would apologize before she would do so, and to not apologize (which made the Americans more comfortable) was very uncomfortable for her to do. She also said she still has a hard time "bragging" about herself, and similarly Jiro pointed out how he doesn't like to "make an image of himself."

On the other hand, the American sojourners reported having the most difficulty with adapting their behavior to the expectation for conformity. All three Americans reported their initial difficulty in "going with the flow" of the group, and how an action that diverged from the expectation to follow the norm (such as vegetarianism) was met with disapproval. Bob reported how difficult it was for him to "bite his tongue," and how he had to learn to disagree with others in an acceptable way by making his divergent opinions known

later, outside of the office over sake. Jim reported a similar phenomenon with regard to the use of alcohol by Japanese, as they would not "open up" and become "regular guys" until they had drunk a little. "Regular guys" means they performed behavior more in line with American expectations.

For the American sojourners, the expectation for conformity generated frustration and confusion until they learned to make an adaptation that worked for them. Similarly, the Japanese experienced frustration with American non-conformity to the expectation for conformity, and had an associated difficulty in doing American behaviors. The culturally generated "core level" purpose behind the expectations and reactions of the Japanese and American sojourners is the same; however, the "periphery" or nature of the expectations is different.

Jiro pointed out through the context of the interview that he considered Americans to be shallow, superficial, and inconsiderate. Jiro's view of Americans being inconsiderate relates to Donna's insight into the Japanese propensity for "being aware of what's going on around them." Donna called this propensity "ma" and has to do with being "tuned into" others and the environment. This Japanese expectation to be aware of what's going on "outside the individual" is, as Donna said, "related to everything" and fundamentally a part of the way the Japanese are shaped to think.

Jiro went on to explain to me that there are many factors to consider in relationship to any situation or decision that is made. In a similar vein, the Japanese have an expectation to form consensus with each group member, which again reflects "matrix thinking" and an "awareness outside oneself." Jim, quite astutely, found out that the Japanese appreciate the quality of "ambiguity" much more than Americans, and that the Japanese define it as being the "many sides and complexity of things." American sojourners, especially businessmen (as Jim pointed out), have difficulty in tolerating such an apparently "slow moving" and "unclear" way of thinking--"maybe yes, maybe no."

At the peripheral level, all of the sojourners--both Japanese and American--experienced confusion, frustration, and anxiety when they were confronted with the tacit expectations that the hosts didn't know they were making, and that the sojourners didn't yet understand. Eventually, each of the sojourners adapted to the demand of the differing expectations by finding a "loophole" such as alcohol, or by adjusting their behavior to a level that was not too uncomfortable. As Bob said, "I can be Japanese when I want to be Japanese, and a foreigner when I need to be a foreigner." And similarly, Jiro said: "I just turn my switch to the American side or the Japanese side."

Harumi said that the greatest thing that she learned through her cross-cultural experience was to be more flexible.

A little differently, through his cross-cultural experience, Jim learned about another way of thinking and doing. He also got a confirmation of his belief in the interrelatedness of all humanity. Donna's greatest gain, which I gathered from the context of the interview, was her ability to assert herself and to gain an appreciation for part of her personality that was not so highly valued in the U.S. Bob said that the greatest thing he learned was to be less prejudiced and more open-minded. I also believe that Bob got a personal sense of accomplishment for having established himself so well in the Japanese community. Finally, Jiro stated that he wanted to "add values to his life" through his cross-cultural travel, and I think he has done so in that he speaks two languages other than Japanese quite fluently. Further, I get the sense that Jiro values his ability to not only communicate with language, but also enjoys learning another set of expectations that he can use for the purpose of communication.

Theoretical Analysis of the Five Interviews

The cross-cultural experience provides the sojourner with a myriad of differences to which he or she must in one way or another, react. The nature of these reactions to the host culture's inconsistencies vary from sojourner to sojourner, but there appear to be some points of similarity. Central to the concept of emotional awareness which I

highlighted in Chapter II is the concept of choice. Throughout the interviews, each of the sojourners in their own way taught me the significance of choice in the sojourner's cross-cultural experience. Furthermore, they showed me dimensions of the concept of choice which I had previously not considered or encountered in my reading or experience.

According to the data gathered in the interviews, the concepts of choice and flexibility seem to be related and of central importance to the adaptation process of the five sojourners in this study. The characteristic of flexibility which is substantiated in the literature (Reddin, 1975) was of central importance to the adaptation process of the successful sojourner. After talking with the five sojourners, I now define flexibility in the context of the cross-cultural experience as being the sojourner's ability to adapt their expectations and beahviors to meet the demand of the host culture. All of the sojourners pointed out the importance of being flexible, and in Jiro's words--"I just flip my switch" and I'm American.

However, only certain expectations are compromised, and the compromising is done with awareness. Given what I have learned through my discussions with the sojourners, I posit that there is a correlation between being at choice, doing strange behaviors, and a final outcome of a successful adaptation.

It appears that the successful sojourners I interviewed have a relatively broad band of "compromisable" expectations. My interpretation is that these compromisable expectations can be thought of as "preferences." A preference is a "mild desire" or want that has been consciously considered. When a preference is not met, the sojourner reacts with very little, if any, discomfort or attendant feelings of anger and frustration.

Generally, there appeared to be two types of expectations reflected in the interviews. One type, such as Bob illustrated with his anger response, is culture bound, habitual, automatic, and is directly associated with the uncomfortable feelings of fight or flight when it is not met (inconsistency), or a general feeling of comfort when it is met (consistency). Expectation at this level is directly hooked into the system that automatically dictates responses to maintain a sense of equilibrium. The other type of expectation that all of the sojourners reported are those expectations that are consciously chosen and not compromisable. According to three sojourners, two American and one Japanese, "knowing yourself" is being conscious of the expectations which they would **not** compromise, and those they would compromise.

As a direct reflection of another element of the process of emotional awareness, Harumi said that it is good to "do

things that are uncomfortable," which she said eventually leads toward feeling comfortable in the host culture. Instead of resisting cultural difference (inconsistency) and the associated uncomfortable feelings, dive into the differences the host culture offers. In this way the sojourner reduces the energy expenditure in psychological resistance to the differences and can utilize that energy for adaptive purposes.

Harumi went on to say that in welcoming cultural difference, the sojourner should not go too far beyond their comfort level. When I first heard this second statement, I thought it contradicted her first assertion; however, with further reflection, I have come to the conclusion that she is operationally defining the relationship between "knowing yourself" and "breaking one's parent culture's patterns of expectation." In other words, the act of "choosing" or "consciously breaking one's cultural paradigm" is qualitatively different than unthinking hedonism. To compromise without awareness or the ability to assume responsibility for the outcomes of one's behavior is not beneficial to the adaptation process.

On the basis of the interviews, one could say that awareness and acceptance of responsibilitiy for one's feelings appears to influence one's experience of culture shock. Bob reported that his experience of the uncomfortable

feelings of "culture shock" appeared to subside about the time he fully accepted responsibility for his feelings of anger and other associated defensive behaviors. At first, Bob projected his anger upon host nationals, but with time--and through a process of reflecting at night before going to bed--Bob began to realize that his problem was not with the Japanese, but in himself. And as Bob began to bring more awareness to his emotional states, his understanding of the cause of his emotional behavior grew--along with a gradual acceptance of responsibility for his feelings and behavior. With time and further reflection, Bob was able to accept his feelings fully--thereby coming to understand them which he thought was related to his lessening experience of culture shock.

Jim, who experienced periods of depression and acute anxiety, thought that his journaling process was essential to his "working through" his culture shock. This approach has been used extensively by gestalt therapists to defuse strong emotional material and gain insight into deeper patterns of thought and behavior. Journaling is a process whereby one reflects through writing, and thereby brings awareness to one's feelings and behavior. In talking with Jim after the interview, he restated the importance of this process in his adaptation, and thought that it helped him get through his worst periods of feeling alienated and depressed.

Many sojourners experience the feeling of alienation and have thoughts of being an "outsider" during the initial phases of the cross-cultural experience. In the interviews, four of the five sojourners reported that the development of meaningful friendships with host nationals was significant in their feelings of satisfaction in the host culture and a reduction in their sense of alienation. Other researchers have reported the same findings (Bochner, 1982) and therefore suggested that the development of host-social-skills is paramount in training for cross-cultural living and the reduction of culture shock.

Each of the sojourners reported a keen appreciation of knowledge of the host culture's expectations for behavior. Each of the sojourners seemed to not only know what was perceived as appropriate and inappropriate behavior, but also pointed out the importance of knowing the historical, philosophical, and psychological meanings behind the behaviors. This leads me to wonder if cultural differences are somehow easier to "take" when one can bring the detached view of reason to bear upon differing host culture expectations. The answer to this question is beyond the scope of this study but merits further investigation.

Substantiating the past research that posits that the successful sojourner is less ethnocentric and more conscious of the relativity of cultural belief, each of the sojourners

had initial difficulty in stating stereotypic observations of host nationals. All five said that "people are individuals," and to say that there is any universal characteristic between people of one culture is ridiculous. However, with further prodding I was able to get each sojourner to give me some general descriptions of the host nationals they interacted with. I have a notion that these sojourners, in actuality, hold their less ethnocentric view as an ideal, and their way of answering was a way of practicing their newly chosen way of seeing others. If this is so, then it is interesting that they all hold a similar ideal.

I, just as the participants in the interviews, recognize the problem with making generalizations. There is no way we can make a truly accurate generalization about anyone, yet I think we can perhaps speculate about general tendencies. The contrast in American and Japanese tendencies is quite interesting and illustrative of two expectational systems in conflict and the associated emotional responses at the peripheral level of analysis.

The two Japanese in this study perceived "talking about oneself" or "bragging" as being very uncomfortable to do, yet perceived it as essential for success in the American culture. Through the context of the interview, and through past discussions with other Japanese, I am led to believe that these uncomfortable feelings are based in the expectation

to "not stick out" from the group. Harumi illustrated this expectation of "not sticking out" by her practice of profusely apologizing before performing in front of a group. The significance of this expectation was illustrated by the discomfort she experienced when she stopped apologizing.

On the other hand, the Americans in this study had an opposite problem in that they found it difficult to conform to group standards and to appear to not stick out. Bob reported that he had difficulty in keeping his thoughts to himself and conforming to group opinion. Jim and Donna said that they had difficulty in maintaining their uncompromisable practice of vegetarianism, and perceived that this practice perhaps disrupted the flow of the evening with Japanese friends. In sum, it seems that the Japanese are more comfortable orienting themselves with group opinion and consensus, whereas Americans are culturally shaped to value individualistic thought. What is of particular interest, though, is that the emotional reaction to these seemingly "opposite" expectations was similar in nature.

Both the Japanese and Americans experienced discomfort in the presence of these expectations that were at variance (inconsistent) with their own, and even more discomfort was encountered when they chose to do the behaviors associated with the host culture's expectations. In certain situations, however, where there was a host culture demand that was in

conflict with an uncompromisable value or "expectation," the successful sojourner either didn't do the host culture behavior and accepts the pressure from hosts to perform the behavior, or finds a creative resolution.

The creative act when confronted with differing host culture expectations appears to involve selectively performing certain "more acceptable" parts of the expectation. Another approach to this problem seems to involve finding a "cultural loophole." In most situations such as the one Bob found himself in where his friend paid for him to have sex with a prostitute, Bob had to "walk a thin line" if he was to not have a negiative outcome of one form or another. On the one hand, if he ignored his Christian paradigm, he would have broken an uncompromisable expectation. On the other hand, if he didn't accept his friend's gift, his friend would lose face, and this would hurt his relationship with his friend. Essential to "walking the line" was an in-depth knowledge of the Japanese system of expectation. For instance, Bob chose to not "say no" to the prostitute because not only would his friend "lose face," but through vicarious reinforcement the other businessmen in the group would also experience the discomfort of losing face--and this was an outcome Bob was not willing to accept. Bob extricated himself creatively in this situation by going upstairs with the prostitute, and once upstairs in the "playroom" didn't

do anything sexual. After a few minutes he returned--satisfying "enough" of his associates' expectation.

I would like to speculate that within each unacceptable expectation or situation there are acceptable features. And if the sojourner can meet some of these compromisable aspects of an uncompromisable expectation, the hosts will view his or her behavior as consistent "enough" with their expectation. As an example, Bob performed certain parts of the expectation such as spending time with the prostitute in the playroom. He also chose not to have sex. By performing certain acceptable features of this situation, Bob was able to satisfy his colleagues' need for consistency. Furthermore, Bob reported experiencing extreme emotional discomfort within this situation, but because of his ability to be aware of his feelings--yet still think and act from choice--he was able to "think and do in a previously uncomfortable situation," thereby enabling him to act in ways that maintained his personal sense of integrity without damaging relations with host nationals.

Bob, Jim, and Donna reported their frustration with influencing the Japanese to do things in a different way. However, both Bob and Jim pointed out the "cultural loophole" of alcohol and private conversation. I would venture to guess that in all cultural systems of expectation, there are certain conditions under which one can "break the rules."

Coming to understand these conditions is one way of minimizing the strain of cross-cultural adaptation. Both of these approaches, "the creative act" and "finding the loophole," require a knowledge of the host culture's expectational system viewed in differing situational contexts.

Within my selected review of the literature in Chapter I there was little mentioned about the relationship between the sojourner's parent sub-culture and patterns of cross-cultural interaction. Throughout the interviews I noticed that each of the sojourners, except one, made initial contact with people of the host cultures who held similar values. Jim and Donna, both runners and "health nuts," made initial contact and immersion into the Japanese culture by joining a running club. Bob, whose father was a businessman, entered Japan through the window of the business community. Jiro, a student, scholar, and world traveler, made initial contact with "educated Americans" and other gaikokugin (international people). Each of these people minimized their experience of inconsistency in the host culture by making contact with people of somewhat similar values. So, the old adage "birds of feather . . ." is perhaps true and a significant process in cross-cultural adaptation. However, this process of making contact with people of similar values could just as easily be a perceptual and behavioral trap. As sure as this process may insure less inconsistency, it perhaps also insures that the sojourner will see what he already knows.

Chapter II highlightd the core and peripheral levels of expectation and subsequent emotional reaction. I have now come to the conclusion that the core and peripheral levels of emotion are interactive. Therefore, basic origins or causes of such emotions are indeterminable. For instance, a sojourner can be quite frustrated with a certain expectation of the host culture, and according to the definition, this reaction is indicative of the peripheral level. However, in this particular scenario, the sojourner could be "blowing off steam" stemming from anxiety associated with feelings of alienation, which is universal to all men and therefore a core level phenomenon.

Looking at this situation from another perspective, the cumulative effect of the multifaceted interconnection of "differing" expectations is a peripheral level phenomenon, however, in their totality is perhaps a cause of the sojourner's experience of alienation and feeling like an outsider--a core phenomenon. Therefore, in light of the apparent interaction at both the core and peripheral levels of analysis, I would like to posit that the experience of uncomfortable and anti-social emotion is caused by inconsistency and is based in an interaction between the core and peripheral levels.

Man's nature is to be social, and alienation stems from a core level "inconsistency" of not feeling a part of the

group. And as I pointed out earlier, as soon as the sojourners were able to develop meaningful relationships with host nationals, many of the uncomfortable feelings associated with this core level phenomena subsided. All of the sojourners dealt with these feelings in their own particular way. However, a consistent pattern, which is quite obvious and significant, is that they chose to stay in the host culture and resisted their desires to return home to their parent culture. My general feeling is that it has to do with the ability to accept and live with inconsistency--perhaps another part to the definition of flexibility.

Going into this research I considered the concepts of ambiguity and inconsistency to operate at both the core and peripheral levels of analysis. However, given what I have learned about the Japanese appreciation of the quality of ambiguity and the American discomfort with it, I now consider ambiguity to be a peripheral level phenomenon, because of the difference in the way differing men and cultures perceive it.

Previous research into the issue of culture shock indicates that the experience of culture shock is associated with the adaptation process, and something that most sojourners must go through in adapting into a host culture. Further, research by Kealey and Ruben (1981) indicates that less ethnocentric sojourners will often experience more severe symptoms of culture shock than their more ethnocentric

counterparts. I have a notion that this point is true; however, I can not draw a clearer conclusion due to the difficulty I experienced in getting the sojourners to talk about their emotional experience.

The Japanese sojourners had a particularly difficult time talking about their feelings, and this I would venture to guess is based in their cultural expectation to keep honne (true feeling) within.

The criteria of "successful adaptation" (Brislin, 1986) was helpful in my initial selection of participants for the study. However, I quickly realized that this particular criteria was very "loose." Viewed from Bochner's (1982) perspective, a "successful adaptation" is not necessarily a significant achievement. Each of the sojourners in this study had clearly made a successful adaptation. However, they still manifested psychological responses that, according to Bochner's model, are indicative of a less than optimal response.

On the other hand, Bochner's (1982) model proved to be inconclusive in analyzing the sojourners' response. I found that each of the sojourners in this study realized all of the characteristics of the optimal "mediating response," yet also held characteristics of the less than optimal "passing" and "chauvinistic" responses and had none of the characteristics of the "marginal response." This,

of course, could be due to my perceptions of these individuals.

I am led to conclude, quite differently than Bochner, that his four responses are developmental. That is, the sojourner passes through certain of these stages to achieve the final level of "mediating." I would further posit that, according to the sojourner's characteristic patterns of defensive behavior, he or she will first react to cultural inconsistency with a "passing" or "chauvinistic" response.

The sojourner who typically reacts defensively with a "fight" response will choose to project anger onto host nationals and thereby actualize a "chauvinistic response." Conversely, the sojourner who characteristically reacts with a "flight" response will try to "please" the hosts and will actualize a "passing" response. In other words, these two responses are the initial rung on the developmental ladder, and according to the sojourner's pattern of habitual response, one or the other will be actualized. I believe the attainment of a "mediating response" is a function of time and attitude--a non-compulsive attitude. I base this conclusion in part upon my observation that the two sojourners who lived in a host culture the longest time actualized more of the characteristics of a mediating response.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS AND PERSONAL SPECULATION

Introduction

This study has focused on the reactions of sojourners when they are confronted with the differing expectations that a host culture provides. Furthermore, this study has been extremely beneficial in my coming to understand some of the basic issues of cross-cultural adaptation. At a professional level, I have uncovered some basic issues that I feel need to be considered when developing curricula for the purpose of helping people to cross cultural barriers.

Central to my professional concern is how do we, as educators, increase the likelihood that a greater percentage of people can cross cultural boundaries with a minimum of stress while simultaneously maximizing personal growth.

From this study, three basic issues have emerged, and all of these issues have to do with the successful sojourner's interaction with the differing expectational system of the host culture. These issues are: (1) What is the nature of the thinking processes most apt to insure a successful adaptation? (2) What feelings and emotional states are associated with the cross-cultural experience, and what is the nature of the processes used by sojourners in dealing

with these feelings? (3) What is the nature of the learning the cross-cultural experience can provide?

In the three previous chapters I explored these issues through the use of different research methods. In this fourth chapter I have brought my present understanding to bear upon the implications of the cross-cultural experience for educational purposes. Additionally, in the second part of this chapter I have shared my personal reflections and speculations upon some deeper and broader issues related to the cross-cultural experience.

Conclusions

Through the process of doing this dissertation I have come to some personal conclusions about the nature of the emotional experience of crossing cultures, and the models presently being used to understand this phenomenon.

Any time a distinction is made that a certain form of behavior is "better" than another, a criterion is established to categorize or label people according to that distinction--such as found in intelligence testing, or in the case of this dissertation a "successful adaptation" or "mediating response." With distinctions such as these, certain people can be thought of as being "better" than others. Even though these distinctions may be contrived by the force of reason or science, it is important to remember the limitations of reason and science. Subsequently, individuals may truly

think of themselves as adequate or inadequate based on these types of distinctions--and may even begin striving to achieve the desirable distinction. By striving for the desirable distinction one not only avoids seeing and being who they are, but may miss essential developmental steps in their own growth process. In other words, there are many paths that lead to the same destination, whether it be a mediating response or enlightenment. As benchmarks along one's way distinctions are helpful, but using them to make judgments of self and others can be more damaging than helpful.

On the other hand, these distinctions can be used to note certain stages in our growth toward wholeness. As evidence of growth and not disease, distinctions can be used toward enhanced human potential. Of course, this is a very complex issue and I have only given it superficial attention.

The next issue I would like to examine is Brislin's (1986) concept of "successful adaptation." This particular way of looking at the sojourner is too "loose." That is, within the distinction of "successful adaptation" there is room for what I consider to be less than ideal forms of adaptation. Further, it appears that all of the sojourners I interviewed met all of the criteria set out by Brislin; hence, I wonder if Brislin's criteria merely represents the effect of living cross-culturally. In other words, those who leave the host culture don't have these characteristics; and all who stay, no matter how unethical they are, can at least

temporarily adopt these characteristics. This brings me to the question of whether people can fake these characteristics and those who adopt them fully and wholeheartedly.

On the other hand, Brislin's model is helpful in that it can be used to perhaps make a distinction of processes that sojourners who adjust to their environment in at least a "practical" way utilize. However, I would not rely on this model; and with certain adjustments, would opt to focus more attention upon Bochner's (1982) more psychological model of "mediating response."

Whereas Brislin's model is too loose, I would like to suggest that Bochner's model is too "tight." That is, the model did not allow for an interaction across the various levels. All of the sojourners interviewed held characteristics from all levels simultaneously, and I would therefore like to suggest Bochner's model as a developmental model. The first two stages are actually the initial stage and consists of the "chauvinistic" and "passing" responses. An individual will assume one or the other of these postures given his or her basic personality and habitual mode of psychological defensiveness. The next stage is the marginal, which instead of representing confusion, represents a "loosening" of ethnocentrism and egocentrism which actually represents growth from the first stage into the final goal of a "mediating response." The mediating response represents a "chosen" level of existence void of intrapersonal conflict.

As a base of support for survival, it is important to have a system of expectation; however, in a host culture these expectations may differ from the sojourner's, resulting in discomfort and behavior not conducive to harmonious living in the host culture. The uncomfortable feelings sojourners occasionally feel are evidence of inconsistencies or "conflict" between what the sojourner expects of reality and what is encountered. Furthermore, uncomfortable feelings are associated with fight or flight responses, the purpose of which is to support one's perceptions of how to survive in reality. The sojourner who has actualized a mediating response has reconciled his or her intrapersonal conflicts.

To reconcile both intrapersonal and interpersonal conflict, it appears that the sojourner, instead of trying to control their external reality, focuses upon their inner experience. In so doing, these sojourners consciously "choose" the expectations for reality that they will not compromise. This band of uncompromisable and consciously chosen expectations is relatively narrow when compared to that of a more egocentric or ethnocentric individual.

By clarifying the essential from the unessential, the sojourner becomes more flexible in his expectations, as much of what was once worth "fighting" for or "flighting" from no longer holds a dictatorial grip upon the sojourners' consciousness, and I believe that which is chosen gains in

potency. With lessened defensiveness resulting from a broader range of acceptable behavior, the sojourner experiences a lessening of the uncomfortable feelings associated with the disequilibrium of inconsistency.

It appears that the sojourner who immerses him or herself into the host culture eventually experiences greater comfort and relatively deeper relationships with host nationals. This could in part result from the lessening of feelings of alienation, a core level and anxiety-producing situation. In other words, by immersing oneself in the host culture, the sojourner learns about the host expectations and learns to do behaviors which make him or her more of an "insider." I also believe that by immersing oneself in the host culture, the sojourner is pushed to clarify his or her values. In so doing, he or she will again become more flexible--resulting in less discomfort. In sum, it appears that Harumi's advice to "do what is uncomfortable" as a means of becoming comfortable is quite instructive. However, this advice must be tempered with the awareness that the sojourner should not go beyond a point in his or her behavior for which he or she is not willing to accept responsibility.

The greatest fear asociated with opening of oneself to the differences of the host culture is that one's self may be threatened. This view is a potential outcome, and the sojourner who truly opens to the force of a differing

expectational system will "change." For this reason I think it is essential that the sojourner be clear on what beliefs or expectations for reality he or she deems essential, and gradually expand and contract by choice from there. In so doing, through the fire of the cross-cultural experience, a distillation will take place and the sojourner will become more clear about who he or she is, and in a sense find him or herself.

I would now like to take a more detailed look at the consciousness of the sojourner, and speculate upon reflective consciousness as an essential element in the adaptation process. To begin, I would like to examine the concept of "inside" and "outside" experience as it applies to the sojourner -- that is, the "inside" perceptions and experience of the sojourner and his or her "outside" experience.

Most men and women readily assume that our experience is predominately dictated by our outward experience. This type of thinking is culture bound and protective of the reflexive system of thought. Contrary to this position, as evidenced by the interviews and literature review in Chapter I, a key characteristic of the successful sojourner is that he or she is reflecive and can recognize habit patterns of thought in self and others, make choices, and accept responsibility for his or her emotional reactions. Furthermore, it appears that this "inside awareness" of self and "outside

awareness" of others is a key element in adapting into a host culture. Certainly this inside and outside awareness is indicative of reflective consciousness.

With reflexive thought there is no distinction between inner and outer experience whereby outer experience automatically triggers an associated reaction. Conversely, it could be said that the inside perceptions created the nature of the experience that evoked the associated response; however, I do not think this is a critical issue. The critical issue within the concept of reflexive thought is that there is no choice. In other words, what is perceived directly influences internal thought and reaction without the intercession of reflection and choice. Conversely, reflective consciousness is able to make a distinction between outside and inside experience, and the dialectic between the two. In other words, reflective consciousness understands and can inform the reflexive consciousness.

It appears that the sojourner, when confronted with the differing expectations of the host culture, must create a system of expectation that works toward need satisfaction in the host culture. Certain of the parent culture expectations will work in the host culture, but in a radically different culture a vast majority will need to be modified or completely changed. With the reflective consciousness, understanding of one's own habitual expectations, inner

responses, and perceptions can be attained. Furthermore, a greater understanding of the host culture's expectations (outer experience) can be gained. Therefore, I believe that the development of reflective consciousness is essential in the reconciliation of both the interpersonal and intrapersonal conflict that the sojourner will encounter.

Speculation for Education

The sojourner, when confronted with the inconsistency of the host culture's expectational system, responds with one of three different modes of consciousness. These three modes of consciousness relate to three different, yet interactive, levels of education. The cross-cultural experience is a potentially potent educational context within which the sojourner, when ready, can expand their awareness into at least two additional modes of consciousness with a subsequent shift in his or her awareness of self, others, and the planetary biosphere.

The first two modes of consciousness and the related processes have been discussed in this dissertation at length. These two modes are the automatic-habitual mode and the humanistic "choice" mode. The first mode operates in the realm of stimulus-response, habit, automaticity, and reflexive thought. Furthermore, this level of consciousness is directly associated with the uncomfortable emotional responses that emerge when the sojourner experiences inconsistency with

the differing expectations of the host culture--an indication of disequilibrium and a perceived threat to survival.

Educational processes in line with the first "behavioral" mode of consciousness are based in such concepts as shaping, reward and punishment, and conditioning. This is the level of "training" and is concerned with the shaping and reshaping of human behavior with schedules of reinforcement and punishment--both vicarious and direct--and is basic to the hidden educational paradigm of culture. It is the process that shapes the sojourner's mind according to the dictates of their parent culture's expectations--and the basis of the conflict with the host culture's expectations.

Within the humanistic mode of consciousness, man, instead of acting automatically and habitually, can become a creator of his own mind, actions, and responses to life. When humanistically oriented sojourners are confronted with a differing cultural paradigm, unlike their reflexive counterpart, they can re-create their life according to the demands of the situation according to their chosen life principles, instead of reacting with habitual and defensive thought. Furthermore, for a person to be fully human, he or she must consciously choose the form his life takes--staking his or her life on the outcome. Clearly, the sojourners in this study oprate at this level, as was illustrated by their focus of "knowing yourself" and their emphasis on the issues of values clarification and choice.

The key educational goal for the humanistic level of consciousness is the creation of a more reflective perceptual system. This alternative system is not culture bound, and can be illustrated with what John Lilly (1972) calls the OBOP or "**OB**servor **OP**erator." From a Freudian view of the ego (the "I" worked out to reconcile the conflict between instincts of the Id and the cultural paradigm or "super-ego"), the OBOP is a "new ego" and is a "guardian instead of a guard" (Castenada, 1974). With an OBOP the sojourner gains perspective on his previously tacit expectations, and with this awareness is then able to "re-create" his or her life from choice--more in line with host culture expectations tempered by his or her chosen life principles.

Educational stratgies such as values clarification, socratic dialogue, moral dilemmas, and gestalt, i.e., cognitive approaches to education, are used to present conflicting views of reality that force the learner to become aware of his or her habitual modes of feeling, thought, and behavior--ultimately for the purpose of creating an OBOP and resolving conflict with choice. The cross-cultural experience can be a conflict producing situation, and the sojourner who uses this conflict to force awareness, instead of thickening the barriers of habitual and defensive response through their unconscious use--gains psychological freedom and an associated sense of responsibility for their life experience.

At risk of sounding contradictory, I want to point out that the sojourner not only needs their defenses, but that the defensive and more habitual responses are essential footholds for climbing out of one's ignorance like that seen in a sojourner's chauvinistic or passing response. In other words, it is a sort of negative process in that one learns what he or she doesn't want to create by observing him or herself doing it. It is essential, however, that one looks at these "ignorant" behaviors with self-compassion, and not self-chastisement--a mistaken and culture bound response.

For most people, coming to fully understand one's ignorance is the means of movement into more expanded states of consciousness--and it is quite difficult to come to fully know one's ignorance if it is too painful to look at. This is how guilt and the associated tension (self-chastisement) is a "block" to escaping one's cultural (super-ego) paradigm--and an at least partial escape is essential for adaptation into a host culture. Paradoxically, to come to accept our ignorance, yet not condone it, seems to be the method.

The culture bound ego of the sojourner (I, we), when it first notices something has been done beneath our "idealized self-image," has a tendency to either ignore, rationalize, or self-chastise (Horney, 1950); however, by maintaining self-acceptance during these times, instead of guilt, the non-culture bound ego (OBOP) can come to see more clearly.

Furthermore, with this new information, the sojourners can make more appropriate changes in their behavior according to their deepened understanding of their patterns of habitual thought and behavior.

It may sound contradictory, but I believe that the sojourner not only needs their defenses of anger, frustration, and compulsive behavior, but may occasionally need their associated dis-ease. At times, the sojourner may need to get away from the cross-cultural experience and "re-group" his or her energies for an eventual breakthrough into a higher level of consciousness. As the literature pointed out, the most successful sojourners may go through a more profound state of culture shock than their more ethnocentric counterparts--and some sojourners may need to be sick to do so. Paradoxically, this may be due to their readiness to handle the dis-ease in a more beneficial way. So, to say defenses are bad, and something to be overcome, is equally as wrong as saying they are not. I think that human beings at a pre-verbal and pre-conscious level know how to handle their cross-cultural experience in the best way it can be handled. And the system that has been developed throughout eons of time to handle the adaptive processes is infinitely wiser than our rational mind, and will produce disintegration and reintegration of forms of consciousness at appropriate times.

In addition to teaching about the host culture's peripheral level expectations, cross-cultural educators can

create contexts within which the sojourner can, when he or she is ready to, practice feeling strong emotions or doing seemingly strange and uncomfortable host culture behaviors. The level to which the sojourner participates in these processes must be left completely up to the sojourner. A key element in cross-cultural adaptation is the acceptance of responsibility for one's own behavior and feelings, and by following the aforementioned principle, this important educational goal is experienced, practiced, and hopefully understood toward eventual habituation. Operationally defined, the student-sojourners will "answer the questions provided by the educational context when they are ready."

A fundamental attitude that the educator must strive to hold toward the learner is one of respect, compassion, and support. Support differs from "rescuing" in that with support, the learner is accepted where he or she is at, and is perceived as being capable of working things out in their own best way. Conversely, with "rescuing" perception and behavior, the learner is viewed by the teacher as being helpless and incapable. At this level, the teacher's behavior indicates (mostly at the tacit level) that the student can't work things out for themselves without the "expert's" (teacher's) help. By rescuing, the teacher creates a context within which dependency is nurtured; and it is essential that the teacher view themselves, and do behaviors that

indicate both verbally and nonverbally to the learner that he or she (the teacher) is a resource. In other words, it should be the goal of the teacher to strengthen the learner's confidence in being able to "choose" to solve his or her own problems in satisfactory ways and accept the consequences--an essential skill within the cross-cultural experience.

In sum, as a sojourner, it has been my experience that there is no greater blessing than having a compassionate and supportive host-culture friend--and the same applies in the classroom before the sojourn begins.

> But, as you release deeply into another culture, a force enters that begins to transform the fundamental energy of your own basic identity and this can be quite stressful unless there is an appreciation and a desire to allow the deeper process. Fundamental to this is the gradual refinement of those powerful qualifiers of our sense of self that we call meaning and purpose. (From The I That Is We by Richard Moss)

I only have inklings of this third mode of consciousness, and for that reason question whether I should even mention it or not. Further, it may appear to the reader to be too ideological for this particular study; however, at risk of being quite polemical, I believe it is similar to what Jean Houston calls an ego with "leaky margins." That is, the ego, worked out in relationship to the Id and the superego, functions for the purpose of its perceived survival. It is limited by past experience, and is habitually defensive in nature aand thereby making object-object

and subject-object distinctions. At the humanistic level, the ego is first transformed by the practice of reflection and choice into a strong and chosen will. However, unlike an ego with "leaky margins," this chosen will, at the humanistic level, is still not necessarily aware of the interconnection of all life and people, and as such doesn't necessarily recognize the fact that what is good for others and the planet is good for the self. "Leaky margins" is a level of consciousness that begins to let go of the "us and them" mentality of the isolated ego (a core level phenomenon) which is the basic paradigm of culture based upon isolation--an ancient strategy for community toward survival.

Today, our limited sense of community needs to be expanded to include more than just the people we experience consistency or inconsistency with. We need to experience a fundamental shift in the way mankind perceives, yet our core level expectations--based in cultural thought--prevent us from doing so.

If you stand on the moon, and look back at the Earth, one does not see any cultural boundaries. Of course not--because culture as most know it is a figment of man's archaic mind based in the precept of territoriality that the animals understood. At one time, this system of thought worked--when one's own culture didn't usually suffer the outcomes of a distant culture's behavior. However, today, with an expanded technology and the associated by-products, we should

be able to see the reality that most ancient men could not see--that there are no real physical boundaries between cultures, or between human beings and their environment. The blanket of air that surrounds our earth, and the soil we grow our vegetables in, is as much a part of ourselves as our liver or kidney; yet with the "skin encapsulated ego" (Russell, 1984) one cannot see the interconnection. Forgotten quite quickly by the world, the Chernobyl tragedy illustrates that mankind can no longer afford to think in archaic and defensive ways that view objects as separate--when in reality they are flowing (transforming) one into the other. It is as if we are all in a sink or swim together situation, but our habitual minds, based in core level cultural thought, will not let us see, and subsequently do--so we can save ourselves.

The cross-cultural experience is a context within which the culture-bound ego, at both the humanistic and behavioral levels, can be transformed by the fire of conflict, and thereby move into the third and currently essential mode of consciousness whereby man can see man and his universe behind the veil of cultural thought.

As I mentioned at the beginning of this section, I only have inklings of this level. And as such can only report my observations in my own shifts in awareness and the shifts of others I have known. At this point I do not know the

actual educational process toward achieving this level; however, I believe it has something to do with the confrontation of one's chosen and rational ego position with that which is beyond reason and culture. I, furthermore, have an intuition that the cross-cultural experience is again a prime educational context for not only achieving a more humanistic and chosen position in life, but also for transforming that chosen position in order to actualize a more fundamental and profound level of consciousness.

Further Personal Speculation

Through the course of this investigation I have gained a deeper appreication for the concept of adaptation and the transformation of form through function into a new form. The following is an elaboration of my meta-view into the nature of evolutionary change as it relates to the cross-cultural experience.

The old adage "form follows function" is not necessarily true. This particular expectation of reality is based in the notion of quality, when in fact the basis of oriental philosophy posits that there is a primordial Oneness beneath the quality of yin and yang. Personally, I hold the notion of Oneness to be true, and currently a way of perceiving that has become essential for global survival. However, when I look around, I must admit that I see objects

interacting from bees and flowers to countries at war--and through their interaction new forms are emerging.

In essence, the dual position posits that in the beginning of things, and all subsequent things of objective reality since, are derived from an interaction of at least two forces, i.e., good and evil, yang and yin, male and female, night and day, black and white, hard and soft, hot and cold, us and them, me and you, mind and body, etc. The form that is derived from the interaction of two previously formed forms of objective reality in conflict creates a new adaptation or form.

For instance, if we take two forms of objective reality like a naked big toe and a tight pair of new shoes, through the interaction of these two forms a blister erupts. At this point in the relationship between one's big toe and the shoe, a callous forms as an appropriate adaptation for the purpose of survival. In the Occidental world the Greeks were the first to form this particular point of view as an explanation for the origin of the life systems they saw operating around them.

The view I have presented so far is clearly an evolutionist perspective. And following in this line of reasoning--the sunlight, minerals, water, plants, and animals were all forms "prior to man"--our ancient grandmothers and grandfathers (the stars are our great aunts and uncles). However,

this position, if considered from the position that time is made up (which it probably is), then it is all happening at once, and no-thing is prior to anything else, and all of history and the future is one big form--which brings us full circle back to the "oneness" position. But I don't want to go into this because it is no fun that way, and it doesn't appeal to reason! In short, my position is that there is an interaction between duality and the Oneness, and conflict and harmony--two differing yet connected levels of reality.

I don't want to discuss things as far back as the sun and stars because it will take too long. Furthermore, this dissertation is focused upon more recent adaptations such as man the social being who lives in relationship with other humans as a sojourner in a foreign context. But I must go back as far as the animal kingdom to fully illustrate the functioning of culture and its relationship to the sojourner.

As I discussed in Chapter II, man evolved from the animals who formed basic concepts of culture such as "shortage." That is, the form "animal" found that hoarding and competition for resources, in one form or another, worked in favor of survival; and the more an entity had, the longer it would probably survive. Of course this is tempered within certain limits like immediate family, pack, etc., which I will discuss later. But this particular reality, along with the fight

and flight mode that I also discussed in Chapter II, is the cornerstone of culture.

Another basic precept of culture formed by the animals was the notion that groups could work together to ward off attack more effectively. Furthermore, animals found that by sharing the work load among family membrs, there was also an increased probability for survival. These two concepts are another stone in the foundation upon which today's culture is built, i.e., competition for resources with "outsiders" and cooperative effort among members--both for survival.

In sum, man "the social animal," at a psychological level, formed cultural expectations based on the premise of the animals--conflict, minimum energy expenditure, avoidance of pain, and the approach of pleasure. Just like the animals, mankind found that groups of men could ward off attack more effectively and work together to harness nature (in most of the western world we tried to conquer nature)--thereby increasing their probability for survival. Using Jim's phrase, "to grease the wheels" of culture, certain forms of thought or "expectations" were formed to increase the predictability and stability of culture (Hall, 1977). Most current-day expectations for behavior were worked out historically in relationship to an ancient environment. However, this process is stll going on today. A tragic

current-day example of forms of thought and behavior following function is the way AIDS is changing the sexual practices of people; and if this trend continues, it will alter the expectation for a normal sexual life.

Man's animal-based mind of habitual response only reacts to problems when the problem threatens life directly. This is the way the animals do it, and the reason humans have difficulty in being reflective, and then even more difficulty in changing established habits when there is no immediate threat. As a result, we don't see much thinking in the world of men based in long-sighted reflection and subsequent chosen action--as it is not always comfortable to do so.

Expectations for reality in common form a particular culture, and this is what I call the "cultural paradigm" or "expectational system." This sytem of thought is for the most part tacit, a consensus of expectation, and the basis of the hidden curriculum. For the sake of analysis, this cultural paradigm can be broken down into the peripheral and core levels. The core level consists of expectations of reality that are common to all men of all cultures, whereas the periphery consists of those expectations that are specific to a culture and an individual (I discussed this view and its problematics in Chapter II and the previous section entitled Theoretical Analysis of the Sojourners). Most expectations are habitual and beneath the surface of awareness where they guide our perception and behavior.

William James (Frager & Fadiman, 1984) and others such as John Dewey (1966) point out that "habit is second nature." What these psychologists are pointing out is that what we conveniently think of as good and bad habits, i.e., the smoking habit, the overeating habit, etc., is just a superficial representation of the profundity of habit. William James, quoting the Duke of Wellington's insightful phrase, says that habit is "ten times nature," pointing out how the repetition of a behavior or thought will eventually make it habitual. What we consider to be human nature, personality, or character, is nothing more or nothing less than habitual in nature--which is malleable. And how we respond to our internal and external environment now is tomorrow's expectation.

Mankind, through the recently surpassed adaptation of reflective consciousness (cosmic consciousness is the most recent) (Bucke, 1901), has the ability to observe and redefine its habit patterns according to reason and choice--not from forms of habit based in animal instinct. Dewey, James, Kant, and others, back through their Occidental lineage to the Greeks, posited that man's psychological and social nature consisted, in large part, of an interconnected system of habitual thought. This ancient system of habitual expectation was formed in relationship to historical contexts, and all perception and subsequent reaction and habit formation is bound by cultural assumption based in earlier adaptations.

Without reflection, this system of thought which translates directly into behavior guides man toward his destiny--"be it weal or woe!" When this automatic system of habitual thought, i.e., culture bound expectations, meets with inconsistencies such as those encountered by a sojourner in a host culture, either a habitual response or a choice guided by reflection ensues. This was certainly the case as illustrated by the five sojourners in the interviews.

The automatic emotional response associated with an encounter with the inconsistent is uncomfortable and indicative of disequilibrium--again, illustrated by all five sojourners and within my model of emotional awareness. According to this model of emotion, the purpose of an expectation is to maintain equilibrium, i.e., predictability and stability; and when this is not realized, a warning is sent by the subconscious to the body which "informs the mind" of the potential danger.

The expectations (thought forms) that are culture, and for the purpose of maintaining equilibrium, are psychological in nature, and somewhat more "plastic" when compared to older adaptations such as an emotional repsonse. An emotional response is, for the most part, not as consciously controllable (except with biofeedback and through the mastery of disciplines such as Yoga, Tai Chi, and the Martial Arts, relaxation training, breathing techniques, etc.). Therefore,

the question is not whether an individual will respond to inconsistency with an uncomfortable emotional response, because he or she probably will; rather, the question is--what will be his or her reaction to the emotion.

From the perspective of the sojourner, as illustrated by the literature review in Chapter I, and in the light of my propensity to assume a cognitive view of psychology, when there is a discrepancy between that which is expected and what is encountered, there is an uncomfortable emotional reaction, which Rollo May (1950) among others calls "anxiety," i.e., "fear of the unknown."

In an attempt to avoid the discrepant object of matter, behavior, or thought (or any combination), a defensive "fight or flight" mode is actualized. The fight or flight response is a habitual response to the uncomfortable feelings associated with inconsistency, which is in turn associated with survival (the basis of culture and the associated expectations). According to the intensity of the anxiety, i.e., discomfort, a relatively intense fight or flight response will ensue. This process is completely automatic, controls the perceptions and subsequent actions unless the sojourner has developed the habit of conscious reflection and choice before action.

Bochner's (1982) model posits four potential psychological responses a sojourner can make in a host culture, only

one of which I bbelieve operates from the non-habitual mode of choice guided by reflective consciousness--the "mediating response." However, the first two responses, the chauvinistic and passing responses, I consider to be unthinking and habitual reactions to feelings of discomfort associated with disequilibrium.

I would like to posit that according to the habitual nature of one personality, a fight "chauvinistic" or flight "passing" response will ensue. Within the chauvinistic mode the individual attempts to re-establish equilibrium within himself and his outer environment through the use of projection and blaming, and on the inner plane with denial, and repression among other forms of defensive behaviors in an attempt to avoid awareness of their fear of losing control, i.e., power. On the other hand, within the passing mode, the individual attempts to manipulate the outside environment with "pleasing" behavior and therefore unthinkingly adopts host culture behaviors. On the internal plane, the "pleasing" person uses denial, repression, and self and parent culture deprecation to avoid awareness of strong feelings of resentment and anger toward host nationals.

The third of the four responses is called a "marginal response" and is characterized by confusion over ethnic identity. Furthermore, this response is marked by beliefs that both cultures are salient, yet are viewed as mutually

incompatible. My opinion is that this particular response is not compulsively aggressive or pleasing, but could be a transition from one of the earlier compulsive modes into a beginning reflective and choice mode. On the other hand, confusion and the inability to take a stand can be a subtle form of psychological defense through non-participation. However, I would like to posit that I think it is the former and an indication of an awareness of the relativity of cultural belief with lessened guidance by the dictates of one's parent culture's expectations--which is temporarily perceived as confusion. However, at this level, the deeper emotional attachment to fight or flight is still operating (as I pointed out earlier, this level is older and less malleable and therefore takes longer to change), and continues to guide the perceptual system to make "us and them" distinctions which accounts for their perceptions of incompatibility. Eventually, there is an emotional transition that accompanies the previous thinking transition--which marks the advent of a "mediating response."

The fourth option, according to Bochner, is marked by an appreciation for cultural pluralism, cultural preservation, and personal growth. With this particular response, the sojourner is at choice, and the emotional system no longer guides the perceptions in an "us and them" mode. The individual is able to create his reality from choice, according

to the dictates of his own sense of self--accepting complete responsibility for the outcome.

Reflection and conscious choice are habits just like the habit of courage. It is not "natural" for man to react with reflection, or everyone would do it. It is a way of perceiving and when practiced becomes a habit. There are two phases to this process of action guided by reflection. The first phase of this process is awareness; that is, the bringing of a separate form of perception thinking and perception to the attendant feelings and situation. This form of consciousness is able to perceive from a perspective outside the currently habitual mode.

First, with the reflective consciousness, one gains perspective on the habitual "programming" of the mind. Then, with the OPerator consciousness one can change behavior from that which is currently habitual. If this chosen behavior is maintained with "unbnending intent," through a series of repetitions, a new habit will be formed--which in turn shifts the perceptual as well as the behavioral system. Initially, there will be a shift in the cognitive system of the sojourner, but with time, as I pointed out earlier, there will be a subsequent shift in the affective system to match the previous shift in the cognitive system. However, as one gains a new habit of thought, perception, and behavior, they do not lose their understanding of the previous expectational system.

At a group level of analysis, people who change subcultures or cultures of residence report that upon returning to their parent culture, they no longer feel a part of that culture any more. However, they still understand their parent culture and its associated behaviors. In a sense, they have actualized an expansion of consciousness that alienates them from that which they were first socialized in. In essence, they understand their parent culture, but their parent culture no longer understands them.

> If a man gives way to all his desires, or panders to them, there will be no inner struggle, in him, no "friction" no fire. But if, for the sake of attaining a definite aim, he struggles with the desires that hinder him--he will then create a fire which will gradually transform his inner world into a single whole. (Ouspensky)

Through the friction, i.e., conflict between two forms, adaptation takes place and a new form emerges. The form that emerges is either a thickening of the barriers to life or a cultivation of life which is consciousness. For the sojourner, the expectational system of a radically different host culture is a form of thought and behavior that can provide the resistance to spark the fire of growth with a subsequent expansion of consciousness and transformation of the ego. Or, if one's habitual modes of operation are indulged in, can create a thickening of the barriers to insight with such subsequent behaviors as war and destruction of the planetary biosphere. The choice is ours.

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