SECOND EDITION

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CULTURE SHOCK

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AND ADRIAN FURNHAM

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The Psychology of Culture Shock

Second Edition

Crossing cultures can be a stimulating and rewarding adventure. It can also be a stressful and bewildering experience. This thoroughly revised and updated edition of Furnham and Bochner's classic *Culture Shock* (1986) examines the psychological and social processes involved in intercultural contact, including learning new culture specific skills, managing stress and coping with an unfamiliar environment, changing cultural identities and enhancing intergroup relations.

The book describes the ABCs of intercultural encounters, highlighting Affective, Behavioural and Cognitive components of cross-cultural experience. It incorporates both theoretical and applied perspectives on culture shock and a comprehensive review of empirical research on a variety of cross-cultural travellers, such as tourists, students, business people, immigrants and refugees. Minimising the adverse effects of culture shock, facilitating positive psychological outcomes and discussion of selection and training techniques for living and working abroad represent some of the practical issues covered.

The Psychology of Culture Shock will prove an essential reference and textbook for courses within psychology, sociology and business training. It will also be a valuable resource for professionals working with culturally diverse populations and acculturating groups such as international students, immigrants and refugees.

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The Psychology of Culture Shock

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Colleen Ward
Stephen Bochner
Adrian Furnham

For David, my ever supportive partner, who endured both my absence and presence while writing this book.
C.W.

And Benedict, for attempting to help his father concentrate on the really important things in life. A.F.

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Foreword

In a world where there are millions of tourists, sojourners, expatriates, immigrants and refugees, it is high time for psychologists to pay attention to the culture shock that these individuals are experiencing.

Three internationally known psychologists, living in Europe, Asia, and Australia, have combined their skills to write this most impressive book that provides an excellent account of culture shock. The level of scholarship is extremely high. It integrates over one thousand references, placing them in a variety of theoretical frameworks, discussing inconsistencies in the findings, and attempting to find the causes of these inconsistencies. The theoretical perspectives are broad and sound.

It is a culturally sensitive psychology, focused on the intercultural encounter. It starts by examining aspects of cultural differences, such as levels of individualism and collectivism, and the outcomes of contact, such as genocide, assimilation, segregation, and integration. It considers both historical and contemporary approaches. It emphasises the need to learn to pay attention to paralinguistics, the local etiquette, and culture specific methods of resolving conflict. Culture contact is likely to be stressful, and an analysis is provided of factors such as personality and social support that can reduce the stress. The role of cultural distance and modernisation in providing gaps that make the contact more stressful is analysed. People in contact might assimilate the other culture, reject it, or change their identity to include both sets of cultural elements. They might even reject both their own and the other culture. Factors that are likely to result in each of these consequences are discussed with sophistication. A distinction is made between within-culture and between-cultures contact, and the different forms of contact associated with these two kinds of contact are examined.

The volume has chapters on specific groups, such as tourists, students, business people, immigrants, and refugees. While the broad theoretical principles discussed in the first section of the book apply to all these groups, each one faces special circumstances and that requires the examination of how the group can be successful in its particular situation. Culture training is then discussed, and the development of bicultural competencies is emphasised. Finally, the ABCs of culture shock are explored.

A special strength of this book is that it treats culture shock as an active process of dealing with change rather than as a noxious event. Also, it distinguishes Affect, Behaviour and Cognitions (ABCs) when people are exposed to another culture. It uses the principle of culture distance to distinguish different kinds of culture shock. It deals with *Affect* by examining stress and coping theories, and the processes involved in culture change. These have affective outcomes that correspond to psychological adjustment. *Behaviour* is changed through learning, and results in the acquisition of specific skills that have behavioural outcomes corresponding to sociocultural adaptation. *Cognitions* are accounted for through social identity theories. They result in the development and change of a specific identity which has implications for self- and intergroup perceptions. All these factors interact.

The discussion draws upon well-established psychological theories and emphasises factors that reduce culture shock. It provides specific suggestions about how people might be selected, trained and supported in other cultures so that the culture shock will be minimal and the experience less punishing, and possibly even rewarding. For example, they suggest how basic social skills might be developed through behavioural training, mentoring, and learning about the historical, philosophical, and sociopolitical foundations of the host culture. Another strand emphasises how people interpret their interpersonal experiences in other cultures, and how people can manage conflicts of values or perceptions. They discuss stereotypes and how they may both facilitate and impede intergroup relations. They face the fact that in some cases prejudicial attitudes toward culturally different individuals and groups can be highly functional for the holder of these opinions, which is why such beliefs are so difficult to change.

The authors argue that culture shock is now understood much better than it was 15 years ago, and is guided by theories taken from various areas of psychology—social, developmental, personality, cross-cultural and health. Thus, psychologists from all these fields will find this book of interest.

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Preface

The first edition of this book, entitled *Culture Shock,* was published by Methuen of London and New York in 1986. It was a very successful book in terms of citations, sales and reviews. It was reprinted three times, but developments in the field over the last fifteen years made it clear that a substantial revision was required. This slightly retitled book, *The Psychology of Culture Shock,* is the result.

The time period between the first and second editions has witnessed an unprecedented amount of research on all topics relevant to the themes of this book. The increase in the literature has reflected the substantial growth in the movement of people around the world, a process that has placed more and more individuals into contact with culturally unfamiliar persons. The main categories include those claiming refugee status, economic migrants, foreign students, international workers, tourists and holiday-makers. As travel has become easier, cheaper, and faster, many people have taken the opportunity to live, study and seek employment in societies very different from their 'point of origin'. Reactions to this travel have varied from elation to severe distress. The practical issue, discussed in this book, is how to minimise the adverse effects and maximise the positive psychological outcomes of culture contact.

When things go wrong due to culture clashes, the price in both human and economic terms can be quite high. For example, the repatriation of failed expatriate executives is such a costly endeavour that some firms now invest in selection and screening for those posted on assignments abroad. Some organisations, like universities, now routinely provide counselling facilities for those who struggle in a new culture. Health organisations in many countries have had to deal with disoriented and depressed newcomers unable to adapt to, and hence function effectively in, the new culture. Education and employment programmes aimed at particular groups exposed to culturally-induced stress have also become a regular feature of the contemporary scene.

Another major development since the first edition of this book appeared is the accelerated shrinking of the world, even for those who do not travel abroad. The internet and cable and satellite television have meant that rural Third World communities now have a window on the wider world. Globalisation of the workforce has also contributed to the 'small world' phenomenon. In addition,

some of the more isolated places have been 'invaded' by ecotourists and others who are excited by finding authentic indigenous cultures. This is merely an extreme instance of a new form of 'culture shock', that which is experienced not only by the visitors, but by the visited. Many societies are being inexorably changed, not always for the better, by the huge numbers of travellers they attract. In particular, tourists, business persons, aid workers, military personnel and so-called experts leave their mark on the societies to which they sojourn. Even foreign students have an impact, in the sense of distorting local university practices through their economic role as consumers of higher education. These and many other issues related to human cross-cultural contact are the subject of this volume.

The completion of this book is another example of an intercultural enterprise. The authors live and work on three continents, Asia, Australia, and Europe, and we can add to that educational and professional training in North America and Africa. Differences in time zones and travel schedules have sometimes made it difficult to integrate our efforts, but we hope that the diversity of our international and intercultural experiences in our personal and professional lives has broadened our perspective on 'culture shock'.

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Part I

The psychology of intercultural contact

The aims of this volume are to describe and explain the psychological consequences of exposure to novel and unfamiliar cultural environments. The book sets out to look at the assumptions people hold about such experiences, to describe the theories that have been proposed to account for the effects of intercultural contact, to present a systematic review of empirical research on the causes and consequences of 'culture shock', and to consider strategies that might be used to diminish the problems associated with intercultural interactions.

These are largely the same aims as those of the original edition of this book, *Culture Shock,* published in 1986. However, much has changed in the intervening years. First, there has been an enormous increase in research on intercultural contact. The rapidly growing psychological literature on tourists, sojourners, immigrants and refugees has been associated with changing demographic, social and political trends, including a worldwide increase in migration, growing numbers of refugees and displaced persons, the expansion of international tourism and education, and globalisation of the workforce. But changes have emerged not only with respect to the quantity of research undertaken. The quality of research has also dramatically improved. More sophisticated theories, more robust research designs, including longitudinal studies, and more powerful statistical analyses, including causal modelling, are now being employed. All of this augurs well for the present and future.

Despite these advances, the theory and research on the psychology of intercultural contact have not been well integrated. The literature on tourists, sojourners, immigrants and refugees has largely emerged in parallel streams with limited cross-referencing or cross-fertilisation. In addition, scholars working within specific social scientific paradigms often appear unaware or ill-informed about alternative theoretical contributions and how these may lead to a more comprehensive analysis of their own works. So, in addition to reviewing theory and research on 'culture shock', we also attempt to provide a broader integrative framework for the study of intercultural contact.

The book is divided into four parts. The first part provides a general introduction to the psychology of cross-cultural interaction. Chapter 1 sets the scene, raising key issues and discussing fundamental concepts that have been used to make sense of this complex area. We start by describing social systems in

terms of inputs, throughputs and outputs, paving the way for a later discussion of the antecedents, correlates and consequences of intercultural contact. We also make explicit distinctions between culture contact that occurs between and within societies and discuss how different research traditions have evolved in these domains. In addition, Chapter 1 foreshadows the reasons why intercultural encounters may be difficult—giving particular attention to the role of individualism and collectivism in shaping and influencing intercultural interactions.

Chapter 2 continues with an introductory overview and distinguishes four ways in which the process of intercultural contact can be understood: in reference to the types of groups studied (e.g. tourists, immigrants), relevant situational variables (e.g. purpose, time span and type of interactions), the outcomes of intercultural contact (on both the individual and group level), and the major conceptual frameworks underlying the empirical research. Both the historical and current literature is reviewed, and the major contemporary theories —culture learning, stress and coping, and social identification—are introduced. The chapter concludes with a framework for the study of intercultural contact.

Part II focuses on the major theoretical approaches to understanding and explaining intercultural contact. Here we introduce our ABC model of 'culture shock'. That is, we consider the Affect, Behaviour, and Cognitions relating to intercultural contact and elaborate the theoretical traditions that guide related research. Chapter 3 concentrates on Behaviour. It reviews culture learning theory, emphasising that effective intercultural interactions are often hampered by the fact that participants are unaware of the subtle, culturally-defined rules and regulations that govern social encounters. These include verbal and nonverbal forms of communication as well as etiquette, the use of time, and strategies for resolving conflict. The chapter also includes a discussion of intercultural communication theory, social relations in multicultural societies, and the assessment of sociocultural adaptation.

Chapter 4 is concerned with Affect. It elaborates the stress and coping perspective on intercultural contact, making particular reference to those factors that facilitate and impede psychological adjustment. This approach emphasises the significance of life events and changes, stress appraisal, and coping styles during intercultural encounters. It also makes reference to the influence of personal and interpersonal resources such as self-efficacy, emotional resilience, and social support, as well as culture-specific variables such as culture distance and acculturation strategies.

Social identification theories are reviewed in Chapter 5. Here we assess both inward-looking Cognitions, i.e. how one views oneself in terms of social and cultural identity, as well as outward-looking perceptions, i.e. how an individual perceives and makes judgements about members of other ethnic, cultural or national groups. This chapter includes a discussion of stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination both within and across societies.

Part III distinguishes different types of culture travellers: tourists (Chapter 6), sojourners, particularly international students (Chapter 7) and international business people (Chapter 8), immigrants (Chapter 9), and refugees (Chapter 10). In this section we have attempted to identify the common and the unique aspects of the culture-contact literature across the various groups. For example, immigrant populations have provided us with some of the best on research on intergenerational changes in values; studies of refugees have been heavily concentrated on the effects of premigration trauma and resultant clinical diagnoses; research with tourists has included studies of the impact of cross-cultural travellers on indigenous populations; and international students have offered us access to valuable longitudinal investigations monitoring changes in psychological and sociocultural adjustment over time. Despite the differences in emphases, the material presented here is interconnected with the theoretical underpinnings elaborated in the preceding section. Issues pertaining to culture learning, stress and coping, identity and intergroup relations are interwoven throughout these chapters.

Part IV, the final section, considers applications and evaluations. In Chapter 11 we review strategies that may be used to reduce stress and enhance the effectiveness of intercultural interactions. Again the three theoretical perspectives are revisited; however, the majority of the material in this chapter on selection, preparation and training procedures is derived from culture learning theory and supported by work from industrial and organisational psychology. Although we suggest a model for culture training, including the knowledge, skills, attitudes and abilities required to function effectively in a new cultural milieu, we acknowledge that the majority of culture travellers do not receive systematic assistance. Finally, in Chapter 12 we conclude with a brief review and evaluation of the field, a comparison of past and present research, and a cautious forecast for the future.

1
Introduction and overview: Setting the scene

Contact between culturally diverse individuals is as old as recorded history. People brought up in one culture have always visited other societies to trade with, learn from, or exert influence in foreign lands. Most societies have experienced visitors from abroad, welcoming them if their motives were seen to be benevolent, or resisting the newcomers if they came to invade, pillage, or exploit. The journals of Xenophon, Marco Polo, Columbus, Drake, Captain Cook, Burton, and Lafcadio Hearn provide excellent accounts of what nowadays we would call intercultural contact. They also touch on some of the interpersonal and sociopolitical difficulties such contacts often create. The difference between then and now is merely one of scope, that is, the quantum increase in the movement of people across national and ethnic boundaries due to factors including mass access to jet travel, globalisation of industry, expansion of educational exchanges, increasing affluence supporting a burgeoning tourist industry, and growing migrant, refugee, and foreign worker movements. All of these developments involve some contact between culturally disparate individuals. The aim of this book is to explore the psychology of culture contact, the term we use to refer to the meeting of individuals and groups who differ in their cultural, ethnic, or linguistic backgrounds.

In this chapter we will raise some of the key issues, concepts and distinctions that have been proposed to make sense of what is a complex and often controversial area. The rest of the book is an elaboration of these ideas.

SOCIAL SYSTEMS AS INPUTS, THROUGHPUTS AND OUTPUTS

In the language of systems theory (Emery, 1969) as well as modern computer-speak, social systems and processes are defined by inputs or what starts the process; throughputs, or how the inputs are transformed by various influences; and outputs, or what outcomes are produced by the input-throughput sequence. This provides quite a useful analytic approach and highlights the need to define the outcomes or, in the language of experimental psychology, the dependent variables which constitute the key end-products of intercultural contact.

Basically, these include the participants' behaviours, perceptions, feelings, beliefs, attitudes, and self-references.

In turn, these outcome variables are embedded in various theoretical and research traditions, and what particular studies measure is a function of the theoretical predilections of the investigators. Thus cognitive theorists will concentrate on perceptions; social psychologists will attend to attitudes, beliefs and attributions; psychologists with a behavioural bent will study intergroup processes and social skills; communication theorists will concentrate on the verbal and non-verbal messages that participants send and receive; and personality theorists may prefer measures of feelings, states and traits. One of the aims of this book will be to try to integrate these various theoretical domains, because they all have a contribution to make in helping to get a grasp on the phenomena under scrutiny.

On the throughput side, we propose a fairly rigorous definition of what constitutes contact by limiting the term to refer to social interactions that have the characteristics of a critical incident (Flanagan, 1954), that is, an event that matters and is regarded by one or both of the participants as being of some importance and as having a significant, non-trivial impact on their lives.

CULTURE CONTACT WITHIN AND BETWEEN SOCIETIES

Intercultural contacts can be classified into two broad categories: those that occur among the residents of a culturally diverse nation or society and those that take place when a person from one society travels to another country with a particular objective in mind; for example, to work, play, study, exploit, convert, or provide assistance (Bochner, 1982). Most of the research on culture shock has dealt with the latter, between-society category of contact, and this book reflects this emphasis in the literature. However, the incidence of within-society intercultural contacts has become much more frequent in recent years and is now a prolific target of both research and social/political action.

The term 'multiculturalism' is being increasingly used to describe this form of intercultural contact. For instance, Fowers and Richardson (1996) use this term in their description of racial and minority issues in the United States, and most of the references they cite also deal with intra-society intercultural interactions. Although there exist very few, if any, completely monocultural nations today, some societies are obviously more culturally diverse than others. For instance, Japan and Korea are often cited as examples of relatively culturally homogeneous societies (Kashima and Callan, 1994) as contrasted with more culturally diverse societies such as Australia, the United States, or Canada (Berry, 1997; Berry, Kalin and Taylor, 1977; Bochner, 1986; Bochner and Hesketh, 1994; Hesketh and Bochner, 1994; Triandis, Kurowski and Gelfand, 1994). Underlying themes in this area relate to judgements about the degree of actual or perceived cultural diversity that characterises a particular society, whether such

heterogeneity is desirable or undesirable, and whether it leads to positive or negative outcomes. Some of these issues will be referred to later in this book.

The term 'sojourner' has been used to describe between-society culture travellers (e.g. Ady, 1995; Klineberg and Hull, 1979). This label reflects the assumption that their stay is temporary, and that there is the intention to return to the culture of origin once the purpose of the visit has been achieved, assumptions which are often incorrect, as we shall see. People with whom the visitors enter into significant contact have been referred to as host nationals (e.g. Schild, 1962) which draws attention to the imbalance in the power, rights, territorial claims, and role expectations that distinguish temporary sojourners from permanent members of the host nation. Examples of sojourner categories include business people (Torbiorn, 1994), overseas students (Klineberg, 1981), technical experts (Seidel, 1981), missionaries (Gish, 1983), military personnel (Guthrie, 1966), diplomats (Dane, 1981), and even tourists (Pearce, 1982a,b, 1988). Distinctions are often drawn, however, between sojourners and more long term intercultural travellers such as immigrants and refugees. The intercultural literature on all of these groups will be reviewed in more detail later in this book.

Outcomes of contact

There is the need to put some content into the abstract categories we have described. Ady's (1995) extensive review of the literature found that studies of the empirical outcomes of intercultural contact fit quite neatly into the following six categories:

1 The general satisfaction of the sojourners with their new lives, often defined in terms of their well-being (e.g. Dunbar, 1992).
2 Changes in emotional adjustment over time. This conceptualisation goes back to Oberg's (1960) definition of the successful sojourner progressing through four stages of 'culture shock.' Many writers have subsequently extended this idea with some asserting that adjustment follows a U-shaped curve over time. This has been further elaborated as a W-curve if re-entry into the host culture is included in the process (e.g. Bochner, Lin and McLeod, 1980). To foreshadow, more recent empirical findings and theoretical speculation about the nature of time-based changes have been equivocal with respect to the U-curve hypothesis. This issue will be dealt with later in this book.
3 The extent to which sojourners interact with and engage in the host culture. One way of measuring this aspect empirically is to study the social networks of sojourners (e.g. Bochner, McLeod and Lin, 1977).
4 The adverse psychological (or indeed psychopathological) consequences of failing to adjust to the new culture. This variable also has a long tradition, going back to Stonequist's (1937) discussion of marginality as one of the possible outcomes of culture contact. Contemporary versions use the concept

of 'stress' to describe the more extreme negative experiences of some culture travellers (e.g. Ward, 1996).

5 The ability of the sojourner to manage the transition, to 'fit in' (e.g. Black, 1990). This is a major issue and will receive extensive treatment later.

6 The degree of competence sojourners achieve in negotiating their new setting. This idea is more precisely articulated in terms of the construct of culture learning (e.g. Bochner, 1986) and will be developed in much greater detail in this book.

Clearly, there are other ways of cutting this particular cake. For instance, Ward and colleagues (e.g. Ward, 1996) regard culture contact as a major, stressful life event, a view that would be shared by many of the writers in this field. Their particular contribution is to make an explicit distinction between the affective, cognitive, and behavioural responses to contact, which they suggest lead to two distinct types of outcomes, psychological and socio-cultural. This model will be described in greater detail later in this book.

Although it may be somewhat of an oversimplification, the overriding dependent variable in intercultural contact is whether the outcome tends to be positive or negative or, in plain English, whether the participants, as a result of the contact, liked or hated each other; trusted or viewed each other with suspicion; enjoyed each other's company or found the interaction awkward; were willing to work with, play with, or marry the other-culture individual; gained a sense of self-enhancement or humiliation in the company of culturally disparate individuals; and all the other cognitions and emotions that individuals experience when they engage in social interaction, and the behaviours that reflect these feelings.

It is therefore necessary to establish what actually occurs when individuals from different cultural backgrounds meet. Another task is to uncover the determinants of the various outcomes, or in the language of experimental psychology, to identify the independent and mediating variables that contribute to successful or unsuccessful contacts. And finally, attention will be drawn to the concepts and tools that can be used to provide applied psychology with the means to develop theory-based intervention and training programmes to increase the incidence of harmonious intercultural contacts in the so-called 'real world.'

It is also important to distinguish between the processes that define intercultural contact and the institutional structures that either support and enhance or hinder harmonious contact (Bochner, 1999). At the national level, these include various normative and regulatory characteristics such as a country's immigration policy; legislation affecting anti-discrimination in employment, education and housing; and a social climate that supports or opposes multicultural living. At the international level, likewise, countries can either favour or discourage positive contact with visitors from abroad through their visa, employment and educational policies. These characteristics tend to be studied by sociologists, historians, political scientists, and journalists working for

the quality press, but increasingly, psychologists are beginning to realise the importance of these contextual aspects of contact (e.g. Berry, 1997).

Contact and cultural diversity

As was noted earlier, between-society and within-society contacts are increasing. Between-society contacts are fuelled by the globalisation of industry, entertainment, education and leisure pursuits (Erez, 1994). Educational exchange provides a very good illustration of this trend. The United States is the largest recipient of foreign students. In 1955 there were about 34,000 overseas students attending university in the US. This grew to 386,000 in 1990, and 450,000 in 1996 (Witherell, 1996).

Within-society contacts are increasing due to more and more nation states changing from being predominantly monocultural to multicultural societies, in part a function of increasing levels of migration from poorer to richer countries and by waves of refugees dislocated by civil wars, famines, and other natural and human-made disasters. Russel and Teitelbaum (1992) estimated that there were about 100 million such immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers, a number that would have significantly increased since those figures were compiled.

Some of the old barriers that stood in the way of cultural diversity are falling or have been dismantled by legal and moral forces (Moghaddam, Taylor and Wright, 1993). Australia is a good example of this trend. From being a predominantly monocultural Anglo-Celt society during the first 150 years of its existence, during the last 50 years Australia has gradually become a multicultural society containing 140 different ethnic groups. One in three of its 19 million citizens were born overseas or are the descendants of persons born overseas in non-English speaking countries (McLennan, 1996). As recently as 1966, Australia had an explicit White Australia policy, and a number of discriminatory practices were still in effect until the election of the Whitlam Labour government in 1972 (Department of Labour and Immigration, 1975; Grassby, 1973). Since then, a series of non-discriminatory immigration laws have been enacted which have led to a substantial increase in ethnic Chinese, Vietnamese, and other non-European permanent settlers.

The United States, Britain, Canada and many of the European countries, such as France and Germany, have experienced a similar development since the end of the Second World War with those societies also transforming themselves into culturally diverse social systems (Bierbrauer and Pedersen, 1996). France takes in about 60,000 immigrants annually (Schnapper, 1995). In West Germany more than 15 million refugees were settled between 1945 and 1990. In 1992 and 1993 Germany had an annual average of 1.4 million immigrants, putting it ahead of the United States with an annual average of 800,000 (United Nations, 1994). Britain accepts about 50,000 immigrants each year (Coleman, 1995). These statistics underestimate the actual number of immigrants present as all these countries contain substantial groups of illegal immigrants that are not counted in

the official figures (Bierbrauer and Pedersen, 1996). A literature is emerging to examine some of the problems and issues stemming from such changes (e.g. Pedersen, 1999) and will be reviewed later in this book.

Theoretical accounts of contact

Social contact between culturally disparate individuals is difficult and often stressful. There is an extensive body of empirical evidence in support of that contention, and this literature, which will be reviewed in some detail later, underpins the theoretical principles that explain why culture contact is problematic. Here we provide a brief summary of the key terms and processes that have been invoked to account for the barriers that stand in the way of successful intercultural relations.

A major theoretical principle is the similarity-attraction hypothesis (Byrne, 1969), which predicts that individuals are more likely to seek out, enjoy, understand, want to work and play with, trust, believe, vote for, and generally prefer people with whom they share salient characteristics. These include interests, values, religion, group affiliation, skills, physical attributes, age, language, and all the other aspects on which human beings differ (for a recent review of this literature, see Bochner, 1996). And since cultural identification by definition categorises people according to the idiosyncratic characteristics which distinguish them from other groups, it follows that cross-cultural interactions occur between individuals who are likely to be dissimilar on at least some of these salient dimensions.

An associated idea is that societies can in principle be located on a continuum of how close or distant they are with respect to their (empirically established) sociocultural features (Babiker, Cox and Miller, 1980). Thus for instance, Australia and New Zealand would be culturally closer to each other than Australia and say, Japan, in terms of key structural and value elements such as language, religion, the status of women, individualism-collectivism, attitudes to authority, forms of government, the legal system, and attitudes to the environment (Hofstede, 1980; Williams and Best, 1990). The culture-distance hypothesis predicts that the greater the cultural gap between participants, the more difficulties they will experience. Thus in the hypothetical example above, expatriate Australian business executives should find it easier to work in Auckland than in Taipei, and there is empirical evidence to support this principle (e.g. Dunbar, 1992; Furnham and Bochner, 1982; Torbiorn, 1994; Ward and Searle, 1991; Ward and Kennedy, 1993a,b, 1999).

Other theoretical principles implying that cross-cultural interaction is inherently difficult include the process of social categorisation (Abrams and Hogg, 1990), a term used to refer to the tendency for individuals to classify others as members of a group, in particular whether they belong to their own, in-group, or to some other, out-group. This has consequences for how people so categorised are perceived and treated, the in-group usually (Tajfel, 1970, 1981),

but not always (e.g. Bochner and Cairns, 1976) being given preference. The process of stereotyping (Katz and Braly, 1933; Lippman, 1922) also contributes to the dynamics of intercultural contact, in attributing to individuals the traits that allegedly characterise the group that the target person has been assigned to by the perceiver.

A further contextual influence which aggravates what is already a minefield is the process of primary socialisation (Deaux, 1976). This is the process through which persons acquire a set of core values early in their lives, which they then come to regard as reflecting reality and, therefore, as absolutely true, and which, for a variety of reasons, are highly resistant to change. And again by definition, different cultures may and do provide idiosyncratic primary socialising influences. This may result in belief systems that are not universally shared and values that are diametrically opposed but greatly cherished by their respective groups. When members of two such groups come into contact, the potential for conflict is obvious. A contemporary example is the contrast between the status of women in fundamental Muslim societies, on the one hand, and in secular Western societies such as, say, Sweden, on the other. It is unlikely that there would be much agreement on this important social issue should the matter come up in a meeting between members of these two societies.

Cultural syndromes have also been discussed as a source of difficulties in intercultural interactions (Triandis, 1990). Cultural syndromes refer to patterns of attitudes, beliefs, norms and behaviours that can be used to contrast groups of cultures. Triandis (1990) identified three major cultural syndromes that are relevant to the analysis of ethnocentrism: cultural complexity, tight versus loose cultures, and individualism-collectivism. He also considered the implications of these syndromes for effective intercultural relations. For example, people from tight cultures prefer certainty and security. Because they highly value predictability, they are likely to reject people from loose cultures, perceiving them as unreliable and undisciplined. People from complex cultures pay attention to time. Time is seen as money, to be spent, to be saved or, in unfortunate circumstances, to be wasted. When meetings between persons from more and less complex cultures occur, the latter may be perceived as rude, lazy or disrespectful because of operating on 'elastic time'. Of the three cultural syndromes, however, the greatest attention has been paid to individualism-collectivism (I-C). As I-C provides one of the major guiding theoretical frameworks for comparative analysis in cross-cultural psychology (e.g. Hofstede, 1983; Kim *et al.,* 1994; Triandis, 1995a) and is frequently referred to in this book, it is elaborated in the next section.

INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM

There are large cross-cultural differences in the pattern of the reciprocal relationship between the individual and the group. The form of this covenant resonates through most of the social arrangements which regulate daily life

because it constitutes an implicit contract defining the balance between the freedom of the person, on the one hand, and the restrictions placed on the individual to achieve common goals, on the other. The structure of the family, the political system, industrial relations, the delivery of health, education and criminal justice services, and the creation and appreciation of art are only some instances of the institutions which are affected by this equation.

It is therefore not surprising that the inquiry into the link between the individual and society has a long history dating back to ancient times, e.g. Plato's *Republic* and the five Confucian relations (Goodman, 1967). With the advent of modern sociology and cultural anthropology in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the topic soon became a core issue in those disciplines (Allport, 1937; C.Kluckhohn, 1949; F.Kluckhohn and Strodbeck, 1961; G.H.Mead, 1934; M.Mead, 1928; Parsons and Shils, 1951; Riesman, 1964). However, the empirical investigation of culturally linked differences in the balance between the interests of the individual and the group has a relatively recent history. It can be traced to Hofstede's (1980) seminal study of the work values of 117,000 employees of a multinational company with branches in 40 countries, later expanded to include 50 national cultures and three regions (Hofstede, 1983). A major contribution of this study was its explicit aim to demonstrate that the nature of the person-group relationship will vary according to the culture in which it occurs. And because Hofstede adopted an applied perspective, some of the practical consequences of such a finding, particularly with respect to the culture contact process, were also given systematic attention.

An ecological factor analysis of the mean country scores showed that the countries could be classified along four bipolar dimensions (Individualism-Collectivism, Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance, and Masculinity-Femininity) although in the intervening years, the construct which received the greatest empirical attention has been Individualism/Collectivism (I-C).[1] This is largely because of its central role in both theory and practice, but also due to the construct's high face validity. Hofstede's original studies found that European and North American countries (and countries with cultures derived from that heritage) emerged as high on Individualism, whereas Asian and Latin American countries tended towards the collectivist end of the continuum. For instance, the United States, Australia, and Great Britain occupied the first three ranks on the I-C dimension, with Canada and The Netherlands tying for fourth position. In contrast, the rank for Guatemala was 50, Ecuador 49, Panama 48, Indonesia and Pakistan tied at 44, and Taiwan 41.

Hofstede's measures explicitly reflected the dominant values of the societies he sampled. Technically, they were expressed in terms of national mean scores. Caution must therefore be exercised about extrapolating his results, based as they were on country means, to the values and beliefs held by individual residents in those states. It is quite likely that within each national sample there will be wide variations with respect to I-C. For instance, some Australians will almost certainly be less individualistic than some Thais. Nevertheless, because of the

large sample sizes in Hofstede's studies, the national culture average scores should provide an adequate estimate of the average scores of the individuals in that country. By and large, studies that independently measure I-C find that there is a reasonable correspondence between the values and beliefs of individuals and their Hofstede nationality ranking (Bochner, 1994; Bochner and Hesketh, 1994; Bond, 1988; Kashima, Hardie and Kashima, 1998; Parkes, Schneider and Bochner, 1999; Schwartz and Bilsky, 1990; Singelis *et al.,* 1995; Triandis, McCusker and Hui, 1990; Watkins *et al.,* 1998; Yamaguchi, 1994).

When individuals are studied, research has shown that I-C manifests itself

Table 1.1 Individualism indices of 50 countries (compiled from Hofstede, 1980, 1983)

Country	Individualism index	Country	Individualism index
United States	91	Brazil	38
Australia	90	Turkey	37
Great Britain	89	Uruguay	36
Canada	80	Greece	35
The Netherlands	80	The Philippines	32
New Zealand	79	Mexico	30
Italy	76	Portugal	27
Belgium	75	Yugoslavia	27
Denmark	74	Malaysia	26
Sweden	71	Hong Kong	25
France	71	Chile	23
Ireland	70	Singapore	20
Norway	69	Thailand	20
Switzerland	68	Salvador	19
Germany (F.R.)	67	South Korea	18
South Africa	65	Taiwan	17
Finland	63	Peru	16
Austria	55	Costa Rica	15
Israel	54	Indonesia	14
Spain	51	Pakistan	14
India	48	Columbia	13
Japan	46	Venezuela	12
Argentina	46	Panama	11
Iran	41	Equador	8
Jamaica	39	Guatemala	6

Note: Mean individualism scores are based on 14 items from Hofstede's (1980) work-related values questionnaire.

in three areas: at the personal level, it affects self-construal, or how people define their identity; at the interpersonal or relational level, I-C determines with whom people prefer to interact and how they regulate their social relationships; and at the societal or institutional level, it determines the nature of the association between the individual and the groups to which they belong, and their relationship with authority (Bochner and Hesketh, 1994; Kim, 1995). Large cross-cultural differences have been observed in each of these domains.

Levels of individualism-collectivism

Personal correlates of I-C

I-C influences self-construal—the way people define themselves in relation to others. The core distinction is in terms of whether the self-concept is distinct and separate from other people and groups or whether persons define themselves in terms of their relationships (Parkes, Schneider and Bochner, 1999). The terms 'independent and interdependent selves' are sometimes used to capture the essence of this distinction (Markus and Kitayama, 1991).

Individualists tend to describe themselves in terms of internal characteristics or traits which make them unique from others. For example, 'I am patient, easy-going, determined'. Collectivists are much more likely to think of themselves in terms of their affiliation with other people. This social identity is derived from being a member of a particular group with whom they share a common fate or by fulfilling a particular social role in relation to designated others. For example, 'I am a daughter, a nurse, a Thai'. This is not to suggest that collectivists lack 'personalities'. What it does indicate is that unlike individualists, collectivists do not separate their personal traits from the situations or relationships which make these characteristics salient (Triandis, 1988, 1989).

Interpersonal correlates of I-C

In collectivist cultures, the interests of the group take precedence over the needs of individual members (Hofstede, 1991; Triandis, 1989, 1995a). If there is a conflict between private aspirations and the common good, individuals will be expected to contribute to the group goal even if that involves personal sacrifice. Collectivist societies are characterised by interdependent, cooperative relationships and tight social networks, both among individuals and between individuals and the groups to which they belong. The person's loyalty is rewarded by the group protecting and looking after its members, whether this constitutes an extended family, employer, church, or social association.

In individualistic cultures people are much more loosely tied to other persons and groups. Individualists will expect and demand that their own interests are fulfilled, even if that diminishes the attainment of group objectives.

Individualists tend to function independently, primarily looking after themselves and their immediate families. Competition rather than cooperation is valued, often as an end in itself.

Collectivists make a sharper distinction between in-groups and out-groups than individualists (Gudykunst, Yoon and Nishida, 1987). Collectivists belong to relatively few in-groups but are fiercely loyal and committed to them, often on a lifelong basis. Collectivists tend to have a limited number of relationships, but these will be close and intimate. Relationships are regarded as an end in themselves and maintained even at great cost.

Individualists belong to many groups, but their membership tends to be superficial and in many instances transitory. Individualists have many relationships, most of them lacking genuine intimacy Relationships are a means to an end and abandoned if the costs become too high (Triandis, 1995a).

In collectivist cultures, the maintenance of harmony within the in-group is highly valued, and direct confrontation is avoided. Collectivists are sensitive to the norms and situational constraints regulating behaviour in groups (Argyle *et al.,* 1986). They become expert at reading implicit interpersonal messages and rely on indirect cues to interpret communication style and content (Singelis and Brown, 1995). Individualists are much more direct in how they express themselves. They place a greater emphasis on explicit communication and telling it as it is, even if that may cause pain.

Societal correlates of I-C

In collectivist cultures self-worth is evaluated in terms of being accepted and valued by the person's in-groups. Being successful in achieving and maintaining interpersonal harmony is another major source of satisfaction. Family relationships, religious beliefs, loyalty to institutions and authority, being law abiding, and being considerate of the feelings of others are important determinants of self-esteem. Collectivist societies tend to place substantial emphasis on conformity and favour uniformity in beliefs, customs, and practices. In individualistic cultures the self's worth is evaluated in terms of its independence and uniqueness. Self-esteem is based on individual talent, personal achievement, influence and recognition (Watkins *et al.,* 1998; Yamaguchi, 1994). This translates at the societal level into a much more brittle relationship with authority and the law. Less importance is accorded to social cohesion. Diversity in values, behaviours, and practices is accepted and often explicitly advocated.

Antecedents of individualism-collectivism

There is much speculation about the antecedents of I-C, but not much hard data. Theoretically, it is conceivable that the orientation towards either individualism or collectivism originated in the distinction between hunter-gathering and agricultural societies. It has been suggested that people who depend on nomadic

hunting for their food supply will need to be selfreliant and concentrate on their own and their immediate family's well-being. By contrast, people living in stable, agrarian settlements will be better served by developing close-knit, cooperative social networks, enabling them to band together to till the soil and protect their villages from invaders. The contemporary version of this distinction contrasts urban with rural settlements, and there is some evidence that rural dwellers are more collectivist in their orientation than individualist (Freeman, 1997; Kashima *et al.,* 1998).

There also appears to be a link between individualism and wealth or socioeconomic status (Hofstede, 1991; Triandis, 1995a). A number of studies have found a statistically significant association between a country's rank on I-C and its average national income (Diener and Diener, 1995; Punnett, Singh and Williams, 1994). This relationship is interpreted as indicating support for the survival value of cooperative social structures for people lacking personal power and material resources. With increasing wealth, persons gain access to resources that enable them 'to do their own thing', whereas less powerful individuals depend on their relationship with influential others or their group for support (Parkes, Bochner and Schneider, 1998). This contention has received some confirmation from within-culture studies, which have found that persons in lower income brackets or in occupations with lower prestige have a more collectivist orientation (Freeman, 1997; Lykes, 1985; Marshall, 1997; Merritt and Helmreich, 1996; Reykowski, 1994; Topalova, 1997).

Culture contact consequences of individualism-collectivism

As this review has shown, when individualists and collectivists meet, they bring to the encounter different social attitudes, moral values and behavioural inclinations. Their cognitive styles will differ as will the manner in which they communicate, particularly with respect to how they express their emotions and wishes. How they act, including their non-verbal behaviour, will also differ as a function of their core value orientation.

Some of the consequences of these differences will be discussed in more detail in later sections of this book. The aim here is to make the point that differences in I-C can act as barriers to effective interpersonal communication, particularly in contexts where the outcome depends on achieving at least some mutual understanding, such as in work-related settings. For instance, there is evidence that in culturally heterogeneous work places with personnel who differ on I-C, interactions among workers, between workers and their supervisors, and between workers and their clients or customers may not always run smoothly (Bochner and Hesketh, 1994; Hesketh and Bochner, 1994). This topic will receive further elaboration, particularly in the chapter on culture training.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Earlier a distinction was drawn between contact processes and contact structures. Although there are identifiable institutional structures whose function is to support within-society intercultural contact, at the international or between-society level very few such structures exist or, if they do, they are not very visible. Indeed, one of the reasons why sojourners experience difficulties is because they are mostly left to sink or swim on their own. Even in the business sector, where one would have thought it would be in the companies' interests to prepare their employees properly for expatriate assignments, the literature reveals that much of the pre-departure training can at best be described as perfunctory, and that ongoing, systematic during-sojourn support tends to be the exception rather than the rule (Hesketh and Bochner, 1994; Triandis, Kurowski and Gelfand, 1994). However, there is some indication that recently more companies are beginning to take cross-cultural preparation seriously (Tung, 1997).

More generally, since the first edition of this book appeared in 1986, there has been a significant increase in the attention given to both theory and practice towards improving interpersonal relationships in culturally diverse work settings. Prominent publications include an entire volume of the second edition of the *Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology* (Triandis, Dunnette and Hough, 1994), and edited books such as Granrose and Oskamp's (1997) *Cross-Cultural Work Groups,* Semin and Fiedler's (1996) *Applied Social Psychology,* and Landis and Bhagat's (1996) *Handbook of Intercultural Training*.

The next chapter will start on the journey of exploring the psychology of intercultural contact, by identifying in more detail the processes that are involved. Concurrently, we will develop an integrated set of theoretical propositions that will provide the conceptual framework for the rest of the inquiry. To foreshadow that task, the model's purpose will be to account for the responses to other-culture influences. As mentioned earlier, there is overwhelming empirical evidence that interacting with culturally different individuals or functioning in unfamiliar physical and social settings is inherently stressful with outcomes ranging from mild discomfort to severe, debilitating anxiety. This finding has led many authors in the field to follow a theoretical model that concentrates on the coping responses to stress, the most general formulation of which assumes that human beings adapt to stressful life events. Included in that formulation is the notion that successful adaptation often involves the acquisition of culturally relevant competencies and skills. Most of the intervention strategies are also based on these assumptions although the actual procedures vary greatly in their emphasis and rationale. This issue will be discussed more fully later in this book.

However, it is appropriate at this stage of the development of the argument to draw attention to one issue that is sometimes overlooked in the rush to facilitate cross-cultural adaptation. Since, as we have said, a major cause of intercultural problems is the cultural distance between the persons in contact, there has been the temptation to solve the problem by reducing or eradicating the differences

that separate the participants (Bochner, 1986), usually by encouraging new settlers to assimilate to their host culture. In practice this has meant abandoning those country-of-origin values and customs that differ significantly from mainstream traditions and behaviours.

Two fundamental objections can be raised in connection with this particular form of dealing with the stress of the different. The first is that it contravenes a basic, probably universal value to the effect that cultures, like species, should be preserved and not eradicated, even if in the short term assimilation may lead to a more harmonious society. But even that assumption is probably false. In any case, nowadays most people and groups strongly resist pressures to dilute their cultural identities, which is why world-wide, elected governments no longer overtly pursue assimilation policies. Furthermore, if the analogy from biology holds in the social domain (Poortinga, 1997), it would be unwise to reduce further global cultural diversity which is already under some threat from modern developments, such as commercial globalisation, the internet, and the domination of the film and television industry by a small number of western companies. A monocultural world is neither a desirable nor feasible prospect for a variety of reasons that will be discussed later in this book.

The second objection is that the eradication of differences between participants constitutes a pseudo-solution. It sidesteps the problem, which is how to achieve mutual understanding among people who differ. Making them all the same is clearly not the answer. Still, the policy of abolishing intergroup differences as a way of dealing with intergroup friction has a long and odious history, providing the basis for genocide, apartheid, ethnic cleansing, and at a more mundane level, the justification for exclusivity in clubs, schools, and controlled housing estates. Throughout this book, our approach will be to regard cultural diversity as an absolute given, as highly desirable, and probably an essential condition for the future survival of humankind. All applied interventions aimed at increasing harmony among culturally diverse individuals and groups will be based on that core idea.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The aims of this chapter were to set the scene and to introduce the major terms, ideas, problems, and controversies in the field. We defined culture contact as the topic of the book, distinguished between various types of contact, and reviewed evidence indicating that meetings between culturally diverse people are inherently difficult. However, we also noted that most of the difficulties can be overcome. We then briefly identified the main psychological barriers to effective intercultural relations, such as the tendency to prefer to interact with similar people; the finding that the greater the cultural distance between the participants, the more difficult the interaction; the in-group bias; the effects of primary socialisation on the development of ethnocentric values and attitudes; and the differences in the relative emphasis on individual versus group or collective

aspirations. We concluded by asserting that cultural heterogeneity will not disappear off the face of the globe, nor would it be desirable for that to happen. The challenge, therefore, is to understand and manage contact between culturally diverse people and groups in order to reduce the stresses and difficulties that are a normal aspect of such encounters, as well as to enhance the positive effects that cross-cultural encounters can bestow on the participants.

NOTE

1 Not all contemporary researchers regard individualsm-collectivism as a bipolar dimension (e.g. Kâ itçibaşi, 1994), and some have additionally made a distinction between vertical and horizontal individualism and collectivism (e.g. Singelis *et al.,* 1995). The horizontal-vertical dimension concerns itself with hierarchical versus egalitarian relationships and can be said to bear some resemblance to Hofstede's (1980) dimension of Power Distance.

2
Intercultural contact: Processes and outcomes

There are essentially four ways in which the process of intercultural contact can be described, corresponding to different approaches and emphases in the multidisciplinary literature. First, contact research may be categorised by the sorts of individuals or groups who have been studied. For instance, there exist specialist bodies of literature on tourists, foreign students, migrants, expatriate workers, and so forth. Second, it is possible to analyse the contact experience in terms of situational variables, such as purpose, time-span and type of involvement, and the relationship of these variables to particular groups of participants. We have considered both the types of cross-cultural travellers and situational dimensions of intercultural contact in the organisation of Chapters 6–10 on tourists, sojourners, immigrants and refugees. Third, the outcomes of intercultural contact may be discussed. These outcomes may be classified in terms of their impact on the participating groups or the consequences of contact can be described and categorised in relation to individuals. The analyses of micro and macro processes and outcomes are presented in an integrated fashion throughout the book. Finally, the literature on intercultural contact and change can be presented in terms of guiding theoretical frameworks. We have adopted this organisational method in Chapters 3–5, which are devoted to culture learning, stress and coping, and social identification theories, respectively. In this chapter an introduction to four perspectives on intercultural contact is followed by a discussion of intercultural adaptation and a proposed model for understanding cultural contact and change.

GROUPS IN INTERCULTURAL CONTACT

Tourists

The World Tourism Organisation (WTO) defines tourists as visitors whose length of stay exceeds 24 hours in a location away from home and whose main incentive for travel is other than financial. International tourists are short term, voluntary holiday-makers, and they constitute the largest group of cross-cultural travellers. Nearly 600 million people made international trips in 1996, most

commonly as tourists, and these numbers are expected to increase over the next two decades. By 2010 the WTO's projected world-wide figures are 940 million tourists per annum (cited in Vellas and Becherel, 1995).

Despite being the largest group of cross-cultural travellers, tourists have been studied less frequently by psychologists than have sojourners, immigrants and refugees. In addition, less is known about the psychological aspects of tourism than about the demographic trends and their social, economic and cultural consequences. Nevertheless, psychology has contributed to our understanding of tourism, particularly in terms of viewing the tourist experience from the individual's perspective and assessing the influences of tourism on intercultural interactions and intergroup relations.

A significant portion of the psychological literature has concentrated on the motives of tourists. This line of research has revealed that there are a range of reasons that people travel abroad, including scenery, nature, sport and sex; however, only a minority of their motives relate to culture learning. Because the intercultural interactions involved in crossing cultures are often difficult to manage and because culture learning is not always of primary interest, many tourists opt for travel where the amount of contact with members of the host culture is limited. They choose to stay with other conationals in hotels and resorts where the staff speak their language and accurately anticipate their needs. They are therefore unlikely to experience any genuine or intimate intercultural contact or to have any of the pleasure and pain associated with it. Despite this insulation from members of the receiving society, tourists may still exert influence on host nationals and their indigenous culture.

Research that has considered the outcomes of intercultural contact has revealed that being a tourist can be a very stressful experience. Often the expectations that tourists have are unrealistic, and many react badly when confronted by experiences of 'culture shock'. Indeed, research has suggested that tourists experience more minor health complaints on holiday than before, and mood disturbances increase in the early stages of a vacation (Pearce, 1981).

More extensive research has been undertaken on the effects of intercultural contact between tourists and their hosts on intergroup perceptions and relations. Although many have viewed tourism as a vehicle for promoting international harmony and world peace, there is very little evidence to support this contention. Indeed, studies have demonstrated that contact per se does not improve intergroup relations, and in many cases it leads to the mutual sharpening of negative stereotypes. The nature of the tourist-host interactions, which are typically brief, superficial, and characterised by power imbalances in terms of financial and informational resources, does not bode well for congenial intergroup relations. This is particularly the case for the host nationals who often hold ambivalent attitudes toward tourists and tourism.

There is, however, a potential for improving relations between tourists and their hosts which includes sound planning and development strategies as

well as the implementation of training programmes for personnel in the hospitality industry. These and other issues will be addressed in Chapter 6.

Sojourners

A sojourn is a temporary stay, and, therefore, a sojourner a temporary resident. Sojourners voluntarily go abroad for a set period of time that is usually associated with a specific assignment or contract. Thus, a volunteer might take an overseas assignment for a year or two; a business person might accept a foreign posting for between three and five years; a missionary might go abroad for a longer stint, while military personnel are often posted overseas for shorter 'tours of duty'; and international students generally remain overseas for the duration of their diplomas or degrees. In most cases sojourners expect to return home after the completion of their assignment, contract or studies. In Chapters 7 and 8 we will review the literature on international sojourners with emphasis on students and business people, respectively. For a review of the earlier literature on volunteers the reader may wish to consult the 1986 edition of *Culture Shock* (Furnham and Bochner, 1986).

International students

Since the Second World War, governments and foundations have supported a huge number of students and senior scholars, enabling these persons to spend varying lengths of time attending overseas institutions. In addition, many privately funded students have swelled the ranks of academic exchange. Foreign scholars, often a highly visible minority, constitute about 10 per cent of the student population on many campuses throughout the world. At any time there are likely to be over a million students and scholars attending institutions of higher learning abroad, and recent estimates have set the figure at about 1.3 million (Hayes, 1998; Koretz, 1998).

In the major receiving countries such as the United States, Britain, Canada, and Australia, overseas students have become part of the export industry. For instance, it is estimated that in Australia, international students, drawn mainly from the emerging middle classes in Southeast Asia, contribute about A\$2 billion annually to the Australian economy. In the larger, metropolitan universities, full-fee paying overseas students can make up to 20 per cent of the student population (Bochner, 1999). In Canada in 1995, there were 72,000 foreign students, contributing C\$2.3 billion and 21,000 jobs to that country's economy, while in New Zealand international education, increasing 400 per cent over the previous five years, provided NZ\$530 million in foreign exchange—more than the wine and venison industries combined (Smith, 1997). World 'trade' in international education has been estimated at US \$28 billion, and many universities throughout the world now derive a substantial portion of their funds from this source.

The psychological literature on international students has, to some extent, reflected the need to sustain the educational export industry, and a significant portion of the contemporary literature has dealt with the problems of international students. More recent research has also concerned itself with the dynamics of the intercultural classroom and the ways in which multicultural education can benefit both international and local students. However, as student sojourners are perhaps the best-researched group of cross-cultural travellers, there is an extensive body of work that has focused on theory testing. This includes studies of: friendship networks and skills acquisition in international students; intergroup perceptions and relations; the prediction of psychological, sociocultural and academic adaptation; fluctuations in cross-cultural adaptation over time; and the process of re-entry to home culture. These topics will be reviewed in Chapter 7.

International business people

While it is difficult to obtain reliable figures on international business relocations, it is apparently the case that the number of business people working abroad is on the increase. Data from 1978 to 1990 record, for instance, a 700 per cent increase in British business people's visits to Japan, a 200 per cent increase to America, and a 100 per cent increase to the Caribbean. Although short term assignments of under one year are becoming more common, having risen to about 16 per cent of overseas postings, the more conventional three to five year contracts are still considered a necessity to ensure effective global operations. Recent data from a survey of United States-based companies estimated that there are about 350,000 overseas assignments, and these numbers are expected to grow in the next few years (Solomon, 1999).

Many big companies are now multinationals, and it is often thought desirable that senior managers should have the experience of managing a foreign subsidiary. It is not uncommon for business people, like diplomats, missionaries and the military, to take their entire family abroad, and they often find that their loyalties are divided among their organisation, their personal career and their family responsibilities. Unfortunately, preparation for employees and their families before overseas relocation is haphazard at best, and the significance of family concerns is commonly underestimated, despite evidence which suggests that spousal dissatisfaction is one of the most common reasons for early repatriation. Research on expatriate families, however, is currently increasing and now includes issues pertaining to women in the labour force as well as dual-career couples.

Of particular interest to multinational organisations is the work performance of expatriate executives, and unlike most other groups of cross-cultural travellers, there exist accessible, objective data to determine expatriate adaptation. Conceptual models of expatriate adjustment have included both work and non-work domains, and a segment of the research has concerned itself with the prediction of cross-cultural adaptation by factors such as predeparture training,

motivation, cultural distance, personality, and interactions with host nationals. Within the organisation special attention has also been paid to differences in cross-cultural values and their implications for effective leadership and team-building. Culture learning is considered essential for successful overseas postings, and this has been facilitated by onsite mentoring as well as more formal training packages (see Chapter 11). Both have been shown to diminish the likelihood of premature return.

Like the empirical literature on student sojourners, research on international business people has a very practical component to it, and one topic that has received special attention is the repatriation process. Research has considered changes in the individual and the organisation in addition to how these changes might contribute to readjustment difficulties and dissatisfaction in expatriate employees. This and other topics relevant to expatriate adjustment are discussed in Chapter 8.

Immigrants

World-wide immigration figures are difficult to verify, but it has been estimated that over 100 million people live outside their country of origin (Russel and Teitlebaum, 1992). The United States and Canada alone accept over one million immigrants a year (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1999; United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1999). Most agree, however, that there has been a massive swell in international migration in the twentieth century and that this will continue to increase over time.

Migrants include those individuals who voluntarily relocate for long term resettlement. They are generally 'pulled' toward a new country by social, economic and political forces. The majority of immigrants are strongly motivated by economic factors and usually move from poorer to richer countries. A smaller number, however, choose to migrate for political, religious or cultural reasons. Nevertheless, migration is not simply an issue of choice for the migrant. Receiving countries have very different and strict criteria for the admission of migrants. Because there are often enormous barriers that must be overcome in the process of migration, aspiring immigrants sometimes resort to illicit means, and the number of illegal entrants is a serious concern for some countries.

Migrants, like sojourners, are an extremely diverse group. There are wide variations in the relative cultural distance between society of origin and society of settlement across immigrant groups. In addition, the amount of contact that immigrants have with other cultural groups, particularly members of the host society, may vary enormously. There is all the difference in the world between a white English speaking South African migrating to Australia and a South Indian or Korean doing the same thing.

Because of interest and research in the topic of migration and mental health dating back over 100 years, there is a rich literature on the experience of migrants. There are moving personal testimonies, mental health

hospital admission figures, survey research, self-help group reports and the writings of clinicians interested in helping migrants cope with cross-cultural transition. As we shall see, a great deal is known about the factors which seem to be associated with adaptation and acculturation. The costs and benefits of immigration for cross-cultural travellers and members of the receiving society have meant that this has become a significant applied area of research. As a result, there are a number of contemporary theories that attempt to describe and explain the causes, manifestations, and consequences of 'culture shock' in immigrants.

More recent research has also considered the acculturation process in relation to changes in ethnocultural identity and intergroup perceptions. In addition, immigrants, compared with other groups of cross-cultural travellers, have been more frequently studied over generations. These intergenerational studies can provide insight into salient changes in a specific immigrant group as it evolves into a more established ethnocultural community over time. These issues are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 9.

Refugees

Refugees, as a group, have also played a significant role in the global growth of international migration. The number of refugees has steadily increased over the last 50 years, has approximately doubled between 1980 and 1990, and has recently reached an all time high of 19 million people (Leopold and Harrell-Bond, 1994; UNHCR, 1993). World-wide figures indicate that Africa, the Middle East and South Asia shelter over 90 per cent of the world's refugees; surprisingly, Europe has typically resettled only about 4 per cent of the refugee population, and North America has assumed responsibility for even less (USCR, 1992) although these figures are beginning to rise (UNHCR, 1998). On the country level Croatia has provided shelter and support for approximately 400,000 refugees who account for more than 10 per cent of its total population (Ajdukovic and Ajdukovic, 1993). Similar refugee-to-population ratios are found in countries such as Malawi, Belize, and Armenia (UNHCR, 1993).

What are the origins of these refugees? United Nations figures for 1991–92 indicate a massive movement of refugees, over half a million respectively from Liberia, Somalia, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and Afghanistan (UNHCR, 1993). More recent figures cite Afghanistan, Rwanda, and Bosnia-Herzegovina as the greatest sources of refugees with each displacing over one million persons (UNHCR, 1996), and in the last two years Iraq, Burundi, and Sierra Leone have joined these ranks (UNHCR, 1998).

While these figures may summarise refugee movements within a single year, they do not describe the dramatic and devastating effects of genocide, war and famine on a country and its people over time. In Vietnam, for example, it has been estimated that 900,000 individuals were wounded, 250,000 were killed, and over 100,000 were incarcerated in re-education camps during the war; in