CHAPTER 3

Sojourners' Culture Shock and Intercultural Adjustment Patterns

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CULTURE SHOCK: A CUP OF TEA INTERVIEW CASE STORY

My first visit abroad was to Missoula, Montana. I was a visiting Tibetan Buddhist Scholar at a small Tibetan Buddhist Center. One day Carleen, my friend, took me to Starbucks in the downtown. I had to go through an interview to get a cup of tea! I stood in the line to

order a cup of tea, and the girl at the counter asked me, "What kind of tea?" She listed a couple of teas, including herb tea that I had no clue about. She had no Lipton Tea, which I wanted, so I settled for English Breakfast Tea. I assumed she would provide milk in my tea, but she did not. So I asked for milk to which she said, "Do you want half and half, whole milk, or 2 percent?" I had never heard these choices in my life so I asked for regular milk. She looked baffled and waited for my answer. I looked at Carleen, who said half and half would be fine. I like sweet tea so I asked if I can get some sugar, and she asked me, "Would you like sweetener or this or that?" I had no idea of all these choices so I said, "Sugar, please." Finally, I sat at a table with Carleen who had gotten her coffee. When Carleen finished her coffee, the girl refilled her cup, but she did not ask me if I wanted more tea. I said, "Could you give me some more tea?" She said, "You need to pay first." I was a bit shocked and frustrated. I told Carleen that I would rather buy tea materials and make good tea for myself than go through this "tea interview and discrimination experience." We both had a good laugh. She took me to Safeway to buy tea materials, and I could enjoy my tea in peace. In India, "tea" or "chai" means black tea leaves or tea dust cooked in boiled water with real milk and sugar. Being a newbie in this strange land, I did not know all the American options for tea and milk and sugar varieties!

—Tenzin Dorjee, college instructor

Introduction

Millions of individuals cross cultural boundaries every year to study, to work, to engage in government service, and to volunteer their time in global humanitarian work. When individuals move from their home cultures to a new culture, they bring with them their cultural habits, familiar scripts, and interaction routines. For the most part, these home-based cultural habits may produce unintended clashes in the new culture due to dissimilarity and unfamiliarity of foreign language usage, nonverbal situational enactment, and contrastive value assumptions. If you are visiting or sojourning to a new culture for the first time, it is likely that you will experience some degree of cultural shock.

Tenzin's "Tea Interview" case story is simple, yet insightful, about his culture shock experience in Missoula, Montana. What do you think about his culture shock experience? In India, tea stalls are everywhere just like Starbucks in the United States. In India, you can simply ask for tea, and it is prepared with black tea, milk, and sugar; hardly any questions are asked about tea preference. Would you be shocked if you were given sweet-milky tea without being asked first about your preferences for tea, milk, and sugar? Tenzin grew up on a farmland with cows. and they made tea with fresh milk from their cows. He had no concept of different types of milk as found in the United States, and he probably considers 2% milk, which lacks rich, creamy taste, to be more like water than milk.

Culture shock is about the stress and the feeling of disorientation you experience in a new culture. The tropical hot weather, crowded public transportation, hustle and bustle of street life, bargaining prices of goods and services, and the need to navigate your way through alleys and backstreets can at times be overwhelming and emotionally draining. Even if you do not plan to go overseas to work in the next few years, international classmates and coworkers may be sitting right next to you—working side by side with you. Today, even social media can bring cultural shock experiences (e.g., shocking images and YouTube postings, and culturally insensitive comments) to your home or almost anywhere you are on your iPhone, laptop, and tablet.

You may also experience culture shock when you move away from home and live on your own for the first time or move from the East Coast to the West Coast of your country. You may also experience culture shock when you switch jobs or schools. By learning more in depth about your own and others' culture shock experiences, you can be better prepared for the unanticipated culture shock and up-and-down adjustment processes. In this chapter, you can acquire some culture shock vocabulary, models, and strategies to help to buffer your own or your friend's culture shock experiences and increase your cultural adroitness in dealing with an unfamiliar cultural turf. This chapter asks four questions: Who are the sojourners crossing cultural boundaries on the global level? What is culture shock? Can we track meaningful factors and patterns of the intercultural adjustment process? What are some surprises awaiting the returnees as they return home?

The chapter is developed in five sections. First, we set the background context of adjustment motivations and expectations of different types of sojourners; we also discuss some characteristics of cultural exchange college students, global workplace transferees, third-culture kids/global nomads, and tourists as short-term sojourners. Second, we address the conceptualization of the affective-behavioral-cognitive model of culture shock, and analyze the pros and cons of culture shock. Third, we explain the factors that impact the culture shock roller-coaster experience and explore two intercultural adjustment models that have intuitive appeals to many sojourners or international students who cross cultural boundaries. Fourth, we examine the surprising elements of reentry culture shock and different returnees' resocialization processes and end with the question: "Where is home?" In the last section, we summarize the key ideas in the chapter and offer a set of mindful guidelines for the sojourners to derive optimal benefits and rewards in their sojourning experiences.

Different Types of Sojourners: Motivations and Expectations

Indeed, millions of international students, cultural exchange students, and teachers, artists, scientists, and businesspeople go to the four corners of the earth to learn, teach, perform, experiment, serve, and conduct business. People experience culture shock whenever they uproot themselves from a familiar setting and move to an unfamiliar one

(e.g., relocating from Odensk, Denmark, to Shanghai, China, or making the transition as a high school senior to a college freshman). Culture shock is unavoidable, but how we manage it will determine the adaptive process and outcome. Culture shock is, first and foremost, an emotional experience. Intense emotions are involved in combination with behavioral confusion and inability to think clearly. Both short-term sojourners and long-term immigrants can experience culture shock at different stages of their adaptation.

Sojourners such as cultural exchange students, businesspersons, diplomats, Foreign Service officers, journalists, military personnel, missionaries, and Peace Corps volunteers often enact temporary resident roles with a short to medium span of stay in the new country destinations. While sojourners often refer to individuals who stay in a new culture (this can be anywhere from a 6-month to a 5-year period) and then return home (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001), expatriates are individuals who move to a "foreign land" and initially have no clear intention to stay but, nevertheless, stay in their foreign abodes for a much longer duration or for an unspecified period of time. Comparatively, immigrants are individuals who have made the commitment to move from their original homelands and intend to take up permanent residence and eventual citizenship in their adopted homelands (see Chapter 4). In this section, we discuss the general motivations and expectations of the sojourners in traveling overseas, and we also identify the profiles of the three types of sojourners: international students and cultural exchange sojourners, international workplace sojourners, and tourists.

Adjustment Motivations and Expectations

Sojourners' motivational orientation to leave their home countries and enter a new culture has a profound influence on their culture shock attitudes. Individuals with voluntary motivations (e.g., Peace Corps volunteers) to leave a familiar culture and enter a new cultural experience tend to manage their culture shock experience more effectively than do individuals with involuntary motivations (e.g., refugees). Furthermore, sojourners (e.g., international students, tourists) encounter less conformity pressure than do immigrants because of their temporary visiting role. Host cultures often extend a friendlier welcome to sojourners than to immigrants or refugees. Thus, sojourners tend to perceive their overall international stay as more pleasant and the local hosts as friendlier than do immigrants or refugees.

Furthermore, their motivational orientation can be understood from their success or failure in achieving an instrumental goal, a socioemotional goal, or a combination of the two. *Instrumental goals* refer to task-based or business or academic goals that sojourners would like to accomplish during their stay in a foreign country. For example, military personnel are often posted overseas for shorter "tours of duty" and have a specific mission or task-based goal to accomplish during their sojourn. *Socioemotional goals* refer to relational, recreational, and personal development goals during their sojourning experience. A tourist, for example, may seek out a socioemotional sightseeing goal and sample the local cultural scenes, people, and cuisines as their foci. A *mixed*

motivational goal orientation connotes the importance of both pursuing an instrumental goal and experiencing cultural enjoyment and a relationship rapport-building goal. Thus, a Peace Corps volunteer might take an overseas assignment for two years for instrumental service and also seek out relational/personal enrichment satisfaction. Furthermore, a businessperson with family might accept an international posting for a medium-term stay and strive to reach for the mixed motivational goal orientation. A missionary might also stay for a longer period of time in his or her new assignment and hope to satisfy both task-based and socioemotional motivational goals.

Personal expectations have long been viewed as a crucial factor in the culture shock management process. Expectations refer to the anticipatory process and predictive outcome of the upcoming situation. Two observations have often been associated with such expectations: The first is that realistic expectations facilitate intercultural adaptation, and the second is that accuracy-based positive expectations ease adaptation stress (Pitts, 2009). Individuals with realistic expectations are psychologically prepared to deal with actual adaptation problems more than are individuals with unrealistic expectations. Furthermore, individuals with positive expectations tend to create positive self-fulfilling prophecies in their successful adaptation (e.g., believing relocation is a great move as well as a positive adventure and growth experience); negative expectations (e.g., loneliness and unwelcoming hosts) tend to produce the opposite effect.

Most international students tend to carry positive expectation images concerning their anticipated sojourn in the new culture (Sias et al., 2008). Overall, realistic and positively oriented expectancy images of the new culture can help to facilitate intercultural adjustment for both business and student sojourners. Expectations influence newcomers' mind-sets, sentiments, and behaviors. A positively resilient mind-set helps to balance the negative stressors that a newcomer may encounter in her or his adaptive efforts.

International Students and Cultural Exchange Student Sojourners

According to the latest UNESCO—Institute for Statistics Report (UNESCO, 2016), about 4.1 million students worldwide have chosen to study outside their countries. The top five sending countries are China, India, France, the United States, and Saudi Arabia. The top five destination hosting countries are the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, France, and Ireland. Right now, there are approximately 975,000 international students studying in different U.S. colleges with the explicit aim of getting their college degrees here. They also bring \$24.7 billion into the U.S. economy via out-of-state tuition and living expenses.

The top five countries sending international students to the United States are China, India, South Korea, Saudi Arabia, and Canada (Institute of International Education, 2016). Indeed, well-over 50% of international students studying in various U.S. colleges are of collectivistic cultural backgrounds. They are also studying in the fields of business and management, engineering, and math and computer science. The top three hosting U.S. states are California, New York, and Texas.

Comparatively, there are approximately 305,000 U.S. students nationwide who embark on short-term (summer or 8-week program), midlength (one semester or 1–2 quarters), or long-term (one academic year) study abroad programs. The favorite study abroad destinations of U.S. college students are the United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, France, and China (IEE, 2016). The students surveyed cited personal growth, new perspectives on world affairs, and career enhancement as some of the reasons for opting to go abroad to study. Beyond instrumental goals, international students and cultural exchange sojourners also emphasize the importance of pursuing socioemotional goals or fun activities, such as developing new friendships with the local students and hosts, visiting local marketplaces and museums, and learning about local histories, sports, and folk crafts.

Global Workplace Transferees and Global Mobility Families

With growing new global markets, the greater economic affluence of developing countries, and the accelerated demographic changes in different cultural regions, there is a high flux of global workplace transferees who move across multiple country borders. According to Gundling and Kaleel (2015), working abroad is one of the ways to develop effective global leadership skills. They identified the following as part of the transferees' international assignments: to establish a new country operation, to lead an established subsidiary, to transfer knowledge or skills, and/or to lead or complete a technical report project. They also noted contemporary global assignment trends: (1) employees from locations such as China, India, Brazil, or the Middle East relocated to headquartered countries; (2) transferees tasked with growing operations in other fast-growth markets (Africa, South and Central Asia); (3) professional workers who are transferred as skilled yet inexpensive talents to aid new workplace operations; (4) third-country assignments and traveling between multiple subsidiary locations; (5) an increased number of women assignments and dual-career assignments; and (6) the rise of short-term, frequent-traveler project assignments due to personal or family reasons and the employees cannot live abroad for a longer duration.

For those global employees who brought family members with them, Copeland (2015) observed some of the challenges and rewards awaiting them in their overseas assignments. Culture shock challenges can include the following: (1) family boundary disruption due to a sense of disconnection from their respective extended family systems; (2) a strong sense of loneliness and not knowing whom to turn to for support or being disoriented by the sudden presence of maids, nannies, drivers, and nosy neighbors; and (3) change of family roles due to the relocation process and also a change in the income status of one spouse, thereby compounding the other spouse's loss of professional identity. However, the rewards in managing culture shock as a family system include: (1) family members develop a broad, multidimensional worldview and become more socially attuned and adaptable; (2) the opportunity arises to rear bilingual or multilingual children in foreign countries and enhance their metalinguistic skills such as flexible perception and creative problem-solving outlook; and (3) the chance to become

effective intercultural bridge-builders in conflict situations and mediate misunderstandings and culture clashes with cultural sensitivity. Some of the key factors that affect a family's satisfying versus dissatisfying sojourn in another country have been identified as follows: the spouse's interest and willingness to relocate; active involvement of the spouse in planning the move; strong support for children's education overseas; a strong social network support abroad; and instrumental and socioemotional support via sound intercultural communication training for the entire family system (Copeland, 2015).

Third-Culture Kids/Global Nomads

Third-culture kids (TCKs) and global nomads (GNs) are individuals who have been raised internationally usually because of a parent's overseas occupation. Such overseas assignment occupations or professions can include international business employee kids, international education teachers' kids, diplomatic employees' kids, military kids, nongovernmental organization (NGO) employees' kids, and missionary kids. More specifically, the terms "TCKs" and "GNs" are used "interchangeably to describe people of any age or nationality who have lived a significant part of their developmental years outside their passport country(ies) because of a parent's occupation" (Schaetti, 2015, p. 798).

Developmentally, the primary socialization age range between 2 and 7 appears to be a critical period wherein the child acquires a sense of world awareness or a more fluid global identity. High mobility and the readiness for change appear to be the hallmark characteristics of TCKs or ATCKs (adult TCKs). In addition, the term "cross-cultural kids" (CCKs) has been used to describe children of intercultural-international families, such as bicultural/biracial kids or adopted kids from another culture and immigrant children. Through bicultural or multicultural immersive socialization processes, some of these children have also developed some TCKs' traits.

While TCKs and CNs have to deal with some challenging identity issues growing up (e.g., not feeling fully rooted in one place; losing friends and anchoring family members in one integrative spatial locale; and an uncertain and unpredictable home-based future), they also tend to possess the following global-minded tendencies: panoramic observational skills, a multidimensional worldview, socially astute interpersonal communication skills, and sensitive intercultural mediation skills in handling different conflict situations.

Tourists as Short-Term Sojourners

Over the past six decades, tourism has experienced rapid expansion and diversification to the tune of U.S. \$1245 billion in 2014 (United Nations World Tourist Organization—UNWTO—Annual Report 2015 (UNWTO, 2016). Indeed, tourism and intergroup—intercultural contact has become one of the fastest and largest economic sectors in the world. Tourists are individuals who depart their normal place of residence and voluntarily visit another country or multiple countries for a short-time duration and for non-work-related purposes such as leisure, recreation, relaxation, enjoyment, and novelty

(Harris, 2015). Every year, more than one billion tourists across the globe travel to some far-flung tourist destinations to enjoy, relax, and daydream.

According to the latest United Nations World Tourist Organization (UNWTO) Report (UNWTO, 2016), international tourist arrivals grew by 4.4% in 2015 and reached a new height of an estimated 1.184 billion international tourist arrivals. The top five international tourism destinations in 2015 were France, United States, Spain, China, and Italy. China remained the top tourism source market. Chinese tourists contributed an estimated U.S. \$165 billion worldwide during their recreational sojourning experience, while U.S. tourists spent an estimated \$111 billion and German tourists around \$92 billion.

Most tourists usually do have a fun-filled, relaxed time during their trips, especially when their socioemotional goals of enjoying a new culture and sampling different local scenes have been met. However, when unpredictable events occur in an unfamiliar culture, such as theft of one's passport, or a sudden health issue, the negative expectancy violations may jolt the visiting tourist from a leisurely mood to a defensive-ethnocentric posture. Ward and Berno (2011), in a unique tourism survey (N = 663 research participants), conducted a research project that focused on the reactions of two host countries to tourism. Using integrated threat theory as an explanatory framework, they probed the intergroup perceptions and attitudes of the host residents (i.e., Fijians and New Zealanders) toward incoming tourists. They found that while the Fijians were receptive to tourists in high-density tourism areas with regard to relative economic benefits, they showed ambivalence on the personal contact satisfaction criterion. With respect to the intergroup contact hypothesis, the more the New Zealand residents had positive contacts with the incoming tourists interpersonally, the more their negative stereotypes diminished and their positive attitudes toward the influx of visitors increased. In the give-and-take of the intercultural adjustment process, both visitors and host nationals also seem to experience some form of culture shock, as well as "identity defensiveness" based on perceived unfamiliarity, dissimilarity, and cultural and intergroup attitudinal distance.

Culture Shock: Conceptualization and Implications

An anthropologist named Kalervo Oberg (1960) coined the term "culture shock" over five decades ago. He believed that culture shock produces an identity disorientation state, which can bring about tremendous stress and pressure on an individual's well-being. Culture shock involves (1) a sense of identity loss and identity deprivation with regard to values, status, profession, friends, and possessions; (2) identity strain as a result of the effort required to make necessary psychological adaptations; (3) identity rejection by members of the new culture; (4) identity confusion, especially regarding role ambiguity and unpredictability; and (5) identity powerlessness as a result of an inability to cope with the new environment (Furnham, 1988). An identity disorientation state and a sense of isolated vulnerability (in accordance with the integrative INT; see Chapter 2) is part of the culture shock experience.

Culture shock basically refers to a stressful transitional period that occurs when individuals move from a familiar to an unfamiliar environment for a short, medium, or long-term duration. In this unfamiliar cultural environment, the individual's identity appears to be stripped of all protection. Previously familiar cues and scripts are suddenly inoperable in the new cultural setting. In this regard, Ward, Bochner, and Furnham (2001) discuss the ABCs of culture shock in terms of affective, behavioral, and cognitive disorientation dimensions.

Culture Shock: An ABC Model

According to Ward (2015; Ward et al., 2001), culture shock and its accompanying intercultural adjustment process can be understood by considering the three components of the ABC (affective-behavioral-cognitive) model. Affectively, sojourners in the initial culture shock stage often experience anxiety, bewilderment, confusion, disorientation, and perplexity as well as an intense desire to be elsewhere. However, culture shock is viewed as a normal affective phenomenon in dealing with change and challenge in the new environment. Personality traits such as emotional stability and socioemotional outreach skills such as developing close social network support may help to moderate such initial strains and stress (Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2013). Behaviorally, sojourners are at the confusion stage in terms of the conventions, norms, and rules that guide communication appropriateness and effectiveness. They are often at a loss in terms of how to initiate and maintain smooth conversations with their hosts and how to conduct themselves properly with correct nonverbal cadences. Sojourners at this stage need to master culture-specific communication skills to operate appropriately and effectively in the new cultural arena. Cognitively, they lack the cultural interpretive competence to explain many of the "bizarre" behaviors that are occurring in their unfamiliar cultural settings. In the opening story, Tenzin affectively experienced anxiety and bewilderment when confronted with a tea interview. Behaviorally, he did not know how to respond to the tea interview questions. Cognitively, he lacked the ability to make sense of different types of tea and milk. In particular, he could not understand why a tea drinker must pay for more tea but a coffee drinker could get a free refill. In his confusion over the tea versus coffee refill, he even joked with his friend Carleen concerning the meaning of the American equality principle. The sojourners now need to dig deep into the explanatory framework of value dimensions in the new cultural system and "make sense" of the wildly dissimilar behaviors with new schematic categories and understanding. This "cultural sense-making process," or the construction of "isomorphic attribution," demands an open mind-set and an ethnorelative, nonjudgmental lens. Isomorphic attribution means the capacity to come up with a similar "reasoning schema" to explain the observed problematic incident as an insider would in the new culture (Triandis, 1995).

Culture shock is sparked by the anxiety that results from losing all one's familiar signs and symbols of everyday social interaction. These signs or cues include "a thousand and one ways in which we orient ourselves to the situations of daily life: when to

shake hands and what to say when we meet people, when and how to give tips" (Bochner, 1986, p. 48). We, of course, have repeated practice in these interactions in our own culture, but we are not aware of how much we take these interactions for granted until we are away from our native culture. Only when we start feeling inept in the new cultural environment and our peace of mind is suddenly shattered do we begin to realize the importance of intercultural learning and the development of intercultural competence skillsets (Berg & Paige, 2009).

The Pros and Cons of Culture Shock: Implications

Culture shock can have both positive and negative implications. The negative implications involve three major issues: (1) psychosomatic problems (e.g., headaches, stomachaches) caused by prolonged stress; (2) affective upheavals consisting of feelings of loneliness, isolation, depression, drastic mood swings, and interaction awkwardness caused by the inability to perform optimally in the new language; and (3) cognitive exhaustion caused by difficulty in making accurate attributions.

If managed effectively, however, culture shock can have positive effects, notably: (1) a sense of well-being and heightened positive self-esteem, emotional richness, and enhanced tolerance for ambiguity; (2) behavioral competence in social interaction, cognitive openness, and flexibility; and (3) increased optimism about self, others, and everyday surroundings. Culture shock creates an environment and an opportunity for individuals to experiment with new ideas and coping behaviors. It critically challenges individuals to stretch beyond the usual boundaries of thinking and experiencing.

New arrivals can defuse their perceived threat and, hence, their anxiety level by (1) increasing their motivations to learn about the new culture; (2) keeping their expectations realistic and becoming more familiar with the new culture (e.g., conducting culture-specific research through readings and diverse accurate sources, including talking with people who have spent some time in that culture); (3) increasing their linguistic fluency and learning why, how, and under what situations certain phrases or gestures are appropriate, plus understanding the core cultural values linked to specific behaviors; (4) working on their tolerance for ambiguity and other flexible personal attributes; (5) developing both strong ties (close friends) and weak ties (acquaintanceships) to manage identity stress and loneliness; and (6) being mindful of their interpersonal behaviors and suspending ethnocentric evaluations of the host culture.

Navigating Intercultural Adjustment: Underlying Factors and Models

The following factors have been found to influence why individuals manage their culture shock experience differently: cultural distance, multicultural personality trait dimensions, psychological adjustment, sociocultural adjustment, and communication competence. Being a first-time novice traveler or a seasoned globetrotter will make a

significant difference in someone's sojourning experience overseas. Furthermore, the magnitude of cultural distance may be key in shaping an individual's initial culture shock experience in the unfamiliar culture.

Underlying Factors

Sojourners tend to encounter more severe culture shock when there is a large cultural distance between their home cultures and the host society. Cultural distance factors can include differences in cultural values, language, verbal styles, nonverbal gestures, learning styles, decision-making approaches, and conflict negotiation styles, as well as in religious, sociopolitical, and economic systems. Interestingly, however, when sojourners expect low cultural distance (e.g., Koreans traveling to Vietnam or U.S. Americans traveling to western European countries), they may actually encounter more intercultural frustrations or cultural buzz. Because of this "assumed similarity" factor, cultural differences may be glossed over; guests may overlook the vast differences in political, business, or communication practices. They may start using biased intergroup attributions and engage in disparaging remarks about the "backwardness" or the "uncivilized manners" of their new cultural hosts. From the standpoint of perceived similarity of language/culture (e.g., the British dealing with Aussies in Australia; Colombians dealing with Mexicans in Mexico), for example, sojourners may hold on to their initial ethnocentrism in their interactions with their local country hosts. Both hosts and guests may experience increased intergroup frustrations without realizing that they are caught up in an understated culture clash spiral and that they are seeing things from their mindless, reactive ethnocentric lenses.

Sojourners can also encounter emotional frustrations and dissonances based on their *personality traits* and competence orientations. According to Leong (2007) and Van Oudenhoven and Van der Zee (2002), the following five personality traits predicted competent or incompetent adjustment in international students and professionals in 11 countries: emotional stability, flexibility, open-mindedness, cultural empathy, and social initiative. Two higher-order factors emerged that grouped emotional stability and flexibility as a "stress-buffering competence" factor and open-mindedness, cultural empathy, and social initiative as a "social-perceptual competence" factor.

Van der Zee and Van Oudenhoven (2013) explained that in the initial culture shock stage, stress-buffering traits such as emotional stability and flexible tendency can help protect newcomers against the sense of loss of control and the feeling of uncertainty in the unfamiliar culture. In subsequent developmental adjustment stages, social-perceptual competence traits such as open-mindedness, cultural empathy, and social initiative can help sojourners to acquire the new local language, construct alternative cultural meanings, enjoy everyday local scenes, and finally reach out and befriend local host nationals in a meaningful way.

In addition to the five multicultural personality traits discussed, other particular personality traits such as high tolerance for ambiguity (i.e., high acceptance of

ambiguous situations), internal locus of control (i.e., inner-directed drives and motivations), and self-efficacy mastery can contribute to generally good adjustment and positive psychological well-being. Interestingly, Ward (2004) also suggests a "cultural fit" proposition, which emphasizes the importance of a good match between personality types (e.g., extraversion and introversion) in the sojourners and host cultural norms. For example, we can speculate that independent-self sojourners may be more compatible with individualistic cultural norms, whereas interdependent-self sojourners may be more compatible with collectivistic cultural norms. On the one hand, the independent-self personality basically prioritizes personal self-interest and self-need over other-oriented interest or desire. The interdependent-self personality, on the other hand, tends to stress other-oriented or group-based interest above and beyond own self-interest and own self-need (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 1994a, 1994b). By the same token, biconstrual individuals (with a balanced self-construal of independence and interdependence self-construals) may fit well into both individualistic and collectivistic cultures. The synchronized match between a particular personality type and the larger cultural norms produces a "goodness of fit" and possibly cultivates a positive adaptive experience for the visiting residents.

In addition, Ward (2004) identified two adjustment strategies that sojourners can use to deal constructively with their new cultural milieu: psychological adjustment and sociocultural adjustment. *Psychological adjustment* refers to feelings of well-being and satisfaction during cross-cultural transitions (Ward et al., 2001). Chronic strain, low self-esteem, and low mastery have a direct effect on adjustment depression. As the cultural distance widens and the stress level increases, newcomers must use different strategies to deal with such differences.

To counteract psychological stress, researchers recommend the use of positive self-talk strategies and positive situational appraisal strategies (Chang, Chua, & Toh, 1997; Cross, 1995). Positive self-talk strategies (e.g., giving yourself a pat on the back for being adaptive in the new culture) and rewarding yourself with a nice treat (e.g., for mastering the intricacies of saying "no" in the new culture without actually using the word "no!") are two good self-validation strategies to keep in mind. A sense of light-hearted humor in laughing at your own cultural *faux pas* or missteps and taking oneself lightly in a stressful situation can also help to create more positive momentum and enlightened energy. Constructive incremental steps in moving forward psychologically can strengthen self-confidence and personal resilience.

Positive situational appraisal strategies also involve changing perceptions and interpretations of stressful events or situations. For example, you can talk yourself into taking more Italian-speaking classes from the "seemingly mean" teacher and reframe the harsh situation from the new viewpoint that the same teacher is caring and actually helping you to master your Italian faster than the "nice" teacher. For example, in many traditional Asian cultures, such as Tibetan and Indian cultures, teachers are purposefully very strict and adopt stern looks in order to reflect their care and the seriousness of their profession's mission to discipline their students. Research indicates that the use

of cognitive coping strategies (i.e., positive self-talk and situational reinterpretation) is associated with lower levels of perceived stress and fewer symptoms of depression in East Asian students in Singapore (Ward, 2004). Thus, cognitive reframing appears to soften the psychological stress level for East Asian students who are attempting to adapt to a new cultural environment. The nature of the stressful event and the degree of control and success that students can assert with regard to the distressing situation may explain this finding. Beyond the use of psychological adjustment strategies in the new cultural setting, individuals can also pay more attention to the sociocultural adjustment factor.

Sociocultural adjustment refers to the ability of the newcomer to fit in and execute appropriate and effective interactions in their everyday lives in a new cultural environment (Ward et al., 2001). It can include factors such as the quality or quantity of relations with host nationals and the length of residence in the host country (Gareis, 2000; Kudo & Simkin, 2003; Mortensen, Burleson, Feng. & Liu, 2009). International students, for example, report greater satisfaction with their host culture when host nationals take the initiative to be friend them. International students' friendship networks typically consist of the following: (1) a primary, monocultural friendship network that consists of close friendships with other compatriots from similar ethnic/cultural backgrounds (e.g., Nigerian international students developing friendship ties with other African students) (Brown, 2009; Matusitz, 2005); (2) a bicultural network that consists of social bonds between sojourners and host nationals, whereby professional aspirations and goals are pursued (Holmes, 2005; Lee, 2006); and (3) a multicultural network that consists of acquaintances from diverse cultural groups for recreational activities (Furnham & Bochner, 1982). Research further indicates that greater sociocultural adjustment and social support in the new cultural environment are associated with lower levels of depression and hopelessness in international students (Lee, 2006, 2008; Lin, 2006; Paige & Goode, 2009).

In heeding the call from Shuter's (2012) critique that the current literature lacks information on how different forms of new media shape the international sojourners' adjustment process, Ju, Jia, and Shoham (2016) investigated the use of new media by Chinese international students and their adjustment process in the United States. In the research study, Chinese international students completed a questionnaire about their sociocultural adaptation and logged into their diary details on how much and how they communicated with their local hosts. On average, they were found to communicate with their hosts 1 hour and 18 minutes on a daily basis via social media, including Facebook and Twitter; the majority of this time involved browsing other individuals' social statuses and interactions on Facebook and Twitter. According to Ju et al. (2016), this finding made sense because international students predominantly engaged in faceto-face interactions with the host nationals on campus and in the classrooms or during class-related activities. It is also noteworthy that all their face-to-face encounters were in the context of mandatory academic activities. However, with regard to the social media usage platform, all these online activities were voluntary (e.g., social chit-chats

and exchanges of common interests and hobbies) and were often based on anonymous, self-selective interactions. It appears that while the actual interpersonal face-to-face contact offers depth of intercultural task learning, the mediated social media channel offers a safe space for international students to pose cultural questions and to learn about their host nationals without the stress of performing and interacting in their second language, English (i.e., verbal English communication). Based on these findings, the researchers suggested that educational institutions should promote more online interactive communication opportunities and tools between the international students and host culture students, which may ease the initial culture shock stressors for the international newcomers. For longer term adjustment, it is also critical to create face-to-face contact opportunities (e.g., cultural mixers, cultural role-play fun activities, short intercultural sightseeing trips, or nature exploration) between the international students and the domestic students, enabling them to gain greater and more meaningful, in-depth knowledge about each other's culture.

Two additional research studies provided more evidence for the above research investigation. Drawing from social network theory (Bakardjieva, 2003; Marsden & Campbell, 1984), Ye (2006a) collected survey data from Chinese international college students in the United States and explored the relationship among psychological adjustment stress, interpersonal social network support, and use of online ethnic social groups. Interpersonal social networks were defined as friends and/or relatives who were living in the United States. Online ethnic social groups were conceptualized as online groups developed for people who have the same national origin and are currently living in a foreign country. Research results suggested that students who were more satisfied with their interpersonal support networks had less perceived discrimination and negative feelings caused by cultural change. Among the international students who had used online ethnic social groups, those who reported receiving higher amounts of online informational and emotional support messages from their own ethnic groups experienced lower levels of acculturative stress. As a follow-up study, Ye (2006b) conducted an online survey of Chinese students in the United States concerning their sociocultural adjustment processes. The results suggested that perceived support from interpersonal networks in the host country and from online ethnic social groups was related to less sociocultural everyday adjustment difficulties. These "weak ties" (i.e., acquaintanceship ties) provided the international students with online informational support through protective anonymity and voluntary selective interactions. With time, the international students in the host country also reported more interpersonal network support from face-to-face relational friendship circles.

Obviously, future research studies need to diversify their research sample and move beyond measuring just the Chinese international students' adjustment process in the United States and include other cultural—ethnic sojourning groups and other countries and cultural settings in their research studies. Future studies can also investigate different context domains of adjustment (e.g., the use of new media in the international workplace adjustment context or the sociocultural adjustment process of Peace Corps

volunteers) as well as associated appropriate and effective interactional strategies that are being employed in diverse settings. More longitudinal-developmental studies (or pre-, midpoint, and poststudies) to explain the relationship among psychological, sociocultural, communicative adjustment, and levels of emotional stress and satisfaction may offer a fuller picture of the sojourners' overseas adjustment experience.

Overall, culture-specific knowledge, language fluency, more extensive contact with host nationals, and a longer period of residence in the host culture are associated with lower levels of sociocultural difficulty in the new culture (Kohls, 1996; Ward, 1996). In addition, the host culture's receptivity to new arrivals, the degree of cultural conformity expected, and the current political climate of open-door versus closed-door attitudes toward international students and visitors can also either facilitate or create roadblocks to sojourners' sociocultural adjustment process.

In the intercultural communication competence field, researchers have identified the following components as critical to sojourners' adjustment process (Deardorff, 2009; Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009): culture-sensitive knowledge, motivation to adapt, appropriate and effective communication skills, mastery of culture-based contextual rules, and achievement of conjoint outcomes between the intercultural communicators (see Chapter 5). On the behavioral tendency skills level, intercultural competence scholars also emphasize the following attitudinal tendencies and skillset (Gudykunst, 2005a, 2005b; Pusch, 2009): mindfulness, cognitive flexibility, tolerance for ambiguity, behavioral flexibility, and cross-cultural empathy. Whereas intercultural communication scholars emphasize the importance of communication competence skills and sociocultural and psychological adjustment factors, cross-cultural psychologists tend to emphasize the importance of psychological adjustment and then sociocultural adjustment and communication competence skills (Gudykunst, 2005a, 2005b; Matsumoto, Yoo, & LeRoux, 2010). Sojourners can achieve improved intercultural adjustment to the host environment if they attend to and practice intergroup communication identitysensitive competence skills (see Chapters 2 and 5).

Intercultural Adjustment Models: Developmental Patterns

The term "intercultural adjustment" refers to the short-term and medium-term adaptive process of sojourners in their overseas assignments. Tourists are different from sojourners. On the one hand, tourists are visitors whose length of stay exceeds 24 hours in a location away from home and who have traveled for voluntary, recreational holiday-enjoyment purposes. A tourist, while visiting another country, can be a welcomed guest, a nuisance, or a downright intruder in a sacred land. Tourists, their hosts, and business/service providers all weave together interdependently to form impressions, trade, and share some memorable moments through brief encounters and amusing contacts. Sojourners, on the other hand, are temporary residents who voluntarily go abroad for a set period of time that is usually related to task-based or instrumental purposes. Both tourists and sojourners can, of course, experience culture shock—especially when the country they visit is very different from their own culturally and on many other levels.

The U-Curve Adjustment Model

A number of researchers have conceptualized the sojourner adjustment process using various developmental perspectives. An interesting consequence of these stage-oriented descriptive models centers on whether sojourners' adaptation is a U-curve or a W-curve process. Interviewing over 200 Norwegian Fulbright grantees in the United States, Lysgaard (1955; see also Nash, 1991) developed a three-phase U-curve intercultural adjustment model that includes the following stages: (1) initial adjustment, which is the optimistic or elation phase of the sojourners' adjustment process; (2) crisis, which is the stressful phase, when reality sets in and sojourners are overwhelmed by their own incompetence; and (3) regained adjustment, which is the settling-in phase, when sojourners learn to cope effectively with the new environment.

In extending the U-curve model, Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) proposed a six-stage W-shaped model, with successive honeymoon, hostility, humorous, at-home, reentry culture shock, and resocialization stages. Expanding on these authors' ideas, we have developed the following seven-stage revised W-shaped adjustment model to explain sojourners' short-term to medium-term adjustment process (see Figure 3.1).

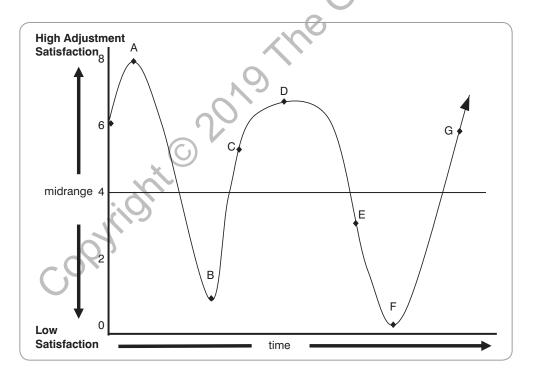


FIGURE 3.1. The revised W-shaped cultural adjustment model. A: honeymoon stage; B: frustration/hostility stage; C: rebound/humorous stage; D: in-sync adjustment stage; E: ambivalence stage; F: reentry culture shock stage; G: resocialization stage.

The Revised W-Shaped Cultural Adjustment Model

The revised W-shaped adjustment model consists of seven stages: the honeymoon, frustration/hostility, rebound/humorous, in-sync, ambivalence, reentry culture shock, and resocialization stages. The model applies especially to international students' experience abroad.

In the *honeymoon stage*, individuals are excited about their new cultural environment. This is the initial landing phase in which everything appears fresh and exhilarating. Sojourners perceive people and events through pleasantly tinted (or rose-colored) glasses. Nonetheless, they do experience mild bewilderment and perplexity about the new culture; they also experience bursts of loneliness and homesickness. However, overall, they are cognitively curious about the new culture and emotionally charged up at meeting new people. They may not completely understand the verbal and nonverbal behaviors that surround them, but they are enjoying their initial "friendly" contacts with the locals.

In the *frustration/hostility stage*, sojourners experience major emotional upheavals. This is defined as a hurdle-culture shock stage in which nothing works out smoothly and emotional frustration and resentment set in. This stage can occur rapidly, immediately after the glow of the honeymoon phase is over and reality sets in sooner than expected. At this stage, sojourners experience a major loss of self-esteem and self-confidence. They often feel emotionally drained and overwhelmed, and they experience intense communication stressors in many aspects of their lives. Many of these sojourners can either become very aggressive/hostile or totally withdrawn when facing these stressful episodes. Anderson (1994), for example, identifies three types of "culture shockers": (1) the early returnees—those who tend to use aggressive or passive-aggressive strategies and blame the host culture's "hostile environment" for their increased anxious state and often return prematurely to their home cultures; (2) the time servers—those who are doing a minimally passable job with minimal host contact and who are emotionally and cognitively "serving their time," but eagerly looking forward to returning home; and (3) the participators—those who are committed to adjust optimally and to participate fully in their new culture and who take advantage of both instrumental and socioemotional learning in the new environment.

The "early returnees" tend to use *pounce* strategies or passive–aggressive strategies and blame all their problems on the new culture. They constantly use their ethnocentric standards to compare and evaluate the local practices and customs. They exit their overseas assignments prematurely because of the "uncivilized" people they have to deal with on a daily basis (Brown, 2009). Yiping, a young woman from China who had been studying in the United States for seven months, complained to her Chinese friends:

We have three parts of the earned grade in this class. One third is discussion participation, the other two-thirds are writing articles. So if you don't talk, you lose one third of your points. So you have to talk. Talking is so exhausting! And it's not just talk, you know, from

the material. You need to say what you *think* about it. But in China, you just remember the expert answer. That's my educational experience in China. But here it's like, okay, no right answers. Every answer is correct. You just need to give your own perspective loudly and with back-up evidence. I'm so worn-out from talking and stressed all the time. I'm here to learn from the expert professors; why do they care about my opinions? I'm so ready to go home to China now! (in Hotta & Ting-Toomey, 2013, p. 556).

The "time servers" tend to use *avoidance* strategies. They adopt either physical avoidance or psychological withdrawal strategies to avoid interacting with host members. They do their job or they fulfill their role in attaining their instrumental goals. However, they are fairly dissatisfied in the socioemotional connection area and feel quite isolated. They also tend to engage in wishful-thinking strategies and count the days until they can go home. In an intercultural adjustment interview study (Hotta & Ting-Toomey, 2013), Mariko, who had been studying in the United States for 17 months, described her problem with her roommate and how she handled it:

Sometimes when I'm tired or not feeling very well, it appears on my face. And my American roommates started to tell me how small my eyes are. "You are Japanese, and your eyes are usually small, but it's getting smaller, and smaller, and I couldn't see them." I took it as a joke at first. But the problem is, she didn't stop even though I tried to show that I was becoming annoyed. . . . However, whenever I tried to tell her about my problems, she started telling me it's my cultural background, or tried to talk about her own problems instead. She was never really respectful or caring of me. I now tried to avoid my roommate and stayed in the library more. I'm now counting down my months when I can go home and sleep on my own cozy futon bed (in Hotta & Ting-Toomey, 2013, p. 561).

Finally, the "participators" use active commitment strategies to realign their identities with the new culture. They try to engage in positive self-talk and positive situational appraisal strategies. They also intentionally develop new communication competence practices to connect with their new culture. They are committed to using an ethnorelative lens to view things from the other culture's frame of reference (Iyer, 1989). With the help of supportive networks, incremental task goal progression, and their personal emotional resilience, many sojourners can pull themselves out from the frustration/hostility stage and arrive at the recovery curve. Natalia, a Colombian student who has been in the United States for 18 months, talked about how her attitude changed so that she became more of a participant in the U.S. culture:

I think [my attitude] changed when I started applying (for the master's program). Because I see that I will stay here for two years or more. So that's a lot of time. Then in this process, I have to start to make new American friends, and not to talk too much with the same friends in Colombia. . . . I make a decision to participate more in the American culture—watch more American news, talk more to American students in class, and learn to visit Professors in their office which I'm not used to back home. I want to really know how the American mind ticks, why they all seem so confident and carefree! (Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2012, pp. 103–104; see also Hotta & Ting-Toomey, 2013).

At the rebound or humorous adjustment stage, sojourners learn to laugh at their cultural faux pas and start to realize the pros and cons of each culture—just as there are both good and bad people in every society. They experience a mixture of stressadaptation-growth emotions (Y. Y. Kim, 1988, 2005), such as small frustrations and small triumphs. For example, on his first-ever sojourn in Missoula, Montana, Tenzin was invited to lunch by his U.S. American friend. He ordered salad but did not know anything about salad dressing (such as Blue Cheese and Italian), so he politely said no to dressing. He nibbled at the salad while waiting for the main course (in his culture, salad is a side dish; never a main dish). Nothing came and he sensitively asked his friend about the main food to which he said, "Did you order anything? If not, that's it." Tenzin was too shy to order another main dish (to save his face and also give face to his friend), so to be polite he ended up eating just a bit of the dry, flavorless salad and returned home to cook lunch for himself. It was a stressful and awkward experience then, but looking at the incident retrospectively, he finds humor in it, Later, he learned to enjoy different types of salad with different types of dressing. At this stage, sojourners are able to compare both their home and their host cultures in realistic terms; they no longer take things as seriously as they did in the hostility stage. They can now take a step backward and look at their own behavior and reactions objectively and with a sense of light-heartedness and amusement. Taskwise, they are making progress in attaining their instrumental goals (e.g., achieving their MBA degree or acquiring new business skills). They are beginning to form new friendships and social networks. These sojourners eventually arrive at the next stage.

At the *in-sync adjustment stage*, sojourners feel "at home" and experience identity security and inclusion. The boundaries between outsiders and insiders become fuzzier, and sojourners experience social acceptance and support. From an identity negotiation perspective, not only have they gained identity respect and identity validation but also intergroup convergence and harmony. They are now easily able to interpret "bizarre" local customs and behaviors from an isomorphic attribution viewpoint. They may be savvy enough to speak the local language with flair, even catching some verbal jokes and puns and perhaps responding with a one-up joke. They may now even act as role models or mentors to incoming sojourners from their home cultures. During the insync adjustment stage, sojourners develop a sense of trust and empathy and a wide spectrum of other positive emotions. They become much more creative and adaptive in the new environment. They are capable of making appropriate choices in any new situations that may arise, being at a "comfort level" of their sojourn. However, they must get ready to pack their bags and go home.

In the *ambivalence stage*, sojourners experience grief, nostalgia, and pride, with a mixed sense of relief and sorrow that they are going home. They recall their early awkward days when they first arrived, and they count all the new friends they have made since then. They also look forward eagerly to sharing all their intercultural stories with their family members and old friends back home. They finally say goodbye to their newfound friends and their temporarily adopted culture. They may already start to miss them and are not sure when they will meet again.

At the *reentry culture shock stage*, sojourners face an unexpected jolt (see the next section). Because of the unanticipated reentry shock, its impact is usually very severe, and returnees usually feel more depressed and stressed than they did during their entry culture shock stage. There is a sharp letdown (e.g., their friends or family members have no time, patience, or vested interest or curiosity in hearing all their wonderful overseas intercultural stories) and identity chaos occurs: the greater the distance (i.e., on the cultural values and communication dimensions) between the two cultures, the more intense the reentry shock. Additionally, the more integrated into and time spent abroad, the more difficult this stage becomes. As the sojourners became more integrated in their sojourning cultures, their identities accordingly underwent change and perspective shift. But since most sojourners have become resourceful and resilient individuals, having adapted to their changing social environments, they can recycle some of the commitment strategies they used abroad to pull themselves through to the next stage.

In the *resocialization stage*, some individuals (i.e., the resocializers) may quietly assimilate back into their old roles and behaviors without making much of a "wave" or appearing different from the rest of their peers or colleagues. They bury their newly acquired ideas and skills together with the pictures on their Facebook and/or Instagram pages and try not to look at them again. Looking at these pictures can only cause identity dissonance and disequilibrium. Other individuals (i.e., the alienators), however, can never "fit back" into their home cultures again. They are always the first to accept an overseas assignment. They feel more alive abroad than at home. For example, Jenny, a college junior, has been to Spain, Italy, Mexico, and Hong Kong on study abroad programs. She confessed feeling uneasy and restless at her own university and will spend the next semester in Argentina. Jenny, an alienator, may eventually become a global nomad who claims the global world as her home base rather than any single place as her national cultural affiliation.

Yet other individuals (i.e., the "transformers") are the ones who act as agents of change in their home organizations or cultures. They mindfully integrate their new learning experience abroad with the positive qualities of their own culture (Brown & Brown, 2009; Brown & Holloway, 2008). They apply multidimensional thinking, enriched emotional intelligence, and diverse angles to solve problems or to instigate change for a truly inclusive learning organization. Geeta, from India, studied in the United States for two and one-half years and reflects on the experience as she returns to her home culture: "The U.S. has helped me become more assertive in a respectful way, not aggressive though. The ways of the U.S., this whole concept about space, about individualism versus collectivism, that certainly has merits. Although it has its demerits, it has some merits, too. . . . Placing my own needs as important as the needs of others, and considering my own wants and needs as a priority is an eye-opening experience for me" (Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2012, p. 105; see also Hotta & Ting-Toomey, 2013).

Transformers are the change agents who bring home with them a wealth of personal and cultural treasures to share, actively and responsibly, with colleagues, friends, and families. They do so with interpersonally sensitive and responsive skills—something

they have learned in the foreign environment. They have no fears of acting or being perceived as "different" or being situated in the "outgroup" category; they now have a "taste" of what it means to be different. (However, this taste of difference is qualitatively different from the "difference" that many minority members experience in their every-day lives.) They are comfortable in experiencing the cultural frame-shifting process, for example, being individualists and becoming collectivists (and vice versa), interacting in a low-context style with one set of individuals and switching to a high-context approach with another set of folks. They practice a "third-culture" approach in integrating and activating the best practices of both cultures and creatively fuse them into a third-culture perspective in decision making and problem solving (Casmir, 1997). They are more compassionate and committed than before about global social justice and human rights issues. Transformers are the interculturally competent individuals who have acquired (and are always in the process of acquiring) mindfulness, compassion, and wisdom.

In sum, the revised W-shaped cultural adjustment model basically emphasizes the following characteristics, which can influence the progress of the sojourners' identity change process:

- They must understand the peaks and valleys, and positive and negative shifts, that constitute identity change in an unfamiliar environment, realizing that the frustration-and-triumph roller-coaster ride is part of the change-and-growth process.
- 2. They must be aware and keep track of their instrumental, relational, and identity goals in the new culture; success in one set of goals (e.g., making new friends) can affect triumph in another set of goals (e.g., newfound friends can help to solve a school-related problem).
- 3. They must give themselves some time and space to adjust; they should keep a journal or blog to express their daily feelings and random thoughts, and they should also keep in touch with people in their home culture via letters, emails, and/or social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp, and Skype.
- They must develop both strong ties (meaningful friendships) and weak ties (functional social connections, for example, with supportive teachers, caring counselors, or friendly grocers) to cushion themselves and seek help in times of crisis.
- 5. They must reach out to participate in the host culture's major cultural events—art and music festivals, parades, local museums, or national sports—and immerse themselves in this once-in-a-lifetime experience and learn to enjoy the local culture as much as possible.

The patterns of the revised W-shaped cultural adjustment model consist of backand-forth looping movements within and between stages. Length of sojourn, alone or with family or companion, degree of adaptation commitment, degrees and types of communication competence (e.g., linguistic competence), first-time visit versus repeated visit, and realistic versus unrealistic goals are some other factors that will propel either progressive or regressive loops along the W-shaped model.

Church (1982) and Ward (2004), in reviewing the literature on these developmental models, observe that both the U-curve and the W-shaped models appear to be too general and do not capture the dynamic interplay between sojourners' and host nationals' factors in the adjustment process. In addition, sojourners adapt and learn at different rates. The support for both models is based on one-time cross-sectional data (i.e., one-time surveys of sojourners) rather than longitudinal data (i.e., collection of surveys at different points during sojourners' two-year adjustment). More controversial is the debate as to the initial phase (i.e., the honeymoon stage) of adjustment. Research (Hotta & Ting-Toomey, 2013; McLachlan & Justice, 2009; Osland, 1995) indicates that both international students and managers tend to experience severe identity shock (i.e., the frustration/hostility stage comes very early, side by side with the fleeting honeymoon stage) in the early phase of their sojourn abroad. However, the overseas stressors also motivate them to become more resourceful and resilient in their search for new knowledge and skills in managing the alien environment.

Overall, while previous objective-based survey research studies (Chapdelaine & Alexitch, 2004; Trice, 2004) on intercultural adjustment patterns have emphasized some generalized patterns of international students' adjustment process, recent interpretive studies have uncovered some diverse intercultural adjustment patterns, including a predominant uphill-trend or *M-shaped adjustment pattern* in some of the interviewees (Hotta & Ting-Toomey, 2013). Basically, the majority of the interviewees had only a fleeting honeymoon/euphoria stage and quickly dipped into experiencing the frustration/hostility/self-doubt stage with a low degree of adjustment satisfaction. More specifically, based on the INT framework and the hand-drawn cultural adjustment sketches and narrative accounts of 20 international students, the research findings of Hotta and Ting-Toomey (2013) revealed that nearly three-fourths of the interviewees (14 out of 20) viewed their initial entry adjustment phases as filled with challenges, stress, and emotional frustration. However, the longer the international students or sojourners stayed in the host culture, the more likely they viewed their sojourning experience as going uphill and pulling upward to the in-sync stage in a positive and productive direction. Furthermore, the longer the international students stayed in the United States, the more complex or differentiated their views of their adjustment experiences became (e.g., they saw their sojourning processes as represented by multiple M-shaped curves).

Another distinctive thematic pattern uncovered in this interview study concerns the IINT's identity dialectics of being included—being differentiated. Some of the international student interviewees felt that U.S. host students perceived them as being too different from them and, therefore, the international students felt interpersonal rejection. Concurrently, some of these international interviewees also craved some kind of particularized identity recognition process as "worthy guests" (or cultural ambassadors)

inasmuch as they had rich intercultural resources to offer their roommates, classmates, and professors. Unfortunately, more often than not, these international students did not believe their "special guests' status" was validated or welcomed. In the extreme case of identity differentiation, international students often felt marginalized (e.g., being discriminated). Desiring to belong to, and be accepted by, a group in their new environment, some emotionally secure international students are more likely to continue interacting with dissimilar others and seek to establish intercultural friendships in the new culture. Over time and contingent on the degree of satisfaction with their intercultural friendships and adjustment, these international students may gradually undergo positive identity transformation.

Another intriguing finding from the interview data was the idea of compressed time as a friendship motivator. Although most of the international student participants were from predominantly collectivistic cultures, all of these students valued the amount of time invested in their friendships in their homelands. Time allowed them to "grow together" with their friends. Many individuals in the United States do not realize that international students have a limited stay. The pressures of their compressed time in the United States can negatively affect international students' motivation to develop quality friendships with others. Closing themselves off from friendship networks can be detrimental to their psychological health and emotional growth.

Using Ting-Toomey and Dorjee's (2015, 2017) IINT lens to investigate the intercultural adjustment experiences of international students was beneficial for several reasons. Through the identity negotiation lens, it was possible to identify the international students' identity-based emotional challenges, rewards, and difficulties pertaining to their intercultural adjustment journey in the United States. With the identity security-vulnerability dialectical viewfinder, the researchers (Hotta & Ting-Toomey, 2013) were able to track the international students' identity fluctuating process as they adjusted to the host culture. With the identity inclusion—differentiation sensitizing lens, they were able to hear at first hand some of the culturally insensitive, hurtful comments and discrimination stories of the international students on U.S. campuses. Finally, through the identity consistency—change dialectic, they were able to locate themes associated with the importance of identity continuity and change processes taking place in some of these interviewees; they were also able to explain why some of them preferred to stick close to their "ingroup members" for emotional support, while others tried to branch out to create intercultural friendship with U.S. American classmates.

Despite some of the limitations of the developmental models (such as the honey-moon or identity shock in the beginning stage), there are positive implications: notably, they offer a developmental portrait of the culture shock experience, they illustrate that the culture shock process is filled with peaks and valleys, and they contribute to a holistic understanding of the psychological, affective, behavioral, cognitive, and, ultimately, identity transformations on both group membership and personal identity evolution levels in the sojourners' sojourning experiences. The spiraling tugs-and-pull and strain-and-stretch experience in dealing with internal and external changes and struggles form part of the larger human evolution story. Based on our integrative theorizing

on intercultural and intergroup communication competence (see Chapters 2 and 5), sojourners can acquire and further their competency components to prepare and manage intercultural shock adjustment effectively.

Reentry Culture Shock: Surprises and Resocialization

At the outset, reentry culture shock seems counterintuitive because the sojourner is returning to the home cultural environment in which the sojourner had primary socialization and familiarity with culture values and role expectations. However, the phenomenon of reentry culture shock has received increased attention from intercultural researchers (Martin & Harrell, 1996, 2004; Sussman, 1986). In light of how cultures and people change, reentry culture shock seems real. Reentry shock involves the realignment of one's new identity with a once-familiar home environment. After living abroad for an extensive period of time, reentry culture shock appears inevitable.

The identity realignment process can sometimes be more stressful and jarring than entry culture shock because of the unanticipated nature of one's own identity change and the accompanying change of one's friends and family.

Surprising Elements

According to research (e.g., Chang, 2009; Osland, 1995), the often unanticipated, surprising elements that affect reentry culture shock include the following:

- 1. Sojourners' identity change—the newly acquired values, emotions, cognitions, role statuses, managerial methods, and behaviors are, surprisingly, not a "good fit" with the once-familiar home culture.
- Sojourners' nostalgic and idealized images of their home culture—sojourners tend to remember the positive aspects of their culture and forget its negative facets during their experience abroad, and thus, the reentry reality often produces a strong shock.
- 3. Sojourners' difficulty in reintegrating themselves into their old career pathway or career roles because of their new cultural lenses.
- 4. Sojourners' letdown in their expectations as to close ties with family members and friends who have become more distant because of the long separation.
- 5. Family and friends' lack of interest in listening to the sojourning stories of the returnee and their growing impatience with her or him.
- The home culture's demand for conformity and expectations for performing old roles.
- 7. The absence of change in the home culture (e.g., the old system or workplace looks stale and boring in comparison with the overseas adventure) or too much

change (e.g., political or corporate upheavals) which can also create immense identity disjunction for the recent returnees.

Thus, reentry culture shock can be understood from the perspective of three domains: the returnees' readiness to resocialize themselves in the home environment, the degree of change in the returnees' friendship and family networks, and the home receptivity conditions. Sussman (1986) recommends that, on the individual level, awareness of change should be a major component of reentry training as individuals face a wide range of psychological and environmental challenges. Pusch and Loewenthall (1988) further recommend that preparation for a successful return should include: (1) recognition of what sojourners are leaving behind and what they have gained in their assignments abroad; (2) the emotional costs of transition; (3) the value of worrying (i.e., anticipating and preparing for difficulties that may occur); (4) the need for support systems and ways to develop them; and (5) the necessity of developing one's own strategies for going home.

Resocialization: Profiles of Different Returnees

Adler (1997) identifies three profiles of returnee managers in relationship to the specific transition strategies they employ: resocialized returnees, alienated returnees, and proactive returnees. *Resocialized returnees* are those who fit back into their home countries with moderate satisfaction. They try to blend themselves back into their previous professional roles, and they are also psychologically distant from their international experience. They try to use the fit-back-in strategy and resocialize themselves quietly into the domestic corporate structure. They typically rate their reentry experience as moderately satisfactory.

Alienated returnees, in contrast, are keenly aware of the new skills and innovative ideas they gained in their experience abroad. However, they have difficulty applying their new knowledge in the home organizations. Rather, they try to use the "distance–rejective" strategy of being onlookers in their home culture. Of all the three types, they are the most dissatisfied. They find themselves "misfits" in their original home culture.

Proactive returnees (or transformers) are highly aware of changes in themselves and the new values and skills they have learned overseas. They try to adopt a synergistic perspective that can integrate the new values and practices learned from the sojourning culture into the home culture, and they develop an integrated outlook in their reentry phase. While abroad, the proactive managers tend to use proactive communication to maintain close ties with the home organization via formal and informal means. They also have a home-based mentor to look after their interests and pass on important corporate information. Their mentor keeps the home-based headquarters informed of the sojourner's achievements while abroad.

Proactive managers might report the acquisition of the following skills in their assignments abroad: alternative managerial skills, tolerance of ambiguity, multiple reasoning perspectives, and ability to work with and manage others. They further report

that their new intercultural communication skillsets improve their self-image and self-confidence. Not surprisingly, returnees who receive validation (e.g., promotions) from their bosses and recognition from their colleagues in their home-based organizational culture report higher reentry satisfaction than do returnees who receive no such validation or recognition (Adler, 1997). The notion of home is indeed an intriguing and evolving phenomenon.

Where Is Home?

Home is a complex concept, and returning home is an elusive idea for many sojourners (see also Chapter 4, on immigrants' acculturation processes). Some returned sojourners may experience a sense of "reverse homesickness." Just as in their overseas culture, symbols and interaction rituals incrementally moved from perceived "strangeness" to perceived "familiarity," these returnees now have to find their way back into their own home turf to feel connected, to experience a sense of familiarity and of identity belonging. The more challenging the overseas assignments were, the more cognitive and emotional resources expanded in the abroad culture and the more challenges the returnees may face upon returning to their own homelands. Notably, men and women in uniform stationed abroad, especially those who have participated in a war for their country, find it very hard to return to civilian life. As LaBrack (2015) noted: "Globally, tens of millions of men and women have served in their nation's conflicts and returned home to find positive readjustment elusive. Given the realities of war, it is not surprising that not only does a return to civilian life often proven [sic] difficult to soldier[s], but it may also require a significant amount of time and appropriate intervention to successfully reintegrate" (pp. 726-727). It is obvious that for those experiencing reentry culture shock, developmental training, timely mental and physical health support facilities, and responsive network support groups and sacred dialogue spaces are needed to make the returned military individuals feel welcomed and appreciated

Another group who struggles with the question "Where is home?", involves the TCK group. The young TCKs rarely know their home-based passport country as intimately as their parents or older siblings do. They also may hold dual nationality passports, and their sense of "home-based country" boundary may be much more fluid and elastic than their parents' nostalgic "root-country" connection. There are also ATCKs living in countries not their own and numbering over two million.

According to Pico Iyer's (2013, June) TedGlobal Talk, "Where Is Home?" the British-born, California-raised essayist and travel writer referred to a growing tribe of floating people "living in countries not their own numbering 220 million." He further mentioned: "The number of us who live outside the old nation-state categories—a population that increased by 64 million just in the last 12 years—that soon there will be more of us than there are Americans." These are astounding numbers indeed about a "portable tribe" who represent, in Iyer's terms, "the fifth-largest nation on Earth." They see themselves as global citizens, and their sense of home is not tied to any particular national boundary or map. From an intercultural and intergroup perspective, their

identity and communication styles are not necessarily tied to or shaped by either individualism or collectivism or low-context or high-context communication socialization. They flexibly crisscrossed intercultural boundaries and adapted nimbly to the expected demands and norms of a particular cultural milieu. They tend to have a broader vision of global social justice and global responsibility issues than their generational cohorts who have not traveled as extensively.

Thus, the meaning and connection of a home-based culture are in increased fluctuation and fluidity. Static notions of identity, nationality, and home culture may give way to a fluid construction of the meaning of home boundary with clearly defined geographical or fixed spatial borders. By the mid-half of the 21st century, more individuals will claim the global culture as their home ocean, and they will most likely see their temporary locales as their transitional "home rafts." They will also likely be the core group who emphasizes secular ethics and all-encompassing humanistic values (such as compassion, forgiveness, and inclusive empathy; see Chapter 12) that guide their moral well-being and their sense of global social justice direction. Indeed, for this fifth global portable tribe, home is becoming more lithe and yet more cartable—from one soulful connection to another, and from one precious karmic meeting encounter to the next. In the global encountering space—time continuum, what seems unfamiliar can become instantaneously familiar, and what seems invisible can become immediately noticed, affirmed, and reciprocally embraced.

CHAPTER SUMMARY AND MINDFUL GUIDELINES

In this chapter, we explored the motivations and expectations of sojourners crossing diverse cultural boundaries. We defined culture shock and probed the pros and cons of culture shock. We argued that culture shock is an inevitable experience but that the sojourner's affective attitude, behavioral adaptation, and metacognitive "sense-making" process in the new culture will help sojourners manage their culture shock process and outcome competently. We examined the different factors of why some individuals deal with their intercultural adjustment process effectively, while others have a miserable time. We also talked about the developmental ups and downs of the sojourning adjustment experience across time and suggested concrete strategies to manage culture shock responsively. Last, we emphasized the importance of paying attention to reentry culture shock issues and considered the intriguing question "Where is home" in this mobile, in-flux 21st century.

Here are some final mindful tools for managing sojourners' culture shock competently—whether you are going overseas for business, study, enjoyment, or culture learning immersion purposes:

Newcomers should realize that culture shock is inevitable. It is an unavoidable experience that most people encounter when relocating from a familiar environment to an unfamiliar one.

- 2 New arrivals should understand that culture shock arises because of the unfamiliar environment, when one is bombarded and saturated with unfamiliar cues. Developing a realistic and positive-oriented learning outlook in viewing their new cultural environment may help to lower their stress level.
- 3 Making an effort to establish broad-based contacts with members of the host culture and learning to communicate with them can increase local knowledge, communication fluency, and reduce apprehension and vulnerability. Cultivating some deep friendship ties with both coethnic nationals and host nationals can, in the long run, ease loneliness and increase emotional vitality and connectiveness.
- A New media should be used with balance: maintaining online ethnic ties for informational and emotional support is a good start in initial adjustment. For long-term adjustment effectiveness, however, it is critical that sojourners mingle with multicultural individuals from different identity sectors in order to understand the cultural mosaic in the host society.
- **5** Likewise, the more members of the host culture extend a helping hand and the more they attempt to increase their familiarity with the new arrivals, the more they can increase the newcomers' sense of security and inclusion. The more host individuals learn about and associate with dissimilar others, the more they widen their scope of the human experience.
- Culture shock is induced partly by an intense feeling of incompetence. By seeking out positive role models or mentors, newcomers may be able to find reliable and competent cultural bridge persons in easing the stress level of their initial culture shock experience.
- Newcomers should realize that culture shock is a transitional affective phase of stress that ebbs and flows from high to low intensity. New arrivals must hang on to a resilient sense of humor and emphasize the positive aspects of the unfamiliar cultural environment. Rather than prolonged focus and concentration on its negative aspects, it is important to realize that these "growing pains" may lead to long-term personal and professional growth and development.

CRITICAL THINKING AND CONNECTIVE APPLICATION QUESTIONS

- 1. What are the ABCs of culture shock, and how have you experienced them in different situations such as study abroad, abroad work assignment, or domestic relocation (e.g., East Coast to West Coast in the United States or vice versa; different schools and workplace situations), and international and intercultural collaborative initiatives?
- 2. Relating to the opening story, what advice would you give Tenzin to deal with or reduce his cultural shock experience with the "Tea Interview" case story? How would

- you explain to him the different treatment between tea drinker and coffee drinker and the cultural values attached to tea drinking versus coffee drinking practices in the larger U.S. society?
- 3. Which of the culture shock models—the W-model or the M-model—better explains your experiences of culture shock? How did you deal with your culture shock, and what has or has not worked well? How can you improve these models?
- 4. What do you think of reentry culture shock, and have you experienced it? Based on research insight, your reentry culture shock experience, or observed reentry culture shock experiences of others, can you create a graphic model of reentry culture shock and mark and connect all the essential concepts?
- **5.** How would you answer "Where is home?" and how is your answer similar to or different from that of the floating-tribe people like Pico lyer? What lessons can we learn from each other's notions of "home" with regard to managing culture shock adjustment issues?
- 6. Discuss how the competent intercultural and intergroup identity negotiation process (review Chapters 1 and 2) can enable us to manage culture shock adjustment adaptively in different unfamiliar cultural community settings—whether you are crossing international boundaries or navigating domestic ethnic boundaries?

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