

ANTECEDENTS OF INTERCULTURAL
ADJUSTMENT OF AMERICAN
EXPATRIATES IN THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF CHINA

By

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Bachelor of Science
College of William and Mary
Williamsburg, Virginia
1975

Master of Education
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Oklahoma State University
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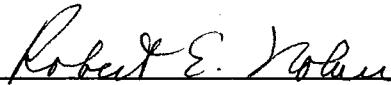
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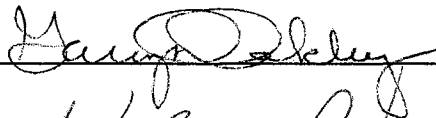
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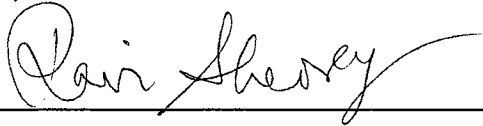
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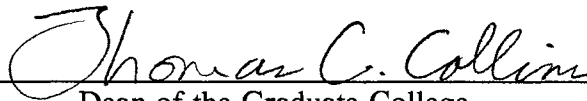


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Dean of the Graduate College

PREFACE

It is a challenge to live comfortably and work effectively in any culture other than ones own, particularly if the cultures are as different as those of America and China. And yet, the changes in international business and shifts in the global balance of power dictate that such cultural exchanges must increase in frequency.

The West has long been fascinated with China, and modern China is, at times, no less mysterious and intriguing than the courts of the emperors of the past. Some Americans live and work in China with apparent ease, making the cultural adjustments without difficulty. Other Americans struggle with the cultural differences, make themselves and others miserable, and ultimately leave without fulfilling their personal and professional goals.

This study seeks to understand the factors that influence the success or failure of Americans in making this adjustment to the culture of China. To this end, interviews were conducted with American businesspeople, educators, and U.S. Embassy personnel in Beijing. A knowledge of their backgrounds, personalities, attitudes, and actions has yielded a greater understanding of these antecedents of cultural adjustment.

I am grateful to the American expatriates living in Beijing who told me about themselves and their experiences in China. I trust that their candor and insight will benefit the others who follow.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research could never have been conducted without the unfailing support of my wife, Nancy, and daughters Anne, Elizabeth, and Abigail. Their consistent faith and understanding enabled me to “finish the race and complete the task. . . .”

I am indebted to Timothy Baker and family of Beijing for their friendship and hospitality while I conducted research in China. They not only opened their home and hearts to me, but arranged many of the contacts in the early stages of the study.

My friends and colleagues at Oral Roberts University and University Language Services were a constant source of encouragement and practical assistance, often taking on additional duties so that I could be free to conduct this research.

Finally, I am grateful for the guidance and encouragement of my doctoral committee: Dr. Robert Nolan, Dr. Gary Oakley, Dr. Ravi Sheorey, and Dr. William Venable. As my major advisor, Dr. Nolan provided overall direction and much needed guidance in the reporting of the data. His enthusiasm for this project was especially heartening during its final stages.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

The Internationalization of Business

The globalization of American business and the growing reality of a world economy are shaping the futures of many American organizations. In 1989, the United States had more than 3500 multinational corporations, 55,000 companies with regular international involvement, and 40,000 firms that carried out periodic operations abroad (Harrison & Moran, 1991). The top ten American multinational companies together derive an average of 52.8% of their total revenue from foreign business (Forbes, 1993).

American companies have awakened to the potential of China in particular, both as a source of inexpensive manufacturing and as a market for American goods. China has the "fastest growing economy on earth," with an annual growth of over ten percent from 1991 to 1995 (Zhang & Liu, 1995, p. 3). In the first half of 1995, exports had increased by a staggering 44% and imports increased by 15% from the year before (Qiu, 1995).

The U.S. invested approximately \$2.8 billion in China between 1985 and 1992 (Foreign Invasion, 1993). The total foreign trade between the United States and China in 1992 was nearly \$17.5 billion, with imports and exports roughly balanced (China Statistical Yearbook, 1993). As of March 1994, Beijing alone had 246

American representative offices and joint ventures (U.S. Commercial Office Report; 1994). A compilation of the number of American firms, representative offices, and joint ventures in the regions with the greatest economic growth indicates there are at least 576 such endeavors. However, the number is increasing so rapidly that much American involvement is unreported (U.S. Commercial Office Reports, 1994, 1993, 1992; Shanghai American Consulate General, 1993). The Chinese State Bureau of Foreign Experts placed the number of Americans currently working in China through their office at approximately 8,000 (Hu, personal communication, May 5, 1994).

The Role of Expatriates

The internationalization of American business requires large numbers of on-site personnel who have expertise in doing business in the local cultural context. This need has been met both by hiring host nationals for management positions and by transferring Americans abroad for either short or long term service. In Europe, where American business has operated for some time and where there is a large pool of qualified managers, more companies are hiring nationals. Crumley (1991) estimated that the numbers of American expatriates in Europe have declined by 45% in the past ten years, citing the expense of expatriating managers and the effectiveness of national workers in dealing with cultural issues.

The use of expatriates and the specific role they play differs from one corporation to another and even within the same corporation, depending on local

conditions and business objectives. The Chevron Corporation uses very few expatriates, mostly management and technical experts, while AT&T uses expatriates extensively to impart the corporate culture to the host nationals as quickly as possible (Soloman, 1994). Kobrin (1988) analyzed the place of the expatriates and concluded that they play a crucial role in multinational corporations, as they alone understand both local and global conditions for the company.

There is also a growing trend to view international assignments as not only a means to meet specific on-site management needs, but as a training ground for executives who may be located in the United States, but who will need to deal with global issues. Black, Gregersen, and Mendenhall (1992) described the strategic importance of managers who have international experience, and saw them as crucial to the success of international firms. A number of American multinational corporations have adopted this view. General Electric estimated that 25% of its managers should have some overseas experience, and Colgate Palmolive has had a program to familiarize its managers with international settings since the mid 1980's (Black et al., 1992). Solomon (1994, p. 88) stated that "Eventually, human capital will cross national borders as easily as computer chips and cars do."

Seventy percent of American multinational corporations send personnel overseas (Caudron, 1991). As an indication of the ongoing significance of overseas operations, Terpstra & David (1991, p. 16) argue for the establishment of a department of "intercultural management" in large multinational firms and the need

for a "cultural policy" to guide personnel departments. Seen in the light of long-term strategy, the American expatriate plays a pivotal role in the success of American companies in international endeavors.

Expatriate Failure

Despite the importance of expatriates, a substantial number of Americans abroad are unable to complete their assignments. Caudron (1991) reports a failure rate ranging from 18% to 68%, depending upon the location. Other estimates fall within this range (Copeland & Griggs, 1985; Marquardt & Engel, 1993). These failures cost companies between \$55,000 and \$150,000 each, nearly \$2 billion annually (McEnery & DesHarnais, 1990).

Nor do these figures reflect the reality that the expatriate who ultimately fails in the assignment is likely to have been ineffective for some time, possibly offending host nationals and damaging the long-term success of the organization (Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985). Copeland & Griggs (1985) cite an estimate that up to 60% of expatriates are functioning less than optimally. As stated by Hofstede (1991, p. 226): "Culturally clumsy expatriates can cause damage which is only noticed after their repatriation and which will easily be a multiple of the direct cost of their expatriation."

This failure also takes a toll on the individual in terms of career path, self-confidence and compounded stress on the family. If global assignments are seen to be negative, personally or professionally, it becomes that much more difficult to

recruit excellent candidates (Black et al, 1992; Yates, 1994).

√ Failure in an overseas assignment is rarely due to lack of technical expertise, but rather because of an inability to adapt to cultural differences (Tung, 1981; Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985; McEnery & DesHarnais, 1990; Caudron, 1991; Foxman & Polsky, 1991; Derderian, 1993; Marquardt & Engel, 1993).

Continued Cultural Diversity

The future holds little promise for making the work of the international manager any easier. Despite economic interdependence and improvements in travel and communication, different cultures are not becoming more alike except in very superficial ways. Rather than greater uniformity in markets and practice, increasing diversity is the order of the day. A homogenous global culture is very unlikely (Smith, 1990). √ Essential cultural values have changed little in the past hundred years and promise to change only very slowly in the future regardless of the degree of intercultural contact (Hofstede, 1991). As Toffler (1990, p. 341) states in his analysis of the effect of mass media: ". . . we are likely to see a multiplicity of quite different global villages . . . all straining to retain or enhance their cultural, ethnic, national, or political individuality."

The international manager must be able to move between these multiple cultures and work successfully in a variety of settings.

Problem

Expatriates, and the organizations which send them, have an inadequate

understanding of those factors that facilitate adjustment to the host culture. The success of expatriate managers is of great importance for American multinational corporations. A greater understanding of the antecedents of this adjustment, particularly as they relate to Americans in China, would assist organizations in selecting, preparing, and supporting workers abroad.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to define and describe the antecedents of intercultural adjustment for American expatriates in the People's Republic of China. This study explores the expatriate's own experience of preparing for life and work in China and describes those factors the expatriate feels are important to adjustment. This examination of the experiences of expatriates while actually in China yields a greater understanding of both internal and external factors that facilitate intercultural adjustment. Internal qualities include personality traits, knowledge, expectations, and attitudes. External factors include interpersonal relationships, aspects of the host culture, and the living and working situation.

Significance of the Study

Qualitative research cannot be generalized in the same sense that a properly designed quantitative study can. Instead, "[Evaluators] ought to think in terms of . . . testing the degree of fit between the context in which the working hypotheses were generated and the context in which they are to be next applied" (Guba & Lincoln, 1981, p.120). Nevertheless, this study should be of interest to American

organizations and individuals concerned with successful adaptation to life and work in China.

American expatriates' reactions to China make a compelling study for several reasons. First of all, Chinese culture is very different from American culture, requiring a major shift in perspective and behavior. Secondly, Chinese culture has many commonalities with other nations on the Pacific Rim, particularly those rooted in Confucianism. Finally, in light of the growing economic, political, and military importance of China, it is advantageous for Americans to increase our understanding of this rising superpower.

Limitations of the Study

This study deals only with the experiences of a group of American expatriates living and working in the capital city of The People's Republic of China. It was conducted at a specific moment in China's political and economic history. These precise conditions have never existed before and may not continue for an extended period. This group of American expatriates has pioneered and persevered in a climate that has been chaotic and ambivalent toward foreigners. As Guba & Lincoln's (1981) note in their discussion of the application of qualitative research, any interpretation or extrapolation of this study must be done with this context in mind.

Assumptions of the Study

A basic assumption of qualitative research is that it is most appropriate to

study some aspects of human behavior in a specific situation, and that particularistic, individual study can yield useful insights. It is important to understand the meanings that certain experiences hold for the participants (Merriam, 1988; Guba & Lincoln, 1981). Intercultural adaptation is a complex, highly personal phenomenon that is firmly embedded in a unique context, and cannot be fully understood apart from that context.

It is assumed that the design of a valid qualitative study can be based upon the categories and correlations established by quantitative studies.

It is assumed that the interviewees are truthful, aware, insightful sources of data, and that their self report of motives, feelings, attitudes and behaviors is essentially accurate.

Definition of Terms

Throughout this study, America and its various forms refers to the United States of America.

Expatriate is used to denote American citizens who live outside the U.S.A., in accordance with common usage among personnel directors and Americans overseas themselves (Copeland & Griggs, 1985). In addition to American citizenship, expatriates should be American-born or so thoroughly acculturated that their perspectives and behavioral patterns are identical to the American-born. Expatriates are sojourners, distinct from tourists, immigrants, and, for the purposes of this study, students. They include those in business, education, or government

who expect to be overseas for one year or more.

✓ Culture is the way of life of a people (Seelye, 1984), and culture shock is the psychological, and sometimes physical, distress which is often experienced by those functioning outside the boundaries of their own culture. Culture shock may be considered one stage in the process of acculturation (Brown, 1987).

✓ Adaptation and adjustment, and their various forms, are paired with intercultural or cross-cultural, and are used interchangeably (Furnham, 1987; Berry et al, 1987) to indicate a change in attitude and behavior that better fits the values and practices of a new culture.

✓ Antecedents of intercultural adjustment are those factors that contribute to adjustment, adaptation, and effectiveness.

Semistructured interview refers to an interview technique whose degree of structure falls between that of a carefully scripted interview that is essentially an oral questionnaire and an open-ended conversation. "These interviews are guided by a list of questions or issues to be explored, but neither the exact wording nor the order of the questions is determined ahead of time." (Merriam, 1988, p. 74).

Summary and Transition

American organizations and enterprises cannot be successful internationally unless American expatriates can fulfill their duties. The primary obstacle to this is the expatriate's inability to adapt culturally. This study seeks to clarify and define those factors that are important to the cultural adjustment of Americans living and

working in Beijing, People's Republic of China, to the end that intercultural adjustment may be facilitated.

The literature of intercultural adjustment, particularly for professionals living abroad, crosses several disciplines. Significant contributions have been made from the fields of anthropology, sociology, psychology, and management. Chapter II reviews the research foundations of this study and describes several studies in international adjustment that serve as its basis.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Culture Shock

Culture Defined

Culture has been defined as ". . . an all-encompassing form or pattern for living. It is complex, abstract, and pervasive." (Samovar & Porter, 1991). It is the set of norms accepted by a society (Torbiorn, 1987) and involves virtually all that we know. It includes values, religious beliefs, and rules for decision-making and interpersonal relationships. It is a largely unconscious shaper of our world (Hall, 1959).

Perspectives of Culture Shock

When one steps out of this familiar, sensible, manageable world into that of a new culture, the individual may be assaulted with challenges to fundamental beliefs concerning what is normal and natural (Briggs & Harwood, 1982). These call for a realignment of perspective and change in the operating procedures of daily life.

The existence of culture shock, or a period of significant stress associated with adjustment to a new culture, has been widely reported (Furnham, 1987; Gao & Gudykunst, 1990). Kohls (1984) reviewed in detail the problems related to living and working in another culture.

Befus (1988, p. 285), in a review of the literature, arrived at a definition of culture shock as, ". . . an adjustment reaction syndrome caused by cumulative,

multiple, and interactive stress in the intellectual, behavioral, emotional, and physiological levels of a person recently relocated to an unfamiliar culture, and is characterized by a variety of symptoms of psychological distress."

There are four components to Befus' definition. "Intellectual stress" is caused by the need to process a great deal of new information and to rethink what has already been accepted. The sojourner experiences "behavioral stress" as changes must be made in lifestyle. There may be few opportunities for behaviors and relationships that are positively reinforcing. Intellectual and behavioral stresses contribute to "emotional stress." This effect is compounded by anxiety and lowered self-esteem. Finally, physiological problems often result from both the effects of stress and difficulties in adjusting to changing diet, schedule, and environment.

Adelman (1988, p. 186) described the confusion resulting from a cultural misunderstanding of the behavior of others, and stated that, ". . . physical and psychological disorientation can undermine sojourners' sense of mastery and self-esteem."

✓ Grove & Torbiorn (1985) viewed culture shock in light of the overall process of adjustment; it is the second of four stages in a cycle of intercultural adjustment. The sojourner in a new culture must cope with changes in both the mental frame of reference and the applicability, or efficacy of his or her behavior. A low applicability of behavior and high clarity of mental frame of reference characterize Stage I, the "honeymoon" period, during which the individual's behavior is not

appropriate, but the mental frame of reference has not yet been challenged. When the individual realizes that both behavior and understanding are inadequate, Stage II, culture shock occurs. At that point, both the sojourner's clarity of mental frame of reference and applicability of behavior fall below the individual's personal standard of adequacy. At Stage III, the individual's behavior is barely adequate, but understanding lags behind. At Stage IV, the well-adjusted individual is functioning in a familiar environment, and ". . . feels confident that his understanding of how the world works is accurate, complete, clearly perceived, and positively useful in guiding behavior" (p. 206). He and his associates also "recognize that his behavior is highly acceptable and effective . . ." (p. 206). The clarity of the mental frame of reference and the applicability of behavior are well above a standard of adequacy. The adjustment process involves a realignment of both the mental frame of reference and behavior.

Gao and Gudykunst (1990) concluded that the many difficulties of sojourners are symptomatic of underlying uncertainty and anxiety. The sojourner's uncertainty arises from not knowing how to behave in the new culture. Anxiety arises from a lack of security.

Intercultural Adjustment

The Relationship Between Adjustment, Adaptation, and Effectiveness

The process of getting through the culture shock phase, gaining the necessary understanding, learning appropriate behaviors, resolving uncertainty, overcoming

intellectual and behavioral stress, and regaining a sense of mastery and self-esteem, is often described as intercultural adjustment. According to Grove & Torbiorn (1985), the term intercultural adaptation can be used to describe similar processes. The concept of intercultural effectiveness is likewise closely related to both adjustment and adaptation. The literature supports the usage of these terms as very nearly synonymous.

Hannigan (1990) reviewed the literature to determine current usage of the terms adjustment, adaptation, acculturation, assimilation, and effectiveness. He states (p. 91):

✓ Adjustment can be conceptualized as a psychosocial concept which has to do with the process of achieving harmony between the individual and the environment. Usually this harmony is achieved through changes in the individual's knowledge, attitudes, and emotions about his or her environment. This culminates with satisfaction, feeling more at home in one's new environment, improved performance, and increased interaction with host country persons.

Definitions of adaptation tend to address the same issues as adjustment, and ". . . for some theorists adjustment and adaptation overlap to a certain degree or are synonymous" (p. 92).

At times, the term acculturation is used to refer to the long-term, relatively permanent changes in cultural identity experienced by immigrants. However, Dyal

and Dyal (1981) included sojourner personnel of multinational corporations in their discussion of acculturation, indicating that the term is also appropriate for those making a more temporary adjustment to cultural differences. Hannigan (1990, p. 92) concluded:

In short, the terms adjustment, adaptation, acculturation and assimilation describe change that occurs when individuals or groups have contact with a different culture. These terms are not clearly differentiated. In some cases they are used interchangeably; however, some theorists differentiate among them.

The literature on intercultural effectiveness can also illuminate issues of intercultural adjustment. Hawes and Kealey (1981) distinguished between adjustment, adaptation, and effectiveness in Canadian assistance personnel working overseas, but found the latter to be a function of the former two.

Walton (1990) included adaptation in her discussion of stress management and overseas effectiveness. Hammer (1986) tied his conclusions about intercultural effectiveness to the literature on sojourner adjustment. Martin and Hammer (1989) associated intercultural communicative competence with sojourner adaptation. Cui and Awa (1992, p. 314) stated: "Intercultural effectiveness should be conceptualized as a multifaceted construct, broad and comprehensive enough to include all the major predictors of cross-cultural adaptation."

Thus, intercultural adjustment and adaptation both refer to the

accommodation that a sojourner makes to a new culture, bringing attitudes and behavior in line with the new culture, and resulting in increased effectiveness.

Models of Intercultural Adjustment

Defining Intercultural Adjustment

Intercultural adjustment is a complex process that invites examination from a variety of perspectives: the psychological processes involved in the reduction of acculturative stress (Berry, Kim, & Boski, 1987), the acceptance or rejection of characteristics of the host culture (Mendoza, 1989), a gradual amelioration of a deficit in social skills (Furnham, 1987), a realignment of expectations to fit a new reality (Earley, 1987), and even as a personal odyssey culminating in a philosophical shift in world view akin to a religious experience (Yoshikawa, 1987). Emphasizing the subjective nature of all experience, Casse (1981) viewed the process of cultural adaptation as a change in thinking, an internal shift in attitudes that involves self-discovery as well as discovery of the new culture.

As noted earlier, Grove and Torbiorn (1985) conceptualized intercultural adjustment as a four-stage process that involves the individual's clarity of mental frame of reference, applicability of behavior, and subjective standard of adequacy. The process of adjustment involves raising the mental clarity and behavioral applicability levels to some point above the level of adequacy. They note that these levels seldom if ever reach the level achieved in the home culture setting.

Brislin, Cushner, Cherrie, and Yong (1986) presented a particularly useful

three-part criterion for successful cultural adaptation. This includes good personal adjustment, as indicated by a sense of well being, good interpersonal relations, both from the perspective of the expatriate and the host nationals, and effectiveness in completing work goals.

Measuring Intercultural Adjustment

Definitions of cultural adaptation are closely linked to attempts to assess the degree of an individual's adjustment and/or mastery of specific intercultural communication skills. Adaptation has been measured by performance in role play (Francis, 1990; Harrison, 1992), scales of overt behavior patterns (Mendoza, 1989), and combination measures of knowledge, attitudes, and performance (Renwick, 1980; Casse, 1981). In a review of literature, Pearson (1981) related adaptation to the taking on of host country values and the degree to which social needs are met by interactions with host nationals. Black and Stephens (1989) assessed adjustment using a fourteen-item self-report scale of feelings of adaptedness to various aspects of the host culture, including living conditions, food, shopping, entertainment, health care, relationships with host nationals, job responsibilities, and personal performance.

Elements of Intercultural Adjustment

A number of studies have sought to identify the elements which make up intercultural adjustment.

In a study to further validate the Behavioral Assessment Scale for

Intercultural Communication, Olebe and Koester (1989) defined eight factors in intercultural effectiveness: (1) display of respect, (2) interaction posture, (3) orientation to knowledge, (4) empathy, (5) task-related roles, (6) relational roles, (7) interaction management, and (8) tolerance for ambiguity.

Hammer (1986) confirmed with North American sojourners three general skill areas that are important for intercultural effectiveness: (1) the ability to manage psychological stress, (2) the ability to effectively communicate, and (3) the ability to establish interpersonal relationships (p. 65).

In a study of adjustment and satisfaction of American expatriates, Dunbar equates adjustment with the acquisition of interpersonal skills (1992, p. 1) stating that, ". . . personnel who reported using more culturally appropriate interpersonal skills and cognitions were more satisfied with the assignment."

Antecedents of Adjustment

In addition to defining and describing adjustment, researchers have attempted to determine the antecedents of adjustment, those factors that contribute to adjustment, adaptation, and effectiveness. The literature in this section is reviewed in chronological order.

Studies of General Factors that Impact Adjustment

Hawes and Kealey (1981) studied the adaptation and effectiveness of Canadian personnel working in foreign countries, considering nearly 100 variables. Based on survey data and interviews with both expatriates and host nationals, they

found the [✓]best predictors of intercultural success to be (in order): interpersonal skill in intercultural interactions, self-confidence, and realistic expectations prior to departure.

Tung's (1981) widely-cited study analyzed organizational practices in expatriation, considering selection of personnel, factors crucial to success, and reasons for expatriate failure. She concluded that adjustment was dependent upon technical competence, personality traits, understanding of local conditions, and family adjustment. The most common reason for expatriate failure was inability of the spouse to adjust interculturally.

△ In a review of the empirical literature on factors related to expatriate acculturation, Mendenhall and Oddou (1985) categorized previous findings into four areas (p. 40): (1) The self-oriented dimension includes "reinforcement substitution," "stress reduction," and "technical competence." (2) The others-oriented dimension includes "relationship development" and "willingness to communicate." (3) The perceptual dimension involves "the ability to understand why foreigners behave the way they do" (p. 42) and a nonjudgmental attitude. (4) The cultural-toughness dimension addresses the degree of physical hardship involved in a placement as well as the gap between home and host cultures.

McEnery and DesHarnais (1990) surveyed businesspeople on their views on desirable expatriate background and skills. Technical skills were considered most important, followed by knowledge of host country business practices, human

relation skills, language skills, and cultural knowledge.

Hannigan (1990) reviewed the literature on traits, attitudes, and skills related to intercultural effectiveness, arriving at six categories of factors that facilitate effectiveness and four factors that hinder effectiveness. Among these factors, he identified attitudes such as patience, flexibility, and respect for the host culture as important. Rigidity, ethnocentrism, dependence, and task-oriented behaviors impede adjustment and effectiveness.

In considering intercultural adjustment as uncertainty reduction, Gao and Gudykunst (1990) cite Gudykunst and Hammer's 1988 theory of intercultural adjustment, which identified 16 primary variables affecting adaptation. Gao and Gudykunst concluded that eight of these factors can be addressed by the sojourner or organization (p. 313): (1) second language competence, (2) knowledge of the host culture, (3) attitudes toward the host culture, (4) stereotypes, (5) favorable contact, (6) intimacy of relationships, (7) motivation, and (8) the use of uncertainty reduction strategies.

Black, Mendenhall, and Oddou (1991) reviewed literature on international and domestic adjustment to derive a more complete model of the process of intercultural adjustment. In addition to the factors identified by Mendenhall and Oddou (1985), they added the factors of predeparture training, previous overseas experience, and the adjustment of the expatriate's family. The resulting model distinguishes between anticipatory adjustment and in-country adjustment.

Anticipatory adjustment is affected by factors that are in the domain of both the individual and of the organization. The individual's expectations are shaped by training and previous experience. The organization exerts its influence by its selection criteria. In-country adjustment is affected by factors within the individual, the nature of the job, and the organizational culture. Organization socialization style and nonwork factors such as culture novelty and family-spouse adjustment also have a bearing on overall adjustment. Cultural adjustment was seen as occurring in three spheres, work, interaction with host nationals, and general issues of daily life.

Parker and McEvoy (1993) confirmed this tripartite notion of adjustment in their survey of expatriates of 21 nationalities working in 12 different countries.

Elements of this model were applied in Black and Gregersen's 1991a study of the antecedents of spousal cross-cultural adjustment. The model was more completely applied in a study of the antecedents to cross-cultural adjustment for expatriates in Pacific Rim assignments (Black & Gregersen, 1991b). Specific antecedents explored were previous international experience, culture-related training as provided by an organization or self-initiated, time in the host country, job conflict and ambiguity, association with home nationals and host nationals, the novelty of the culture, spouse's general adjustment, and spouse's interaction adjustment. The correlations between antecedents and the measures of adjustment largely, but not entirely, supported the proposed model.

Time in country and spouse adjustment to interactions with host nationals

were positively related to all aspects of adjustment. Role discretion, ambiguity, and conflict were negatively related to work adjustment. Culture novelty was negatively related to all aspects of adjustments apart from work. In contrast to other studies, previous international experience was not significantly related to adjustment, and prior culture-related training was negatively related to adjustment. Association with host nationals was not related to general adjustment, negatively related to interaction adjustment, and positively related to work adjustment. Overall, of 36 hypothesized relationships, ten were significant, nine in the hypothesized direction. Despite the lack of conclusive results concerning this group of American expatriates in Pacific Rim countries, the antecedent factors investigated and their hypothesized relationships to cultural adaptation were solidly based in the literature and serve as one of the bases for the current study.

Cui and Awa (1992) surveyed 74 American businesspeople in China, asking them to rate 24 skills, traits, or attitudes on their importance for intercultural and work adjustment. They found the elements important for cross-cultural adjustment to be personality traits, interpersonal skills, social interaction, managerial ability, and cultural empathy.

Dunbar (1992) investigated the adjustment and satisfaction of American expatriates. He concluded that those who were able to use a culturally appropriate style in their interpersonal interactions, those who had prior overseas experience, and those in western and more highly developed countries made a better adjustment.

In an extensive review of literature, Naumann (1992) set forth a series of propositions concerning the factors affecting expatriate turnover, which is closely related to adjustment and effectiveness. The categories into which these factors fall include job/task characteristics, organizational characteristics, worker characteristics, attitudes toward the organization, the expatriate's family, country characteristics, career pathing, cross-cultural, and employment alternatives.

Taylor (1994) conducted in-depth interviews with Americans who were successful in another culture to investigate the process of learning to be interculturally competent. Among the factors his interviewees identified as facilitating their adjustment were host language skills, previous experiences of being an outsider, and prior experience in the host culture.

In their 1995 study of factors contributing to success in international assignments, Arthur and Bennett surveyed expatriates from 26 countries. They identified five factors, beginning with the most important: (1) family situation, (2) flexibility/adaptability, (3) job knowledge and motivation, (4) relational skills, and (5) extra-cultural openness.

Table 1 contains a summary of selected factors found to affect expatriate adjustment. Differences in terminology and conceptual framework across studies make it difficult to assemble an exhaustive list or one in which all the factors are at the same level of specificity. Some terms refer to particular behaviors, while others refer an entire class of behaviors or attitudes. Factors were included in the table on

Table 1

Summary of Expatriate Intercultural Adjustment Factors

Factor	Source
✓ Prior overseas experience	Black & Gregersen, 1991; Black, Mendenhall, & Oddou, 1991; Dunbar, 1992
✓ Cross-cultural training	Befus, 1988; Black & Gregersen, 1991; Black & Mendenhall, 1990; Black et al, 1991; Brewster & Pickard, 1994; Deshpande & Viswesvaran, 1992; Earley, 1987; Harrison, 1992
✓ Job or role characteristics	Black & Gregersen, 1991; Feldman & Tompson, 1993; Naumann, 1992
Social support	Adelman, 1988; Black & Gregersen, 1991; Fontaine, 1986
Culture novelty	Black & Gregersen, 1991; Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985
Spouse/family adjustment	Arthur & Bennett, 1995; Black & Gregersen, 1991; Black & Stephens, 1989; Hawes & Kealey, 1981; Naumann, 1992; Tung, 1981

table continues

Factor	Source
Technical competence	Arthur & Bennet, 1995; Hawes & Kealey, 1981; McEnery & DesHarnais, 1990; Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985; Tung, 1981.
Ability to form relationships	Arthur & Bennett, 1995; Hammer, 1986; Hawes & Kealey, 1981; Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985; Tung, 1981; Olebe & Koester, 1989.
Willingness to communicate	Hammer, 1986; Hawes & Kealey, 1981; Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985.
Nonjudgmental or nonevaluative of behavior of host nationals	Arthur & Bennett, 1995; Brislin et al., 1986; Hawes & Kealey, 1985; Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985.
Expectations of daily life and work	Hawes & Kealey, 1985; Naumann, 1992.
Flexibility/Adaptability	Arthur & Bennett, 1995; Hannigan, 1990; Hawes & Kealey, 1981.
Language Skills	Arthur & Bennett, 1995; Gao & Gudykunst, 1990; McEnery & DesHarnais, 1990.

the basis of their support in the literature and apparent importance to the adjustment process. The order of their listing does not reflect their contribution to adjustment.

Studies of Specific Factors that Impact Adjustment

In addition to broad studies that seek to identify general factors that have an impact on intercultural adjustment, the literature contains a number of studies that focus on specific factors such as training, spouse adjustment, and support.

The Effect of Training. Apart from the initial selection process for international assignments, training is one of the primary means by which organizations can influence their assignees. Studies have attempted to conceptualize the training process, prescribe effective approaches, and evaluate its results.

Briggs and Harwood (1982) took an "inoculation approach" to training, and identified 10 elements which should be included in a training program. Albert (1986) developed a conceptual framework for intercultural training, gave nine factors to be considered, and suggested specific training tools. Befus (1988) concluded that a training program held in-country for newly arrived expatriates could ameliorate the effects of culture shock.

Black and Mendenhall (1990) conducted an extensive review of literature to establish the effectiveness of intercultural training. They then linked the training methods to social learning theory, and set forth 11 propositions as to how to maximize the effect of the training.

Deshpande and Viswesvaran (1992) analyzed the data from 21 studies on the

effectiveness of training for expatriate managers. They concluded that training is effective, and identify five areas affected by the training. Brewster and Pickard (1994) followed up on the participants in a British intercultural training program. They ascertained that the training was generally effective, and identified environmental and personal factors that mitigated its impact.

Fewer studies have attempted to determine the effectiveness of specific training approaches. Earley (1987) compared knowledge-oriented and interpersonal skills approaches to intercultural training. While he found no difference between the two, he established that training can affect intercultural competency. Harrison (1992) investigated the effects of behavior modeling and cultural assimilator techniques, concluding that a combined approach is best.

The Effect of Spouse Adjustment. Studies that indicated failure of the spouse to adjust as the primary cause of expatriate failure (Tung, 1981) have drawn attention to this issue. Black and Stephens (1989) confirmed the relationship between spouse adjustment, the adjustment of expatriate managers, and the completion of international assignments. Black and Gregersen (1991) investigated the specific factors that affect the spouse's intercultural adjustment.

The Effect of Social Support Systems. Fontaine (1986) examined the literature on the importance of the social support system of international assignees before departure and after arrival in the host country. He concluded that support from the host and home nationals facilitates intercultural adjustment. Adelman

(1988) examined the literature to determine the role of social support in reducing anxiety and increasing a sense of control in the process of intercultural adjustment.

Literature on Training and Human Resource Development

In the past 10 years, there has been a dramatic increase in the attention given to intercultural adjustment and training issues in the literature for human resource managers. While this literature is generally prescriptive in nature and its sources not well documented, the topics covered and approach taken are indicative of the concerns of organizations and the needs of expatriate managers.

Marquart and Engel (1993) presented an overview of the global issues facing the field of human resource development, especially those related to working cross-culturally. Galagan (1990) interviewed an intercultural consultant on issues in operating internationally. Grove (1990) and Foxman and Polsky (1991) focused on selecting and preparing international assignees. Solomon (1994) discussed the selection process for international assignments. Foster (1995) wrote of the specific cultural barriers facing American managers operating in the Pacific Rim.

The importance of training and guidelines for effective implementation have received attention as well (Caudron, 1991; Derderian, 1993; Dunbar & Katcher, 1990; Forsberg, 1993; Gundling, 1992).

The Design of Research on Intercultural Adjustment

In 1981, Tung commented on the dearth of research on personnel in international assignments and the lack of conceptual frameworks to organize this

information. Since that time many studies have been conducted on the adjustment of professional expatriates, however, the range of data gathering techniques is quite narrow. Of 39 scholarly articles included in this chapter, 16 reviewed the literature in order to construct a model, develop a conceptual framework, or to make an assertion based on a theoretical foundation. The remaining 23 gathered new data. Of these, 18 gathered all data by means of a self-report questionnaire, typically delivered by mail to the subjects. Two studies evaluated role-play performance as a measure. Two studies combined a self-report questionnaire with interviews or rating by host nationals. One study used interview alone. Pearson's (1981) review of literature described data gathering methods for nine of the studies he discussed; all used written self-response questionnaires or scales.

While this review of literature is not exhaustive, it is fairly representative of scholarly works on intercultural training and adjustment from 1981 to 1995. The continuing focus on reviews and model formation may indicate that the field is still in a developmental stage. Generally agreed upon models have not been established.

Almost exclusive use of self-report questionnaires to gather new data may limit the depth of understanding that can be gained of the complex process of expatriate adjustment.

Parker and McEvoy (1993, p. 376) noted that, in investigating intercultural adjustment, survey type research ". . . is limited in its ability to distinguish cause and effect and to determine the nature of the underlying processes at work." They

suggest that longitudinal and qualitative research on intercultural adjustment be conducted.

Summary

Studies on culture shock have sought to define, describe, and conceptualize this aspect of cultural adjustment. Research on the adjustment process itself has, first of all, sought to define intercultural adjustment, then identify the elements which constitute it. No definitive model of intercultural adjustment has been established, though several have been proposed. These models generally include a distinction between adjustment in the workplace and adjustment to the broader cultural context. They further distinguish between adjustment factors that are under the control of the organization or expatriate and those that are part of the environment and cannot be controlled.

Studies that gather new data have sought to establish the antecedents or the factors associated with successful intercultural adjustment in order to decrease the failure rate of international assignees. Though agreement has not been reached as to all the factors affecting intercultural adjustment nor their relative importance, a number of antecedents have been widely corroborated and are generally accepted.

Reviews of literature and conceptual studies seek to establish a framework for understanding the sometimes conflicting data on intercultural adjustment and generate guidelines for practice.

Black and Gregersen's (1991b) study on the antecedents of adjustment for

American expatriates in the Pacific Rim countries is a good example of the research gathering new data on the adjustment process. This study is important in that it attempts to integrate earlier research and to gather quantitative data in a relatively new field. However, the limitations of the survey technique and the methodology leave many questions about expatriate adjustment unanswered. The authors themselves describe their results as "preliminary."

The primary data gathering technique for studies involving original research has been the survey or questionnaire, which is typically mailed to the subject. It is proposed that this method has limitations as to kinds of information it can yield and the degree of understanding of the intercultural adjustment process that results.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Overview of the Chapter

A substantial number of American expatriates are failing in their overseas assignments. A better understanding of the antecedents of intercultural adjustment could aid individuals and organizations in facilitating this adjustment. The purpose of this study is to further define, clarify, and describe the antecedents of intercultural adjustment for American expatriates in China. To this end, American expatriates in Beijing were interviewed concerning their preparation for China, experiences in China, and the factors that have affected their own cultural adaptation.

Research Design

Qualitative vs. Quantitative Approach

One shortcoming of Black and Gregersen's (1991) survey of expatriates in the Pacific Rim and of other studies that utilize self-response questionnaires is that the antecedents themselves and the subjects' responses are essentially one-dimensional. In order to meet the requirements of a quantitative study and to make possible a statistical analysis of the responses, subjects are limited to responding to set questions upon a preestablished scale.

However, given the complexity of the adjustment process, it seems desirable to obtain a more complete description of the expatriate's own experience of adjustment, a "thick description" (Guba & Lincoln, 1981) of the context, the relative

importance of the various factors, and how they interrelate to shape the world of the expatriate. A qualitative approach using in-depth interviews with expatriates is deemed appropriate to better understand this process of intercultural adaptation.

Though a qualitative approach is most often associated with exploratory research (Merriam, 1988), it can also be used to clarify and enrich areas that have been the objects of previous quantitative studies.

The quantitative data identify areas of focus; the qualitative data give substance to those areas of focus. What did those people mean when they marked that answer on the questionnaire? What elaboration can respondents provide to clarify responses? . . . Qualitative data can put flesh on the bones of quantitative results, bringing the results to life . . . (Patton, 1990, p. 131)

Taylor (1994) chose a qualitative approach to study the learning processes by which one becomes competent in another culture. Though numerous survey studies have identified the factors involved in intercultural competence, he used interviews to gain "a comprehensive understanding of the learning process. . ." (p. 159).

Interviewing

Compared with a questionnaire, an interview provides for flexibility, personalization, immediate clarification of comments, and a more complete expression of ideas in a realistic context of interpersonal interaction. It also allows observation of nonverbal cues and the affective component of the interviewee's statements (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Merriam, 1988).

Selection of Subjects

Population

The population of this study was defined as American expatriates in Beijing, People's Republic of China, in particular, professionals in the fields of business, education, and government.

Sampling

Qualitative researchers take varying approaches to the question of what constitutes an adequate sample. Strictly speaking, qualitative research does not sample a population in the same way as a quantitative study, which has as its goal statistical generalizability. Instead, sampling is a matter of determining the boundaries of the study (Miles and Huberman, 1984). As the phenomenon under investigation is specified, the sample is defined. The following parameters were set concerning subjects for this study.

Sample Size. Patton (1990, p.s 184-185) states:

There are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry. Sample size depends on what you want to know, the purpose of the inquiry, what's at stake, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done with available time and resources. . . . The validity, meaningfulness, and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information richness of the cases selected and the observational/analytical capabilities of the researcher than with sample size.

Patton emphasizes a "purposeful sampling" (p. 169) to glean a maximum amount of information from information rich cases. He also refers to the notion of sampling "to the point of redundancy." The sample is adequate when no new information seems to be coming in.

Strauss and Corbin (1990, p. 181) state that, ". . . The sampling is open to those persons, places, and situations that will provide the greatest opportunity to gather the most relevant data about the phenomenon under investigation."

Based on the results of a pilot study with twelve participants, it was anticipated that 30 to 40 interviews would yield an adequate amount of information. In the end, 40 American expatriates were interviewed. The major categories of expatriates had been explored and no new themes were being introduced. Seven additional interviews were conducted with Chinese nationals who have worked extensively with Americans.

Accessibility. Subjects who fell within these parameters were chosen from a pool established by: (1) referral from the researcher's contacts at the beginning of the research, (2) referral by interviewees as the research progressed, and (3) by the Community Liaison Officer of the U.S. Embassy in Beijing. The use of referrals is supported by Welch (1975), who found no significant difference between a sample chosen by referral and one chosen by a standard sampling technique.

Nationality. Subjects were chosen from among the American expatriate community. This study was limited to Americans so that responses could be

analyzed in the aggregate as well as case by case. Subjects from varying cultures could be expected to have differing responses and patterns of adaptation to Chinese culture (Hofstede, 1991). Torbiorn (1987) demonstrated the usefulness of comparing the reactions of a single cultural group to new cultures.

Residence. Only Beijing residents were included. The cultural climate for expatriates in Beijing is similar to other large Chinese cities. From a business standpoint, Beijing combines the political and economic conservatism typical of many interior cities with the desire for rapid growth found in the coastal areas of Shanghai and Guangdong Province.

Employment. Subjects were employed in the fields of business, education, or government, having taken an assignment of one year or more in China. The literature distinguishes between tourists, immigrants, and sojourners, the class into which these expatriates fall. Each group exhibits a distinct pattern of adaptation (Furnham, 1987; Berry et al., 1987).

The great majority of American expatriates in China are there for the purpose of conducting business, teaching at a post-secondary level, or are in service of the American government. In accord with the researcher's emphasis in human resource development, the primary interest was in expatriates who represent American corporations and organizations. This group is seen as having a significant stake in understanding the dynamics of intercultural adaptation and effectiveness.

Educators are important numerically and often have the unique perspective of

one who lives very close to the host culture. They were included to broaden the picture and to provide a comparison and contrast with the business community. Also, the lines between academia and business in China are being blurred. A number of American educators in China are utilizing their cultural expertise and network of connections by going into business for themselves or acting as consultants for American and Chinese firms. A number of interviewees had experience in both education and business.

U.S. government workers in China are quite different from either group in that a non-fraternization policy inhibits their experiencing fully the culture of the host country. A large, well-developed support structure encourages an American ghetto mentality. Nevertheless the results of the pilot study indicated that government workers have a unique perspective that can shed light on the overall American experience as sojourners in China.

Parker and McEvoy's (1993) study based on the Black, et al. (1991) model of adjustment included business people, educators, and government workers.

Time in Country. Subjects had been in China for at least four months. In order to be useful informants, subjects should have had ample opportunity to encounter Chinese culture, both in work and in daily life. They should have encountered some of the inevitable difficulties of functioning in a new culture and be on the road toward adaptation. It is generally acknowledged that the process of cultural adjustment usually begins with a *honeymoon* period, a time during which the

individual experiences little conflict or has sufficient emotional reserves to overcome cultural obstacles (Kohls, 1984). Only after this period is over does the individual begin to deal realistically with cultural differences.

Since it is expected that length of time in country should have an effect upon an individual's adjustment to China (Black & Gregersen, 1991b), subjects were sought who had been in China for varying lengths of time. The minimum was four months. There was no upper time limit, though relatively few American expatriates have more than five years of experience in China.

Researcher Bias. It should be noted that the researcher has been involved in training and placing a number of educators who are now working in Beijing. None of these was involved in the pilot study or the final research project.

Characteristics of Interviewees

Using these criteria, 40 subjects were selected and interviewed. Of this number 15 were females and 25 males, 20 unmarried and 20 married, with an average age altogether in the 30's. Twenty-two of the subjects were involved in business, with 10 in large, multinational corporations, six in multinational joint venture corporations, and six in smaller, China-based companies. Fifteen were educators and three were in U.S. government service. Seven interviewees had experience in more than one field, such as educators who had also worked in business and an educator who had served as a consultant to the U.S. Foreign Service. Their time in China ranged from six months to nine years, with an average

of over three years. Details on each interviewee in the sequence in which the interviews occurred are contained in Table 2.

Data Collection

Instrumentation

Data was collected from the subjects using what Merriam (1988) calls a "semistructured" interview. An interview guide (Patton, 1990) was used to provide enough structure so that the same kind of information could be obtained from each subject while allowing room for free and full expression (See Appendix A.) This is more efficient than a completely open-ended interview and simplifies data analysis.

The self-response technique has yielded useful information on intercultural adjustment. Van Den Broucke, De Soete, and Bohrer (1989) found that a free-response self-description technique which allowed subjects to choose words to describe themselves was a better predictor of intercultural success than the results from questionnaires and personality scales.

The interview guide was based on the antecedents of expatriate adjustment identified by Black and Gregersen (1991b) as noted in Table 3. Additional questions relating to self-efficacy (Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985) and motivation (Furnham, 1987) reflect themes that emerged during the pilot interviews.

One strength of a semistructured interview in a qualitative design is that data collection techniques can be refined as the study progresses. Even as the pilot study unexpectedly yielded new topics to explore, later interviews were modified on the

Table 2

Characteristics of Interviewees

	Male/ Female	Marital Status	Age	Time in country	Area
1	Female	Single	30	6 years	Education
2	Female	Single	27	9 months	Education
3	Male	Single	35	9 years	Small business
4	Female	Married	55+	3 years	Education
5	Male	Married	40	5+ years	Small business
6	Female	Single	40	2 years	Education
7	Male	Married	40+	4 years	Multinational corporation
8	Female	Married	35	3+ years	Education/business
9	Male	Married	35	5 years	Multinational/education
10	Female	Single	50	7 years	Education
11	Female	Single	30+	8 years	Education
12	Male	Single	60+	4+ years	Education
13	Female	Single	35	5 years	Education
14	Male	Single	25+	3 years	Education
15	Male	Married	35	8 years	Education/ business
16	Female	Single	50+	4 years	Education

table continues

Male/ Female	Marital Status	Age	Time in country	Area
17 Male	Single	34	4+ years	Business, medium sized
18 Female	Married	30	2 years	Business/expat. wife
19 Male	Married	50	2 years	Joint venture
20 Male	Single	47	5 years	Joint venture
21 Male	Married	45+	1+ years	Joint venture
22 Male	Married	48	9 months	Multinational corporation
23 Female	Single	27	3 years	Education
24 Male	Single	26	9 months	Education
25 Male	Single	37	4+ years	Business/education
26 Male	Married	28	6 years	Education
27 Male	Married	50+	6 months	Multinational corporation
28 Male	Single	50+	4 years	Multinational corporation
29 Female	Single	30+	1+ years	Multinational corporation
30 Male	Married	50+	6 months	Multinational corporation
31 Female	Married	30	3 years	Multinational/ education
32 Female	Single	30+	2 years	Multinational corporation
33 Male	Married	40+	9 months	U.S. Embassy
34 Male	Married	26	10 months	U.S. Embassy

table continues

Male/ Female	Marital Status	Age	Time in country	Area
35 Male	Single	28	5 years	Business/education
36 Female	Married	40+	2 years	U.S. Embassy
37 Male	Married	47	1+ years	Multinational corporation
38 Male	Married	36	2 years	Joint venture
39 Male	Single	50+	2 years	Joint venture
40 Male	Married	40+	2+ years	Joint venture

Table 3

A Comparison of Black and Gregersen's (1991b) Antecedents of Adjustment and the Interview Guide

Antecedent	Interview Question
Previous international experience	Have you lived and worked overseas before? Do you feel this helped prepare you for China?
Culture-related training: company-provided or self-initiated	How did you prepare for China? Organizational or self-initiated? Did you feel prepared? Are there other things you wish you had done before coming? What advice would you give someone coming to China?
Time in the host country	How long have you been in China?
Job: role discretion, ambiguity, conflict	What is your job? Did you choose this assignment? Is this similar to work you have done before? How does it differ?

table continues

Antecedent	Interview Question
Association with home nationals	How much time do you spend with other Americans? Has this been important to you?
Association with host nationals	What kind of contact do you have with the Chinese? Work? Social?
Culture novelty	<i>Not addressed</i>
Spouse adjustment: interaction and general	(Has the adjustment been difficult?) How has it been for your family?
<i>Not addressed</i>	What experiences have you had that you feel prepared you to live and work successfully in China?
<i>Not addressed</i>	Did you choose this assignment/China?
<i>Not addressed</i>	How long was your training

basis of information and insights gained in earlier ones (Miles & Huberman, 1984). Though it was not possible to transcribe each interview before the next was given, the researcher reviewed the audio and written log to evaluate the effectiveness of each interview and consider changes.

This process resulted in further refinement of the interview guide in reaction to the response patterns of the interviewees. These changes are noted in Appendix B.

Recording Data

All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed by the researcher. To preserve the anonymity of participants, codes were substituted for the names of the interviewees. After each interview, the researcher recorded a brief log and commentary. The commentary contains an overall impression of the interview, a description of the context, and a description of any nonverbal cues that may contribute to an understanding of the interviewee and his or her comments (Guba and Lincoln, 1981). These were transcribed and appended to the transcript of the interview itself. A notebook was kept for basic data and any outstanding impressions prior to a complete transcription of the recorded commentary on the interview.

Triangulation

Though there were no systematic independent measures of adaptation in the research design, the circumstances surrounding each interview, the setting of the interviews, the multiplicity of perspectives of American participants, and the responses of the Chinese nationals served to validate and corroborate the findings. In

this study, the focus of this validation was both the level of expatriate adaptation and the validity of certain antecedents of adjustment.

Indicators of Adaptation

Multiple Indicators of Adjustment in the Interview

There were no independent indicators of adaptation for many of the interviewees. There were, however, within the interview guide multiple indicators of adaptation to living and working in China. There were direct questions such as:

"Has the adjustment been difficult? In which areas--job--interacting with the Chinese? How has it been for your family?," and also the indirect questions such as "Did you feel prepared for China?", "Are there other things you wish you had known before coming?", "What advice would you give someone who is coming to China?", "How much time do you spend with other Americans?", and "How long do you plan to stay in China? Would you return if given the chance?"

In addition to the specific responses to these questions, the subject of the interview disclosed his or her attitude toward China and the Chinese by manner, intonation, and other nonverbal cues. These also pointed to whether or not the subject was comfortable in China, found life in China interesting, and understood and appreciated Chinese values.

Observation Indicators of Adaptation

Apart from the interview itself, the researcher was frequently able to observe a demonstration of ways in which the subject had or had not adjusted to China. For

example, one interview was interrupted by phone calls, to which the interviewee responded in fluent and expressive Chinese. Another interviewee was early to the appointment because she had asked around the Chinese neighborhood and found a shortcut to the office. Interviews conducted at the workplace and at restaurants provided an opportunity to observe whether or not the subject was at ease in these contexts.

Validation of Expatriate Adaptation by Chinese Co-Workers

Seven interviews were done with Chinese nationals who have worked extensively with Americans. Four of them were the co-workers of American interviewees. The adjustment of their American colleagues was addressed by both direct and indirect questions. These responses provided an independent measure of adjustment for these American subjects, and also served as a reference point for the researcher's own evaluation of the adjustment of the other subjects.

The questions in the interview guide for Chinese subjects were more open-ended than for American subjects. See Appendix C.

Validity of Antecedents

Miles & Huberman (1984, p. 234) state that, "(triangulation occurs) . . . by seeing or hearing multiple instances of it from different sources, and by squaring the finding with others it needs to be squared with." While the singular perspective of a particular subject is of interest, it is the patterns which emerge from the analysis of a large number of interviews that yield the most compelling information.

In addition to these multiple American perspectives, Chinese nationals who have worked extensively with Americans were asked to identify the characteristics that facilitate American adjustment. Their responses provided another description of these antecedents.

The Researcher

A central premise of qualitative research is that the researcher is, ultimately, the true data gathering instrument (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Merriam, 1988; Patton, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Marshall and Rossman (1989) state that the researcher should demonstrate an ability to enter the social environment of the study with sensitivity and awareness. The researcher should also be able to carry out the role demanded by the design of the study. It is crucial that the researcher be able to empathize with the subjects of the study (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Patton, 1990). Adler & Adler (1987) point out the advantages of having prior experience with or membership in the group being studied.

Two experiences aided in equipping the researcher for this task: living as an expatriate in China and conducting a pilot study. The researcher lived in China for the 1984-1985 academic year and has had extensive experience with the expatriate community in numerous subsequent visits. Personal experience made it easy to empathize with the joys and frustrations of life in China. A common set of experiences between the interviewer and interviewee made the interaction more, in Hall's (1976) terms, "high context." This shared background facilitated

communication. Though the interviewer had to be cautious not to superimpose his experiences on the interviewee's, familiarity with the issues of life in China was seen as an asset.

The Pilot Study

The pilot study consisted of twelve interviews of American expatriates in Beijing. Five of these were conducted in an open-ended fashion and the remaining seven in a semistructured format. Nine of the pilot interviews were recorded and transcribed in their entirety. The tape recorder failed to work on two, and the final interview was a victim of the no-recorders-allowed policy in the U.S. Embassy.

Interviews conducted in the pilot study demonstrated that most interviewees were interested in the researcher's experiences in China and that the researcher was afforded insider status based on those experiences.

Results of the pilot study indicated that: (1) An adequate sample of the American expatriate population in Beijing is accessible and willing to be interviewed. (2) Expatriates have typically given considerable thought to their adjustment experiences and are articulate informants. (3) Although some questions needed to be restated, most of the interview questions successfully elicited a satisfactory level of response. (4) The questions did not seem to be leading or shaping the responses. Indeed, the interviewees brought up topics and expressed views that were not anticipated by the researcher. (5) Black and Gregersen's (1991b) antecedents are relevant to American expatriates in China. (6) Specific antecedents

had varying degrees of importance to the interviewees.

The pilot study also served to hone the researcher's interviewing proficiency, both in terms of interpersonal skills and the mechanics of setting up and recording an interview.

Data Analysis

Analyzing the content of the interviews involves ". . . identifying, coding, and categorizing the primary patterns in the data." (Patton, 1990, p. 381).

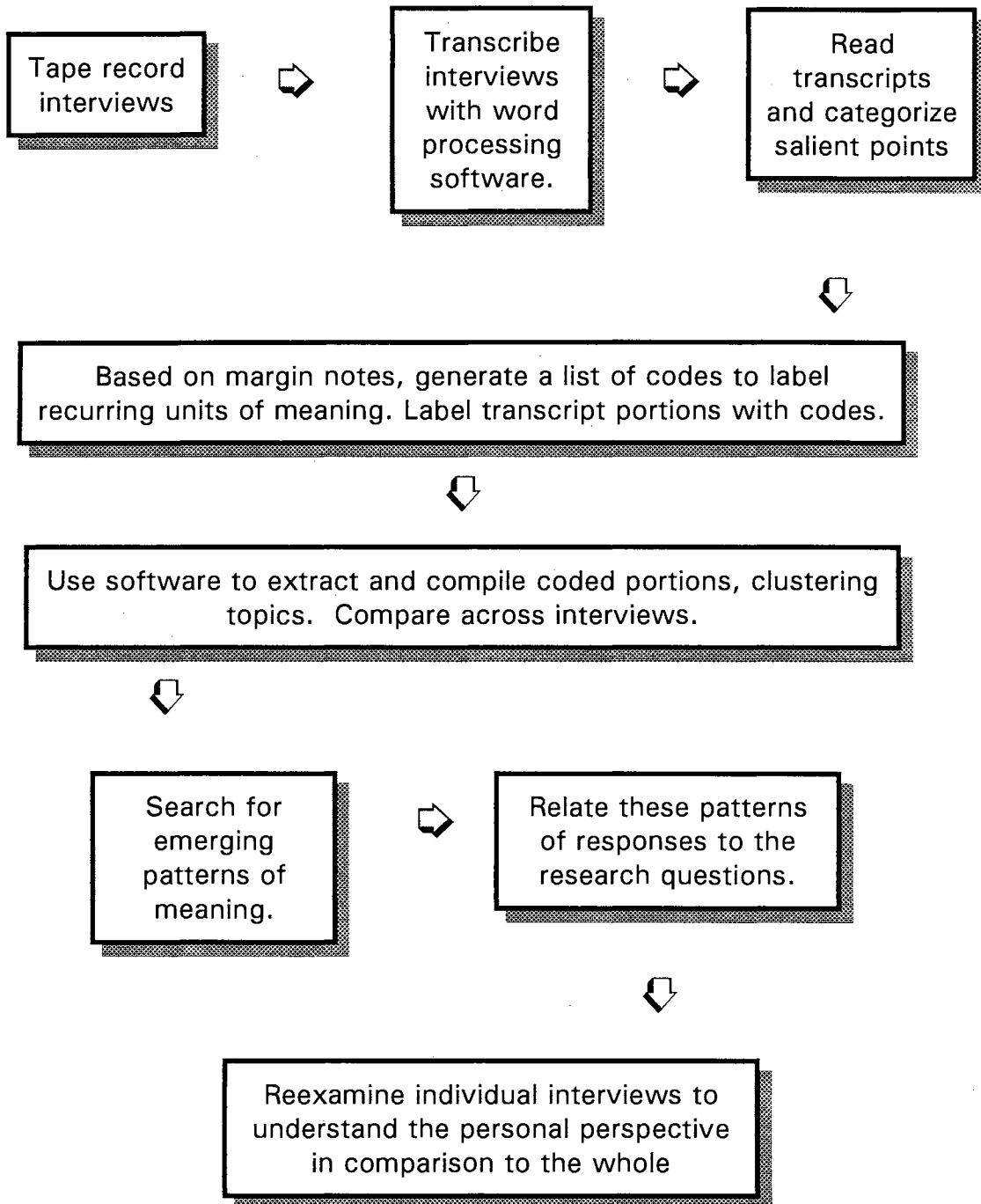
Qualitative researchers emphasize the use of coding techniques to note ideas and topics in the transcribed text (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Patton, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Miles & Huberman, 1984). While Miles and Huberman (1984) suggest that these content codes should be established prior to actual fieldwork, others prefer to examine the data first, then use codes that naturally arise from the data (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Patton, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

The cross-case analysis of the interviews (Patton, 1990) involved an eight-step process (Figure 1).

All transcripts were read and margin notes made of salient points. Next, the recurring units of meaning apparent in these notes were grouped into broad categories. These served as the basis for a list of elements by which portions of each transcript were coded for content. These coded statements were then compiled and compared across interviews to detect emerging patterns of responses.

Computer software has been shown to facilitate the analysis of text

Figure 1

Summary of the Data Analysis Procedure

(Pfaffenberger, 1988). A word processing program, WordPerfect for Windows 6.1, was used to transcribe the interviews and analyze the resulting text file. This program was chosen because of its accessibility and familiarity to the researcher, as well as its search capabilities and relatively powerful features for creating and editing the macros used to compile the coded text.

The patterns of responses were examined in order to answer the following questions: (1) What are the expatriates' views as to the factors that make a contribution to intercultural adaptation? (2) What is the relative importance of these factors? (3) How are these factors interrelated?

Finally, each individual interview was reexamined in an attempt to understand the unique perspective of the individual expatriate in comparison and contrast to the whole. As Patton (1990, p. 392) states: "The point of analysis is not simply to find a concept or label to neatly tie together the data. What is important is understanding the people studied."

Summary

American expatriates often fail to complete their assignments because of cultural maladjustment. A more complete understanding of the antecedents of intercultural adaptation of American expatriates in China can facilitate this adaptation, decreasing the incidence of expatriate failure. A qualitative approach using interviews with Americans currently living and working in China has yielded a description of these antecedents, their relative importance, and the meanings they

hold for the interviewees.

Chapter IV contains the results of these interviews, both the patterns that emerged from the whole and the perspectives of individual respondents.

Chapter V contains a discussion of these results and their implications for individuals and organizations involved in China.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Introduction

The Setting

In many ways, Beijing typifies the China of today. Its fast pace and explosive growth coexist, sometimes uneasily, with its long history and the weight of tradition.

These changes are evident throughout the city. Bicycles have all but disappeared from the downtown areas, replaced by fleets of small red taxis and yellow micro vans that dart and weave through the streets. Just around the corner from an outdoor market with vegetables spread on the roadside is the beginning of "Silicon Alley", the center for personal computer sales in the university district. The sidewalk vendor minding his clothing stall has traded his abacus for a calculator and responds to the bleep of his cellular phone. Blocks of ancient single-story family compounds are razed for new construction. High intensity lights glare through the night as work continues on high-rise apartments and commercial buildings 24 hours a day.

But as the sun rises, Beijing's hundreds of parks are full of the elderly performing the fluid, timeless movements of taiji quan. Confucian principles still guide the unconscious rules of conversation and relationships. And in myriad government offices, the world's oldest bureaucracy moves at its own glacial pace,

seemingly oblivious to the outside world.

Beijing views its foreign residents in ambivalent, sometimes contradictory ways. They are welcome guests, but barbarian outsiders. They are respected partners in education and enterprise, but not quite equal. Their countries are more technologically developed, but culturally deficient. Government policies throw open the door to the world, issue a broad invitation, then set up a host of barriers to those who respond. Despite these challenges, large numbers of Americans have chosen to live and work in Beijing.

Expatriate Life in Beijing

The Americans who work in Beijing are a diverse group with a wide range of exposures to Chinese life. Expatriates with the U.S. Embassy or large corporations can live relatively insulated from real life in China. They may often view China as but another assignment in their rotation or another step in their career path. Others live close to the people and are steeped in the Chinese language and culture; their personal and professional futures are in China. In between are many on both short and long term assignments, with varying degrees of interest and insight in their surroundings. Though they live in a wide variety of settings, there are common threads that run through their experiences.

The Business World

The living and working environment for expatriate businesspeople has changed drastically in the past few years. Interviewees who had lived in China in the

early to mid 1980's told of living in single hotel rooms and eating monotonous, poorly prepared western food. There were few sources of entertainment or recreation.

As the number of foreign businesses operating in China has grown, so have the facilities and services offered them. Beijing now has several business and residential complexes adjoining major international hotels. One in particular, home to many of the interviewees, is a walled compound that covers nearly a city block. With access to grocery and drug stores, six restaurants, a health club, a bowling alley, and a K-12 private school, its residents can function completely within the boundaries of this American enclave. They need little contact with Chinese life outside the walls.

Those who wish to live in a less artificial environment can choose from several western-style apartment complexes. The apartments tend to be small, with relatively few amenities, but they are clean, and the water and electricity are on twenty-four hours a day.

In the 1970's foreign companies had to operate out of hotels. By the early 1980's, foreign companies were primarily housed in the new CITIC (Chinese International Trust and Investment Corporation) building (Mann, 1989) down the street from Tiananmen Square. Soon the CITIC building was joined by SITE tower and the China World Trade Center. All over the city, office buildings were constructed and existing buildings were given permission to rent space to foreign

companies.

In the mid 1990's the offices of a foreign company in Beijing are likely to look like offices anywhere in the world. Only the joint ventures, which often operate out of the facilities used by the preexisting Chinese company, have offices that reflect the Chinese setting.

√ One thing that has not changed for American businesspeople in China is the long working hours. Offices are open six days a week, and ten to twelve hour days are the norm. When asked whether they spent free time with American or Chinese friends, the typical businessperson responded, "What free time?" The majority of Americans in business seemed to maintain a work schedule that excluded most other activities.

Several reasons were given for this work schedule. One was that "many of the businesses are immature operations." They are in a start up phase, with incomplete and inadequately trained staff. Another reason was the sheer inefficiency of the Chinese system. Banking, communication, and other fundamental business activities take much longer to accomplish.

The top managers with American-based companies find there are additional demands that arise from the 13 hour time difference between Beijing and the central United States. As one executive with a large joint venture said:

√ One thing about China, if you are home you are not really away from work, because you'll get calls at home. They just got into the office. . . it's ideal

for them. If they've got a fax or question, you'll get a call. You have to be prepared. You don't get away from work when you come to China--if you are with a multinational company that has offices in the U.S.

The primary adjustment issues for expatriates in the business arena were related to work rather than daily life, as the typical pay and benefits package for the corporate employee ensure western housing and access to American goods. Except for some inconveniences and a general scaling down of lifestyle, the changes were relatively minor.

Work issues also seemed to be more salient because the work itself was central in their lives. The sales manager for a multinational company said:

. . . the reality is my life here is much more work oriented than it would be in America. It is easy to work all the time. Because I like work and it is kind of the most interesting thing I have to do . . . as a result you end up working long hours . . . in China you work Saturdays and sometimes Sundays because of the way plant closings are. When people come over from the U.S. and I take them around, naturally--they are on a business trip and it is my life--but the result is that it is a (24 hour) day . . .

Most of those in business seemed to have chosen a tightly circumscribed, single purpose life. Consequently, there was little time or energy for exploring the culture, studying the language, or making Chinese friends. Because social contacts with the Chinese were not part of the normal flow of events, establishing these

relationships requires a great deal of time and effort. Virtually everyone in business cited the difficulty of developing relationships with Chinese outside the business context.

Government Employees

American Embassy personnel have much in common with those affiliated with large corporations. Though they are in a slightly less luxurious setting, they have access to even more American goods and services. If they so choose, they can live completely independent of the local economy and culture. According to one embassy staffer, some government workers simply "build a nest." They bring their own literature and electronic entertainment and have little need for the world outside the embassy walls.

The American Embassy employs both career diplomats and support staff. The support staff has some choice in their postings, and for those interviewed, China had been high on their list. They initially chose China because it was different and interesting to them, however, it was apparent that China was viewed merely as one posting among many. They already had their sights on the next country.

Embassy personnel hold Chinese culture at arms length in other ways. None of those interviewed had developed genuine friendships with the Chinese. Apart from a social calendar full of Embassy-sponsored events and a full roster of clubs and team sports, the major barrier to establishing these relationships is the nonfraternization policy. China is considered a hostile nation, and all significant

contact between Embassy personnel and Chinese nationals must be reported. It is extremely difficult for a Chinese citizen to enter the Embassy compound or housing areas. As a result, explained one staff member, the only contact is with Chinese merchants, taxi drivers, and others in public, impersonal situations--all settings in which the Chinese are notoriously rude. As perpetual outsiders, they see only the most negative aspects of Chinese society and are often not inclined to pursue further relationships. Even when Embassy support staff has occasion to interact with the Chinese, the quality of the interaction seems to be more like that of a tourist than a resident.

Educators

In comparison with corporate and government employees, teachers are immersed in Chinese daily life. Most teachers live in housing provided by their university, apartments with Chinese neighbors. They shop in the neighborhood markets, eat in the local restaurants, and deal with all the trials and tribulations of life in a Chinese city. Their relatively low pay denies them access to many of the western amenities and diversions available to other expatriates.

Accommodations are austere. The typical Chinese apartment in Beijing is small by western standards, with one or two small bedrooms, one of which serves as a living room. Included is a bathroom, a tiny kitchen and an eating area. The walls, floor, and ceiling are concrete. The walls are painted, and the floor may or may not be covered by thin carpet, or a sheet of linoleum. Water and electricity are

sometimes off for hours each day. Rooms are hot in the summer and chilly in the winter.

The teacher's compensation for these hardships is a more relaxed schedule and the potential for developing friendships with Chinese students and fellow teachers. The initial language barrier is overcome by English-speaking students, and the academic community provides a natural environment in which relationships can form. Many teachers actively pursue opportunities to learn the language and culture.

Group Responses to the Interview

Despite these variations in schedule and standard of living, the interviewees from business, government, and education had a number of things in common.

Cooperation. Members of each group were equally willing to talk. Many fit the interview into a busy appointment schedule or gave up their lunch hour. Some traveled nearly an hour to the interview location. Corporate executives sent cars to pick up the interviewer. One embassy employee left her office and strolled on the sidewalk, and another sat in his car and talked because a tape recorder was not allowed in the building. Many expressed their sincere thanks at the end of the interview, apparently appreciative of the opportunity to talk about these issues.

Thoughtful Expression. The responses from each group were thoughtful and articulate. The issue of adjustment was clearly something that had been given some consideration. A few in the business sector had dealt with the issue of choosing employees for overseas assignments, but most American expatriates had simply

reflected on their own experiences. They had observed their own struggles as well as those around them and had come to some conclusions of their own. They found the questions intriguing. Many expressed an interest in the outcome of the study as a whole and asked to be sent a summary of the results.

Candor. All the expatriates were surprisingly candid about their own attitudes, experiences, and observations. Virtually everyone seemed quite willing to share not just triumphs, but their struggles, failures and frustrations as well.

Despite the diversity of expatriate situations and experiences, their responses were remarkably consistent. What emerged was a portrait of the expatriate who is well-adjusted and effective in China, whether in the field of business, government, or education. Appendix D lists the major factors given by the interviewees. From these factors, seven clusters, or categories emerged. These categories are listed in Figure 2 and described in the following section. They are presented roughly in the order of their apparent importance, based on the frequency with which each appeared and the weight given to each by all the interviewees.

Findings: The Emerging Categories of Adjustment Factors

Personality Factors in Adjustment

The single strongest, most consistent theme to emerge from the interviews as a whole was that of the preeminence of personality over all other considerations. While certain other factors such as attitudes, experiences, and preparation were seen as relevant, virtually all respondents felt that personality issues were far more

Figure 2

Emerging Categories of Adjustment Factors

important.

Issues of personality or character arose in response to a number of questions. Time and again, when discussing their own background, making observations of other Americans, and speculating about the causes of failures, the expatriates referred to personality traits. They focused on qualities of the person, rather than the circumstances or culture. There seemed to be a tacit belief that the stresses of life in China could be responded to in a variety of ways, and that the response was largely a matter of personality. These factors were seen as more important than circumstances or culture differences.

✓ There are a number of personality characteristics that were identified as most important for adjustment. Given roughly in their order of apparent importance, they are: flexibility, tolerance and open-mindedness, independence, risk-taking and a sense of adventure, curiosity, patience, stability, and sensitivity and humility.

Personality in the Interview Guide

The issue of personality initially arose from the responses of the interviewees apart from any specific question. The original version of the interview guide had no direct references to personality, only to matters of preparation and general background. However, as early as the third interview, the conversations began to emphasize issues of personality and character. Interviewees talked about internal factors, rather than the external issues upon which the questions had been focused.

By the fifth interview, the issue of personality versus preparation was

introduced into the interview if the subject had not brought it up spontaneously. By the eighth interview, the issue of personality, or the relative importance of personality, was a consistent part of the interview guide and became a rich source of discussion.

The Role of Personality in Adjustment

More than anything else, the personality of the individual appears to determine intercultural adjustment. The interviewees felt that training, prior experience, and the availability of practical and emotional support are all mediated by the personality of the individual expatriate. Subjects made statements such as, "Personality is definitely most important.", "I think it completely depends on the personality." and ". . . if he has the wrong kind of personality he is not going to make it here." In a discussion on a variety of adjustment factors, one young businesswoman told the interviewer, "I feel like it's really--I hope this doesn't blow everything that you are leading yourself to believe--but I feel fairly strongly that it's personality."

A teacher with several years of China experience stated:

I think definitely the personality (is more important). A person can be so well trained to come to China, but not make it through a semester. But I think it depends on the personality and that would determine whether they are going to be a long-term China person or whether they are going to put in a year's worth and then go home.

The effectiveness of preparation also depends upon personality issues. As one educator said, “. . . there is a certain kind of person who you can give all the preparation and knowledge in the world and I don't think they would do too well in China.”

The interviewees' comments about personality indicated that problems of intercultural adjustment were not necessarily problems related to China alone, but indicative of a general pattern of behavior. These behaviors were not truly adaptive even in the United States, but caused no major problems. In China, however, they felt these problems were maladaptive, if not destructive. According to a young educator who lives with a Chinese family, "In general, it seems that if you get along in the States, you will get along in China. People who don't get along in the States don't get along in China." A former Oklahoman, now working for a multinational corporation said:

I would say . . . that the same person I had lunch with today who was expressing some tremendous frustration over the tax situation in China, because it changes every few months, is probably the same person that would be on the horn in his car on 6th Avenue, Stillwater, Oklahoma City, or Chicago because they are upset about a delay in traffic. I place more (emphasis) in terms of adaptability or personality traits.

An independent businessman who has seen many expatriates come and go felt that, “. . . (circumstance) doesn't get to the core of why people leave. They would leave

another culture just as fast as this one."

Specific Personality Characteristics

Personality was not explicitly defined by the interviewer or the respondents. However, the term was used by all to refer to enduring characteristics of a person, including view of the world, response to events, and general style of dealing with information and situations. This is consonant with both technical and common usage of the term (Allport, 1961).

A number of personality characteristics were consistently identified as important for adjustment and effectiveness in China. These are presented in roughly their order of importance as indicated by the frequency with which they appeared and the degree of emphasis placed upon them.

Personality: Flexibility. Flexibility was most often cited as the trait essential for life in China. Expatriates felt the constantly shifting rules, the rapidly changing conditions, and the chaotic nature of all services demanded a great deal of flexibility.

There are several specific areas in which expatriates felt flexibility should be exhibited: (1) Flexibility in planning and scheduling are necessary because of unreliable transportation, unforeseen problems, and because the Chinese are simply not consistent in their operating style. It is extremely difficult to keep to timetables in personal life and in professional project management. One top manager with an American-Chinese joint venture said, "Some days I come in to work and realize that

I am not going to be able to get anything done today." (2) One must be flexible in standards of quality at the workplace and in consumer goods at home. For example, an American who serves as liaison with smaller Chinese factories has had to accept some goods that were not up to his standards in order to keep a working relationship with the factory. He further stated:

We are dealing with foreign trade corporations with quality that is not as high . . . and you have to be really "sui bian"--I forgot my English there [Chinese phrase means roughly "as you like" or "it does not matter"]--flexible--if it means drinking some bejjou with them . . . and sometimes doing things that you don't like to do, karaoke, wasting an hour in the meeting room before you ever get down to work.

(3) One must be willing to accept alternatives, and even create them, as the first choice is often not available. Expatriates have found this to be true as they look for familiar consumer items. Businesses have to make greater concessions. One business had to find an alternate way to package the delicate electronic equipment it sells when they realized that it was going to be stored outdoors, rather than in a climate-controlled warehouse. Others have to change their approach to holding business meetings and adjust the process of setting up appointments between Chinese and American executives.

Flexibility was contrasted with rigidity, taking oneself too seriously, and demanding that things be a certain way. The expatriates associated flexibility with

tolerance for ambiguity and the willingness to take time to understand why things are the way they are. Some typical comments from the fields of both business and education were:

If you are a very inflexible, rigid person, I think you'll have a hard time no matter where you go . . . but you have to be able to bend with situations, to be flexible and be tolerant, be patient.

And I think people who are comfortable in China and who adapt are flexible. Whether they are that way by nature or whether it comes from their upbringing.

I think it all boils down to an attitude. I think (successful expatriates) are more flexible and they seem more conciliatory and compromising.

Personality: Tolerance and Open-Mindedness. Tolerance indicates the willingness to accept differences in individuals and in cultures. This is the recognition that there are a variety of ways to do things and that one is not necessarily better than the other. It also involves a respect for diversity and the attempt to understand another perspective. This was contrasted with a judgmental attitude that measures all things by a single cultural yardstick. One educator discussed his teammate, who had not adjusted well:

I think I have a more flexible personality and more of an enjoyment even of gray areas. He was more black and white. I find interest in gray areas that may have been part of it. It had nothing to do with intelligence; he is a really

bright guy.

The lack of tolerance for the differences between China and America was frequently cited as a primary reason for expatriate failure. Those who wanted China to be just like the United States and made no attempt to understand the underlying reasons for differences did not last very long. As one businessman said, "I knew some people who tried to change China and they just left halfway through the year, frustrated." Several educators made similar statements:

. . . if you go to another culture, another situation with your own ideas, your own ways and you are, in your own mind, going to make things fit your mold, it is never going to work. You can't expect to go to another environment and try to assimilate the culture, the language, and the people to you.

I guess it is the ethnocentricity thing of comparing [China to America]. I mean--what did you expect? . . . Not to keep comparing and expecting that it should be a different way, but sort of close that path off.

Don't expect anything to be like America. Just throw that away. That's part of the problem--you are trying to put a round thing in a square hole. It will never work.

Personality: Independence. Independence emerged as a very desirable characteristic. It was considered important in both work adjustment and personal life. Expatriates in business stated that they were somewhat cut off from the home

office and were typically required to make decisions or monitor their work to a far greater extent than their peers in America. They had to be able to function with greater initiative, confidence and self-reliance. Sales managers felt that they were expected to know every aspect of their product and the business as a whole. The Chinese wanted to be dealing with those who could make the decisions needed.

In personal adjustment, independence was contrasted with withdrawal or a sense of helplessness. One should "get out and get involved." Life in China may provide few of the supports and affirmations of home. The independent person is resourceful and manages to get things done even in unfamiliar circumstances. One expatriate referred to this quality in herself by saying, "I have always left home." She had continually rejected security and familiarity for its own sake and had made her own way in the world.

A lack of independence and a failure to be proactive in work and living were associated with unhappiness and failure. This was exemplified by the experiences of an acquaintance of one interviewee:

I had a friend who was maybe at the far end of the spectrum . . . she basically didn't like to set foot out of the house. I think she found it very intimidating. She developed a lot of health problems, some of them psychosomatic, to the point where she had to leave . . . I think it was just intimidation.

Personality: Risk-taking and a Sense of Adventure. Risk-taking and a sense

of adventure are an extension of the concept of independence. Independence is the ability to function without props. To these expatriates, a sense of adventure was a love of new experiences, a willingness to explore, to go to new places, be in new situations, and to eat new things. One embassy worker told with delight of the time she was stranded outside a small village and hitched a ride on the horse-drawn wagon of a local farmer. A businessman said he looks forward to the banquets served by one client who seems to be testing the American's limits of culinary daring. The last meal included fried scorpions.

These are perhaps relative terms in that one person's risk is another's routine, but all agreed that one should welcome a challenge, enjoy breaking out of the routine, and venture beyond the familiar.

The employees of multinational corporations cited the importance of risk-taking just as often as those educators and small business operators who daily functioned in an environment far outside American norms and expectations. Several top managers cited the challenge of a China assignment as a primary reason for taking the position. A manager for an American-owned company centered in China said, ". . . (I can) stay in corporate America and sit . . . or I can go and really be part of change and make the change happen."

The backgrounds of many of the interviewees indicated that they had often gone out of their way to find obstacles and overcome them. The business area alone had a former instructor in the Outward Bound survival schools, a helicopter pilot, a

Peace Corps veteran, and an executive who had hiked across Nepal. They were excited by personal and professional challenges.

Personality: Curiosity. This term was most often applied to a sense of curiosity about other cultures, but also to a general sense of interest in new things. It is the intellectual equivalent of taking risks and looking for adventure. Expatriates in all areas felt that adjustment is facilitated by an intellectual restlessness, a love of learning, a desire to know and to understand.

The interviewer noted that many of the most contented expatriates had a wide range of interests and were well read in a number of areas. One teacher was also a painter and student of Chinese art, a businessman had studied Chinese religion, a government worker was an avid reader and student of history.

Closely related to this intellectual curiosity was the ability to enjoy traveling, meeting new people, and experiencing new lifestyles. One government worker felt that a lack of curiosity was a distinguishing characteristic of those who are not happy in China:

They are not really interested in the culture. They don't really want to learn anything. They purposely don't go out to the restaurants, they don't get out into the local functions . . . You never see them out on their own or doing anything or buying a bicycle . . . there are many things. You just have to walk through Tiananmen Square, the Forbidden City, the hutongs (small alleys), the shopping areas . . . I love to get out.

Personality: Patience. Conditions in China require a great deal of patience. Few things are quick or convenient, and the routine errands of daily life can take the better part of the day. The chief China representative of a multinational corporation with annual revenues of eight billion U.S. dollars stated that after the interview he was going to dash down to the bank on the first floor of the office building. There, he would spend at least 30 minutes standing in line simply to cash a personal check.

An executive with a Chinese-American joint venture felt that patience was key to survival in China. “. . . And it takes a lot of patience. The number one thing is patience. You have to have a tremendous amount. Not let it disturb you and just work your way through it slowly.” He also felt that perseverance was necessary to make it through the frustrations of working in the culture that invented bureaucracy.

. . . it gets perpetuated with frustration from the government. The rules come sliding out of books, "Oh yes, we didn't tell you about--." We have a rule for that. You thought that was going to take a day. It takes two and a half weeks. Those are really frustrating. You cannot fight the bureaucracy; you had just better back off.

✓ Losing one's temper is a major breach of social etiquette. Though one may see immediate results after a flare up, the long term consequences are negative. An American businessman who works as a liaison with Chinese factories felt that his impatience was the biggest barrier to his effectiveness. He described his growing patience as the major breakthrough in his adjustment.

American expatriates and the Chinese who work with them noted that impatience is a prominent characteristic of American culture and a frequent point of conflict with the Chinese way of doing things.

Personality: Stability. Stability is emotional consistency, self-control, and a reserve of inner strength that takes one through the ups and downs of expatriate life. It is personal maturity, balance, and an ability to handle stress. An important quality in any situation, expatriates felt that stability is crucial in the Chinese context, where confusion and chaos are rampant. One independent educator who creates educational tours for Americans described the physical and emotional rigors of travel in China. “. . . the difference between someone who makes it under those conditions and doesn't is someone who is emotionally stable. If they bring in a lot of (emotional) baggage, it is going to be a difficult time too.”

Several reported incidents of expatriate ineffectiveness and failure that were related to depression or the inability to recover from an initial discouragement. One educator in her seventh year in China said that a good adjustment was largely dependent on:

I would say just a general stability. There are so many ups and downs. The ability to be flexible, the ability to get the big picture rather than just the "now." [To know] is this important or just a little thing?

Personality: Sensitivity and Humility. These characteristics were linked by the interviewees to emphasize the importance of both an awareness of cultural

differences and a willingness to learn new ways. This was often addressed by way of contrast with the stereotypical ethnocentric American, blundering through the world, oblivious to local culture and expecting everyone to conform to his standards. One experienced educator said, "We have such a pride in our way of life, our culture . . . I don't think we are sensitive to their feelings. And we say, 'Well in America we do it this way', with the attitude that we are much better."

A retired foreign service employee, now in education, noted that humility is especially important for Americans in China, where 5000 years of history has bred an ethnocentrism second to none. The effective American must put aside his or her own ethnocentrism and be willing to learn from the Chinese.

A Case in Point: Personality Factors in Adjustment

Personality factors explain the apparent adjustment and effectiveness of "Laura," a married woman in her mid-thirties who has been in China since 1991. She is currently teaching business and marketing at a university in Beijing. Laura is a registered nurse and has an MBA from the University of Chicago. When she finished her graduate degree, she was eager to get some overseas experience. At the invitation of a friend she decided to take a teaching position in southern China. The months prior to her departure were spent in selling her house and car, and winding down her job. There was no time for cultural preparation of any sort.

She arrived in China to find a filthy apartment and a city with no western amenities at all. With few American friends and no resources, she plunged into

Chinese society, gaining Chinese friends and learning from them how to get along. After two and a half years of teaching, she moved to Beijing to work with a Chinese American joint venture.

When she first arrived in Beijing, she lived in a western hotel and business complex "with more restaurants at your fingertips than in Chicago." Though the living conditions were "like in America", she found the compound claustrophobic. Nor was she pleased with how the American side of the joint venture was conducting business. After six months she quit the joint venture to return to teaching. She now lives in a small western style apartment in a relatively new building that houses both Chinese and foreign families. She and her husband have no specific plans to leave China.

Laura felt strongly that personality factors play a far larger role in adjustment than either preparation or circumstances. She was convinced that her approach to life had made the biggest difference in her adjustment. She stated that a person should be a "risktaker, adventurous, adaptable, flexible, spontaneous, creative, curious."

Finally, Laura cited her upbringing as playing an important part in shaping her approach to China:

All my life I wanted to do this. So to me, even though it was a nightmare, it was a dream come true. And I still feel that way. I think I was raised very uniquely. We moved a lot, a lot! So I'm used to jumping in and jumping out. I can get in quick and I can get out quick. So emotionally I think I was ready

for that. It wasn't like I lived in one town, had one set of friends.

There was no single event or program that prepared her for success in China; she feels it was the totality of her experience.

The Role of Expectations in Adjustment

The second major theme to emerge from the interviews was the effect of expectations upon the adjustment process. Appropriate expectations were deemed crucial to making a good adjustment. Inappropriate expectations were frequently cited as a primary cause of failure.

Subjects felt that low expectations facilitate adjustment more than high expectations. Low expectations were associated with contentment and satisfaction, and did not necessarily reflect a negative view of China. Expectations were shaped by a variety of factors, including prior overseas experiences, formal training, and personal background.

Subjects had a great deal to say about expectations in their own adjustment and that of other expatriates they had observed:

. . . a lot of your adaptation to this environment is what your expectations are going in . . . your personal expectations.

. . . if you come with your mind already made up and you have certain expectations and it's a lot different, it is much more difficult.

Aside from coming here and being too rigid, also probably having too rigid expectations. Preconceived ideas about how things are going to be.

So if you accept that and go with the right expectations then I think you adjust so much easier and quicker. It will still take some adjustment.

Expectations in the Interview Guide

In considering the interviewees' perspective on expectations, it is important to realize that no single question in the interview guide addressed expectations explicitly, yet expectations were mentioned specifically by most respondents and indirectly by all. Comments about the significance of expectations arose spontaneously or in response to questions about other issues.

The Effect of Level of Expectations

The consensus was that it is far better to enter China with low expectations and be pleasantly surprised, than to expect more and be disappointed.

In the workplace, low expectations meant a conservative view of what can be accomplished in a given day, how quickly projects can be completed, and how much the system as a whole can be changed. This perspective was sometimes at odds with the goals of the businessperson. Employees of multinational corporations saw themselves as agents of change. Their belief in their company and in the validity of their personal and professional goals tended to preclude low expectations. According to an executive with a large joint venture, "If you don't effect change, you shouldn't be here." However, in several cases, the businessperson's expectations had been tempered by first hand experience with the realities of China. The task then was to convince the management in America to moderate their expectations accordingly.

Some were finding more success than others.

In daily living, low expectations referred to the size, comfort and convenience of housing, options for entertainment and recreation, and the availability of familiar food and household items. Those who had entered China with low expectations felt they had made a better adjustment. A teacher with several years experience said:

Our organization said to keep your expectations low . . . and if something comes about that is better than your expectations, then so much the better. I think that was especially important with housing and living conditions . . . I think we have to be careful with expectations and try to say, "OK, am I getting my expectations really built up?"

A businessman who had first visited China years before was pleasantly surprised:

Actually we expected a lot worse . . . so we thought, we can handle it. There are a lot better restaurants than we expected, the living conditions are nicer than we expected. So from that viewpoint we were happy with what we received because it was on a higher level.

Factors that Shape Expectations

Not only were the interviewees aware of their expectations, they were conscious of the factors that had influenced their expectations. They cited prior overseas experience, training, and personal background.

Expectations and Prior Experience. Prior overseas experience is an

important adjustment factor in its own right and will be examined in detail later. However, its greatest influence was felt through its impact upon expectations. Interviewees' experiences of living and working in cultures outside the United States served to modify expectations of life in a foreign country, modifications that were seen as positive. Travel in Asia or developing countries was more helpful than travel in Europe. Prior experiences in China or corporate-sponsored look see visits were the most useful of all.

In the realm of work adjustment, expectations were also shaped by general background in the field and especially those experiences that involved joint ventures with other foreign countries or a multicultural workforce.

Expectations and Training. Formal training programs were seen as facilitating adjustment largely due to their effect upon expectations. Several interviewees praised their training program for specifically targeting expectations. Its goal was to lower expectations of work, relationships, and daily living.

In my orientation they made of point of telling us don't expect too much--culturally, but also in other areas--what you are going to do, language, etc.

I felt prepared and yet I think ready for anything at the same time, because I was--at the training one of their main objectives was to lower expectations.

Probably the most valuable thing (about training) was the lowering of expectations. I was thinking I was going to be able to do everything. I am

going to learn Chinese, everything is going to be great. My expectations were pretty high, even though I wouldn't have phrased it that way. . . . That was probably the best thing that training did.

The Role of Prior Overseas Experience in Adjustment

Though it was not immediately obvious, prior overseas experience proved to be the third major factor in adjustment to emerge from the interviews. These experiences increased awareness of cross cultural issues, enhanced flexibility and tolerance, and increased appreciation of cultural differences.

The majority of expatriates interviewed had traveled or worked overseas before coming to China. When asked specifically whether a given overseas experience had been helpful in preparing them for China, the majority said it had not. But in the course of the interview, it became evident that these experiences had indeed made a major contribution to their adjustment by shaping expectations and attitudes as well as giving specific knowledge. As stated by one businessman with extensive experience in countries other than China,

I knew much more what to expect than someone who has never been outside the country. Someone who has never traveled . . . even if it wasn't to China, you had gone to other places in the world, you'd know that there are differences.

Prior overseas experience was important for businesspeople in two ways. The first relates to specific professional skills gained in an international setting, such as

banking, labor relations, or dealing with government regulations. These are transferable skills that are particularly applicable in international settings. The second relates to attitudes. Overseas experiences instilled self-confidence, independence, and an understanding of the nuances of negotiation. Two managers with a large joint venture said:

[You knew what to expect because of training?] No, we knew from experience. Dealt with the Japanese, dealt with the Venezuelans. Whatever culture you are in, it's not going to be like America. So we expect differences. So if you go into the setting expecting a difference, then you can modify and do what you need to do.

The people who seem to have the most difficulty are people that have worked in a total domestic environment and then they take their domestic ideas and domestic philosophy and want to come over here and want this to be like where they were. "I am doing this job here, so I should be able to do that job there." To transfer the whole without a lot of compromise. And again, by going to different places you learn that you have to compromise.

The Role of Motivation, Goals, and Singleness of Purpose in Adjustment

The fourth, and most unexpected theme to emerge from the interviews was that of the importance of motivation, goals, and singleness of purpose. As one teacher said, "People who really want to be here, they will be all right. If they don't want to be here, they won't adjust, they won't be able to handle it."

Strong motivation and clearly defined goals facilitate adjustment. Expatriates motivated by service or personal development adjusted better than those motivated by money or career concerns.

Though no questions were directed to the issues of motivation and goals, the majority of interviewees made implicit or explicit reference to their importance. A few respondents felt that motivation was the most important issue of all. Several interviewees referred to motivation when asked how they would advise a friend interested in working in China. "I'd ask him WHY he wants to do it. Motivation has a lot to do with it." One employee of a large multinational corporation said it even more emphatically:

I would say, "Why are you going to China? Why do you want to go to China? What is your goal in China? What do you hope to accomplish there?" And all these other things--getting ready to come--seem to be a little superficial compared to WHY you are going . . .

When asked what kind of motivation would be appropriate, he responded, "That he is coming here expecting to learn a lot . . . that he is not going to take over the world . . . trying to make some positive contributions. That kind of tone."

Other expatriates also felt that strong motivation is not sufficient. There are certain motives and goals that are associated with good adjustment, and others that lead to ineffectiveness or failure. Even businesspeople rejected money as an appropriate motivator for an assignment in China. The most highly paid expatriates

contended that goals such as learning, personal growth, and making a contribution produced the most satisfactory results. The top executive of a large Chinese-American joint venture was asked to what he attributed his intercultural adjustment:

I'd say it relates to two key issues. One is the desire to come for a reason say other than monetary. . . . from all my experience dealing with expatriates, if people come overseas for the money or promotion or something to that effect, it may be reasonably successful, But I think there have to be other desires. Maybe they want to work in a challenging environment, maybe perhaps the concept of teaching, maybe perhaps seeing something wrong that you can . . . or the desire to be in a foreign culture, a different culture, maybe a specific desire to live in an Asian culture, something to that effect.

Those are the main things I came over for.

Another apparently ambitious businessman surprised the interviewer with a reference to his underlying motivation:

And I always had the idealistic idea that maybe I can make something positive happen by being here and being involved . . . and that's a challenge, because that whole operating environment provides huge opportunities, opportunities to learn things and to make a difference.

Those who clearly made a personal choice to come to China seemed to be at an advantage. Several employees of a large multinational corporation cited the advantages of working as independent contractors rather than regular employees.

They felt that independents took greater responsibility for their situation and were more likely to exert the extra effort to make it a positive experience. Those forced to China by economic necessity and career development alone are less likely to make the adjustment. A sales representative who had negotiated his own job in China said:

I was pretty well self-motivated. So in a way I might be different from others in your group because I am clearly here by my own choice, not because I was reluctantly sent here by a company, called upon to do it . . . but again, one of the reasons I have held together despite all the stresses is because I chose to come here. I took this job.

One executive in international finance commented on why some expatriates fail to make a good adjustment: "Motivation. They aren't motivated to adjust. They are motivated to resist. When they resist, you see the symptoms. 'I can't find Crisco oil. I can't find the right kind of chocolate morsels.' They didn't want to come."

Sheer determination also seems to have its place in making an adjustment. It is crucial to have a clearly defined set of goals, then singleness of purpose in remaining in China to meet those goals. Being successful in China involves making a commitment to life there, not looking over ones shoulder at what was left behind. Three interviewees with an extensive background in the Chinese language and a long-term commitment to China stated:

So the thing is that you need to know why you want to come to China. What specific purposes you have, etc. . . . You have to have specific goals in mind

and understand as much as you can.

But if you want to come here for the long term you can't just come always thinking of a way out. Because Americans always have a way out. They have a plastic card or money behind them. But I am not thinking of a way out . . . because I can't live on both sides of the world at the same time.

I feel that for expats six months is a long time. If you are somewhere six months you should make it your home. [Instead of thinking that is home back there?] Yes, that's a killer.

One motivation was singled out as being particularly inappropriate, even destructive--that is seeking an overseas assignment to escape something at home. Many interviewees had observed those who seemed to have come to China in order to escape problems at work or problems in relationships. It was noted that personal problems not only follow one to China, but they are magnified under the stresses of a new culture. As one teacher said, "You don't need to bring (personal) instability to an unstable situation."

The Role of Language Skills in Adjustment

The fifth major adjustment factor was that of Chinese language skills. Basic language skills were said to facilitate activities such as shopping and transportation, allowing the expatriate to participate more fully in daily life. More advanced skills brought cultural understanding and an ability to relate to a broader cross-section of Chinese society.

The importance of language skills differed according to the length of stay, personal goals, and the professional role of the expatriate. Only a few of those interviewed actually used their Chinese language skills in their work, but the majority either had fundamental language skills or were studying the language. Interviewees distinguished between the roles of basic language skills and more advanced language skills.

The Role of Basic Language Skills. At the time of the interviews, Beijing was vying to be the host city for the Summer Olympics for the year 2000. Ultimately, the selection committee passed over Beijing, citing, among other things, the lack of English language skills in the service sector. Apart from a few hotels and businesses, there is relatively little English is spoken in the city. Therefore, basic Chinese language skills are typically necessary in order to shop, travel, and carry out the affairs of daily life. It is possible to confine oneself to one of several English-speaking compounds or only shop in the handful of stores with signs in English, but this severely limits options and personal freedom. One resident said that unless you have the skills and motivation to get out of the compound, it is merely "a very nice prison."

These basic language skills not only played a practical role in adjustment, but also contribute to a sense of belonging in China. Without them, the Americans felt even more alienated from the culture. Mentally, the "us" and "them" view was reinforced as the expatriate wondered if the street vendor gave a fair price, or if the

comment heard in passing was an insult. One expatriate expressed her frustration by saying, "I hate being an outsider. And I always feel I am an outsider here." Yet it seemed that even basic language skills went a long way toward breaking down those barriers.

It makes you understand the culture a little bit better. Things don't seem so mysterious. You get really insecure here. I feel I get pretty insecure. I feel people are talking about me or staring at me But you can understand situations--where you think these people talking are really angry at you, but they aren't.

The Role of Advanced Language Skills. A greater knowledge of the language decreases the sense of being an outsider and gives one far greater access to the culture itself. For those who have made a long-term commitment to China, language skills were essential to gain a true understanding of the culture. An eight-year veteran who is fluent in Chinese and is the only foreigner in his office said:

The first thing is that people without a rudimentary knowledge of the language are locked out. There are students who have some English, there are thousands of people studying English, but knowing the Chinese language does two things. It begins to give one a sense of the culture--and that's important--beyond the surface view we get when we are isolated from the people. You begin to get into Chinese culture a little bit. And if you can say just a few things in Chinese, the Chinese people are much more open. They

appreciate the fact that you are trying to grasp one of the things they are most proud of. That is key. If you don't know the language, you are not likely to be able to tolerate a long stay. You confront too many problems and you can feel lonely and isolated. You have no avenue for getting into the culture.

A teacher who also is fluent in the language stated:

There are many who use English only and do quite well, but in terms of long-term, I think there is probably a relationship between language learning and your viability in the country. A sense of connectedness and understanding--I don't think you can have that without the language.

While language study was felt to be a good idea, there was no consensus as to when language study should take place. Some felt strongly that one should study Chinese prior to coming to China, that not only was it part of a proper preparation, but there was no time to study once one has arrived. Others felt there was no point in trying to study Chinese in the United States, that it was too artificial and unlike the language used in daily life.

Language Skills Alone are not Sufficient. Despite the importance of Chinese language skills, interviewees made it clear that even fluency in Chinese did not guarantee a good adjustment. One teacher spoke of his teammate during his first year in China. Others in their organization called them "the Dream Team" because they both had studied Chinese language and culture in college. It looked as if they would ease into life in China without difficulty. The interviewee had indeed made a

smooth adjustment and had spent several years in China. However, his teammate became mentally and emotionally disengaged from China after a few months and barely made it through his nine-month contract, despite his language skills.

The most poorly adjusted among all interviewees was an American of Chinese descent who was truly bilingual. She wondered if her language skills weren't actually a hindrance, in that she was keenly aware of everything that was said around her and found much of it offensive. Because of her ethnicity and language skills, she had expected to be treated as an insider, but instead found she was an American first, then Chinese second.

According to one general manager of a large corporate office, language skills should not be the determining factor in choosing employees for China:

The language is important, but in terms of selection criteria, I think it would be a mistake for a major multinational to go through their organization chart and try to find Hong Kong or Chinese descendants and say--“I'm going to weigh this (language) factor an eight, and I'm going to weigh something like self-reliance or the ability to operate independently, to have a sense of balance in one's life, I think I'll give that a two.”

The Role of Intracultural and Intercultural Relationships in Adjustment

The sixth major adjustment factor to emerge from the interviews was that of the expatriates' interpersonal relationships. The most important of these relationships were those within the expatriate's nuclear family. The well-being of spouse and

children were closely linked to the expatriate's success and effectiveness.

Relationships with other Americans and with the Chinese could provide essential practical and emotional support.

Relationships Within the Family. The interview contained one question that addressed the adjustment of family. Far more often, though, the interviewees brought up family issues spontaneously, or in response to other questions.

Among married expatriates interviewed, the husbands had the job that originally brought them to China, but the well-being of the wife was a central concern. Two businessmen working for multinational corporations said:

The biggest problem that I see . . . is the relationship with your wife here.

Wives have it very, very difficult. They have a very empty day that they have to try and fill. Our day is automatically filled with work for us--real full. They have an empty day. Then you have the conflict, the situation where when I come home tired, I have worked all day and she hasn't.

. . . probably the hardest thing in overseas jobs is the wives.

My wife is very busy with outside activities, so she has adjusted very well. But you have to make sure you empathize and listen to your wife. Because we go to work, whether it is a _____ plant in the U.S. or in China . . . the first six months was really tougher on her than on me.

Family problems were cited most often as the reason for unhappiness or the

inability to complete an assignment. A teacher was asked to describe a situation in which Americans had not made a good adjustment:

I'd say . . . it was usually a family situation where one of the spouses just was not adjusting. And it is a difficult situation when one has this great opportunity or job that is keeping them busy and the other person is totally bored. I know this from other international situations also. A good friend has actually gone through it.

Most often, the solution for these couples was for the wife to work or to otherwise stay busy with volunteer organizations. A businessman who spends long hours at his office said:

(My wife) is very active in the school. I think for any situations the wife is the hardest. I had two different good friends who took overseas assignments (who had problems). I have work to keep me busy, but the wife is really the key to the whole thing--she has got to be busy.

An interviewee who came to China as an accompanying spouse and then later sought employment felt that work was crucial for her adjustment.

I think it (adjustment of men versus women) is working versus nonworking. When you are working, your days are filled with excitement. For the nonworking woman you can tour the city . . . shop . . . not a normal thing you are used to.

At the same time, family relationships were a source of real strength and

stability. Strong family bonds and agreement over living in China provided much needed support. A woman in business stated, “. . . I have a good marriage. That makes a big difference. A lot of marriages fall apart here. They think they are going to get stronger, then they dissolve because there is so much pressure.”

A career expatriate who has lived in a number of countries said, “I have a wonderful wife. If you want to be cross-culturally flexible marry (the right) woman, that's all I can say. Because if it weren't for _____, I couldn't have done any of this stuff.”

Singleness and Adjustment. In general, unmarried interviewees felt that their lives were simpler than those of their married friends and this had facilitated their adjustment. They also had more time for language study and developing relationships with Chinese nationals. When citing examples of poor adjustment, they often referred to families with an unhappy spouse or children.

Relationships with Other Americans. According to the interviewees, relationships with other American expatriates could either help or hinder adjustment. It depended largely on the attitudes held by the group. When expatriates gather, there is a tendency for the conversation to turn toward the latest perceived outrage perpetrated by the Chinese. Even expatriates with an overwhelmingly positive view of Chinese culture reported that it was all too easy to get drawn into these discussions. They found it tempting to grumble and laugh at the expense of the Chinese. This reinforced an "us" and "them" attitude and often reduces the

perspective on culture to generalities and stereotypes.

At the same time, the Americans felt that ones countrymen could be a great source of practical and psychological support. Though some suggested that the new expatriate should avoid all contact with Americans and look to the Chinese to meet social needs, it is the rare individual who is able to make that plunge. Friendships with other Americans give a sounding board for ones thoughts and a welcome break from the sometimes exhausting task of explaining yourself to someone from a different culture.

In a related area, businesspeople in multinational corporations commented on the importance of a solid relationship with their counterparts in America. They stated that it was crucial that the home office understands the situation in China and not have inflated expectations of immediate progress or profitability. It is important that the expatriate be trusted by the home office and given the latitude to make decisions and set procedures. Likewise, the expatriate should have assurances that he or she will be able to fit back into operations in the United States in the future.

Chinese Friends. Expatriates in business and government had few Chinese friends. These somewhat casual relationships were valued, but seemed to make little contribution to the overall adjustment process.

Educators, however, living in a Chinese environment and with access to a larger number of Chinese English speakers, relied heavily on the support of Chinese friends and acquaintances. They showed them where and how to shop, how to cook,

and how to get around. They were tour guides and interpreters. Many teachers spent more of their free time with Chinese than with Americans and counted former students among their best friends.

The Role of Preparation and Training in Adjustment

The seventh, and final, major adjustment factor to emerge from the interviews was that of preparation and training. Though the majority of interviewees had not participated in a formal training program prior to their arrival in China, most felt that some type of preparation was important. The type and amount of preparation needed were seen as dependent upon the personality of the expatriate and the role to be played in China. Interviewees felt that preparation should include some basic language skills and practical instruction on daily life and common interpersonal interactions. Preparation that is too abstract or is out of date contributes little to adjustment and may be a hindrance.

In the mind of the researcher, preparation issues were to be an important part of the interview. It was assumed that proper training would be a prerequisite to good adjustment, but in reality, preparation and training played a far less important role in the experience of the expatriate than was anticipated.

The Role of Preparation. A common response to questions about preparation was, "Nothing can prepare you for China!," followed by a hearty laugh. Though couched in humor, it was clear that many interviewees truly doubted whether any activity conducted outside the country could ready one for life in China. Some felt

that the cultural differences were so great that the average American would have difficulty conceptualizing the Chinese experience.

A few expatriates had gone through a formal training program or had a relevant educational background. At the opposite end of the spectrum, a few had no preparation whatsoever. They had not read a book on China, listened to the language, or talked to anyone with China experience. However, the majority had done some sort of preparation, largely on their own. Most had read several books on contemporary China and felt that they had been very helpful. One businesswoman's response was typical: "I listened to my language tapes; I read as many books as I could on China, and that's about it." Several had embarked on more extensive personal research projects, going about their preparation in an organized fashion, and were pleased with the results.

The primary benefit of preparation was the effect it had on expectations. Expatriates felt the information gathered took away some of the mystery and gave a more balanced view of what to expect of life in China.

Those who were trained with a group in a formal setting were satisfied with the content. One executive with a large joint venture felt that it was especially helpful to the wives of the employees, as the employees had already been exposed to China. He stated, "For the wives it kind of gave them a shot in the arm, self-confidence, 'Yes, this is doable; I can go to that country'." Others also noted the importance of the camaraderie that developed among the trainees. This contributed

greatly to their sense of security about the new endeavor. They found strength in the mutual support within the group.

However this positive view of training programs was tempered by the observation that some programs can actually decrease the sense of urgency in attending to cultural differences. According to one businesswoman,

I think when you go through this training maybe you just feel it's going to be a piece of cake because everybody is really high on China and they make it seem very easy and one big happy family . . . and the culture is not that different. But when you come in cold maybe you pick up on . . . (the culture faster).

The Content of Preparation. The interviewees mentioned four areas that should be included in preparation: language, practical issues of daily life, Chinese history and culture, and general cross-cultural skills.

√ Interviewees felt that language study should focus on survival skills. These primarily spoken language skills include basic vocabulary and phrases necessary for shopping, travel, and polite exchanges. Several also felt that there were about 50 written characters that should be mastered, mostly place names and signs. One government worker was frustrated by the fact that, although he had an automobile, he could not travel outside the city because all the highway signs were in Chinese. Few expatriates read or wrote Chinese adequately.

Expatriates felt that information on practical issues was most important,

especially to the educator or small business employee who will operate more independently within the Chinese culture. However, it is crucial that this practical preparation content be accurate and up to date. China is changing rapidly and the material must be constantly reevaluated for relevance. Several expatriates felt that their adjustment had been made more difficult by outdated information or reports that were true for other parts of China, but not Beijing.

On the other hand, the more abstract tenets of Chinese culture and historical background were seen as being relevant only for those who had a long-term commitment to China. The majority did not feel they needed this information in their daily lives or to understand contemporary China. A number of interviewees who saw historical background as valuable suggested that this background be gained in China. They felt that reading books and visiting historical sites in country was far more effective than carrying out background study prior to arrival.

Several interviewees recommended training in general cross-cultural skills in order to be sensitized to cultural differences. They felt that these skills were more important than specific information about China in that they equip one to meet practical needs as they arise. One of the most thoroughly adjusted interviewees, an educator, stated:

I don't think the physical needs are that important. If the intercultural skills are set up . . . I would put the emphasis on intercultural stuff because the practical stuff will come when you are here. It is tough to picture those

things when you are in the States . . . It is more valuable in my mind to get the tools to deal with them.

Expatriates did not point to any specific training method or approach as being particularly effective. Most of the formal training given had emphasized information delivered by lecture, videotape, or reading.

The Chinese Perspective on Adjustment of Americans

Beijing has an increasing number of Chinese nationals in the workforce who work closely with Americans. This includes office workers, university administrators, and government workers in areas such as the State Bureau of Foreign Experts. These Chinese typically have adequate English language skills, but seldom have any formal background in American studies or intercultural issues, only practical experience with American expatriates.

The Chinese nationals who were interviewed have had many opportunities to observe cases of successful and unsuccessful adjustment. The least experienced interviewee had worked with Americans for two years. Most others had four to eight years experience.

These interviews served two purposes. The first was to determine the Chinese perspective on the factors that affected adjustment. The second was to corroborate the interviewer's judgements as to the intercultural adjustment of particular American expatriates, and by extension, the validity of the interviewer's judgements concerning other Americans interviewed.

Chinese Response to the Interview

The Chinese interviewees were cordial and willing to talk, though they were often seemed to be less comfortable than the Americans. It was also apparent that most of the interviewees had not given the topic of American adjustment much thought. Unlike the Americans who had reflected on their own experiences, the Chinese had not attempted to analyze the adjustment process. What they did have to offer, however, were keen observations of American behavior.

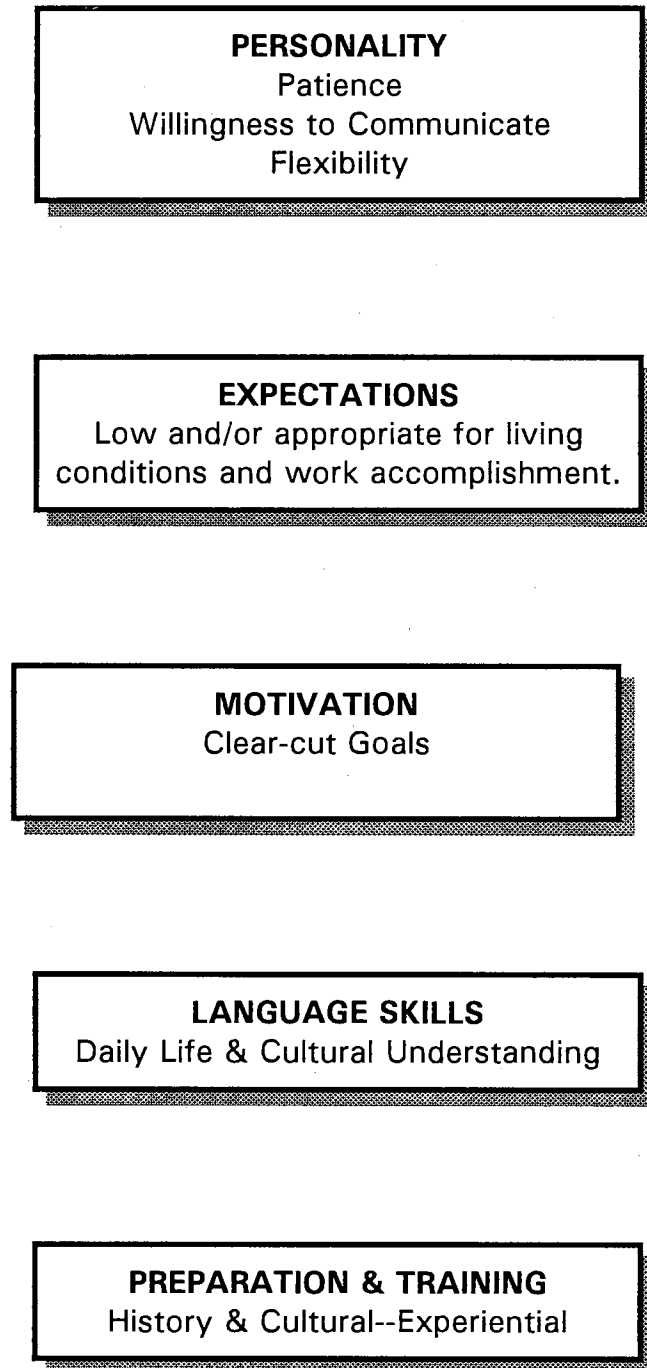
Chinese View of Antecedents of American Adjustment

In order to determine the Chinese perspective on the factors that affected adjustment, an approach was taken that was somewhat less structured than in the American interviews. After the preliminaries, Chinese interviewees were asked about characteristics of Americans who had or had not made a good adjustment. Interviews with Americans had open-ended questions, but also included questions on the roles of specific factors. Despite the difference in format, the results of the Chinese interviews fully confirmed the results of the American interviews, though with a slightly different emphasis. These results are summarized in Figure 3.

The Role of Personality Characteristics. The Chinese saw personality factors as being most important in adjustment, though not overwhelmingly so. They did not use the terms "personality" or "character." Rather, they spoke of specific characteristics.

Patience was the characteristic most often cited, and was referred to by all

Figure 3

Chinese Interviews: Emerging Categories of Adjustment

the interviewees. They explained that patience and perseverance were necessary because of the way things are done in China. There is little sense of urgency, and matters are decided only after much discussion. Americans tend to be impatient, and a lack of patience was cited as a prime cause of unhappiness and ineffectiveness.

One Chinese worker with eight years of experience with Americans said:

Some foreigners are very impatient. They want to make things happen overnight. One of the biggest differences (between China and America) is the efficiency, the concept of timing. Chinese have a good sense of history, so everything can wait; things can be worked out when the right time comes.

A Chinese office manager with an American supervisor agreed on the importance of patience:

Patience is part of the Chinese people. Actually some things can be done in one minute, but some of the bureaucrats say it will take about one week-- wait. So you keep patient, wait and wait, and finally the thing is done.

Second in importance is the willingness to communicate. Americans who are well adjusted pursue communication with Chinese. The Chinese felt these Americans are "easy to talk to." They seek connectedness and an exchange of ideas. They ask plenty of questions and let their needs be known. They are not withdrawn or silent. Likewise, they listen to the answers to their questions. They want to learn. In discussing examples of expatriate failure, the Chinese expressed their concern for Americans who kept to themselves and never voiced their problems, then suddenly

exploded or left without warning. They felt that if the Americans had been more communicative, the Chinese co-workers could have addressed the problems before they reached the crisis point. A Chinese government worker who has handled several Americans in adjustment crises stated:

And if you are not a very open person, if you have everything inside you and do not talk with your friends, with your students or teachers-- these kinds of people are very reserved in many cases--even if I ask you, "Tell me what you are thinking about, your difficulties," and you say nothing . . . we assume you are all right. Then tomorrow you say you are leaving . . . "What's the problem?", then you begin to talk . . . "Why didn't you tell me before?" Actually, this is what most Americans say about Chinese, but I think the opposite is also true.

The next characteristic identified by the Chinese was flexibility, or rather, the lack of rigidity. "If you are not a flexible person, either your willingness to adapt or ability to adapt, you will have a hard time." They felt that well-adjusted expatriates are satisfied with what China has to offer, even if it is not what they are accustomed to. They also demonstrate flexibility in their schedules and planning.

A Chinese salesman who works for an American multinational corporation emphasized the importance of flexibility in the approach to doing business. The American manager has to rethink the approach to the customer, learning to understand and identify the needs of the customer. "You have to put yourself into

the customer's shoes."

Expectations. The Chinese felt that Americans who are unhappy in China often arrive with inflated or inappropriate expectations. Their knowledge of China is limited and they are disappointed when it is not like America. They are not aware of the level of development and the living conditions in China. As one interviewee with a somewhat limited English vocabulary said, "You cannot have too many expectations. You can't come to enjoy. You must get preparation for enduring something, for suffering. If you cannot suffer, if you cannot endure something it will be difficult."

Motives and Goals. One Chinese government worker who has dealt with hundreds of Americans and who has traveled extensively felt that clear goals were extremely important. "The first thing is that they have a very clear objective--why they are here. They are here to help? They are here to learn about China? They are here simply for experience?"

Most Chinese felt that Americans should establish their goals before coming to China. By setting goals they can take steps to meet them. If they do not have goals, they are continually dissatisfied and uncomfortable. They should decide whether their primary purpose is to make money, make friends, learn the culture, or travel.

Language Skills. The Chinese interviewees felt that language skills were important for daily life and cultural understanding. They perceived that the desire to

learn the language is closely tied to a desire to learn the culture, and that when Americans even attempt to use the Chinese language, the Chinese around them respond very favorably. High level skills are not as important as the attempt to speak. A government worker in the educational sector stated:

Because anyone who has the intention to learn the local language, means he has the desire to adapt. When you are learning the language, no matter how poor, how bad you are speaking it, the people will feel good, will feel comfortable with you, because you are respecting our culture. You really want to be good to our country, that's why you are learning our language. And in the learning itself you learn many other things beside the language-- cultural things and the process will help a lot in adapting.

Preparation. Most of the Chinese interviewed felt that Americans should read about Chinese history and culture before their arrival, and that this knowledge would be very important for their adjustment. This is in contrast to the Americans who felt that history was not helpful. They also emphasized the impact that preparation has upon expectations.

However, several made a distinction between "book knowledge" about China and a genuine understanding of how people interact with each other on a daily basis and how things get done. They felt these issues are more important than a cultural history, but can only be learned by interaction with the Chinese, not by study. "You can learn from history, from the arts, but the background of the way of people doing

things you can't learn from textbooks. You learn from communicating with people."

An employee of an American multinational corporation said:

Frankly speaking, the people who learn China from some books, training centers, personally I do not have very positive comments on that. One is the information they are using is probably not valid at all . . . outdated . . . not telling the truth. The most important thing is you have to come over here and stay for some period of time and try to learn the lifestyle, cultures, political system, people's value, philosophy. I don't see anybody really learn that from a book.

Chinese View of the Level of Adjustment of American Co-workers

The Chinese interviewed felt that Americans tended to make a good adjustment to China. Though each knew of at least one case of expatriate failure, they could recount numerous success stories.

Four of the seven Chinese interviewed worked with Americans who had also been interviewed. This provided an opportunity to compare the interviewer's impressions of the Americans with that of their Chinese co-workers.

The Chinese were careful not to criticize their American co-workers, and none of these Americans were judged to have made a poor adjustment. Despite the possibility that courtesy would supersede accuracy, the Chinese responses tended to confirm and expand upon the Americans' own comments. For example, one American mentioned in passing the pressure he was feeling from the parent company

in the United States. His Chinese secretary independently stated that pressure from the home office to make sales was the major stress in the office, overshadowing any cultural barriers or difficulty in adjusting.

The Chinese evaluation of the adjustment of their American co-workers was consonant with that of the interviewer. The Chinese did not seem to consider adjustment indicators such as length of time the American intended to stay in China or the American's self report of feelings of adjustment, but they were very aware of attitudes toward China, interest in Chinese culture, and a general sense of being at ease. They were also aware of how the expatriate was handling some of the difficulties encountered in life and work, such as transportation problems and bureaucratic delays.

The highest praise was given to those American co-workers who asked many questions and were willing to learn the Chinese perspective and Chinese way of doing things. One interviewee felt that his current supervisor was an excellent example of one who has adjusted well. This Chinese office manager cited his colleague's fluent Chinese language skills, his honesty, openness, willingness to ask questions, and desire to understand China.

Summary

Interviews with American expatriates in Beijing concerning their intercultural adjustment yielded seven major factors that have a substantial impact upon this adjustment. These factors, listed roughly in order of importance were: (1)

personality, (2) expectations of the China experience, (3) prior overseas experience, (4) motives, goals, and singleness of purpose, (5) language skills, (6) relationships with Chinese and other Americans, and (7) preparation and training.

Chapter V contains a discussion of the relative importance of these factors and the relationships between them. These results are compared to those of previous studies and implications of this research for organizations and potential expatriates are given. Suggestions are made for further research.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The Factors that Affect Intercultural Adjustment

Many of the findings of this study confirm previous research on factors contributing to intercultural adjustment. Expectations, prior experience, spouse adjustment, training, and other factors have been well documented. The unique contribution of this study is a greater understanding of the relative importance of these factors and the interaction between them.

The antecedents of adjustment that emerged in this study lend themselves to analysis in terms of endogenous and exogenous factors. Endogenous and exogenous are terms based in biology and geology and are used to indicate the sources of influence of growth and change. Endogenous factors originate from or are derived from within. Exogenous factors originate from or are derived from without. The connotation of these terms makes them particularly apt for describing the antecedents of intercultural adjustment.

Endogenous factors in adjustment are those which originate in and are a function of the person, such as personality traits and motivation. Exogenous factors are those which are in the environment or which are external to the person, such as work characteristics or spouse adjustment. Exogenous factors also include training and prior international assignments, which may have an effect on endogenous factors.

This distinction between endogenous and exogenous factors may have implications for a more inclusive model of intercultural adjustment, but is not intended to constitute a model in itself. Figure 4 summarizes the endogenous and exogenous factors.

Endogenous Factors in Intercultural Adjustment

The antecedents of intercultural adjustment of Americans in China are primarily characteristics of the individual expatriate. Endogenous factors such as personality, expectations, motivation, and knowledge determine almost completely the degree of intercultural adjustment and effectiveness.

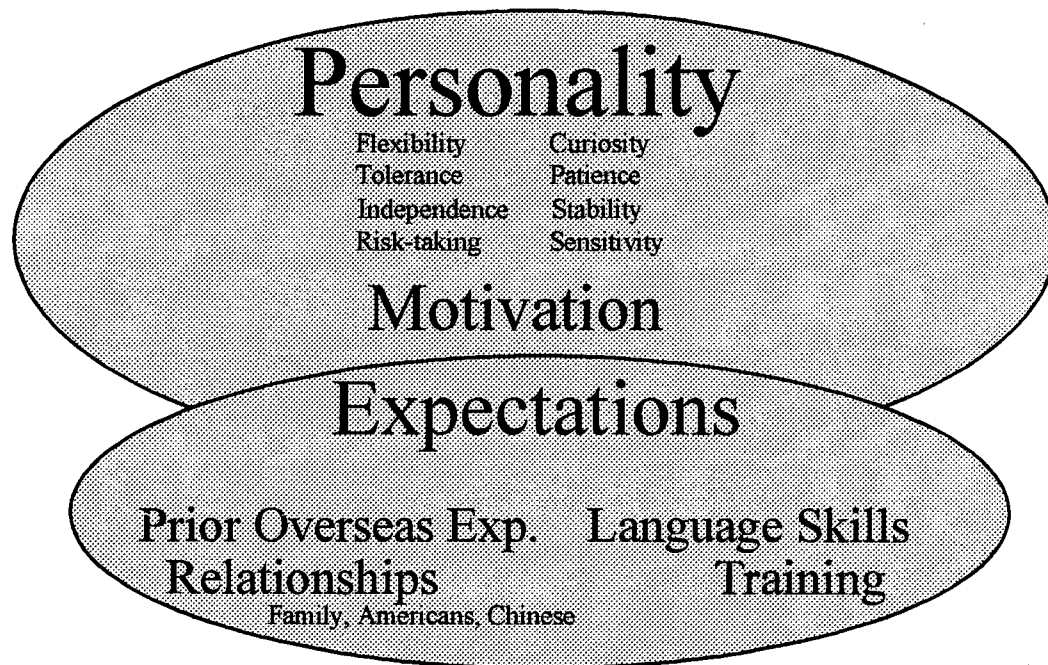
The Role of Personality in Adjustment

Personality as an adjustment variable has been clearly established in the literature (Black et al., 1991; Cui & Awa, 1992; Hannigan, 1990; Hawes & Kealey, 1981; Tung, 1981). Hannigan's review of literature in particular focuses on the importance of personality and closely related attitudinal factors. However, many of his sources were from the literature of the 1960's and 1970's, when personality factors were given more prominence than in more recent studies. In the 1980's and 1990's, personality factors have been relegated to a lower status, another factor among the eight or ten being considered. Analyses such as Naumann (1992) tend to downplay the importance of internal factors in expatriate success, focusing on characteristics of the job and living environment. The findings of this study of American expatriates, in contrast, would reinforce earlier works that make the

Figure 4

Endogenous and Exogenous Factors in Intercultural Adjustment

ENDOGENOUS FACTORS



EXOGENOUS FACTORS

characteristics of the person a central issue.

The expatriates interviewed expressed very clearly the overwhelming importance of certain basic personality characteristics which are the sine qua non of adjustment. No training, experience, or support structure can make the difference if the expatriate's personality is not suitable. Training and experience can enhance effectiveness and even shore up weaknesses, but they cannot replace these personality characteristics. The well-adjusted expatriate is first of all the right kind of person. Everything else is built on the foundation of the individual's personality.

The importance of personality was borne out in the Chinese interviews as well. In these open-ended interviews, the Chinese stressed qualities of the person above all else. Knowledge, background, and circumstances were all subordinate.

One personality issue, willingness to communicate, was very important to the Chinese, but not mentioned directly by any of the Americans. A number of studies (Arthur & Bennett, 1995; Hawes & Kealey, 1981; Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985) have found relational skills and a willingness to communicate to be a significant factor in adjustment. Because the Chinese interviewees associated a willingness to communicate with a desire to make connections and to understand China, it may be that this characteristic is addressed by the factors identified by the Americans as independence and curiosity.

It bears repeating that this emphasis upon personality was an unexpected outcome of the interviews. The researcher had fully expected to find that other

factors, such as environment or training were of primary importance, but instead, the interviewees continually stressed these fundamental characteristics of the person.

Personality in Selection and Preparation. The central role played by personality attributes has significant implications for the selection and preparation of expatriates. The eight specific personality characteristics volunteered by the interviewees can serve as a guide to initial selection. The presence or absence of personality characteristics may also have implications for the amount of prior experienced desired and the degree of training needed. Training is almost a remedial activity, an endeavor to imbue the person with those necessary traits. Interviewees suggested that some people do not need as much preparation as others, that those possessing the right combination of personality traits may be able to make the adjustment with little or no training. On the other hand, those with a shortage of desirable personality characteristics may need more extensive preparation, a somewhat compensatory curriculum.

If personality issues seem to be fundamental to adjustment, why have they received so little attention as selection criteria? There are several possible reasons why personality factors have been downplayed in the literature in recent years. One may be that earlier studies on intercultural adjustment tended to focus on students, Peace Corps Volunteers, and others engaged in a high degree of contact with host nationals. For them, cultural adjustment and positive interaction with host nationals was a priority. Though there were tasks to be accomplished, it was understood that

adjustment was a part of completing that task. In that setting, the factors that facilitated these intercultural relationships came to light. It became clear that it took a certain kind of person to bridge the cultural gap and fit in with the new culture.

It may also be that the type of organizations and situations examined in earlier studies lent themselves to a more subject-oriented approach. They may have been more willing to examine characteristics of the person.

On the other hand, many of the more recent studies, especially those reviewed for this research, examine the adjustment of expatriates engaged in business. Business enterprises are by nature goal-oriented, focusing on tasks to be accomplished. Intercultural adjustment is often seen as a noble aspiration, but not central to the plan; if the expatriate enjoys the culture and appreciates its people, that is an added bonus.

This task orientation promotes standards of success based on observable, measurable performance, which may naturally direct attention away from the person and his or her individual characteristics and place the focus on external factors. There is also some indication that businesses are less willing or able to deal with slippery issues such as personality traits. After completing the interview with the researcher, a Director of Human Resources with a large multinational corporation stated, in effect, that he knows that personality traits are the primary qualifications, but that he cannot select personnel for international assignments based on a personality profile. To do so could violate regulations on equal opportunity and non-

discrimination, a risk he was not willing to take.

It is understandable that businesses are hesitant to give significant weight to these subjective factors and why they rely more heavily on external, objective, easily measurable elements. However, by continuing to downplay the importance of the person being expatriated and considering primarily a set of credentials and experiences, businesses and organizations are likely to perpetuate the current rate of failure. It is imperative that an equitable way be found to assess personality characteristics in the selection process.

The Role of Motivation in Adjustment

Similar concerns arise when considering another endogenous factor, motivation. Few businesses or organizations would be willing to stipulate certain motives for their candidates for expatriation, yet it is clear that motivation is a key factor in intercultural adjustment.

References in the literature to motivation and expatriate effectiveness typically refer only to issues related to company loyalty and commitment to ones career (Naumann, 1992). Since motivation has not been widely identified as a factor in expatriate adjustment, the interview guide was not designed to elicit information on it. However, repeated references by the interviewees to personal motivation and goals made it among the most significant factors to emerge from the study. The Chinese interviews also stressed the importance of being clear about ones motivation. As motivation affects many aspects of human endeavor, it should come

as no surprise that it touches intercultural adjustment as well.

Motives related to personal growth and to making a contribution to society facilitate adjustment far more than those related only to compensation and career development, regardless of the field. One might expect the educator to emphasize personal development and service-oriented motives, but highly paid businesspeople were just as likely to embrace these kinds of goals. Businesspeople were unabashed in their zeal to make their company financially successful in China, yet they themselves had taken the overseas assignment for more personal reasons, such as learning about another culture or assisting in China's economic development.

While this aspect of motivation has not been dealt with in the literature on expatriate adjustment, these findings echo the work of Gardner and Lambert (as cited by Savignon, 1983) on motivation for second language learning. Gardner and Lambert distinguish between integrative and instrumental orientations in language learning. An instrumental orientation is primarily concerned with the practical value of language learning, what can be gained, and what ends can be accomplished. An integrative orientation is concerned with learning the language in order to fit into, belong in another culture.

Like Gardner and Lambert's instrumentally oriented language learner, those who have taken an assignment in China as a means to an end, whether career development or financial reward, are motivated to understand, appreciate, and adjust to the culture only to the degree demanded by their external goals. In contrast, the

intrinsically motivated expatriate, like the language learner with an integrative orientation, sees cultural understanding and adjustment as an end in itself.

Appreciation of and involvement with Chinese culture are inherently worthwhile and are pursued to the full extent possible under the circumstances.

The Role of Expectations in Adjustment

Issues of personality and motivation are functions of the individual and relatively resistant to influence from external factors. However, expectations are influenced by internal characteristics and also knowledge and experience. The individual's expectations are formed at the juncture of endogenous and exogenous factors. It is at this point that organizations can affect the adjustment process.

While personality traits are shaped over a long period of time and are relatively slow to change, expectations can be influenced significantly by short-term experiences and brief training sessions.

A number of studies have confirmed the importance of appropriate expectations (Black et al, 1991; Hawes & Kealy, 1981). Several of these have made the connection between training, prior experience and individual expectations, but this relationship has not been clarified.

The comments of the interviewees indicated that prior experience and preparation may have their primary impact through the effect they have upon expectations. Their comments also suggest that the key issue is not the difficulty of the situation or the level of cultural difference, but rather the disparity between

expectations and reality. Even expatriates in the best possible living situations found reason to complain if the reality of life in China was more difficult than envisioned. However, those in truly difficult circumstances were relatively happy if the situation was in line with what they had anticipated.

It is interesting to note that having low expectations of living and working in China was not at all associated with a negative attitude toward the country and its people. It is apparently not a matter of self-fulfilling prophecy in which one expects the worst, and gets it. To the contrary, low expectations--or "no expectations", as some interviewees claimed to have, were strongly associated with a positive experience and general enjoyment of the culture.

The single most poorly adjusted individual interviewed came to China with very high expectations. A Chinese-American, she expected to be "going home", returning to her roots on the mainland. She expected to be welcomed as a sister and treated as a long-lost friend. When she found the citizens of modern China and her counterparts in Chinese corporations to be nothing like her kind, generous family in America, she was bitterly disappointed. She responded by withdrawing and by making frequent trips back to the United States. Inflated expectations and her subsequent disillusionment negated her advantages in cultural knowledge and language skills.

Exogenous Factors in Intercultural Adjustment

Exogenous factors such as prior overseas experience and specific training and

preparation contribute to the success of the expatriate to the extent that they affect personality and expectations, and provide practical knowledge and language skills. Family relationships and the adjustment of family members have a significant impact on the completion of the assignment as well.

Prior Overseas Experience

Other studies have indicated that prior overseas experience has a positive effect upon intercultural adjustment (Black et al., 1991; Naumann, 1992), though they do not indicate the means by which these experiences influence adjustment. Black and Gregersen (1991b), however, in their study of American expatriates in Pacific Rim countries did not find prior overseas experience to make a significant contribution to adjustment. The responses of the interviewees in this study address both the apparent lack of influence of prior experience in certain situations, and the mechanism by which this influence, when present, is exerted.

Because the influence of prior overseas experience was so well established in the literature, a specific question was directed toward it. To the surprise of the researcher, the great majority of interviewees initially indicated that their prior experience had not facilitated adjustment to China. Their comments indicated that they were attempting to make a direct comparison between their China experience and their experience in another culture. Statements such as, "England is nothing like China." revealed an attempt to find a correlation between the two cultures.

Black and Gregersen (1991) suggested that the novelty of Asian cultures may

limit the degree to which knowledge gained in other cultures is useful. This initially seemed to be the case in this study as well, yet as the interview progressed, interviewees referred repeatedly to their prior overseas experiences, telling how they had learned flexibility and independence, or how they had begun to accept alternative world views. Experiences of foreign cultures had made a powerful impact on the expatriates, but not in terms of specific information that could be generalized to the Chinese context. Rather, the experiences had shaped their personality and expectations in more subtle and fundamental ways.

It should be noted that subjects' response to this question exemplifies one of the limitations of survey research in addressing complex issues of intercultural adjustment. A survey alone might have registered only the initial negative response and never revealed the underlying issues. In the context of the conversation, the importance of these antecedent factors and the relationships between them became evident.

Preparation and Training

As an exogenous factor that is under the control of individuals and organizations, training has received significant attention in the literature. Though training has been shown to facilitate intercultural adjustment (Black & Mendenhall, 1990; Brewster & Pickard, 1994) its specific contribution and relative importance have not been thoroughly explored.

As noted in the discussion of expectations and adjustment, one of the primary

ways in which training facilitates adjustment is by modifying these expectations. A number of interviewees who had participated in training sessions that focused on expectations found that their outlook was profoundly affected in ways that facilitated their adjustment. Likewise, training that includes language study yields the benefits of that basic skill. Overall, though, the responses of Americans in China and their Chinese colleagues would suggest that training is helpful, but plays only a supporting role. It can only fine tune the existing qualities of the person.

Nevertheless, the content of the training is crucial. Training which does not impart accurate and up to date information can actually be detrimental. It may also be that the aspects of cultural understanding deemed most relevant can only be learned by personal interaction with the culture and that training sessions should be conducted within the context of the target culture whenever possible.

The fact that the Chinese were divided on this point can perhaps be attributed to differences between the educational and business sectors. Those in education felt that a knowledge of history and culture was essential to understanding China today and that this should be studied prior to arrival in China, a view consistent with a conservative, academic perspective. The other Chinese interviewees, predominantly from the business sector, felt that predeparture training in any form was nearly useless. They felt strongly that one can only learn the realities of life in China, cultural patterns, and communication styles by interacting with the Chinese in China. They also emphasized the fact that China is changing rapidly, and virtually

any published materials are likely to be out of date as soon as they are distributed. Indeed, economic growth is the primary catalyst for cultural change in China today, and those in the business world are most likely to feel the effects of this transformation.

Language Skills. For the purpose of this discussion, language skills are subsumed under preparation and training. Most American expatriates are not native speakers of Chinese; their language skills are acquired through intentional study in a formal setting. It is in this sense that language skills are an exogenous factor in adjustment, acquired externally.

It is no surprise that language skills should have an impact on intercultural adjustment. Though language skills have not been given a place of prominence, their importance has been well documented (McEnery & DesHarnais, 1990; Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985; Naumann, 1992). However, it has not been clear how language skills effect the attitude of the expatriate. Comments from the interviewees address this, and also indicate that basic and more advanced language skills play a somewhat different role in adjustment and cultural understanding.

Poorly adjusted expatriates feel isolated from the culture. They avoid contact with the Chinese, staying within the foreign community whenever possible. In the case of government workers and some businesspeople, that community is sizable and active, so the expatriates' social needs may be met. Still, this artificial and unnatural segregation produces its own stresses and frustrations. In withdrawing from those

around them, the expatriates feel further alienated from their surroundings.

Ultimately, they maintain their equilibrium in spite of the culture by finding ways to circumvent its demands, rather than by accommodating to it.

The lack of language skills exacerbates this isolation. Physically, the monolingual expatriate cannot stray far from familiar territory. Without being sure of the right bus and unable to direct the cab driver, only certain locations are accessible. Increasingly, the routines of the day are limited to activities and places that require no real interaction with the Chinese. There are fewer opportunities to develop relationships, to gain real insight and understanding into how the society functions.

By providing the tools for mobility and public interaction, basic language skills can break a cycle of isolation and increase the expatriate's exposure to the culture. Not only do these skills enable one to meet practical needs, they provide a very real emotional boost by restoring some of the independence and self-confidence to which adults are accustomed. The positive response on the part of the Chinese to Americans who attempt to use the Chinese language also indicates that even basic skills can make a significant contribution to adjustment.

More advanced language skills open the door to a greater depth of cultural understanding in two ways. First, these skills allow one to interact with a broader cross section of Chinese society. One is not limited to those who can speak English or who will patiently bear with a beginning Chinese speaker. Many of those Chinese

citizens who can speak English have already begun making a cultural transition.

They have begun bridging the gap between American and Chinese culture, meeting the American at least halfway, and, as such, may not be truly representative of their countrymen. Second, those with advanced language skills have direct access to the culture, not as it is filtered through an interpreter or through translated readings.

The Role of Relationships: Family and with Chinese

Family Adjustment. Numerous studies have concluded that the inability of family members to adapt is the primary cause of expatriate failure (Black & Gregersen, 1991; Black & Stephens, 1989; Naumann, 1992; Tung, 1981). This study would tend to support those findings.

Though family adjustment is exogenous to the expatriate, results of this study suggest that the factors which facilitate the adjustment of the family members are endogenous to the family members themselves. The same internal factors which so strongly influence expatriate adjustment shape the experience of the family as well. A family with a high potential for adjustment can only be selected, not created, still there are external factors that can have a positive influence on adjustment.

Prior studies have investigated possible remedies for problems in spouse adjustment, such as involvement in formal and informal predeparture training, open communication between marriage partners, and social support (Black & Gregersen, 1991). Interviewees in this study mentioned these factors as well, but put far more emphasis on the daily activities of the expatriate spouse. They felt it is extremely

important for the spouse to be working, either full or part time, either for pay or as a volunteer. The critical issue is that the spouse should be occupied with fulfilling activities.

The Role of Chinese Workers in American-Chinese Offices. Previous studies (Adelman, 1988; Black & Gregersen, 1991) have investigated the importance of host nationals to the adjustment of expatriates. Though no questions in the Chinese interview guide were directed toward this issue, it became apparent that the Chinese interviewed had an impact on the adjustment of their American co-workers.

Chinese workers in American organizations tend to play two roles. In addition to their regular jobs as receptionists, office managers, or salespersons, they are often called upon as cultural advisors, explaining China to their American superiors and suggesting the most appropriate way to accomplish a given task. In business settings, the Chinese co-worker provides some of the support that Chinese friends do for teachers and therefore plays an important part in the adjustment of the American expatriate. This role is not formally acknowledged within the organization, but appears to be a very significant one.

Implications for Organizations

Selection for Expatriate Assignments

The results of this study indicate that endogenous factors are most important for intercultural adjustment, making selection the most important step in the process of expatriation. If adjustment and effectiveness are affected primarily by personality

characteristics, relatively stable attributes of the individual shaped by the totality of ones experiences, then the organization should put a great deal of effort into finding the right person to start with.

The candidate for an overseas assignment should have most, if not all, of the personality qualities indicated in Figure 2.

The potential expatriate should have reasonable expectations of the overseas assignment, or an indication that his or her expectations are subject to modification.

Prior overseas experience is a significant asset, especially experiences in Asian, China, or less developed countries. Experience that required a greater degree of independence and exposure to the host culture is preferable.

Though the goals of the candidate should be consonant with that of the organization, the organization should look for additional motivation based on a desire for personal growth and making a positive contribution to a foreign society.

Chinese language skills, or the motivation and aptitude to gain them, are an asset. Candidates should demonstrate a facility with languages or a pattern of lifelong learning, whether in structured or unstructured settings.

The spouse and family members should be considered in this selection process, and should display many of these characteristics as well. The spouse should be in agreement with the overseas assignment. It is also desirable for the spouse to have a history of working outside the home, and skills and background that increase the potential for employment.

Preparation and training issues should be considered in the selection criteria in that the candidate should be able to attend training sessions. In addition to formal training sessions, the individual should have demonstrated the ability to benefit from self-directed study.

Training and Preparation of Candidates for Expatriation

Once identified, this individual and spouse should be provided with the information and experiences necessary to develop a realistic set of expectations concerning life and work. This may be best achieved through a look see visit, talks with experienced expatriates, and other information sources.

Though training and formal preparation was a relatively low priority for the interviewees, it may be that the typical training program does not address those issues and attitudes that are most important for adjustment. Rather than dismissing training entirely, the results of this study should be used in planning the content and methods of training.

A measure of training that includes an introduction to the language should be given before departure. In addition to the language needed for everyday life, language training should include strategies for continuing language study in country. This may include self-study techniques and practical matters such as how to find and utilize a tutor.

The organization should take pains to ensure that the information given in training is relevant, realistic, and current. Erroneous information is worse than no

information at all. There was no clear consensus among the interviewees on the place of general historical and cultural information, only that it is less important than practical and interpersonal skills.

Though a preferred mode of training was not indicated in the interviews, it seems clear that methods that have an impact on attitudes will be more productive than methods that impart knowledge alone. Methods that increase self-awareness and address affective as well as cognitive issues are more likely to influence adjustment.

Organizational Responsibilities to the Expatriate on Assignment

Once the expatriate has begun the assignment, the organization should give attention to his or her relationships with both the Chinese and other Americans. Work schedules and housing arrangements that isolate the American from the Chinese foster alienation and discontent. Educators naturally establish relationships with the Chinese; businesspeople should be encouraged to make the effort to do so. Chinese staff within the organization should be utilized as resources for cultural understanding.

Culture and language training should continue after arrival in China so that information can be given in context.

Implications for the Potential Expatriate

Americans living and working in China attest to the physical and psychological rigors of the assignment. The differences in language, culture, and degree of economic development create significant challenges. The China experience

can be personally and professionally rewarding, but is not something to be entered into lightly.

Even as an organization has a selection process, the individual must exercise his or her own judgement concerning personal suitability for the assignment. There must be clear communication with family members and a realistic assessment of the effect of the move upon them all. Expectations should be examined in the harsh light of reality. Motives and goals should be clarified.

Expatriates indicate that the primary factors that relate to adjustment are under the control of the individual. These attitudes and actions are influenced, but not determined by external circumstances. Ultimately, the individual will make the decision whether or not to adjust.

Recommendations for Further Research

The semi-structured interview is an invaluable, but underused method for studying expatriate adjustment. In the course of conducting the interviews, the researcher was struck by the richness and complexity of the expatriate experience. It is an experience that is not easily reduced to questions on a paper and pencil survey or to points on a scale. Survey research has established some markers and reference points in understanding the process of intercultural adjustment, but, as our understanding grows, it will be necessary to add color and dimension to our picture of this process with well-designed qualitative studies.

Thus, the primary recommendation is for additional qualitative research on

expatriate adjustment. Along with original qualitative research, an approximate replication of selected quantitative studies with qualitative data gathering techniques should yield clearer, more useful results than either method used alone. Techniques such as observation and co-worker and host national interview can be combined with expatriate interview.

Apart from research method, themes that emerged from these interviews suggest a number of possible areas of study:

1. The degree to which apparently well-adjusted and effective expatriates possess the specific personality characteristics.
2. The role, formal and informal of the national employee in orienting and providing support for the expatriate co-worker.
3. The experience of the expatriate family, including spouse and children, and the factors which facilitate their adjustment.
4. A comparison of instrumental and integrative motivations in intercultural adjustment.
5. The culture specific or culture-general nature of adjustment factors.

Summary

The issues that emerged from the expatriate interviews include endogenous and exogenous factors. The endogenous factors, personality and motivation, are relatively slow to change and can therefore be influenced only by selection. Some exogenous factors, such as prior overseas experience and training can be directly

influenced by the individual or organization. Family adjustment, another exogenous factor, can be influenced to some extent, but is ultimately dependent upon factors which are primarily endogenous to the family members.

Because adjustment is primarily dependent upon endogenous factors, organizations should emphasize the selection process, considering the expatriate and his or her entire family. The individual with the appropriate personality characteristics and motivation will benefit from training that yields appropriate expectations, impacts attitudes, includes language study, and gives current information on issues of interaction and daily life.

Once in China, adjustment will be facilitated by involvement in the host culture and by developing relationships with Chinese nationals. A willingness to communicate and attempts to learn and use even basic Chinese language skills will be well received. The spouse will adjust more readily if involved in work or some other fulfilling activity.

The semi-structured interview is an effective means of studying the expatriate experience. Additional qualitative research is recommended as well as studies addressing the role of personality, motivation, the expatriate family in adjustment, and the universality of antecedents of adjustment.

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Appendix A

Interview Guide, Original Version

The questions here indicate the information being sought; the question may or may not be framed in exactly these words.

Introduction

Interviewees were contacted prior to the interview and already had some idea of the purpose and topic of the interview. The introduction to the actual interview consisted of some variation of the following: *I spent a year in China in 1984 and have made many trips here since then. Through all this I have become interested in how Americans adjust to life here. Now I am doing research on this by interviewing Americans about how they prepared for China and the things that have helped them adjust. I am trying to understand why some people do well in China and some don't. I would like to tape our conversation, but no one will hear it but me. This will be anonymous; please don't give your name or the name of the company/organization. We can stop any time you would like to.*

Questions

1. How long have you been in China?
2. What is your job? Did you choose this assignment/China?

Is this similar to work you have done before? How does it differ?

3. What kind of contact do you have with the Chinese? Work? Social? Daily life?

4. What experiences have you had that you feel prepared you to live and work successfully in China? (Including education, life experiences, etc.)
5. Have you been overseas before--living and working?
Do you feel it helped prepare you for China?
6. How did you prepare for China? Training? By organization? Self-initiated?
Formal/informal? Length of time? Was the preparation helpful?
Did you feel prepared? Other things you wish you had done/known?
7. Has the adjustment been difficult? In which areas? Job? Interacting with Chinese? Overall environment? How has it been for your family?
8. How much time do you spend with other Americans?
Has this been important in adjustment?
9. What advice would you give someone who is coming to China?
10. How long do you plan to stay in China? Would you return?

Appendix B

Interview Guide, Revised Version

Introduction

The introduction was not changed significantly.

Questions

1. How long have you been in China?
2. What is your job? Did you choose this assignment/China?
Is this similar to work you have done before?
3. Have you been overseas before--living and working?
Do you feel it helped prepare you for China?
4. When you knew you were coming to China, how did you prepare?
5. Did you feel prepared when you arrived? Do you wish you'd had more preparation or done it differently?
6. If a friend in the States told you he/she wanted to come to China to live and work, what would you tell him/her? Prepare? Study language?
7. How important do you think personality is to adjustment? or How would you compare the importance of personality to training/preparation in adjustment?
8. Do you know any Americans who have had a difficult time adjusting? Why do you think it was so hard for them?
9. Has the adjustment been difficult? In which areas? Job? Interacting with Chinese? Overall environment? How has it been for your family?

- 10.[Optional] What is the difference between you (who seems to be making pretty good adjustment) and those who are really not happy here, not adjusting?
11. What kind of contact do you have with the Chinese? Work? Social? Daily life?
12. How much time do you spend with other Americans? Important in adjustment?
13. What experiences have you had that you feel prepared you to live and work successfully in China? (Including education, life experiences, etc.)
14. How long do you plan to stay in China? Would you return?

Also: Respond to comments on language skills, expectations, following the flow of conversation unless it gets too far afield.

Appendix C

Interview Guide for Chinese

The questions here indicate the information being sought; the questions may or may not be framed in exactly these words.

Introduction

Interviewees were contacted prior to the interview and already had some idea of the purpose and topic of the interview. The introduction to the actual interview consisted of some variation of the following: *I spent a year in China in 1984 and have made many trips here since then. Through all this I have become interested in how Americans adjust to life here. I have been doing research on this by interviewing Americans about adjustment. I am also interviewing Chinese who have worked with Americans to get their views. I am trying to understand why some Americans do well in China and some don't. I would like to tape our conversation, but no one will hear it but me. This will be anonymous; please don't give your name or the name of the company/organization. We can stop any time you would like.*

Questions

1. How long have you worked with/observed Americans?
2. What is your job that brings you into contact with Americans?
3. Do you know any Americans who have made a good adjustment to China? Why do you think they adjusted well?

4. Do you know any Americans who did not adjust well to China?
Why do you think they had difficulty?
5. What problems do you see Americans having in China?
Why do you think this occurs?
6. What do you think Americans could do to help themselves adjust?
7. [Optional] Do you feel (the American co-worker) is comfortable in China, has made a good adjustment? What makes you say so? Why do you think he/she has adjusted well?
8. Is there anything else you would like to say about this subject?

Appendix D

Adjustment Factors Given by Interviewees

The following list of words and phrases about adjustment factors reflects the early part of the fourth stage of data analysis. This list is not comprehensive and is not presented in any particular order, but is presented to clarify the intermediate steps in analyzing the interview data. The salient points of each interview were noted, then listed in the aggregate. Duplicates were eliminated and similar points were combined until the major categories emerged. In the fifth stage of analysis, these categories were used to extract specific quotes in context.

Unless preceded by a minus sign (-) or clearly stated otherwise, these factors are assumed to facilitate adjustment. These excerpts are mostly unedited:

Cannot truly prepare for China	American, Chinese support important
Include current info and daily life	Problems--spouse unhappy, try to
History not important before coming	keep USA lifestyle, inactive, trying to
Basic language skills very helpful	change China
Flexibility	Stresses bring out problems, inability
Independence	to cope
Adventurous	Expectations important
Some personalities need more training	Living overseas not helpful
than others	Personal preparation of reading and
Personality, training both important	language study was adequate

Expectations shaped by travel	Inconveniences, lack of honesty
Has positive view	Business not sufficient reason to be
Important to have interest in culture, sense of purpose	here, won't last
Personality more important than preparation	Prior overseas experience
Open minded, tolerant, laid back	Interested in other cultures
Time with Americans can be positive or negative, depends on them	Tourist travel in China
Problems--if have USA cultural expectations	Tune in to their culture
Prior overseas experience helpful	Had little formal preparation
Personally "together" important	Lack of preparation, tough initial circumstances
Important to have plan, goals	-Walling self off from Chinese society
Patience important	Balance between personality and preparation issues
Some study is helpful, but more important to have personal maturity	Prior experiences in Asia
Failures in China would be failures elsewhere as well	Background with many demands, job changes, tough circumstances, having to relate to variety of people
Frustration with China not being like USA	Character, perseverance
	Family unity
	Focus on being here, not divided
	Fighter...to get what you need

Understand, care about the people	Preparation with organization would
Pace self, relax, revive	be good (not done)
Change way of thinking, see Eastern perspective	Support from Chinese friends
Failures...knows many	Make the adjustment, not as USA
Lack of space, privacy, conveniences, filth, fighting the system, lies, challenges of daily life	Not insulating, isolating, get out, be involved
Lack of language	Americans in hotel setting complain often, though have it very good
Own family, children are well adjusted	Teachers complain less, more positive
Wife is working, an outlet for her	Adjustments are primarily to physical setting, small space
The Chinese system fights you all the way, must be mature	Spouse, unity, flexibility, helpfulness
Character is primary	Care taken by corporation, meeting physical needs
Prior professional background in field	Support-spiritual, church
Personal study in a structured way	Cross cultural training--include family
Sense of purpose, wanting to make contribution	Family adjustment
Experience in moving out of comfort zone, independence	Want to be here
	Motivated to adjust
	Don't look back, make new home
	- Difficult to make Chinese friends in

business context

- Spouse not involved, not furthering

her career

- Forced here for econ reasons, not

choice

- Coming to China to escape

problems..problems follow you

Low, appropriate expectations

Don't look back

Background of moving around,

making and breaking relationships

quickly

Don't compare with American life

Initially get into Chinese life

Language helpful, though not crucial

Risktakers, adventurous, adaptable,

flexible, spontaneous, creative,

curious

Preparation helpful, not crucial

Business people still complain, though

have it good Business people primary

stress is the job, while teachers it is

primarily daily life

Mental preparation, ready for stress

Preparation better done in China

Background--person he is Farm life

flexible, unstructured, basic

Curiosity about other cultures

Wife has same goals

Resourcefulness, put up with

frustration

Sensitivity

Difficult to make social contacts in

Business, which tends to be

adversarial Education more friendly,

communication more straightforward

Low expectationslower than reality

Motivation more important than prep

or personality

Background in travel

Stability, perspective on things

Support from Chinese friends

- Pride in the USA and our culture

If always frustrated in China, were probably the same in USA

Tolerance for ambiguity

Not taking self too seriously

- Strong feelings about fairness and justice

- Coming with unresolved conflicts, misfits at home

Business people not necessarily better adjusted because of physical benefits..frustrations in work.

Some reading would be helpful

Character--outlook on life

Interest in people, new things

Avoid value judgements

Avoid USA perspective

Sensitivity in interpersonal, while being insensitive

Humility

Education easier setting than business

- Arrogance

Preparation that makes you more self-aware

Willing to try new things

Background experiences in camping

Sports activities

Optimism

Be interested in China

Learn some history

Build relationships with Chinese

Personality is primary.training won't help some people

Prior overseas experience..situations where you are not in control

Training in CCC very helpful Also that which lowers expectations

Background contact with international students

Chinese friends, living close to

Chinese

Having long term goals, long term

interest

Enjoy gray areas

- Critical of Chinese
- Buffer from Chinese culture
- Problems at home..brought from

home magnified here

Knowledge is not as important as interpersonal skills

Business people tend not to adapt very well, only touch the surface

Takes decades to fully acclimatize

Adjusting not just coping, but understanding China easy to get into on a superficial level More difficult at deeper level

Language, for survival, more for long-term

Chinese friends

Chinese comfortable in your home

Anticipate learning experience

Intention to stay, stick it out

Spouse also wanting to be in China

Closer to Chinese environment

- Only American friends
- Some portion of your family not happy being here

Unhappiness seems a combination of character and circumstances

Adjustment depends on your

goals...short-term business has different goals

Understand own goals, purpose

Love for people

Get outside self, concerned for others

- Not really broken away from parents
- Unhappy spouse

- Americans like to be in charge

Expectations, presuppositions very important, esp. about working

conditions

Chinese and Americans working together

Willingness to integrate more	stay active
Willingness to get out, get involved	Few social contacts with Chinese
Cross cultural communication course to understand dynamic	Working long hours
Choosing to be here	Like challenges
Money not enough for happiness	Training not so important, must learn it here
No outlet for entertainment, distraction	Language, decreases isolation
- Work frustration	Openness
- Expecting the Chinese to adjust	Outgoing
Look see	Not insulated, isolated
Training, in fitting in with group	Background, Outward Bound, camping, hardships
Some intercultural background	Self-selecting, want to be here
Like languages	Wanting to broaden horizons
Language skills	Ability to establish relationships
Cultural knowledge..in order to shape expectations	Job is very demanding
Desire to leave home, independence	Long hours
Working	Right attitude..realize things will not go your way
- Tough to bring children to China	Had little preparation, but would have liked to have had more
China is tough on wives Important to	

Comfortable with self

- Unfinished business in the USA

- Wanting to change things

Attitude of being a learner

Understanding how you function

Genuine fondness for Chinese and things Chinese

Appreciate history, culture

Isolation from the culture..even in luxury, people are unhappy.

Self-sufficiency

Travel

Dealt with hardships

Importance of home base being secure

Like variety

Sense of satisfaction in job

Failures seem to be burnout..work and situation

Can work on your own

Flexibility of values

Don't fight the system

Rigid expectations

- Wrong motive, to find roots

- Too aware of cultural factors

- Taking things, inequities personally

- Single woman, no support structure

- Unprepared..no study in preparation

- Language skills..no buffer

Communication as priority

Making commitment to being here

Support structure, church, etc

Desire to learn new culture

Professional background adequate

- Timidity

Technical skills in field in addition to

interpersonal skills If they lack the

latter, brought in for short periods

Not resisting the culture

Creative

Working..having skills in demand

- One foot at home, one here

Comfortable in new surroundings	superficial
Some degree of chaos	Employees must have hard skills, then
Wanderlust	soft skills too
Attitude is primary	Not minding being an outsider
- Insecurity	Trust of those at corporate
Selecting is most important issue	headquarters at home
Government provides much support	Stubborn, yet flexible
Adaptable	Motivated by more than money
More history would be good for	Desire to teach
academic setting	Desire to be in a foreign culture
Patience, not losing cool	Being a listener
Try to understand	Language skills may not be crucial
Conciliatory	depending on situation
Compromising	Spirit of adventure
Youth	Try new things
Building relationships	
Friendly	
Conscientious, hard-working	
Mature	
Don't feel threatened	
Many orientation classes are	

2
VITA

Hallett Hullinger

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Education

Thesis: ANTECEDENTS OF INTERCULTURAL ADJUSTMENT OF
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OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
HUMAN SUBJECTS REVIEW

Date: 04-22-94

IRB#: ED-94-095

Proposal Title: ANTECEDENTS OF INTERCULTURAL ADJUSTMENT OF AMERICAN EXPATRIATES IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Principal Investigator(s): Robert Nolan, Hallett Hullinger

Reviewed and Processed as: Exempt

Approval Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved

ALL APPROVALS MAY BE SUBJECT TO REVIEW BY FULL INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD AT NEXT MEETING.

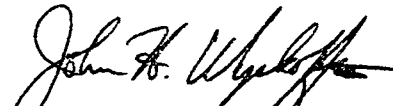
APPROVAL STATUS PERIOD VALID FOR ONE CALENDAR YEAR AFTER WHICH A CONTINUATION OR RENEWAL REQUEST IS REQUIRED TO BE SUBMITTED FOR BOARD APPROVAL.

ANY MODIFICATIONS TO APPROVED PROJECT MUST ALSO BE SUBMITTED FOR APPROVAL.

Comments, Modifications/Conditions for Approval or Reasons for Deferral or Disapproval are as follows:

Provisions received and approved.

Signature:



Chair of Institutional Review Board

Date: November 21, 1995