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UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND
PSYCHOLOGICAL HEALTH OF TURKISH WORKERS
IN AN AMERICAN-GERMAN WORKPLACE IN GERMANY

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

Vicki E. Braun
Norman, Oklahoma
2001

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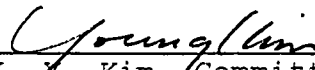
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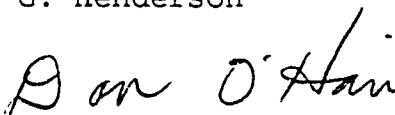
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If the only prayer you ever say in your
whole life is 'Thank You,' that would suffice.
Meister Eckhart

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the cultural adaptation of Turkish workers living in Germany and working in an American military support environment. The study sought to determine whether host interpersonal communication and host communication competence were positively correlated with the psychological health of the workers.

Kim's (1988, 1991, 1995a,b, 2001) integrative theory of transcultural communication was used as the theoretical basis of the study. Kim's theory asserts that a number of factors, including host communication competence and host interpersonal communication, work together to determine the speed and success of intercultural adaptation.

The study had the following null hypothesis:

H0: An individual's host communication competence and host interpersonal communication do not have a relationship to the individual's level of psychological health in an American-German workplace.

This hypothesis would be rejected if either of the following hypotheses were supported:

H1: The greater an individual's host interpersonal communication, the greater the individual's psychological health.

H2: The greater an individual's host communication competence, the greater the individual's psychological health.

The hypotheses were evaluated in relation both to the respondents' communication with and feelings about dealing with Americans and their communication with and feelings about dealing with Germans.

To evaluate the hypotheses, fifty individuals from the population of individuals of Turkish heritage residing in Germany and working in an American military support environment were selected and interviewed. A survey was administered measuring host interpersonal communication, host communication competence, and psychological health. Additional open-ended questions were asked to help give a more complete understanding of the intercultural experiences of the participants.

Statistical analysis of the questionnaire results showed that participants felt significantly more positively about working with Americans than with Germans on several dimensions of psychological health, including happiness, confidence, satisfaction, and comfort. In addition, positive correlations were found between host interpersonal communication and psychological health and between host communication competence and psychological health, both in

relation to interacting with Americans. No correlations were found between the independent variables and the dependent variable in regard to the participants' communication and interaction with Germans. Since these results partly supported hypotheses 1 and 2, the null hypothesis was rejected.

The results of the open-ended questions tended to confirm the statistical results that the participants generally had less positive feelings about working with Germans than Americans. Replies to the questions also suggested that there was considerable dissatisfaction among the participants with the degree of host receptivity of the German culture.

These results partly supported Kim's (1988, 1991, 1995a,b, 2001) theory of intercultural adjustment. Host receptivity is another element which Kim's theory says impacts on adaptation, and low perceived host receptivity is suggested as a factor that may help explain why no correlation was found among key variables in relation to participants' communicating and working with Germans.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

Economic globalization and greater ease of cross-border travel have led to increasing numbers of individuals who reside in a cultural setting different from their traditional one. Such individuals, who can be termed "strangers" in relation to the new culture (Schutz, 1944; Gudykunst & Kim, 1997; Kim, 1988, 1995b, 2001), must face the challenge of adapting to environments and customs that may be very different from what they are used to. They often must also learn a new language in order to effectively communicate with members of the host culture.

Anxiety is a common experience as the stranger confronts the challenge of adapting to a new culture (Gudykunst & Kim, 1997). This anxiety may be intertwined with feelings of alienation and loneliness, and the individual may become disgruntled, confused, ineffective, and/or psychologically troubled in varying degrees. On the other hand, the anxiety can serve a useful purpose by spurring the individual on to achieving greater adaptation to the host culture. The experience of anxiety may be a key element in a process that ultimately leads the stranger to intercultural transformation.

The difficulties that attend the intercultural adaptation of strangers to a host culture vary with the varying circumstances of different groups. One group of strangers who face unique circumstances in adjusting to their host culture consists of individuals of Turkish descent who are living and working in Germany. This group was first welcomed into Germany after the devastation of World War II, when Germans were intent on rebuilding their infrastructure and economy as quickly as possible and needed foreign workers to help them. Due to this welcoming attitude and the availability of jobs, many Turks came to Germany during the first few decades following the war (Bach, 1987; Bade, 1992; Ulrich, 1986). In 1995, out of a population of 97,483,000, there were about 1,800,000 Turks in Germany (Fox, 1999).

Recently, however, Germany has drifted into a rekindled bias for ethnic purity that it had harbored over the centuries, and in the mid-1980s an aggressive public campaign was begun to encourage *Gastarbeiter* (foreign workers) to leave Germany (White, 1995). The incentives included a buyout of 10,000 Deutsch marks for those who would leave the country.

Individuals of Turkish heritage have been among the main targets of these attempts to reverse the flow of

immigration in Germany. "The focus of popular concern (and extremist rage) are ordinary workers and their families from Turkey ... and a number of black African countries..." (Milosz and Vernez, 1997). In some cases these efforts to convince Turkish immigrants to leave have turned violent, as evidenced in news reports of killings, burned houses, and general harassment leveled against Turks in Germany.

This "Turks go home" attitude is typically displayed even to those of Turkish heritage who grew up in Germany. During the period when Turkish workers were welcome, many children were born of those workers and were raised in Germany. These children attended German schools and matured in the German culture, many learned German as their native language, and now, as adults, they often consider themselves to be as much German as Turkish. Yet they find themselves in the situation where many other Germans do not recognize or accept them as being German (Soysal, 1994; Wolbert, 1992).

The environment which surrounds Turks in Germany has thus changed over the years. As Kim (1988, 1995b, 2001) points out, the environment itself plays a role in the ease with which strangers adjust to a host culture. One important environmental factor that she notes is host receptivity, which is the degree to which a host culture or

a segment of that culture is structurally and psychologically accessible to the stranger. If members of the host culture are prejudiced against the stranger's ethnic group and discriminate against it, these attitudes and actions can affect the stranger's participation in the host culture. When the host society does not welcome the stranger's presence, the difficulty in adjusting psychologically to the new environment increases. The belief that members of the host culture oppose them can also lead strangers to act more in terms of their ethnic identity (Giles & Johnson, 1986). This may result in fewer host interpersonal communication opportunities and reduced host communication competence, which negatively impacts on the stranger's adaptation to the host culture.

The recent change in attitude in Germany has been so significant that it has included considerable violence toward Turks. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, November 9, 1989, there was a short-lived excitement about the reunification of East and West Germany (Benjamin, 1991). Soon after however, a reawakening of nationalism and violence could be seen openly, literally in the streets of Germany, with burning of houses and murder of immigrants and frequent reports in newspapers, radio, and on television broadcasting the brutality (Marks, 1995; Lee,

1998). These changes signify a substantial lessening of the degree of host receptivity toward Turkish immigrants in Germany. Although some Turks have accepted the government's buy-out offer and have returned to Turkey or have moved to some other country, many Turks remain in Germany in an environment which continues to have low host receptivity with respect to Turks and some other ethnic groups (Marks; Weber, 1995).

Adding complexities to the adjustment process for many individuals of Turkish heritage in Germany is the fact that they work largely for Americans in an environment which reflects American culture. Since the end of World War II, the United States has had a significant military presence in the western part of Germany, operating a number of military bases along with schools, shopping areas, and other facilities designed to service U.S. military men and women and their dependents. To assist in the operations of these facilities, a large number of local residents are hired by the German and U.S. governments. Many of these individuals are German, but a substantial number of local employees are of Turkish descent. In addition, there are many Turkish independent contractors and self-employed Turks who perform a wide range of functions in these facilities. Such functions include operating retail outlets

and providing food and other services that help support the American military presence, including dependents, in Germany. Although such Turkish employees and contractors often work and deal with both Germans and Americans, they do so within an American cultural environment.

Because they work in a largely American environment, these Turkish individuals are required to adjust not only to German culture and to communication in the German language, but also to American culture as it is expressed in an American military support environment and to communication in English. Thus, in effect, there are two layers of the host environment that these workers must adjust to: the overall host culture of the country of residence, Germany, and the American culture that permeates their workplace. As a result, these Turkish workers face a multiple cultural adjustment problem, each aspect of which has its own peculiarities and challenges.

For Turks who work in such an American/German environment, one of the important respects in which their dealings with Americans and the American culture differ from their dealings with Germans and the German culture is in respect to the attitude that is displayed toward them. Instead of the largely unwelcoming attitude that they find expressed within the German host culture, Turks who work in

an American environment find that overall, the Americans' attitude toward them is perhaps best described as neutral, but accepting.

The attitude of acceptance is a matter of policy for the U.S. military in Germany (United States Department of the Army, 1995, 1997a,b). If there is any prejudice against Turks among Americans in the military there, it is difficult for it to be expressed because great emphasis is placed by the American military on consistently fair treatment for all workers. The American military is very concerned about the damaging effects of discrimination and has been proactive in combating racism and other types of discrimination. There are very strong messages that discrimination will not be tolerated, although in some offices there may be subtle infractions of this policy.

In some respects, the official American attitude might even be described as proactively positive toward Turks. For example, this seems often to be the case in regard to celebrations held within the American military community in Germany. These community-wide celebrations are held on many occasions throughout the year with great fanfare. Although the activities are generally oriented toward Americans, the American military community takes great pride in its tradition and concern for "the military family." As a

result, invitations are often extended to local nationals, including Turks who work for and with Americans, encouraging them to join the celebration and be part of "the family."

Given that they (1) reside in a German culture but work in a largely American cultural environment, (2) must learn to communicate with both Germans and Americans, and (3) are confronted with two kinds of attitude toward them, Turks in Germany who work with Americans face complex issues of cultural adjustment. Issues that are in some respects similar can be expected to be faced by many individuals who are in the position of (1) being from one culture, (2) taking up residence in a second culture, and (3) working for an organization in which the majority of contacts are made with individuals from yet a third culture. This describes the situation of some individuals who work for multinational corporations. For example, an individual from France may be required to work for an American corporation that has set up operations in China; or a team of Pakistani software developers might be hired by a Japanese corporation that is building a new software development facility in Australia.

In regard to the sheer numbers involved, however, there may be no group of strangers facing the problems of

living in one host culture and working in the environment of another that is numerically larger than the population of Turks in Germany who work in an American environment. Further, in light of the two different attitudes that are generally expressed toward those individuals by Germans and Americans, this group is faced with an especially complex situation in regard to cross-cultural adaptation.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate a group of Turks living in Germany and working in a largely American environment in order to determine the relations, among members of the group, (1) between their amount of communication with members of the host culture and their psychological health and (2) between their competence in communicating in the host culture and their psychological health. According to Kim's (1988, 1991, 1995a,b, 2001) cross-cultural adaptation theory, the stranger who confronts a new culture can be considered a dynamic open system striving to adjust to the new environment. Two essential factors that help determine how well the individual adapts to the new culture are the individual's ability to communicate in the host culture and the amount of actual communication that the individual has in the host culture. Kim's theory predicts these two factors to be

positively associated with strangers' psychological health. The present study sought to determine whether these predicted relationships hold in the case of Turkish workers working in Germany in a largely American environment.

It was important to test Kim's (1995b) predictions on this population because it is unique in two striking ways. First, by residing in one culture but working in an environment that largely reflects the language, attitudes, and values of a different culture, Turks who reside in Germany but work in an American environment must deal, on a daily basis, with what is in effect two host cultures. Second, the attitude expressed toward these individuals by many representatives of the primary host culture, Germany, is one of unwelcome, whereas the attitude expressed toward them in their workplace, which is dominated by American culture, generally ranges from neutral to proactively positive.

Both factors were considered in this study. The first was taken into account by designing the study so as to investigate the relation of the amount of strangers' communication in the host culture and their competence in communicating in the host culture to psychological health in respect to each host culture separately. Thus the study examined the intercultural experiences of Turkish workers

in their work environment in relation both to their associations with Americans and with Germans.

The second factor, the different attitudes between Germans and Americans toward Turks, was considered as a possible explanation for some of the study results. This was because host receptivity helps determine how well a stranger adjusts to a host culture (Kim, 1995b). Thus the relatively low overall host receptivity that is accorded to Turks by Germans in comparison to Americans may be expected to have differential effects on Turks' communication competence, how much communication they have with members of the host culture, and psychological health, as well as on the interrelationships of these variables.

Significance of the Study

As borders between nations become easier to traverse, research into factors that affect intercultural communication becomes increasingly relevant. In most cases, a stranger who moves to a new culture needs to adapt only to that new culture. But in some cases, the stranger has to effectively deal with two host cultures - the primary culture of residence and another culture embodied in the workplace. The fact that there are large numbers of Turks who reside in Germany but who work in an American environment provides a unique opportunity to study factors

that affect the psychological health and adaptation of strangers who have to learn to effectively deal with two different host cultures. The study is thus significant because it may furnish insight into the process of adaptation for strangers who must deal with two host cultures. As economic globalization progresses, the number of individuals who find themselves in such a situation, living and working in two separate cultures, both of which are new, may well increase.

The research is also significant because it provides insight into the importance of host receptivity. By studying the experiences and attitudes of a group for whom host receptivity has been relatively low in recent years, some of the effects of this attitude of unwelcome could be documented. These experiences and attitudes could also be compared with experiences and attitudes of the same group of strangers in regard to a different cultural environment which generally offered a higher degree of receptivity.

Further, the study is important because it addressed potential barriers to intercultural communication, which is vital to the future of many international organizations. The study focused on the military setting specifically, but to some degree, the findings may be generalizable to other organizations if it can be agreed that the military is a

microcosm of the larger society. Knowledge of how factors such as communication competence, amount of communication in the host culture, and host receptivity impact on psychological health and adjustment can be useful in organizations where multiple dominant cultures are involved. As a result, investments by such organizations in attrition, training, and restaffing may be lessened.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter literature related to intercultural communication and psychological adaptation is reviewed. Kim's (1988, 1995a,b, 2001) theoretical model and concepts are used as the organizing framework for the discussions in the chapter. Topics to be dealt with include strangers, host communication competence, psychological adjustment, host receptivity, and Kim's integrative model. The chapter begins with a brief discussion of culture.

The term "culture" can be defined as a system of symbols, meanings, and norms shared among the members of a group and transmitted from one generation to the next (Collier & Thomas, 1988). Given this definition, the word "culture" may refer to ethnicity, nationality, gender, profession, or any other system of symbols that is shared by individuals. Therefore, we might speak not only of ancient Roman or of modern Navaho culture but also of the culture of women or of physicians or of a particular organization. In Kim's (1995a) use of the term "culture," importance is placed on the common ethnic, linguistic, racial, and historical backgrounds that are shared by groups of individuals. This research basically deals with culture as determined by nationality, ethnicity, and

language and is related especially to individuals who depart from a geographical region in which their traditional culture is predominant to take up residence in another geographical region with a different dominant culture.

Strangers

Individuals who move from their original culture to make a home in a new culture are at first strangers in the new, or host, culture. The term "stranger" is used by Zajonc (1952) to refer to a visitor who sets up temporary residence in a new country. Schutz (1944), however, does not restrict the term to temporary residents. He considers immigrants, who are individuals who migrate to a new country to set up permanent homes there, to be strangers.

Kim (1995b) uses the term stranger to include both temporary and permanent residents of a new culture, as well as members of ethnic groups who cross subcultural boundaries. Kim identifies three boundary conditions for strangers.

1. After being socialized in one culture, they move to an unfamiliar culture.
2. They are at least minimally dependent on the new environment for meeting their personal and social needs.

3. They are continually engaged in communication experiences in the new environment.

While they were still within the confines of their traditional culture, strangers were typically in a familiar world in which communication could take place relatively easily. This is because, as Sarbaugh (1988) points out, communication proceeds with minimal effort and maximum accuracy in situations where there is similarity among the members of a group along various dimensions. One of these dimensions, according to Sarbaugh, is worldview, which encompasses beliefs about the nature and purpose of life and the individual's relation to the cosmos. A second is normative patterns, which involve beliefs and actions related to being a "good" person. A third is the code system, both linguistic and nonlinguistic (such as body language), that is used for communication. A fourth dimension is perceived relationship and intent, which encompasses compatibility of goals, hierarchicalness of relationships, and the positiveness or negativeness of feelings that occur in various situations.

By leaving their old culture and taking up residence in a new one, strangers find themselves in an environment where worldview, coding systems, hierarchicalness of relationships, and positiveness or negativeness of feelings

in various situations may be considerably different from their old culture. However, some elements of the stranger's traditional culture may still be present in the new culture in the form of ethnic support groups and acquaintances who share the same cultural heritage. The stranger may also have access to means of mass communication, including books, newspapers, magazines, radio stations, and even television channels that use the stranger's traditional language to communicate about issues and events that are of particular importance to those whose roots are in the old culture. Undoubtedly though, within the overall environment of the new culture, the stranger typically finds himself or herself to be, at least initially, a cultural outsider.

Host Communication Competence

Over time, strangers tend to move in the direction of becoming cultural insiders (Kim, 1995b). There is a period of adjustment during which they must learn to interact with members of the host culture well enough to be able to secure their needs and desires. This period of adaptation to the new culture typically goes hand-in-hand with the stranger's development of intercultural or host communication competence. Intercultural communication is characterized by Collier and Thomas (1988) as the communication that occurs in the interface between two

different systems of rules and meanings, i.e., between two cultures. Intercultural communication takes place when individuals engaged in a communication situation identify themselves as representing separate cultures. Until the stranger's competence in intercultural communication is developed, his or her ability to attain goals and fulfill mental, physical, and social needs is restricted (Kim, 1995s).

Competence in intercultural communication is discussed at length by Kim (1991, 1995b), who uses both the terms "intercultural communication competence" and "host communication competence" to refer to the competence that a stranger has in communicating within the context of a host culture. This competence amounts to the stranger's ability to appropriately and effectively receive and process information and to initiate and respond to messages, and it includes cognitive, affective, and operational elements.

Citing Hammer, Gudykunst, and Wiseman (1978), Kim (1991) states that intercultural communication competence includes the abilities to interact with a stranger, to deal with misunderstandings, and to effectively handle different communication styles. Although intercultural communication competence is exhibited in behavior, Kim insists that it should be considered to be something separate from outcomes

since in itself it is an internal capacity. To the degree that strangers have and exercise that capacity, they will be successful in their intercultural encounters.

A stranger's intercultural or host communication competence can be exhibited in two broad areas, host interpersonal communication and host mass communication (Kim, 1995b). Host interpersonal communication, as its name implies, consists of the stranger's various communications with members of the host culture. According to Kim, competence in host interpersonal communication helps the stranger obtain important information and insights into the ways of thinking and behavior of the members of the local culture and there by provides points of reference that enable the stranger to check his or her own behaviors. Host mass communication includes all forms of mass communication that the stranger may be exposed to in the new culture. Both host mass communication and host interpersonal communication help transmit the values, beliefs, and ideas of the host culture to the individual.

According to Kim (1988, 1995b, 2001), successful adaptation to the host culture requires, among other factors, host interpersonal communication and development of the stranger's host communication competence (Kim, 1988, 1995b, 2001). Kim holds that development of the stranger's

host interpersonal communication and host communication competence tends to result in decreased anxiety, increased psychological health, and personal growth as the individual adapts to new surroundings. This process may ultimately result in the development by the individual of a new intercultural identity.

Psychological Adjustment and Psychological Health

Until strangers develop their host communication competence, they typically experience stress and anxiety as they attempt to adjust to the new culture, and these experiences can affect their psychological health. The term "culture shock" is sometimes used to refer to the state of mind of the stranger who enters a new culture and feels overwhelmed as he or she attempts to adjust to the new environment. Lunstedt (1963) defines culture shock as a personality maladjustment that is the result of a temporarily unsuccessful attempt to adjust to the new environment and declares that it is usually accompanied by a sense of loss and homesickness. Thongprayon (1988) points out that someone affected by culture shock may experience stress, loneliness, and anxiety. As a result of his or her unfamiliarity with the patterns of language, behavior, and thinking of the host culture, the stranger's early encounters may consist of a series of crises in which he or

she experiences insecure feelings and cognitive uncertainty, being unsure of what to believe in the new culture (Gudykunst, 1988).

The negative emotions that a stranger experiences in the face of culture shock can be seen as part of a temporary personality breakdown that results when the capabilities of the stranger are not adequate at meeting the demands of the new environment (Kim, 1995b). Kim points out that humans are characteristically homeostatic in nature and that under stress, defense mechanisms may be activated to help maintain the stranger's internal balance and minimize the anticipated or actual discomfort of disequilibrium. These defense mechanisms include psychological maneuverings such as selective attention, self-deception, denial, avoidance, withdrawal, hostility, cynicism, and compulsively altruistic behavior. Although such reactions are usually only temporary, they are generally counterproductive to effective functioning while they are occurring, and Kim acknowledges that in some cases maladjustment can lead to breakdown.

Such emotional reactions are negative indicators of both psychological health and psychological adjustment to the new culture. Though these two concepts are closely related, they are not identical since the former is broader

than the latter. That is, the stranger's psychological health has to do with more than just his or her relation to the new culture. It can also depend, for example, on intrafamilial relations. Psychological adaptation, on the other hand, is the degree to which the stranger has positive or negative emotions related to living in the new culture. Therefore, psychological adaptation can be a measure of a stranger's psychological health in relation to living in a new culture.

Berry, Kim, and Boski (1987) point out that in speaking of adaptation, one may be referring to either a process of change or to the outcome of that process. Another term that they use to refer to psychological adaptation as a process is "psychological acculturation," which they define as follows:

. . . the process by which individuals change their psychological characteristics, change the surrounding context, or change the amount of contact in order to achieve a better fit (outcome) with other features of the system in which they carry out their life. (p. 63)

This understanding of psychological adaptation or acculturation suggests that the stranger's adaptation to a new culture may not necessarily involve going through psychological changes. Following Berry (1976), the authors

note that adjustment, reaction, and withdrawal are possible strategies of adaptation. One way in which a stranger might adapt to a new culture, for example, is by maximizing relations with members of ethnic support groups and minimizing relations with members of the host culture.

Taft (1987) seems to agree with this, since he maintains that psychological adjustment does not necessarily imply integration or assimilation of the stranger into the new culture. The individual may be able to live a full life within his or her own ethnic community, which forms a subculture within the main culture. That is, the individual's psychological, social, and economic needs may be met within his or her own ethnic community, with only a minimum of contact needed with the larger host culture in which the ethnic community is surrounded. Using the term "adjustment" to refer to psychological adjustment, Taft describes the concept as follows:

Adjustment is defined, in terms of its positive pole, as the feeling of being in harmony with one's environment; this is a function of the degree to which the environment fulfills a person's needs and goals and it is reflected directly in feelings of satisfaction with various areas of life. (p. 154)

Taft points out that adjustment consists of both internal and external elements. Internal adjustment is indicated by expressions of the stranger's satisfaction, fulfillment, emotional comfort, and sense of well-being at living in the new culture. External adjustment is indicated by the degree of the stranger's participation in the culture's social life and economy and by objective evidence of mental health on the one hand or of mental disturbance on the other. Participation in the social and economic life of the host society involves what Ellingsworth (1988) calls "adaptive behavior." He identifies such behavior as "any attempt to accommodate substantively and behaviorally to the perceived foreignness of the other participant" (p. 264), with the term "foreignness" being defined in the following way:

It is the initial perception by one participant that the other is from a background different from his or hers, based on superficial observation of physical appearance, name, manner of speaking, dress or adornment, and other external tokens of cultural identity. (p. 263)

According to Tamam (1993), although psychological adaptation has been measured in different ways by different researchers, most previous studies, such as those of Nishida (1985) and Ruben and Kealey (1979), have used the

stranger's degree of comfort and self-satisfaction about living in the new culture as positive indicators of psychological adaptation. Tamam himself identifies psychological adaptation with experienced feelings of well-being and satisfaction concerning life in the new culture and measures it in terms of the stranger's feelings of satisfaction, comfort, stress, reward, and awkwardness at living in the new environment, as well as by the degree of difficulty the stranger has in understanding the way of life of the host culture. Other indicators of a psychologically healthy adaptation include feelings of happiness and confidence in relation to life in the new culture, while other indicators of a psychologically unhealthy adjustment include feelings of tenseness, isolation, and loneliness in relation to life in the new environment.

It is evident from the foregoing that in determining the psychological adaptation of strangers to a new culture, most previous studies have measured what Taft (1987) terms "internal" adjustment as opposed to the behaviors and patterns of behavior that would constitute external adjustment. One probable reason for this is that it is generally much easier to measure subjects' feelings of comfort or discomfort than it is to select and measure an

appropriate set out of the multitude of possible external indicators of psychological adjustment. Selecting appropriate external indicators is especially difficult given the likelihood that such a set of behaviors or patterns of behavior would indicate different levels of psychological adjustment for different individuals. For example, it is generally true that the more the stranger is involved in networks which include members of other groups, the less will be the stranger's anxiety when interacting with members of those groups (Gundykunst, 1988); however, this generalization may not be true to the same degree for all strangers. Further, as Taft (1987) points out, the objective measures of adjustment may not always agree with the stranger's subjective sense of satisfaction or dissatisfaction in relation to living in the new culture.

These considerations suggest that the type and degree of a stranger's emotional reactions to life in a new culture may be difficult to determine on the basis of behavior or patterns of behavior. Consequently, if the aim of research is to determine the dominant mental outlook of the stranger in relation to living in the new culture, determining psychological adaptation by measuring strangers' attitudes and feelings about living in the new

culture may be preferable to attempting to measure behavioral patterns.

In previous studies, the method for determining the internal adaptation of strangers has generally been to use a Likert-type scale to record the strangers' self-reports of their affective experience in the new culture (Thongprayon, 1988). The use of such a self-report measure is appropriate for measuring internal psychological adjustment because it enables strangers' evaluations of their affective experiences in relation to living in the host culture to be directly measured. Also, the use of a scale to determine the strength of various attitudes and emotions enables the strangers' reported experiences to be quantified.

A Broader View of Psychological Adaptation

Although the stress and negative emotional reactions brought about by culture shock can be detrimental to the stranger's psychological well-being, a number of researchers believe that these difficulties also serve to facilitate the process of psychological adaptation. For example, Adler (1987) sees culture shock as more than a cause of negative emotions; it can also be a spur to an individual's self-development:

Culture shock is thought of as a profound learning experience that leads to a high degree of self-awareness and personal growth. Rather than being only a disease for which adaptation is the cure, culture shock is likewise at the very heart of the cross-cultural learning experience. It is an experience in self-understanding and change. (p. 29)

Adler (1975) maintains that generally, there are five phases in the adaptation of a stranger to a new culture.

1. The contact phase: in the initial period of contact with the new culture, the stranger normally experiences excitement and even euphoria.
2. The disintegration phase: as cultural differences become increasingly noticeable, confusion, alienation, and depression tend to occur.
3. The reintegration phase: at this point, there tends to be a strong rejection of the second culture, along with a defensive projection of personal difficulties and a choice to either regress to earlier phases or move closer to resolution and personal growth.
4. The autonomy phase: at this point, there is increasing understanding of the host culture along with a feeling of competence.

5. The independence phase: at this stage, cultural differences are cherished and cultural relativism embraced, while the stranger exhibits creative behavior and has increased self- and cultural awareness.

Yoshikawa (1987) highlights the same five stages, namely, contact, disintegration, reintegration, autonomy, and independence, though he calls the independence stage by the name "double-swing." In the double-swing stage, the stranger accepts the new culture and draws nourishment from both the old and the new culture. Yoshikawa characterizes this adaptation process as a creative process with a structural relationship analogous both to the process of scientific discovery and to that of religious enlightenment.

Kim (1988, 1995a, 1995b, 2001) and Kim and Ruben (1988) agree with Adler (1975) that the challenges the stranger must face also provide opportunities for growth. Kim maintains that the stress the stranger experiences is the very thing that requires the individual to adapt to the new culture in order to restore inner equilibrium. She views stress both as a cause and as a necessary condition for adaptation.

Since human beings are open systems that can evolve over time, the interplay of stress and adaptation within

the stranger results in a stress-adaptation-growth dynamic, which is a continuous cyclic process of identity transformation during which the stranger gradually becomes more and more adapted to the new culture. In explaining the mechanics of this process, Kim (1995a) says that each time the stranger has a stressful experience in relation to the new culture, there is a drawing back, which activates the individual's adaptive energy to make a leap forward, which in turn enables the individual to better handle subsequent intercultural encounters.

Although stress may cause the psychological health of the stranger to be temporarily impaired by bringing about feelings of anxiety and alienation, the normal operation of the stress-adaptation-growth dynamic is an indicator of a high degree of mental health in the long run, according to Kim (1995b). By continually pushing the individual to develop new, more adaptive behaviors and attitudes, stress drives the individual to personal growth in the manner of continually reinventing his or her inner self beyond the boundaries of the old culture, establishing in its place a new intercultural identity. Kim expresses the workings of the stress-adaptation-growth dynamic in the following way:

The stress-adaptation-growth dynamic presents a dialectical relationship between push and pull, or

engagement and disengagement, in the experiences of the individual. It affirms that challenges on one's identity system perform a necessary condition for its continued, progressive evolution, requiring it to muster a creative courage and resourcefulness so as to discover new symbols and new patterns of life on which a new identity can be built. (p. 357)

Kim and Ruben (1988) provide greater detail about the way in which stress affects the stranger's adaptation. They maintain that the greater the cultural differences between the old and the new culture, the greater the stress; and the greater the stress, the more intercultural transformations there will be. They further state that as individuals become increasingly intercultural, their cultural identity becomes more flexible; their cognitive capacity to understand intercultural differences increases; their affective capacity to affirm and participate in new cultural experiences increases; their ability to manage intercultural differences increases; and they have less stress in communicating interculturally. It can be seen from these points that the adaptive changes that stress brings about are themselves causes of the eventual lessening of stress.

Additional Factors

Strangers adjust to their new culture, strengthen their host communication competence, and develop their new intercultural identity at different levels of proficiency and at different rates. According to Kim (1995a), many forces, both internal and external, act either to facilitate or to constrain the stranger's communication activities in the new culture.

One of these factors is the stranger's knowledge of the culture. Ting-Toomey (1984) maintains that in an intercultural situation, the degree of knowledge an outsider has of the local culture will play a large role in how effectively he or she is able to communicate. Greater or lesser degrees of knowledge may be required depending on whether the host culture is high-context or low-context. A high-context culture is one for which the correct interpretation of messages typically tends to rely heavily on information present in the receiver and the setting, whereas a low-context culture is one in which the message itself generally encodes a relatively higher proportion of information (Hall, 1976, 1983). An example of a high-context culture is the Japanese culture, while a good example of a low-context culture is that of the United States.

Other factors also help determine how well acculturation takes place. Furnham (1987), in discussing the temporary stay of the sojourner, points out that the individual's motives are important in determining ease of acculturation. It seems reasonable that this claim could be extended to strangers of all types, including immigrants, since an individual's particular motives for migrating to a new culture, as well as the strength of those motives, play a part in how much effort the individual is willing to put forward in adjusting to the new culture.

Thongprayon (1988) lists seven characteristics that various researchers have emphasized as having an important influence on individuals' adaptation to a new culture. One of these factors is cultural distance, which is the degree of similarity or difference between the stranger's old culture and the host culture. Other factors include the stranger's educational level, length of stay, gender, age and age at arrival, and previous overseas living experience. Finally, unit of settlement (for example, whether the stranger resides in the host culture alone or as part of a family unit), also influences the stranger's adaptation.

Kim (1988) highlights some of these same influences. Specifically, she mentions the importance of the difference

between the cultures, age (with degree of difficulty in adjusting to a new culture generally increasing with age), educational background, and previous familiarity with the host culture.

In addition, Kim (1995b) identifies three environmental conditions that affect the stranger's adaptation process. The first of these, and one which is of particular interest in the present study and will be dealt with in more detail in the next section, is host receptivity, which is "the degree to which a particular environment is structured and psychologically accessible and open to strangers." (p. 184) Kim notes that different locations and segments within a host culture may offer different degrees of host receptivity and that degree of host receptivity extended may differ for different groups of strangers. The second condition is host conformity pressure, which is the degree to which the environment requires the stranger to adhere to the host culture's norms. Kim notes that some environments are more open to cultural divergence than others. The third condition is the strength of the stranger's ethnic group in relation to the host environment. A strong ethnic group can both facilitate and hinder the stranger's adjustment to the host culture.

The stranger's own predisposition, which includes preparedness, ethnicity, and personality traits, is another important factor that helps determine cultural adjustment (Kim, 1995b). Kim cites openness and strength as two personality characteristics that are especially salient to psychological adaptation. The first of these, openness, includes the traits of open-mindedness, intercultural sensitivity, empathy, tolerance for ambiguity, optimism, and self-trust. The second of the two personality characteristics mentioned by Kim, strength, includes the traits of resilience, risk-taking, hardiness, persistence, patience, elasticity, and resourcefulness. The degree to which the stranger exhibits the personality characteristics of openness and strength helps determine how well he or she can meet the challenges of adapting to the new culture.

In relation to what Kim (1995b) identifies as openness, Tamam (1993), in a study of international graduate students, found that three of the traits that make up the characteristic of openness—ambiguity tolerance, open-mindedness, and empathy—were significantly correlated with psychological adaptation. Ruben (1988) notes that while traits such as empathy, respect, and non-judgmentalness are important, the way these are interpreted can vary substantially across cultures. He

gives as an example the behaviors of prolonged eye contact and head nodding. In some cultures, each of these behaviors may indicate that respect is being shown to the person to whom they are directed; but in other cultures, the usual interpretation of the behaviors may be substantially different, or even the opposite.

Barna (1988) agrees that nonverbal misinterpretations can hinder communication between members of different cultures, listing this as one of several stumbling blocks to effective intercultural communication (and thus to adaptation to the new culture). The other factors are the following:

1. assuming similarity instead of difference (e.g., a stranger's assumption in a certain situation that points of view or motivations are the same in the host culture as they would be in the his or her former culture);
2. many aspects of language;
3. preconceptions and stereotypes;
4. the tendency to evaluate;
5. high anxiety, which underlies and compounds the other stumbling blocks.

Host Receptivity

In the preceding section, host receptivity was mentioned as a factor helping to determine ease of

acculturation. It is important to emphasize that the difficulty and challenge the stranger faces in adjusting to a new culture can vary substantially depending on his or her reception by the host society. Host receptivity is an especially important factor in the context of the present study since Turkish workers in Germany have often been subjected to indications that they are unwelcome in the host culture.

Expanding on her (1995b) statement that host receptivity is an important external factor affecting adaptation, Kim (1988) maintains that there are several ways that members of the host society can facilitate an immigrant's acculturation:

1. by providing the immigrant with supportive communication situations,
2. by accepting the original cultural conditioning of the immigrant,
3. by making themselves patiently available for intercultural encounters, and
4. through communication training programs directed to the immigrant.

When the host society does not provide such support for the stranger, and/or if the host society fails to welcome the stranger's presence, the challenge to his or

her psychological adjustment increases. Kim (1995a) points out that the historical and institutionalized subjugation of one group by another and, more generally, prejudice and discrimination directed toward the stranger's ethnic group can have an effect on the stranger's participation in the host culture. It is reasonable to conclude that this, in turn, can affect the ease of the stranger's adaptation to his or her new environment.

Brislin (1988) notes four functions of prejudice:

1. The utilitarian function is operative when esteem in a culture depends on rejecting members of an outgroup.
2. The ego-defensive function is operative when being prejudiced protects an individual from acknowledging his or her own inadequacies.
3. The value-expressive function is related to upholding the person's values.
4. The knowledge function of prejudice consists in the fact that being prejudiced enables a person to structure the world in a certain way.

Whatever its functions may be for particular individuals, it seems likely that the greater the prejudice within the host culture against members of the stranger's traditional culture, the less the stranger will be the recipient of the

four ways that Kim (1988) suggests the host culture can support the stranger's intercultural communication efforts.

Low host receptivity can also affect the stranger's adaptation by leading him or her to stay closer to his or her own ethnic group instead of venturing into relationships with members of the host culture. Giles and Johnson (1986) note that when people feel opposition from outgroup members in relation to their ethnic identity, they are likely to act in terms of their own ethnic identity rather than societal norms. The authors state further,

They are likely to accentuate their ethnic speech markers in response to a perceived threat from an outgroup member (even when this outgroup is of a higher status in the broader social structure). Their reasons for this response will be associated with pride in their group identity and speech style and a wish to dissociate from the other interactant. (pp. 113-114)

Low host receptivity can be expected to affect the stranger in two ways: it tends to lessen host support for the stranger's intercultural communication efforts, and it motivates the stranger to stay closer to his or her own ethnic group and engage in less intercultural communication than would be the case if host receptivity were higher.

Given the importance of the development of host communication competence for the stranger's adaptation to the new culture, it is reasonable to conclude that by making the development of host communication competence more difficult, low host receptivity adversely affects the rate and degree of the stranger's cultural adaptation, interferes with the normal operation of the stress-adaptation-growth dynamic, and tends to have an adverse effect on the stranger's psychological health.

Kim's Integrative Theory

Kim's (1991, 1995a,b, 2001) integrative theory of cross-cultural adaptation consolidates many of the concepts discussed above. This theory is a comprehensive model that can be used to explain the processes by which individuals adapt to a new culture.

The theory is based on three basic assumptions concerning the nature of human beings as open systems. The first assumption is that people have an inherent drive to adapt and grow. Second, adaptation to one's social environment occurs through communication. Third, adaptation is a complex and dynamic process. Based on these assumptions, Kim (1991, 199a,b, 2001) constructs a theory of the interrelation of the complex, dynamic, and

interacting forces that affect the individual in relation to his or her environment.

In explaining these forces, Kim (1995b) first notes that the process of adapting to a new culture involves learning basic elements of the new culture and unlearning elements of the old culture. Since the stranger's identity is closely related to his or her culture, the process of unlearning the old culture can lead the individual to experience a loss of identity in adjusting to the new culture. Kim states that this results in temporary personality disintegration and can even lead to breakdown in some cases.

Kim (1995b) points out that human beings are homeostatic systems that attempt to maintain equilibrium. In order to cope with the stress caused by the challenge of acculturation, the stranger's defense mechanisms are activated. He or she may attempt to minimize the stress by avoiding interaction with individuals of the new culture or by other means.

At the same time, the stranger normally continues to try to relieve stress by gradually assimilating the new culture and accommodating to it. As a result, the individual slowly changes, and personal growth results. This stress-adaptation-growth dynamic, which involves

continual resolution of internal stress, results in cognitive, affective, and behavioral transformation. The outcome of this cross-cultural adaptation process is functional fitness, increased psychological health, and a new intercultural identity (Kim, 1995b).

Kim (1995b) further maintains that the rate of adaptation can be affected by a number of factors. One of these factors is host communication competence, which is the capacity to appropriately and effectively receive, process, and respond to messages in the host culture. Host communication competence includes cognitive, affective, and operational elements. Cognitive competence includes internal capacities such as knowledge of the language and of the culture. Affective competence involves the stranger's attitude toward learning and changing, such as the willingness to change. Operational competence relates to the individual's ability to put his or her knowledge and willingness together into action in particular situations.

Another factor that helps determine the rate of cross-cultural adaptation is the amount of actual communication activity that the stranger partakes in (Kim, 1995b). These include host interpersonal communication activities with individuals of the host culture, and host mass

communication activities such as reading newspapers and watching television programs in the host culture language.

The amount of and reliance on ethnic interpersonal communication and ethnic mass communication also play a role in degree and rate of the stranger's adaptation to the new culture (Kim, 1995b). Ethnic interpersonal communication is the stranger's communication within his original ethnic community, and ethnic mass communication refers to communication experiences with mass media that reflect the stranger's original culture. Kim notes that in the initial phases of adjustment, such communication can help the adaptation process by relieving stress. However, continued reliance on ethnic communication can limit opportunities for communication in the host society and hinder adjustment.

Kim (1995b) mentions three environmental conditions that can affect the stranger's rate of adjustment. These include the strength of the ethnic group, the pressure to conform to the host culture, and receptivity of the host culture to the stranger. Host receptivity, as mentioned previously, refers to the extent to which the host culture accepts the stranger psychologically and structurally.

The stranger's predisposition also affect his or her rate of adaptation. Predisposition includes preparedness,

ethnicity, personality traits, openness, and strength. Preparedness refers to how ready the stranger is to deal with the new environment cognitively, emotionally, and motivationally. Ethnicity is the actual cultural background of the stranger and includes common traits, language, attitudes, and rules, which can affect how easily he or she adapts to a particular culture. Weber saw ethnicity as a feeling of identity with a particular group that has common inherited characteristics, with this identity influencing group function (1968). Personality traits include factors such as ability to endure stress and having either an optimistic or a pessimistic attitude in general. Two of important personality traits are openness and strength. Openness consists in the stranger's receptivity to new information. Strength includes such qualities as resilience, persistence, and resourcefulness.

All of these factors work together to help determine how well and how quickly the stranger adapts to the host culture. Figure 1 summarizes the main elements of Kim's (1991, 1995a,b, 2001) integrative theory. In summary, it shows how host communication competence, in relation to host and ethnic interpersonal and mass communication, work together with the environment and the stranger's predisposition to affect the three aspects of

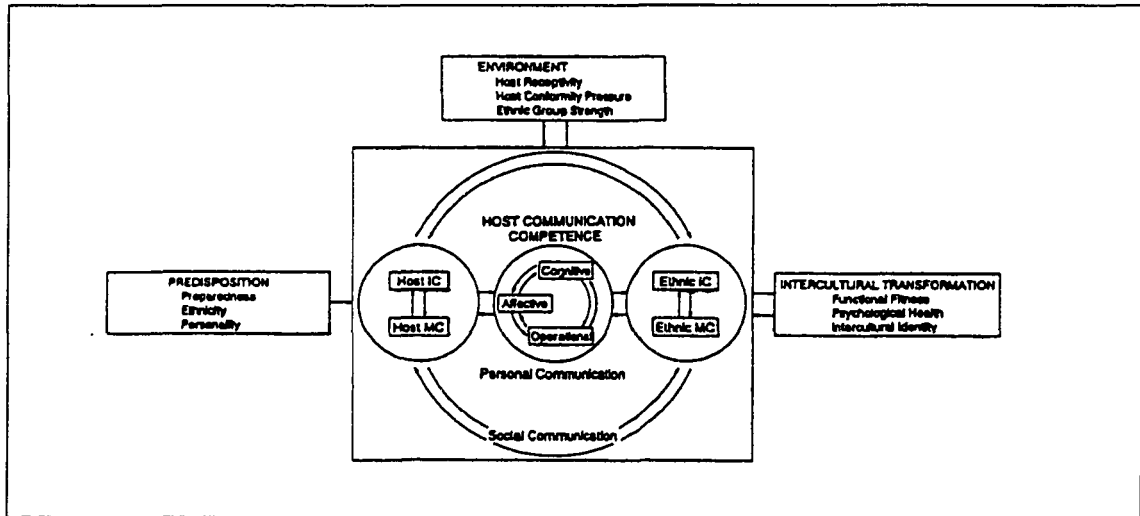


Figure 1. Kim's integrative theory of cross-cultural adaptation.

Note. IC = intercultural communication; MC = mass communication. From "Cross-Cultural Adaptation: An Integrative Theory," by Y. Y. Kim, 1995. In R. Wiseman (Ed.) Intercultural Communication Theory (pp. 170-193). Newbury Park, CA: Sage. Copyright 1995 by Y. Y Kim. Reprinted with permission.

intercultural transformation - functional fitness, psychological health, and intercultural identity.

Research Hypotheses

The independent variables in this study were host interpersonal communication and host communication competence. Host communication competence is the stranger's ability to appropriately and effectively receive and process information and to initiate and respond to messages in relation to the host culture (Kim, 1991, 1995b). Host interpersonal communication consists of the stranger's actual interpersonal communications with members of the host culture (Kim, 1995b). More communication with members of the host culture equates to a higher degree of host interpersonal communication. Each of these independent variables was measured on two dimensions: (1) in reference to strangers' communication with Americans and (2) in reference to strangers' communication with Germans.

The dependent variable was psychological health. Psychological health was measured by levels of subjective feelings of tenseness, withdrawnness, awkwardness, isolation, loneliness, happiness, confidence, satisfaction, and comfort. This variable, too, was measured on two dimensions: in reference to working with Americans and in reference to working with Germans.

The research explored differences in cross-cultural experiences of Turkish workers based on Kim's (1988, 1991, 1995a,b, 2001) structural adaptation model. The two independent variables were tested for relationship to the dependent variable as predicted in Kim's model.

The first hypothesis of the study was the following null hypothesis:

H0: An individual's host interpersonal communication and host communication competence do not have a relationship to the individual's level of psychological health in an American-German workplace.

Two further hypotheses specified positive relations between the independent variables and the dependent variable. If either of these hypotheses was found to be true, the null hypothesis would be rejected.

H1: The greater an individual's host interpersonal communication, the greater the individual's psychological health.

H2: The greater an individual's host communication competence, the greater the individual's psychological health.

Definitions of Terms

Cross-cultural adaptation: The adjustment that an individual makes to the circumstances and requirements

imposed by a culture different from his or her original culture.

Host communication competence: The capacity to receive and process information originating from a source based in a host culture and to design and execute effective mental plans to initiate and respond to such messages.

Host interpersonal communication: The participation by strangers in communication activities with members of the host culture.

Host culture: The culture within which a stranger resides and/or works.

Host receptivity: The degree to which a host culture is structurally and psychologically open to the stranger.

Psychological health: Feelings of satisfaction and fulfillment which are conducive to effective, cooperative relationships with others in the environment.

Stranger: An individual who resides in a culture different from his or her original culture.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to explore cross-cultural adaptation of Turkish workers living in Germany and working in an American environment designed to support U.S. military personnel and their dependents. The study sought to determine the association, if any, between the independent variables of host interpersonal communication and host communication competence on the one hand and the dependent variable of psychological health on the other hand. Following Kim's (1988, 1991, 1995a,b) theory of intercultural transformation, which maintains that host interpersonal communication and host communication competence play a positive role in the psychological health and adaptation of strangers, it was hypothesized that among study respondents the independent variables would be positively associated with the dependent variable.

This chapter describes the procedures used in conducting the research and is divided into four sections. The first section describes the selection of the study sample. The second and third sections discuss the research instrument and interview procedures, respectively. The fourth section outlines the statistical procedures used to analyze the study results.

Selection of Subjects

The population selected for study in this research was 50 Turkish workers, living in Germany, working in an American military support environment. This population consisted of individuals who were required to adjust to both the German culture of their residence and the American culture of their workplace and who had to learn to communicate both in German and English.

The method of identifying these subjects was originally intended to be through a random selection from a listing of Turkish workers who were working to support the U.S. army presence in Wiesbaden, Germany. In pursuit of this goal, a letter was sent invoking Freedom of Information requirements to the American Army civilian personnel office requesting names of these workers. Though the American personnel office generated the list, the Status of Forces Agreement between the U.S. Army and the German government necessitated receiving authorization from the German Works Council before the information could be released to the researcher, and the Council refused to release the names of the workers. Eventually, through the intervention of the U.S. Army legal office, the Works Council agreed to release the names to that office only.

The legal office agreed to send to each individual on the list a letter written by the researcher asking for the individual's participation (see Appendix A). Information explaining the nature of the study and an informed consent form were included, and all documents were sent in English, German, and Turkish. After three weeks, the legal office sent a follow-up letter if there was no response from an addressee. If an addressee agreed to be part of the study, the legal office contacted the researcher. At no time was the researcher allowed to view the list of Turkish individuals working with or for the American military in Wiesbaden.

From these mailings, only six individuals agreed to participate in the study. One reason for this low participation rate may have been that letters to potential participants included official office letterheads which may have given the impression that the information gleaned from the interview could in some way affect the job of the employee. Political tension over the past 15 years has created mistrust and concern among many employees in the population being studied, and some of the potential participants may have been afraid of harassment or reprisal for any information they might render. However, with the researcher legally prohibited from obtaining the listing of

workers, she could not contact individuals directly to assure them of the academic nature of the study and to solicit their participation.

With the means for gaining subjects from the original master list that had been given to the Army legal office exhausted and only six individuals from that list agreeing to partake in the research, it was necessary to broaden the basis for finding a sufficient number of subjects for the study. The sample was therefore extended beyond Wiesbaden to include other Turkish workers in other areas of the country. These individuals included nonappropriated fund employees, contract workers, and self-employed individuals performing American military and dependent support functions in Bad Kreuznach, Darmstadt, Frankfurt, Giessen, Kaiserlautern, Heidelberg, Mainz, Mannheim, and Ramstein Germany.

The researcher was legally prohibited from obtaining official lists of Turkish workers at these other locations also; and she had no other practical way to obtain a full listing of all Turkish workers at any of the locations. It was thus impossible to do any random selection of workers according to organizational rank or hierarchy between management and subordinates.

Because of the impossibility of systematically identifying members of the population being studied, it was decided to proceed on the basis of snowball sampling. According to Trochim (2000), this method can be particularly helpful in such a situation: "Snowball sampling is especially useful when you are trying to reach populations that are inaccessible or hard to find" (p. 4). Snowball sampling was used in this case by asking interviewed workers for names of anyone they knew who met the research criteria and might be interested in taking part in the study. In some cases the interviewee contacted such an acquaintance, and the acquaintance then contacted the researcher. In other cases the interviewee gave the name and phone number of the acquaintance to the researcher, and the researcher contacted the acquaintance. In addition, a colleague of the researcher who knew a number of Turkish people in her geographic area who met the research criteria suggested possible participants to the researcher, some of whom agreed to participate. Other participants were located through the researcher's own attempts to identify suitable candidates within the Turkish community. This snowballing process continued until 50 individuals who met the study criteria had agreed to participate in the study and had been interviewed.

The Survey Instrument

A survey questionnaire was administered to the participants within a semi-structured interview. The interview schedule was composed of prescheduled questions adapted from Kim's (1980) Indochinese refugee study. Kim's study was somewhat broader than the present study since one of its concerns was the socioeconomic situation of the participants. However, her study was also concerned with host communication and psychological adaptation of the interviewees, with a number of her questions focusing on host communication competence, host interpersonal communication, and psychological health. Appropriate questions from Kim's study that were meant to measure these variables were chosen for the present study's questionnaire. Wordings were changed to pertain to the research sample of Turks in Germany and to host communication competence, host interpersonal communication, and psychological health of German Turks in relation to communicating and working with Americans and Germans.

The survey was divided into four areas: general demographic information, host interpersonal communication, host communication competence, and psychological health. The first seven questions focused on demographic aspects of the participants. Questions 8-14 pertained to the

participants' host interpersonal communication. Questions 8 through 10 asked the interviewees how many daily conversations they had in English, German, and Turkish, respectively. Question 11 was a two-part open-ended question that asked the participants how they felt about their ability to communicate with Americans and with Germans. Questions 12 through 14 asked, respectively, how many people the interviewee knew, how many of those people were friends, and how many of those friends were close friends in each of five classifications: Turkish, American, German, British, and other ethnic groups.

Questions 15-22 used Likert-type scales to measure host communication competence. Of these items, questions 15-20 measured self-reported proficiency in understanding and speaking English and German, while question 21 asked interviewees to report how well they knew the appropriate behavior in situations they were confronted with, and questions 22 asked them to report their ability to adapt to changing situations.

The section on psychological health used Likert-type scales to measure participants' feelings of adjustment or alienation. Questions 23-27 measured alienation, asking respondents to report on degree of tenseness, withdrawnness, awkwardness, isolation, and loneliness.

Questions 28-31 measured respondents' self-reported adjustment, addressing degree of happiness, confidence, satisfaction, and comfort. Each question was posed to the participant in two ways: in regard to working with Americans and in regard to working with Germans.

Included in the questionnaire were open-ended questions to provide a deeper understanding of the interviewee's perspective concerning the areas addressed in the survey. The goal was to obtain a more detailed description of how the Turkish workers thought and felt about factors that might have had a bearing on their intercultural communication and their psychological health in an intercultural work environment. It was anticipated that by probing further into some of the answers provided for the prescheduled questions, a deeper understanding of the subject's beliefs and values would be discovered.

The number of open-ended questions asked in a particular interview and which open-ended questions were asked depended on the progress of the interview, the flow of the conversation, and the responses of the participant. Specific open-ended questions that were asked are listed below along with the points in the interview where they were brought up when they were asked:

- How do you feel about your number of friends? Describe any change that you would wish for in your relationships with people of other ethnic groups. Give me details on how your relationships differ among these friends. How do these differences come about? (After question 14)
- In which situations do you feel best about yourself? Could you tell me more about that? How do you see other people managing these situations? How would you like to see any changes for yourself in these situations? (After question 22)
- Tell me anything that comes to your mind as a worker in this organization. (After questions 23-27)
- In answering these questions, can you tell me anything more about what has helped you adjust the most? (Follow-up questions were asked as appropriate.) (After questions 28-31)
- Overall, is there anything else you would like to say about yourself, the people you work with, or your workplace? (Follow-up questions were asked as appropriate.) (At end of the interview)

See Appendix B for a copy of the entire survey questionnaire

Dillman (1978) notes that the wording of a survey instrument should be simple and clear, that items should be kept short and not overly specific, and that objectionable and hypothetical questions should be avoided. Efforts were made to ensure that the language used for the present survey adhered well to such requirements.

A pilot study of the survey was conducted in the fall of 1999, prior to the formal collection of the data. Six Turkish workers who were known to the researcher and who were of a similar background to those who were to be chosen for the complete study were selected to help determine any problems in clarity and to test for the flow of the questions. The interviews were conducted in English with two of the respondents and in German with the other four. The interviews were held in various locations to test for appropriateness of these sites. The interviewees were very comfortable in all settings, i.e., desk side, office break area, and local eatery.

Three changes were made in the interview procedure on the basis of the pilot study. First, even though the six individuals had read the abstract before beginning the survey, it was determined that a verbal introduction was needed to help make clear the purpose of the study. Second, it was determined that it would be preferable to explain to

the participants, during the course of the interviews, how the sections of the survey were divided and to describe the move when going from one section to the other. This approach appeared to make the interviewees more confident in their responses. Third, it was decided that efforts should be made to limit conversation between questions in order to shorten the interviews. Contents of the survey questions themselves were found to be clear on the basis of the pilot study, with no need for changes being indicated.

Interview Procedure

Interviews generally lasted from 60 to 90 minutes, with the researcher completing the survey form according to the participant's replies to questions. Interviews were held in English or German, as the participant preferred, since the researcher was fluent in both languages, and about half of the interviews were held in each language. As an introduction and warm up for the interviewee, the researcher gave a brief background for the study. Although the researcher was also an employee of the Department of Defense, she introduced herself as a student of the University of Oklahoma to help reduce any apprehension on the part of the subject about possible retribution based on answers to any of the survey questions.

About half (26) of the interviews were conducted face-to-face, with the other half (24) being conducted by phone. For face-to-face interviews, a time and place for meeting was agreed on with the participant. In most local areas, cafes and snack bars could be identified as meeting places that were convenient and unimposing for the interviewee, and some interviews were held in such locations. Other individuals felt most comfortable meeting in their offices, either during the lunch hour or after work hours.

At the beginning of the face-to-face interviews, both the study abstract and the consent form were reviewed with the participant. Both of these had previously been translated into German and Turkish by a professional translator and then backtranslated into English to ensure accuracy. Near the beginning of the interview it was also explained to the participant that his or her identity would be held completely confidential, and permission to audio record the interview was requested. Those interviews for which the participant agreed to audio recording were later transcribed by a professional transcriber. For those individuals who did not want to be recorded, their request was honored and the researcher took comprehensive notes of comments made by the participant during the interview.

Due to constraints of time and travel, it was necessary to hold telephone interviews for some of the participants who resided in more distant locations. Weirsmas (1995) notes that telephone interviewing has the advantage of affording access to a wider geographical population by reducing the amount of travel needed. Weirsmas further notes that telephone interviews can be used effectively in situations which do not require face-to-face encounter and that there is no evidence that a significant reduction in cooperation results from such interviews.

During the telephone interviews, the researcher explained the procedure and asked for and received verbal consent from each interviewee. For those who wanted to read the abstract first, it was faxed, along with the consent form, to the participant in the requested language. As the interview itself was conducted, comprehensive notes were taken by the researcher. Immediately following the interview, the notes were reviewed by the researcher in order to help ensure completeness and accuracy.

Data Analysis

The SPSS Base 10.0 statistical program was used for data analysis. Both univariate and bivariate statistical methods were used, as well as reliability analysis, with

methods used being based on their relevance to evaluating the research hypotheses and to other data comparisons.

To measure responses to some of the demographic items and to questions scored on Likert-type scales, the means, standard deviations, medians, and modes of the participants' responses were calculated. In addition, means for responses related to interacting and working with Americans were compared to means for interacting and working with Germans by paired-sample t-tests in order to determine if there were any significant differences. The .05 level was chosen as indicative of statistical significance.

To enable the hypotheses to be tested, composite scores were first calculated for each of the three variables: host interpersonal communication, host communication competence, and psychological health. These scores were determined both in respect to participants' interactions with Americans and their interactions with Germans.

Host interpersonal communication in regard to working and communicating with Americans was measured by questions 8 (Of all the daily conversations that you have, approximately how many of them are in the English language?), 12a (At the present time here in Germany, how

many persons in each of the following groups do you know [excluding members of your own family?], 13a (Out of the number of persons that you have just mentioned, how many of them do you consider to be your friends?), and 14a (About how many of these friends that you have just mentioned do you consider to be close friends [friends with whom you discuss your private and personal problems]?). It was found, however, that answers to question 14a correlated weakly ($r = .14, .05, \text{ and } .25$, respectively) with answers to questions 8, 12a, and 13a, so only the first three items were used in the analysis."

The answers to questions 12a and 13a were converted to a four-point scale based on the quartiles of the range of the answers, and then the three scores were combined into the variable HICAMER, which was a measure of host interpersonal communication with Americans. The average inter-item correlation coefficient for the three questions was $r = .44$, and Cronbach's Reliability Coefficient Alpha = $.5189$.

Host interpersonal communication with Germans was measured by questions 9 (Of all of the daily conversations that you have, approximately how many of them are in the German language?), 12g (At the present time here in Germany, how many persons in each of the following groups do you

know [excluding members of your own family]?), 13g (Out of the number of persons that you have just mentioned, how many of them do you consider to be your friends?), and 14g (About how many of these friends that you have just mentioned do you consider to be close friends [friends with whom you discuss your private and personal problems]?). Although answers to question 14g correlated well with answers to question 9 ($r = .49$), they correlated only weakly with answers to questions 12g and 13g ($r = .23$ and $r = .27$, respectively), so only questions 9, 12g, and 13g were combined to form the variable HICGER. The average inter-item correlation coefficient r for the three questions was $r = .38$, and Chronbach's Alpha = .6036.

Host communication competence in regard to Americans was measured by questions 15 (Do you have difficulty in understanding people when they speak English to you?), 16 (How much difficulty do staff members seem to have in understanding your English?), 17 (How often do you hesitate to talk to staff members in English or to ask them questions in English because you think that they might not understand you?), 21 (Do you usually know what type of behavior is appropriate in a given situation?), and 22 (Do you adapt well to changing situations?). Answers to these five items were combined into a composite score to create

the variable HCCAMER. The average inter-item correlation coefficient for the five questions was high at $r = .72$, and Chronbach's Alpha = .8819.

Host communication competence in regard to Germans was measured by questions 18 (Do you have difficulty in understanding people when they speak German to you?), 19 (How much difficulty do staff members seem to have in understanding your German?), 20 (How often do you hesitate to talk to staff members in German or to ask them questions in German because you think that they might not understand you?), 21 (Do you usually know what type of behavior is appropriate in a given situation?), and 22 (Do you adapt well to changing situations?). It was found, however, that questions 21 and 22 correlated negatively with questions 18 and 19 and correlated positively but weakly ($r = .04$ and $r = .06$, respectively) with question 20. Thus only the first three questions were combined into a composite score HCCGER to measure host communication competence in regard to working and communicating with Germans. The average inter-item correlation coefficient for the three questions was high at $r = .91$, and Chronbach's Alpha = .9659.

Psychological health in regard to working and communicating with Americans was measured by questions 23a through 31a. The answers to these nine items were combined

to create a composite score PHAMER. The average inter-item correlation coefficient for these items was $r = .49$, and Chronbach's Alpha = .9065.

Psychological health in regard to working and communicating with Germans was measured by questions 23b through 31b. The answers to these nine items were combined to create a composite score PHGER. The average inter-item correlation coefficient for these items was $r = .41$, and Chronbach's alpha = .8598.

To test the hypotheses a correlation matrix was calculated for each set of major variables, those related to participants' communicating and working with Americans and those related to participants' communicating and working with Germans. In this way it was determined, for each set of variables, whether the value of Pearson's r indicated a statistically significant correlation at the .05 level between (1) host interpersonal communication and psychological health and (2) host communication competence and psychological health.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This chapter is divided into four main sections. In the first section a profile of the sample is given. The second section compares survey responses that are related to communicating and working with Americans to ones that are related to communicating and working with Germans.

The third section presents the results of the testing of hypotheses. Correlations between variables are examined to determine whether hypotheses are to be accepted or rejected

The fourth section presents findings from the open-ended questions. Where possible, these findings are linked to those for the statistical analysis.

Profile of the Sample

Of the 50 respondents, 40 (80%) were male and 10 (20%) were female. Ages ranged from 22 to 57 years, with a mean age of 36.1 (SD = 8.4), a median age of 35.5, and a mode of 32 (5 respondents). Mean ages of females and males were similar. The ages of females ranged from 27 to 49 with a mean of 37.7 years (SD = 7.6), a median of 38.0 years, and a mode of 35 (2 respondents). Ages of males ranged from 22 to 57, with a mean of 35.7 years (SD = 8.7, a median of 35.0, and two modes at 31 and 39 (4 respondents each).

Interviewees resided in 10 different cities in Germany: Bad Kreuznach, Darmstadt, Frankfurt, Giessen, Heidelberg, Kaiserslautern, Mainz, Mannheim, Ramstein, and Wiesbaden. Thirty (60%) of the respondents lived in Ramstein (9), Wiesbaden (7), Mainz (7), or Mannheim (7). The other six cities were each represented by from 1 to 5 interviewees.

Nearly two-thirds (64%) of the interviewees either were self-employed (20) or were contractors to the German government and thus considered quasi-self-employed (12). Of the remaining 18 respondents, 16 (32%) were employed by the German government as civil servants in pay grades C4 to C7. (C4-C5 being predominantly machine operators, assemblers, handlers, precision production, and skilled trade positions. The C6-C7 range are professional, administrative and managerial positions.) Two respondents (4%) were employed by the U.S. government, one in grade G9 and the other in grade G13, (professional, administrative positions.) All respondents worked on a U.S. military base or in an environment serving U.S. military personnel and their dependents stationed in Germany.

Item 4 of the survey asked about the length of time respondents had been working in an American environment, and answers showed that a majority of the interviewees had

worked with Americans for over 5 years. Overall, the range was from 12 to 372 months (31 years), with a mean of 81.54 months (SD = 67.1), a median of 61.0 months, and two modes, 24 and 36 months, reported by five respondents each. For women the range was from 24 to 156 months, with a mean of 76.2 (SD = 44.6), a median of 72.0, and three modes at 24, 96, and 120 months (2 respondents each). For men, the range was from 12 to 372 months, with a mean of 82.8 (SD = 72.0), a median of 61.0, and a mode of 36 (four respondents). These means were compared by an independent samples t-test (2-tailed), which showed no significant difference between male and female respondents in regard to length of employment in an American environment ($p = .790$).

Item 6 of the survey asked the respondent whether he or she felt closer to Turkish or to non-Turkish culture. Of the 50 respondents, 47 indicated that they felt closer to Turkish culture, while 3 stated that they felt closer to non-Turkish culture.

Item 7 asked about the native language of the respondent. For the overwhelming majority of the participants (45), Turkish was their native language. Of the other interviewees, German was the native language of 3, and Armenish and Kurdish were the native languages of 1

each. See Table 1 for a summary of these and other demographic results of the survey.

Interactions with Germans Compared to Interactions with Americans

This section compares survey responses that measured respondents' communication with and feelings toward working with Americans to those that measured communication with and feelings toward working with Germans. Paired-sample two-tailed *t*-test were performed to determine whether there were any significant differences in responses to similar questions about the respondents' interactions with the two groups.

The section is divided into three parts, one for each of the main variables. Results are summarized in Tables 2 through 4.

Host Interpersonal Communication

Questions 8 and 9 asked about the interviewees' daily number of conversations that were held in English and German, respectively. Answers were scored on a Likert-type scale where "1" indicated very few or no daily conversations in the indicated language and "4" indicated

Table 1
Profile of 50 Survey Respondents

Gender: Male 40 Female 10

Age: Overall Women Men

Range	22-57	27-49	22-57
Mean(SD)	36.1 (8.4)	37.7 (7.6)	35.7 (8.7)
Median	35.5	38.0	35.0
Mode	32.0	32 (2)	31 and 39 (4)

Cities of residence and number in each:

Ramstein	9	Darmstadt	5
Mainz	7	Heidelberg	4
Mannheim	7	Bad Kreuznach	3
Wiesbaden	7	Giessen	2
Kaiserlautern	5	Frankfurt	1

Type of employment:

Self-employed	20
Contract workers	12
German civil services	16
U.S. government civil service	2

Months employed in an American environment:

	Overall	Women	Men
Range	12-372	24-156	12-372
Mean(SD)	81.5 (67.1)	76.2 (44.6)	82.8 (72.0)
Median	61.0	72.0	61.0
Mode	24, 36 (5)	24, 96, 120 (2)	36 (4)

Culture respondents felt closest to:

Turkish	47	Other	3
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Native language

Turkish	45	German	3	Kurdish	1	Armenish	1
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that almost all of the respondent's daily conversations were in the language. Results for question 8 showed a mean of 3.02 (SD = 1.04), a median of 3.00, and a mode of 4 (22 respondents). For question 9, the mean was 1.44 (.70), the median 1.00, and the mode was 1 (33 respondents). These results indicated that the interviewees had more daily conversations in English than in German. A paired-samples t-test showed that this difference was significant at the .01 level ($t = 7.256$, $p = .000$, $df = 49$).

Items 12 through 14 inquired about the number of acquaintances, friends, and close friends in each of five categories: Turkish, American, German, British, and other groups. Results showed that the number of American acquaintances ranged from 3 to 300, with a mean of 86.10 (SD = 66.52), a median of 70.0, and two modes of 50 and 100 (6 respondents each). The number of German acquaintances ranged from 0 to 100, with a mean of 22.60 (SD = 19.10), a median of 20.0, and a mode of 10 (9 respondents). A t-test indicated that the difference between means was significant at the .01 level ($t = 6.727$, $p = .000$, $df = 49$).

The number of American friends ranged from 0 to 200, with a mean of 34.68 (SD = 47.17), a median of 15.0, and two modes, at 10 and 20 (8 respondents each). The number of German friends ranged from 0 to 100, with a mean of 6.26

(SD = 15.01), a median of 2.50, and a mode of 5 (14 respondents). A *t*-test showed the difference in means to be significant at the .01 level ($t = 4.499$, $p = .000$, $df = 49$).

The number of close American friends ranged from 0 to 120 with a mean of 1.54 (SD = 3.35), a median of 0.0, and a mode of 0 (30 respondents). The number of close German friends ranged from 0 to 15, with a mean of 0.48 (SD = 2.14), a median of 0.0, and a mode of 0 (41 respondents). A paired-samples *t*-test showed the difference in means between close friendship with Americans and close friendship with Germans to be nonsignificant ($t = 1.847$, $p = .071$, $df = 49$). Table 2 presents a summary of the results of these *t*-test comparisons for questions related to host interpersonal communication.

Notably the numbers of the respondents' American acquaintances and friends were not only significantly greater than the numbers of their German acquaintances and friends but also significantly greater than the numbers of their Turkish acquaintances and friends (for acquaintances, 86.10 vs. 31.64; $t = -5.114$, $p = .000$, $df = 49$; for friends, 34.68 vs. 17.50; $t = -2.371$, $p = .022$, $df = 49$). This reflects the fact that in their work lives, respondents generally had much more contact with Americans than with

Turks. On the other hand, the number of American close friends, while greater than the number of German close friends, was much lower than the number of Turkish close friends (1.54 vs. 9.32; $t = 4.826$, $p = 000$, $df = 49$).

Host Communication Competence

Of the eight items on the survey that were intended to measure host communication competence, questions 15-20 allowed comparisons between respondents' communication competence in relation to Americans and their communication competence in relation to Germans. Replies to these items were made on Likert-type scales for which lower numbers indicated greater and higher numbers indicated less difficulty.

Responses to item 15, which asked about the respondents' difficulty in understanding English, showed a mean of 3.42 (SD = 1.16), a median of 4.00, and a mode of 4 (30 participants). Responses to item 18, which asked about the respondents' difficulty in understanding German, showed a very similar mean of 3.44 (SD = 1.28) and an identical

Table 2

Host Interpersonal Communication with Americans Compared to
Host Interpersonal Communication with Germans

Item	Mean (SD)
8. Daily conversations in English	3.01 (1.04)
9. Daily conversations in German	1.44 (.70)
t-test comparison of means: $t = 7.256^{**}$ ($N = 50, df = 49$)	
12a. Number of American acquaintances	86.10 (66.52)
12g. Number of German acquaintances	22.60 (19.10)
t-test comparison of means: $t = 6.727^{**}$ ($N = 50, df = 49$)	
13a. Number of American friends	34.68 (47.17)
13g. Number of German friends	6.26 (15.01)
t-test comparison of means: $t = 4.499^{**}$ ($N = 50, df = 49$)	
14a. Number of close American friends	1.54 (3.35)
14g. Number of close German friends	0.48 (2.14)
t-test comparison of means: $t = 1.847$ (NS) ($N = 50, df = 49$)	

** Significant at the .01 level.
NS Not significant.

median (4.00) and mode (4, 28 participants). A paired-sample t -test showed no significant difference between the means for questions 15 and 18 ($t = -.083$, $p = .934$, $df = 49$)

Responses to item 16, which asked about respondents' difficulty in being understood when they spoke English, showed a mean of 3.78 (SD = 1.18), a median of 4.00, and a mode of 4 (30 participants). Responses to item 19, which asked a similar question in respect to speaking German, showed a mean of 3.64 (SD = 1.34), a median of 4.00, and a mode of 4 (24 respondents). A t -test showed no significant difference between the means of items 16 and 19 ($t = .500$, $p = .619$, $df = 49$).

Responses to item 17, which asked how often the respondents hesitated in speaking English, showed a mean of 3.30 (SD = 1.05), a median of 4.00, and a mode of 4 (30 respondents). Responses to item 20, which asked how often respondents hesitated in speaking German, showed a mean of 2.90 (SD = 1.72), a median of 3.00, and a mode of 4 (23 respondents). A t -test showed no significant differences between the means for items 17 and 20 ($t = 1.627$, $p = .110$, $df = 49$).

Overall, these results indicate that participants considered themselves to be about as fluent in English as

in German. Table 3 provides a summary of these comparisons of responses to questions about host communication competence.

Two further questions that were meant to measure host communication competence were items 21 ("Do you usually know the type of behavior appropriate in a given situation?") and 22 ("Do you adapt well to changing situations?") These items were not further broken down in relation to interactions with Americans and interactions with Germans. The mean score for item 21 was 3.78 (SD = .42), with a median of 4.00 and a mode of 4 (39 respondents). The mean for item 22 was 3.72 (SD = .45), with a median of 4.00 and a mode of 4 (36 respondents). These results indicated that the respondents generally considered themselves to have good knowledge of the appropriate types of behavior in various situations and to adapt well to changing situations.

Psychological Health

Nine sets of survey items each consisted of a pair of questions that asked about respondents' attitudes and feelings toward working with Americans and working with Germans. The first five sets were scored on a Likert-type scale, with lower scores indicating greater psychological difficulty working with the specified group, higher scores

Table 3

Host Communication Competence in English Compared to Host
Communication Competence in German

Item	Mean (SD)
15. Difficulty in understanding English	3.42 (1.16)
18. Difficulty in understanding German	3.44 (1.28)
t-test comparison of means: $t = -.083$ (NS) ($N = 50$, $df = 49$)	
15. Difficulty in others understanding respondent's English	3.78 (1.18)
19. Difficulty in others understanding respondent's German	3.64 (1.34)
t-test comparison of means: $t = .500$ (NS) ($N = 50$, $df = 49$)	
16. How often respondent hesitates when speaking English	3.30 (1.05)
20. How often respondent hesitates when Speaking German	2.90 (1.22)
t-test comparison of means: $t = 1.627$ (NS) ($N = 50$, $df = 49$)	

NS Not significant.

indicating less psychological difficulty, and a score of "5" indicating "don't know." The second four sets were scored on a four-point Likert-type scale, with lower scores indicating less psychological difficulty. The results for the second set of questions were systematically reversed to match the scoring used for the first set and simplify statistical analysis.

Questions 23a and 23b asked how tense the respondent was in dealing with Americans and Germans, respectively. Results showed a mean of 3.42 (SD = .86) for item 23a, with a median of 4.00 and a mode of 4 (30 participants). For item 23b, the mean of 3.42 (SD = .70) was the same, as were the median and the mode of 4 (27 participants). There was thus no difference in these results ($t = .000$, $p = 1.000$, $df = 49$).

Questions 24a and 24b asked how withdrawn the respondent was in dealing with Americans and Germans, respectively. For item 24a, the results showed a mean of 3.44 (SD = .90), a median of 4.00, and a mode of 4 (27 respondents). For item 24a the mean was 3.29 (SD = 1.05), the median 4.00, and the mode 4 (29 respondents). A t -test indicated no significant difference in the means ($t = .775$, $p = .442$, $df = 47$).

The third set of questions, 25a and 25b, asked respondents to report how awkward and out of place they felt in dealing with Americans and Germans, respectively. For item 25a the mean was 3.30 (SD = 1.04), the median 4.00, and the mode 4 (30 respondents). For item 25b the mean was 3.32 (SD = .87), the median 4.00, and the mode 4 (27 respondents). A t-test indicated no significant difference in the means ($t = -.114$, $p = .909$, $df = 49$).

Questions 26a and 26b asked respondents how isolated they felt working with Americans and with Germans. For item 26a, the mean response was 3.50 (SD = .76), the median 4.00, and the mode 4 (33 respondents). For item 26b, the mean was 3.16 (SD = .96), the median 3.00, and the mode 4 (23 respondents). A t-test showed that there was no significant difference between means for items 26a and 26b ($t = 1.915$, $p = .061$, $df = 49$).

Items 27a and 27b asked about the interviewee's loneliness in working with Americans and with Germans. For item 27a results showed a mean of 3.72 (SD = .45), a median of 4.00, and a mode of 4 (36 respondents). For item 27b the mean was 3.44 (SD = .84), the median was 4.00, and the mode was 4 (32 participants). A t-test showed that responses to item 27a were significantly higher than responses to item 27b at the .01 level ($t = 2.714$, $p = .009$, $df = 49$).

Items 28a and 28b asked the respondent to report on his or her happiness in working with Americans and with Germans. The mean score for item 28a was 3.44 (SD = .88), the median was 4.00, and the mode was 4 (32 participants). For item 28b the mean was considerably lower at 2.48 (SD = .86), the median was 3.00, and the mode was 3 (24 respondents). A t-test showed that the difference in means was highly significant ($t = 5.454$, $p = .000$, $df = 49$).

Items 29a and 29b asked respondents how much confidence they had in working with Americans and with Germans. For item 29a the mean was 3.42 (SD = .86), the median was 4.00, and the mode was 4 (30 participants). For item 29b the mean was lower, at 3.04 (SD = 1.09), the median was 3.00, and the mode was 4 (23 participants). A t-test indicated that the difference in means between items 29a and 29b was significant at the .05 level $t = 2.133$, $p = .038$, $df = 49$).

Items 30a and 30b asked respondents how much satisfaction they received from working with Americans and with Germans. The mean score for item 30a was 3.64 (SD = .85), the median was 4.00, and the mode was 4 (40 participants). For item 30b the mean was 2.46 (SD = .86), the median was 3.00, and the mode was 3 (23 participants). When a t-test was performed, it was found that the mean for

item 30a was significantly higher than the mean for item 30b ($t = 7.115$, $p = .000$, $df = 49$).

Items 31a and 31b asked respondents to report on how comfortable they were working with Americans and with Germans. Results showed a mean score for item 31a of 3.42 ($SD = .95$), a median of 4.00, and a mode of 4 (33 participants). For item 31b the mean was considerably lower at 2.38 ($SD = .85$), the median was 2.00, and there were two modes, at 2 and 3 (19 participants each). A t -test showed that that the means for items 31a and 31b were highly significantly different ($t = 5.429$, $p = .000$, $df = 49$).

Overall, the comparison of results for questions 23-31 showed that in a number of respects, respondents felt more positively about working with Americans than working with Germans. The interviewees were significantly happier, more satisfied, and more comfortable, and they felt less awkward and less lonely working with Americans than with Germans. These results are summarized in Table 4.

Testing of Hypotheses

The null hypothesis for this investigation was the following:

H0: An individual's host communication competence and host interpersonal communication do not have a

relationship to the individual's level of psychological health in an American-German workplace. Acceptance or rejection of this null hypothesis was contingent on whether the results supported either of the following two hypotheses:

H1: The greater an individual's host interpersonal communication, the greater the individual's psychological health.

H2: The greater an individual's host communication competence, the greater the individual's psychological health.

Because the respondents were in the unusual circumstance of living in one host culture but working within the environment of a different host culture, evaluation of the hypotheses required testing each in relation to the respondents' communication with and feelings about working with Americans and their communication with and feelings about working with Germans.

To determine whether hypotheses H1 and H2 were true on either dimension, Pearson's correlation procedure was used to determine two correlation matrices: one for the variables of host interpersonal communication, host

Table 4

Attitudes Working for Americans Versus Working for Germans#

Item	Mean (SD)
23. Tenseness working with Americans	3.42 (.86)
Tenseness working with Germans	3.42 (.70)
(t = .000, NS, df = 49)	
24. Withdrawnness working with Americans	3.44 (.90)
Withdrawnness working with Germans	3.29 (1.05)
(t = .775, NS, df = 47)	
25. Awkwardness working with Americans	3.30 (1.04)
Awkwardness working with Germans	3.32 (.87)
(t = -.114, NS, df = 49)	
26. Isolation feelings working with Amer.	3.50 (.76)
Isolation feelings working with Ger.	3.16 (.96)
(t = 1.915, NS, df = 49)	
27. Loneliness working with Americans	3.72 (.45)
Loneliness working with Germans	3.44 (.84)
(t = 2.714**, df = 49)	
28. Happiness working with Americans	3.44 (.88)
Happiness working with Germans	2.48 (.86)
(t = 5.454**, df = 49)	
29. Confidence working with Americans	3.42 (.86)
Confidence working with Germans	3.04 (1.09)
(t = 2.133*, df = 49)	
30. Satisfaction working with Americans	3.64 (.85)
Satisfaction working with Germans	2.46 (.86)
(t = 7.115**, df = 49)	
31. Comfort working with Americans	3.42 (.95)
Comfort working with Germans	2.38 (.85)
(t = 5.429**, df = 49)	

Higher scores indicate a more positive attitude; N = 48 for item 24 N = 50 for all other items.

* Significant at the .05 level.

** Significant at the .01 level.

NS Not significant.

communication competence, and psychological health in relation to participants' interactions with Americans; and a second for those variables in relation to participants' interactions with Germans. This enabled the determination of whether the independent variables were correlated with the dependent variable of psychological health. The correlation matrixes for the two sets of variables are shown in Table 5, and the results of the hypothesis testing are presented in the following two sections.

Host Interpersonal Communication and Psychological Health

To test hypothesis H1, Pearson's correlation test was employed to determine whether there were any significant correlations (1) between host interpersonal communication in regard to Americans and psychological health in working with Americans, and (2) between host interpersonal communication in regard to Germans and psychological health in working with Germans. Results showed that host interpersonal communication in regard to Americans was significantly positively correlated with psychological health in working with Americans ($r = .475$, $p = .001$). However, host interpersonal communication in regard to Germans was not significantly correlated with psychological health in working with Germans ($r = .088$, $p = .542$).

Table 5
Correlation Matrices for Study Variables#

Correlation Matrix for
Participants' Interactions with Americans

	HICAMER	HCCAMER	PHAMER
HICAMER	1.000	.508**	.475**
HCCAMER		1.000	.731**
PHAMER			1.000

Correlation Matrix for
Participants' Interactions with Germans

	HICGER	HCCGER	PHGER
HICGER	1.000	.414**	.088
HCCGER		1.000	.187
PHGER			1.000

Pearson's correlation, 2-tailed, using summed scores. N = 50, except N = 48 for correlations involving PHAMER.

** Significant at the .01 level.

HICAMER - host interpersonal communication with Americans
 HIGER - host interpersonal communication with Germans
 HCCAMER - host communication competence regarding Americans
 HCCGER - host communication competence regarding Germans
 PHAMER - psychological health in working with Americans
 PHGER - psychological health in working with Germans

These results provided partial support for Hypothesis 1. They indicated that for the participants interactions with Americans, the greater their degree of host interpersonal communication, the greater their degree of psychological health.

Host Communication Competence and Psychological Health

To test hypothesis H2, Pearson's correlation test was used to determine whether there were any significant correlations (1) between host communication competence in relation to Americans and psychological health in working with Americans, and (2) between host communication competence in relation to Germans and psychological health in working with Germans. Results showed that host communication competence in regard to Americans was significantly positively correlated with psychological health in working with Americans ($r = .731, p = .000$). However, the correlation ($r = .187, p = .194$) between host communication competence in regard to Germans and psychological health in working with Germans was not statistically significant although it was a positive one as predicted.

On the whole, correlational analyses of the data indicated that hypotheses H1 and H2 were largely supported in respect to the participants' interactions with

Americans, and, to a lesser extent with Germans. Results of the testing of the hypotheses are summarized in Table 6.

Findings from Open-ended Questions

Comments made to open-ended questions by interviewees provided a more in-depth view of several issues important to this study. These issues included (1) attitude toward and adjustment to German society, (2) perceived host receptivity by Germans and by Americans, (3) communication with Germans and with Americans, and (4) feelings about working with Germans and Americans.

In regard to adjustment, some of the participants seemed to have adjusted to the German culture to the point where they considered it to be their primary culture or at least on an equal footing with Turkish culture. This kind of attitude was expressed in statements such as the following:

- "I came to Germany when I was six years old. I started school two years later and had a very hard time because I was shy. When I was a teenager, it finally became clear to me that I needed to integrate myself into the German culture in order to be accepted. Once I did that, things became much easier."

Table 6
Results of Testing of Hypotheses H1 and H2

Comparison	Pearson's <i>r</i>
1. Is host interpersonal communication correlated with psychological health?	
A. in relation to Americans	.475**
B. in relation to Germans	.088
Results support hypothesis H1 in respect to Participants' interactions with Americans	
2. Is host communication competence correlated with psychological health?	
A. in relation to Americans	.731**
B. in relation to Germans	.187
Results support hypothesis H2 in respect to Participants' interactions with Germans	

** Significant at the .01 level.

- "I was born in Germany and understand the culture. I was brought up Turkish at home and German in public. I can deal with this very well - I take what I like from each one [culture]."

A number of the statements made by participants expressed difficulties in adjusting to the German society. In some cases, interviewees appeared to be hesitant to regard Germany as their adopted homeland even though they had been residing there for a generation or more. This was evidenced by comments such as the following:

- "I have lived in Germany for 27 years and my children were born here. I am still considered a foreigner here and I am also a foreigner in Turkey."
- "We are born here but are not able to receive citizenship. We will always be seen as foreigners."
- "I am frustrated with this system I live in. I have never lived in Turkey [born in Germany] but I do not feel like this [Germany] is my home either."

Additional comments were made by participants indicating that they perceived a low degree of host receptivity for Turks among Germans and/or a relatively higher degree of receptivity among Americans. These included statements such as the following:

- "Germans are not accepting of foreigners. They're selfish and this makes me angry at them."
- "Americans are much more open and friendly to all people [cultures]."
- "I started my own business here and feel like I have made a place for myself even though they [Germans] don't really like or appreciate it. They don't like the idea of Turks being independent and making more than some of their own people."
- "When I go to clubs, sometimes I can't get in because they say they are full, no more room. But I turn away, and the next German is allowed in."

Two of the key concepts guiding this study were host interpersonal communication and host communication competence. Comments made that were specifically related to these issues suggested that there may have been more dislike of learning German than of learning English among the participants and that more difficulties were found communicating with Germans than with Americans. A representative sample of comments specifically about communication with either Germans or Americans includes the following:

- "I don't want to learn German, I don't like the sound of it. It is an ugly language."
- "I am learning German for my own self defense. I want to know what my rights are so I can demand what belongs to me."
- "It is difficult for me to understand English because of the different dialects of the Americans."
- "I would like to be closer with Germans but you have to be careful when you're around them, or they might misunderstand something and be offended."
- "When I try to speak German with Germans they are less tolerant of mistakes."
- "The difference in talking with Americans and Germans is that when you talk to Germans, you can't be more clever than them."

One of the notable findings of the study was that on some survey items measuring psychological adjustment, participants reported significantly more positive feelings about working with Americans than about working with Germans. For items measuring happiness, satisfaction, and comfort, this difference was highly significant, and for the item measuring confidence, the difference was significant at the .05 level. These results were also

reflected in a number of the comments made by participants. While none of the interviewees made negative statements about working with Americans, several commented negatively about working with Germans. The following are examples of such comments:

- "I don't like working with Germans because they don't deliver like they say they will."
- "With Germans, when I make a mistake, they don't understand me at all."
- "I like working with Americans because we are all working for freedom."
- "I feel best when my [German] boss is not around - he's arrogant."
- "When my job ends here [after reduction-in-force], I will return to Turkey with my family. I don't like living with Germans. I like to work with Americans - they are friendly."

The diversity of these comments suggests that there may be many reasons why various of the participants reported more happiness, satisfaction, confidence, and/or comfort working with Americans in comparison to working with Germans. Some of the differences may have been due to personality conflicts. One participant stated, "Germans

have a completely different personality. The American personality fits better with the Turkish personality. Germans are cold, and that keeps us [Turks] from making friends with them."

Another reason for the more negative attitudes among participants about working with Germans may have been the relatively low host receptivity of German society toward Turkish residents. As indicated by comments noted above, a number of the interviewees were unhappy with how they perceived German society treated them, and this may have had a bearing on how participants felt about working with Germans.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This chapter is divided into three main sections. In the first section, a summary of the study's purpose, background, design, and findings is presented. In the second section, limitations and merits of the study are reviewed, and recommendations for future studies are given.

In the third section implications of the study are presented and discussed. The section concludes with a list of recommendations that are made for various organizations and groups on the basis of the findings of the study.

Summary

This study investigated the cultural adaptation of Turkish workers living in Germany and working in an American military support environment. The study developed from a personal perspective. As an American living in Germany, I found myself confronted with many of the same problems that other foreigners face in a new culture. I was at first surprised by what I perceived as a lack of acceptance of me by the Germans until I began to learn the language and integrate myself into the German culture. During this period of adjustment and learning a new language, it was relatively easy for me to manage because of the logistical and shopping support provided by my

association with an American military setting. At the same time, I came to realize that problems in cultural adaptation could have a psychological impact. I also wondered how difficult it must be for other foreigners who were more dependent on the local economy, and especially for Turks, to maintain a healthy mental outlook, especially in a culture that gave signs of being opposed to their presence. Based on my own experience, two of the most crucial components of cross-cultural adaptation were ability to speak and understand the host language and experiences in communicating with members of the host culture. It seemed clear from my own experience that these factors played a role in psychological adaptation to the host culture. It was thus natural for me to design a study to help determine how these factors were related in the process of the cross-cultural adaptation of Turks to German culture.

In particular, the study sought to determine whether host interpersonal communication and host communication competence were positively correlated with the psychological health of the workers, as is maintained in Kim's (1988, 1991, 1995a,b, 2001) theory of intercultural communication. The relationships among these variables were examined in respect to both the workers' communication and

interactions with Germans and their communication and interactions with Americans.

The study was important because it focused on a group of individuals who were required to deal with the languages and practices of what were in effect two host cultures: the overall German culture of their residence and the largely American culture of their work environment. As economic globalization continues, increasing numbers of individuals may find themselves in a similar situation in which they reside in a culture different from their original culture and work in an environment in which the norms and values of a third culture predominate.

Kim's (1988, 1991, 1995a,b, 2001) integrative theory of cross-cultural adaptation was used as the theoretical basis of the study. Kim's theory asserts that a number of factors, including environment, predisposition, and communication variables work together to determine the speed and success of intercultural adaptation. One aspect of intercultural adaptation is psychological health, which was the dependent variable of this study. Two of the communication variables that Kim's theory maintains have an impact on psychological health are host communication competence and host interpersonal communication, which were the independent variables for the study. Kim further states

that host receptivity is one of the environmental variables that help to determine intercultural transformation, and this was considered a potentially important factor for the study group since host receptivity for Turkish workers differs between the German culture and the American culture in which the participants worked.

The study had the following null hypothesis:

H0: An individual's host communication competence and host interpersonal communication do not have a relationship to the individual's level of psychological health in an American-German workplace.

Evaluation of the null hypothesis depended on whether the findings supported either of the following two hypotheses:

H1: The greater an individual's host interpersonal communication, the greater the individual's psychological health.

H2: The greater an individual's host communication competence, the greater the individual's psychological health.

These hypotheses were evaluated in relation both to the respondents' communication with and feelings about dealing with Americans and their communication with and feelings about dealing with Germans.

To evaluate the hypotheses, fifty individuals from the population consisting of people of Turkish heritage residing in Germany and working in an American military support environment were selected and interviewed. A survey was administered measuring their degree of host interpersonal communication, host communication competence, and psychological health. Additional open-ended questions were asked to help give a more complete understanding of the intercultural experiences of the participants.

Statistical analysis of the survey results showed that participants felt significantly more positively about working with Americans than with Germans on several dimensions of psychological health, including happiness, confidence, satisfaction, and comfort. In addition, positive correlations were found (1) between host interpersonal communication and psychological health in relation to Americans and (2) between host communication competence and psychological health in relation to Americans. No correlations were found between the independent variables and the dependent variable in regard to the participants' communication and interaction with Germans.

These results partly supported both hypotheses 1 and 2, which stated that the greater the degree of host

interpersonal communication and host communication competence, the greater the degree of psychological health. The hypotheses were supported in respect to the respondents' interactions with Americans, but not so clearly with Germans. The comparatively weaker statistical association with respect to Germans is likely to be due to the lower degree of host receptivity the interviewees felt from the Germans than from the Americans in their work environment. This finding suggests the importance of host receptivity identified by Kim (1995b) as a factor influencing cross-cultural adaptation.

The results of the open-ended questions tended to confirm the statistical results that the participants generally had less positive feelings about working with Germans than Americans. Replies to the questions also suggested that there was considerable dissatisfaction among the participants with the degree of host receptivity of the German culture.

Limitations and Merits of the Study

Limitations of the Study

It is important to point out that the research sample was unique in several ways and that caution should be used in generalizing results to other populations. For one thing, only individuals working in a U.S. military support

environment were studied. Also, a substantial number of the participants were independent contractors or otherwise self-employed, and Turkish workers who choose a work environment requiring less self-initiative might respond differently to interview questions than those in the present study. It is possible that the relations of host communication competence and host interpersonal communication to psychological health would be found to be different for individuals working outside a military support environment or working in jobs that require less initiative.

It should also be noted that individuals of Turkish heritage living in other areas of Germany may have different circumstances, influences, and demands placed on them. In particular, Turkish workers living in what previously was East Germany may experience a different degree of host receptivity than in the area where this research was concentrated, which was located in what was previously West Germany.

Another limitation of the study was that a true random sample of Turks in Germany working in an American military support environment could not be made. This was due to strict restrictions imposed by the German government on the release of names and information pertaining to Turkish

workers at American installations in Germany. Because of these restrictions, it was impossible to obtain a master list of workers' names for any area from which names could be randomly selected. This lack of a random procedure for selecting participants limits the generalizability of the results.

It should also be noted that Kim's (1988, 1991, 1995a, b, 2001) integrative theory was not fully tested in this research since a number of important variables that are part of the theory were not measured. These include predisposition (preparedness, ethnicity, and personality), ethnic intercultural and mass communication, and the environmental variables of host receptivity, host conformity pressure, and ethnic group strength. According to Kim's theory all of these factors work together to help determine the three aspects of intercultural transformation, including psychological health. The scope of this study was restricted to measuring host interpersonal communication, host communication competence, and psychological health each on two dimensions, and the other factors that Kim mentions were left unmeasured.

A further limitation of the study involved the research instrument. The researcher noticed that during the interviews, some participants seemed to have more

difficulty understanding the meanings the terms used in the first five questions of the Psychological Health scale - terms such as "withdrawnness" and "isolation" - than in understanding the terms, such as "happiness," and "confidence," which were used in the last four questions of the scale. Although the pilot study had indicated no problem in the understanding of any of the terms or questions, the researcher was often required during the actual study to explain her meaning when asking a participant one or more of the first five questions on the psychological health scale. This may have affected results in some cases.

Finally, the fact that the researcher was an American could have caused a certain degree of bias in the replies of some interviewees. Perhaps in more favorable conditions, a study of this nature would best be guided by having a Turk interview other Turks to avoid any unintended effect the interviewer might have on the respondent. This might also help diminish the problem of clarity and meaning of words used in the survey.

In spite of this possible limitation, it appears that most of the Turks involved in this study were eager to tell their story. One interviewee invited the researcher to interview his parents, born in Turkey and immigrated to

Germany in the late sixties, so their story could be told. Another interviewee stated, "I am glad to tell my story so others can understand our dilemma better." And still another commented that he was glad that someone was ". . . finally interested in our experiences and how we have been treated."

Merits of the Study

One merit of the investigation is that it focused on factors effecting intercultural adaptation in a multicultural environment. While most prior research dealing with cultural adaptation has dealt with the adjustment of an ethnic group within a single host culture, the present study focused on the adaptation of an ethnic group that had to adapt to what was, in effect, two host cultures. With increased ease of cross-border travel and the internationalization of business, situations in which workers must adapt to more than one culture can be expected to increase. It is important to understand the elements of cultural adaptation in such environments, and the present study was a step in that direction.

Another merit of the study is that it investigated an important group of people who have recently immigrated from their homeland to live in a culture that has taken a relatively unwelcoming stance toward them. It is well known

that many ethnic groups have faced low host receptivity and discrimination in many different countries, but the situation of Turks and some other ethnic groups in Germany is somewhat unique due to the fact that they were welcomed strongly to begin with and then had to face a change of attitude. Greater understanding of the factors that affect the cultural adjustment of this group of individuals who number almost 2,000,000 (Fox, 1995) may be of some benefit in helping to lead to a more harmonious adjustment process for this group of strangers.

Recommendations for Future Studies

This study needs to be replicated among a larger group of Turkish interviewees (100+) and should modify the survey instrument to achieve greater clarity, including insuring that the wording of questions measuring psychological health is simple and clear throughout for participants. Although the problem of identifying the population of Turks working in Germany in an American military support environment may preclude being able to achieve a true random sample of the population, further studies seem warranted to help understand the intercultural dynamics of this important group.

Studies such as this should be made on other groups of strangers living and working in multicultural environments.

Other groups of individuals who are residing in a culture different from their own culture and are working in an environment which is dominated by yet a third culture should be identified and studied in regard to their intercultural adaptation to each of the cultures.

Some of the important variables in Kim's (1988, 1991, 1995a,b, 2001) integrative theory were not measured in this research. Future studies should investigate the potential effects of other main factors in Kim's theory. For Turks living in Germany and for other groups of strangers in other cultural environments, research on the effects of host receptivity should be carried out. Scales and methods for measuring host receptivity should be devised so that the effects of different degrees of host receptivity can begin to be quantified.

A longitudinal study is recommended which (1) measures any changes in degree of host receptivity toward Turks in Germany over a period of five years or more and (2) determines the effects, if any, of those changes on the psychological health of Turks in Germany. Such a study may be especially appropriate at present because recent changes in citizenship requirements suggest that the degree of host receptivity toward Turks by German society may be on the rise.

Implications

Implications of the Findings

This study investigated the relation between the research variables in regard to the participants' interactions with and attitudes toward two different cultural environments - German and American. There were both similarities and differences between the variables as measured in these two dimensions.

Among the questions designed to measure host interpersonal communication, the study found that daily conversations in English were significantly higher than daily conversations in German. This finding reflected the fact that participants worked mainly in an American environment and could be expected to use English much more than German in that environment. The interviewees also had significantly more American acquaintances and friends than German acquaintances and friends. This finding, too, can be at least partly explained by the fact that participants worked in an environment in which they usually had more interactions with Americans than with Germans.

Replies to questions designed to measure host communication competence showed little difference between participants' reported ability to understand and speak English versus their ability to understand and speak

German. Reported difficulty in understanding English was virtually the same as for German. Although interviewees reported somewhat less difficulty in speaking understandable English than speaking understandable German, and somewhat less hesitation in speaking English than in speaking German, these differences were not statistically significant.

In general, the means of responses to the host communication competence questions indicated that there was a high degree of fluency among participants in both English and German. Further evidence of this was given by responses to question 21, which asked how well the participant knew what kind of behavior was appropriate in situations as they arose, and question 22, which asked how well the interviewee adapted to changing situations. The mean responses of 1.22 (SD = .42) to question 21 and 1.28 (SD = .45) to question 22 (on a scale of 1-4, with 1 indicating high knowledge and adaptability) suggest that overall, the participants were highly competent communicators in both the German and the American environment.

In regard to psychological health, on several questions participants reported significantly higher positive feelings about working with Americans compared to working with Germans. However, on four of the questions -

those in which participants reported degree of tenseness, withdrawnness, awkwardness, and isolation - there was no significant difference in regard to working with Germans and Americans. This may be partly due to the difficulty some participants had in understanding these particular questions, as noted in the previous section.

To help explain some of the study results, it may be helpful to take into account Hofstede's (1997) analysis of cultural differences among several nations. In relation to a nation's ability to cooperate with people of other cultures, Hofstede reports, "The most problematic are nations and groups within nations which score very high on uncertainty avoidance, and thus feel that 'What is different, is dangerous' (p. 237)." The term "uncertainty avoidance" refers to the relative need by members of cultures for rules and to the degree of tolerance for uncertainty or the unknown. Hofstede reported that both the Turkish and German cultures are higher in uncertainty avoidance in comparison to the United States. This suggests a higher tendency among both Germans and Turks to seek out interactions and communication with members of their own culture in order to avoid uncertainty. It may also help account for a greater degree of acceptance of Turks among Americans since Americans are in general more open to the

uncertainty that may be associated with relating to members of other cultures.

The most significant finding of the study was that the hypothesized relations between host communication competence and psychological health and between host interpersonal communication and psychological health did occur, but only in relation to the participants' interactions with and attitudes toward Americans, not in relation to their interactions with and attitudes toward Germans.

There may be several reasons for this discrepancy in results. Kim's (1988, 1991, 1995a,b, 2001) integrative theory cites several environmental factors that play a role in adaptation, including host conformity pressure, ethnic group strength, and host receptivity. None of these was directly measured in this investigation; however, it is the researcher's observation that both the pressure in Germany for Turks to conform and ethnic group strength are relatively high. Either of these variables may have had a confounding effect on the relation of the independent and dependent variables in respect to participants' interactions with and attitudes toward Germans.

It may be that low host receptivity, which is a third environmental variable mentioned by Kim (1988, 1991,

1995a,b, 2001), had the most significant effect on the relation between the variables in regard to participants' feelings toward and interactions with Germans. A number of participants expressed displeasure at what they perceived to be a low degree of acceptance extended to them by the German host society, as illustrated by a number of comments that were made by the interviewees. It is reasonable to think that their perception that they were not well accepted by Germans had an effect on some participants' psychological adjustment to German society, and in particular on their feelings about working with Germans.

Kim (1995b) suggested that host receptivity is a factor which helps to determine the rate and ease of cultural adjustment. If host receptivity toward a group of strangers remains low over an extended period of time, as it has done in the case of the German society's receptivity toward Turks, then it may have a continuing detrimental effect on the psychological adjustment and well-being of the strangers. If so, then increased host intercultural communication and host communication competence may not have as great an effect on psychological adjustment and psychological health as they would otherwise. The relationship between those variables may be confounded by the factor of low host receptivity.

Hall's (1976) concept of low-context and high-context in communication may help to explain some of the difficulties in communication between Germans and Turks. In low-context communication (LCC), messages tend to be more explicit, leaving less meaning to be implied or interpreted. In high-context communication (HCC), what is implicit in the background context is more important to the communication of messages (p. 101). Cultures operating from a LCC generally value an individual orientation and tend to be more heterogeneous, whereas HCC cultures are more likely to be group oriented. Hall classifies Germany as an LCC culture and central Asian cultures (including Turkey) as HCC cultures. This difference in fundamental ways of communicating may make it more difficult for Germans and Turks to communicate with and understand each other. Though it is also true that American culture is held by Hall to be, like Germany, LCC, Americans' greater tolerance for uncertainty may help alleviate any tendencies to misunderstanding that may arise from the fact that Turks are accustomed to higher context communication.

Hofstede's (1997) concept of power distance may also help account for some of the difficulties in communication between Turks and Germans. The concept of power distance is based on the equality of distribution of power in a culture

and the degree to which individuals accept or reject this distribution, with a higher degree of power distance within a culture indicating a greater need for dependence on authority. On the power distance index, Hofstede lists Turkey at 66, the USA at 40, and Germany at 35 (p. 26). This ranking indicates that Turkish workers have a preference for more guidance and direction from supervisors, whereas Germans prefer greater independence and tend to let rules guide conflicts. This difference could lead to a discrepancy between the expectations of German supervisors and Turkish workers and to communication problems between Turks and Germans on the job and subsequent friction. Though the USA also rates considerably lower than Turkey on the power distance index, its score is closer to Turkey's rating than is Germany's.

Fortunately, there have recently been important signs of the development of a more accepting attitude toward Turks by German society. Perhaps the most important of these is the fact that beginning in the year 2000, it became easier for individuals of Turkish heritage, as well as individuals of other nationalities, to become citizens of Germany (Germany Online, 2001). Moreover, it became a law that any child born of a foreign national parent who had been in Germany for eight years would automatically

have German citizenship. Although these changes may have been too recent to have substantially affected the participants in this study, in time they may help to bring about a more accepting atmosphere within German society toward those with Turkish heritage.

Recommendations

Several recommendations can be made on the basis of the findings of the study and the implications of those findings.

1. To help maintain good working conditions for employees, such as those embraced in federal Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) programs, it is suggested that U.S. military establishments in Germany institute programs to address and alleviate potential tension and strife between certain groups of foreign workers, such as Turkish workers and Germans. Even though unaccounted factors such as political climate might influence such relations more than reasonable intervention is able to thoroughly deal with, specific intervention might relax some of the tension between cultural groups. It is specifically recommended that these issues be addressed in a setting of training or mediation. This could help bring underlying factors to the forefront and could foster greater understanding and acceptance between individuals from other cultures.

2. Along the same line, but more specifically, it is recommended that programs be developed at U.S. military installations in Germany to enhance positive interpersonal communication among co-workers of various cultures by offering culture-specific training or social activities toward this end. Initiating such programs through the work environment would afford these culturally different individuals the opportunity to come together on mutual grounds in a natural environment. Individuals from the Turkish, German, and American cultural groups from the workforce could be invited to develop such programs, which would only be limited by imagination and level of commitment towards making a difference for all those impacted in these and similar situations.

3. Also more specifically, it is recommended that volunteers be recruited from each culture - Turkish, German, and American - to act as quasi-peer mediators within U.S. military workplaces in Germany. These individuals would be available to listen to problems being faced by co-workers and could then review, assess, and reframe particular situations. From the researcher's own professional experience it has been found that this is a corrective intervention that can have great success.

4. It is recommended that multicultural organizations who employ individuals who are strangers in relation both to the overall host culture and to the predominant culture of the organization be aware of the complex issues of cultural adaptation that their employees may face. Efforts should be made to assist those employees to make positive adjustments to their intercultural challenges. In particular, it is recommended that such organizations develop educational, cultural, and counseling programs as needed to help ease the adjustments of their workers.

5. Finally, it is recommended to ethnic Turks who live in Germany and to ethnic Turkish organizations in Germany that they avoid, as much as possible, negatively reactive attitudes to perceived low host receptivity by German culture. Though this may be difficult to do, it seems likely that taking a positive and proactive attitude toward inclusion in German society is more likely to provide positive results in the long term.

Specifically, it is suggested that Turks seek out opportunities for positive communication with German host members. Such experiences can help alleviate not only the stress experienced by Turks but also the adaptive stress that may be experienced by host members as they react to changing cultural conditions in Germany. Perhaps the best

overall strategy to reduce tensions between host culture Germans and Turks and to increase acceptance of Turks in German society is to increase efforts aimed toward positive communication between members of the two groups.

It is also recommended that Turks strive to develop their ability to put themselves in the position of members of the host culture. Viewing social conditions from that perspective may help them to better understand motivations for actions and inactions by host culture members, and this may improve communication. In their Communication Accommodation Theory, Gallois, Giles, Jones, Cargile, and Ota (1995) state that communication, which "involves this constant movement toward and away from others," represents an attempt to adjust the speech patterns directed toward the other group. By becoming mindful of motives and strategies used by Germans in communication, Turks may help decrease some of the distance caused by differences in vocabulary, loudness, tone, and adjusted accent.

More generally, developing empathy for members of the other culture is suggested for both Turks and Germans. For each group to better understand the viewpoints, feelings, and motivations of the other seems likely to enhance communication and break down stereotypes on both sides.

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APPENDIX A

LETTER TO WIESBADEN TURKISH WORKERS

AGENCY LETTERHEAD

(date)

MEMORANDUM FOR Civilian Employee Working at the Wiesbaden Army Airfield
(WAAF) Who May be of Turkish Descent

SUBJECT: Request for Interview

1. Ms. Vicki Braun, a Department of Army civilian employee, would like to interview Turkish workers performing duties at the WAAF. You have been identified as an employee who may be of Turkish descent. Ms. Braun is conducting these interviews as part of a personal doctoral research project. An abstract of the project (Encl A), as well as an informed consent form (Encl B), are enclosed for your review. She is not conducting this project as part of her official government duties. No Department of Defense organization has endorsed these interviews or this research project.
2. Your participation is strictly voluntary. While you may only participate in this project on your own time, during non-duty hours, Ms. Braun will likely initially contact you at your duty station. You may briefly discuss this project and setting up an interview during this conversation.
3. All employees who receive this memorandum need to complete the endorsement below and return it to Ms. Horn at the WAAF CPO office. Your identity will only be revealed to Ms. Braun if you fill out the endorsement indicating a "do want to participate" response. Please call the undersigned at DSN 337-7210 or 705-7210, or email cookt@community.wiesbaden.army.mil if you have any questions.

FOR THE STAFF JUDGE ADVOCATE:

Encls

THOMAS D. COOK
MAJ, JA
Officer in Charge

office symbol

FOR Ms. Horn, CPO Office

I _____, _____ do want to participate _____ do not want to participate.
(Print Name) ("x" if want to be interviewed) ("x" if don't want to be interviewed)

APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Interview Schedule

(This form is filled-in by this investigator. Sections are titled for investigator's edification. Introduce myself as Ph.D. candidate with the University of Oklahoma. Explanation of my research involving cross-cultural adaptation, intercultural communication and psychological well-being specific to Turkish workers.)

This interview will consist of questions that require scaled answers that I will fill in on the form I have here with me. I will also ask questions that will help me gain a better understanding of the measures you use and how you use them.

For approximately the next 45 minutes I will be asking questions about your personal experience and opinions working in an American environment here in Wiesbaden. The information you provide today through this interview will be held in strictness of confidence so please feel free to answer the questions as honestly as you can. There is no right or wrong answer.

Would you give me permission to tape record this session? This would help me in a couple of ways. First, I will be able to listen and concentrate on the interview and secondly, it will help me to have a very accurate account of the interview. Your name or any other means of personally identifying you will not be used on the tape recording or questionnaire.

These first few questions will help me get some background information on you and your situation here in Germany.

(This subject is _____ Male _____ Female)

1) What is your age in years?

_____ years

2) Which city do you live in

3) What is your pay grade?

_____ (GS 11, C-7, NAF 3, etc.)

4) How long have you been employed by Americans?

_____ (years, months)

5) Can you tell me how you made the decision to work in this particular American environment?

6) Do you feel closer to a non-Turkish culture than to the Turkish culture? (For example, you may hold a passport from one country but feel stronger towards another country.)

1. _____ No
2. _____ Yes (Please describe: _____)

7) What is your native language?

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE - Host Interpersonal Communication

The following questions are **about contact you have with people** on a daily basis. Answer each of the questions by estimating the degree to which you find it to be true.

8) Of all the daily conversations that you have, approximately how many of them are in the English language?

Would you say:

1. _____ Very few or none
2. _____ About one-third
3. _____ About two-thirds
4. _____ Almost all of them are in English

9) Of all of the daily conversations that you have, approximately how many of them are in the German language?

Would you say:

1. _____ Very few or none
2. _____ About one-third
3. _____ About two-thirds
4. _____ Almost all

10) Of all of the daily conversations that you have, approximately how many of them are in the Turkish language?

Would you say:

1. _____ Very few or none
2. _____ About one-third
3. _____ About two-thirds
4. _____ Almost all

11) a. Tell me how you feel about your ability to communicate with Americans.

b. Tell me how you feel about your ability to communication with Germans.

(potential probe question to any of the above questions - could you tell me more about that? *What do you think any differences might be in your communication between Americans and Germans? How would you like for this to be different? How do you see others being similar or different than you in this respect?*)

The following questions are **about your relationships** with people of various cultures. Answer each of the questions by estimating the degree to which you find it to be true.

12) At the present time here in Germany, how many persons in each of the following groups do you know (excluding members of your own family)? Please answer in numbers (Example: 25 persons, 70 persons, 4 persons, etc.) We understand that it is difficult for you to give exact numbers. However, please try to estimate the numbers as accurately as possible.

Turkish	_____ persons
Americans	_____ persons
Germans	_____ persons
British	_____ persons
Other ethnic group	_____ persons

13) Out of the number of persons that you have just mentioned, how many of them do you consider to be your friends?

Turkish	_____ persons
Americans	_____ persons
Germans	_____ persons
British	_____ persons
Other ethnic groups	_____ persons

14) About how many of these friends that you have just mentioned do you consider to be close friends (friends with whom you discuss your private and personal problems)?

Turkish	_____ persons
Americans	_____ persons
Germans	_____ persons
British	_____ persons
Other ethnic groups	_____ persons

(open-ended question - how do you feel about your number of friends? Describe any change that you would wish for in your relationships with people of other ethnic groups?)

Give me details on how your relationships differ among these friends? How do these differences come about?)

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE - Host Communication Competence

The following are questions about **your knowledge of people and cultures** other than your own. Respond to each of the questions by indicating the degree to which you find it to be true.

Language Competence in English

15) Do you have difficulty in understanding people when they speak English to you?

1. _____ I do not understand at all what they say
2. _____ I understand only a little of what they say
3. _____ I understand about half of what they say
4. _____ I understand most of what they say
5. _____ I understand completely

16) How much difficulty do staff members seem to have in understanding your English?

1. _____ They do not understand at all what I say
2. _____ They understand only a little of what I say
3. _____ They understand about half of what I say
4. _____ They understand most of what I say
5. _____ They understand completely

17) How often do you hesitate to talk to staff members in English or to ask them questions in English because you think that they might not understand you?

1. _____ I hesitate very frequently (or almost always)
2. _____ I hesitate sometimes
3. _____ I hesitate once in a while
4. _____ I hesitate seldom or never

Language Competence in German

18) Do you have difficulty in understanding people when they speak German to you?

1. _____ I do not understand at all what they say
2. _____ I understand only a little of what they say
3. _____ I understand about half of what they say
4. _____ I understand most of what they say
5. _____ I understand completely

19) How much difficulty do staff members seem to have in understanding your German?

1. _____ They do not understand at all what I say
2. _____ They understand only a little of what I say
3. _____ They understand about half of what I say
4. _____ They understand most of what I say
5. _____ They understand me completely

20) How often do you hesitate to talk to staff members in German or to ask them questions in German because you think that they might not understand you?

1. _____ I hesitate very frequently (or almost always)
2. _____ I hesitate sometimes
3. _____ I hesitate once in a while

4. _____ I hesitate seldom or never

21) Do you usually know what type of behavior is appropriate in a given situation?

1. _____ I very frequently know what type of behavior is appropriate (or almost always)
2. _____ I sometimes know what type of behavior is appropriate
3. _____ I once in a while know what type of behavior is appropriate
4. _____ I seldom or never know what type of behavior is appropriate

22) Do you adapt well to changing situations?

1. _____ Very frequently (or almost always)
2. _____ Sometimes
3. _____ Once in a while
4. _____ Seldom or never

(open-ended question - in which situations do you feel best about yourself? Could you tell me more about that? How do you see other people managing these situations? How would you like to see any changes for yourself in these situations?)

DEPENDENT VARIABLE - Psychological health

The following questions have to do with how distant you feel working with Americans and Germans in your workplace.

Alienation Scale

Tenseness

23) a. How tense would you say you are in dealing with Americans in your workplace? Would you say that you are generally very tense, moderately tense, only slightly tense, or not at all tense?

1. _____ I am very tense in dealing with Americans
2. _____ I am moderately tense in dealing with Americans
3. _____ I am only slightly tense in dealing with Americans

4. _____ I am not tense at all in dealing with Americans
5. _____ I don't know

23) b. How tense would you say you are in dealing with Germans in your workplace? Would you say that you are generally very tense, moderately tense, only slightly tense, or not at all tense?

1. _____ I am very tense in dealing with Germans
2. _____ I am moderately tense in dealing with Germans
3. _____ I am only slightly tense in dealing with Germans
4. _____ I am not tense at all in dealing with Germans
5. _____ I don't know

Withdrawnness

24) a. How withdrawn would you say you are in dealing with Americans in your workplace? Would you say that you are generally very withdrawn, moderately withdrawn, only slightly withdrawn, or not at all withdrawn?

1. _____ I am very withdrawn in dealing with Americans
2. _____ I am moderately withdrawn in dealing with Americans
3. _____ I am only slightly withdrawn in dealing with Americans
4. _____ I am not withdrawn at all in dealing with Americans
5. _____ I don't know

24) b. How withdrawn would you say you are in dealing with Germans in your workplace? Would you say that you are generally very withdrawn, moderately withdrawn, only slightly withdrawn, or not at all withdrawn?

1. _____ I am very withdrawn in dealing with Germans
2. _____ I am moderately withdrawn in dealing with Germans
3. _____ I am only slightly withdrawn in dealing with Germans
4. _____ I am not withdrawn at all in dealing with Germans
5. _____ I don't know

Awkwardness

25) a. How awkward and out of place do you feel working with Americans? Do you feel very awkward, moderately awkward, only slightly awkward, or not awkward at all?

1. _____ I feel very awkward working with Americans

2. _____ I feel moderately awkward working with Americans
3. _____ I feel only slightly awkward working with Americans
4. _____ I do not feel awkward at all working with Americans
5. _____ I don't know

25) b. How awkward and out of place do you feel working with Germans? Do you feel very awkward, moderately awkward, only slightly awkward, or not awkward at all?

1. _____ I feel very awkward working with Germans
2. _____ I feel moderately awkward working with Germans
3. _____ I feel only slightly awkward working with Germans
4. _____ I do not feel awkward at all working with Germans
5. _____ I don't know

Isolation

26) a. How isolated do you feel working with Americans? Do you feel that you are very isolated, somewhat isolated, only a little isolated, or not isolated at all?

1. _____ I feel very isolated working with Americans
2. _____ I feel moderately isolated working with Americans
3. _____ I feel only slightly isolated working with Americans
4. _____ I do not feel isolated at all working with Americans
5. _____ I don't know

26) b. How isolated do you feel working with Germans? Do you feel that you are very isolated, somewhat isolated, only a little isolated, or not isolated at all?

1. _____ I feel very isolated working with Germans
2. _____ I feel moderately isolated working with Germans
3. _____ I feel only slightly isolated working with Germans
4. _____ I do not feel isolated at all working with Germans
5. _____ I don't know

Loneliness

27) a. How lonely do you feel working with Americans? Do you feel that you are very lonely, somewhat lonely, only a little lonely, or not lonely at all?

1. _____ I feel very lonely working with Americans

2. _____ I feel moderately lonely working with Americans
3. _____ I feel only slightly lonely working with Americans
4. _____ I do not feel lonely at all working with Americans
5. _____ Don't know

27) b. How lonely do you feel working Germans? Do you feel that you are very lonely, somewhat lonely, only a little lonely, or not lonely at all?

1. _____ I feel very lonely working with Germans
2. _____ I feel moderately lonely working with Germans
3. _____ I feel only slightly lonely working with Germans
4. _____ I do not feel lonely at all working with Germans
5. _____ Don't know

(open-ended question - After answering these questions, tell me anything that comes to your mind as a worker in this organization)

(open-ended question - when does that happen to you?)

(open-ended question - how is that for you?)

(open-ended question - could you explain that?)

The following questions have to do with how familiar you feel working with Americans and Germans in your workplace.

Adjustment Scale

Happiness

28) a. How happy would you say you are at the present working with Americans? Would you say that you are generally very happy, moderately happy, only slightly happy, or not at all happy?

1. _____ I am very happy working with Americans
2. _____ I am moderately happy working with Americans
3. _____ I am only slightly happy working with Americans
4. _____ I am not happy at all working with Americans
5. _____ I don't know

28) b. How happy would you say you are at the present working with Germans? Would you say that you are generally very happy, moderately happy, only slightly happy, or not at all happy?

1. _____ I am very happy working with Germans
2. _____ I am moderately happy working with Germans
3. _____ I am only slightly happy working with Germans

4. _____ I am not happy at all working with Germans
5. _____ I don't know

Confidence

29) a. How much confidence would you say you have in yourself at the present time working with Americans? Would you say that you are very confident, moderately confident, only slightly confident, or not at all confident?

1. _____ I am very confident working with Americans
2. _____ I am moderately confident working with Americans
3. _____ I am only slightly confident working with Americans
4. _____ I am not confident at all working with Americans
5. _____ I don't know

29) b. How much confidence would you say you have in yourself at the present time working with Germans? Would you say that you are very confident, moderately confident, only slightly confident, or not at all confident?

1. _____ I am very confident working with Germans
2. _____ I am moderately confident working with Germans
3. _____ I am only slightly confident working with Germans
4. _____ I am not confident at all working with Germans
5. _____ I don't know

Satisfaction

30) a. How satisfied would you say you are at the present time working Americans? Would you say you are generally very satisfied, moderately satisfied, only slightly satisfied, or not at all satisfied?

1. _____ I am very satisfied working with Americans
2. _____ I am moderately satisfied working with Americans
3. _____ I am only slightly satisfied working Americans
4. _____ I am not satisfied at all working with Americans
5. _____ I don't know

30) b. How satisfied would you say you are at the present time working Germans? Would you say you are generally very satisfied, moderately satisfied, only slightly satisfied, or not at all satisfied?

1. _____ I am very satisfied working with Germans
2. _____ I am moderately satisfied working with Germans
3. _____ I am only slightly satisfied working Germans
4. _____ I am not satisfied at all working with Germans
5. _____ I don't know

Comfort

31) a. How comfortable would you say you are at the present time working with Americans? Would you say that you are generally comfortable, moderately comfortable, only slightly comfortable, or not at all comfortable?

1. _____ I am very comfortable working with Americans
2. _____ I am moderately comfortable working with Americans
3. _____ I am only slightly comfortable working with Americans
4. _____ I am not comfortable at all working with Americans
5. _____ I don't know

31) b. How comfortable would you say you are at the present time working with Germans? Would you say that you are generally comfortable, moderately comfortable, only slightly comfortable, or not at all comfortable?

1. _____ I am very comfortable working with Germans
2. _____ I am moderately comfortable working with Germans
3. _____ I am only slightly comfortable working with Germans
4. _____ I am not comfortable at all working with Germans
5. _____ I don't know

(open-ended question: In answering these questions, can you tell me anything more about what has helped you adjust the most?)

(open-ended question - how do you explain this?)

(open-ended question - what would you say has contributed to this situation?)

(open-ended question - what do you think has had the greatest impact on this?)

(open-end question - Overall, is there anything else you would iike to say about yourself, the people you work with, or your workplace?)