

Intercultural Adjustment - Reconsidering the Issues: The Case of Foreigners in Japan

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Several investigations have been conducted to identify factors that influence intercultural adjustment. Attempts have been made to develop measures that assess constructs that are theoretically and empirically related to intercultural adjustment. This paper discusses findings on the intercultural adjustment of two groups of foreigners in Japan, using a set of indexes that measure life stress and social support. The instruments, called Index of Social Support (ISS) and Index of Life Stress (ILS), were adapted from Yang and Clum (1995). ILS measured six areas of stress: language difficulty, cultural adjustment, perceived racial discrimination, work/career concern, financial concern, and outlook for the future. ISS assessed four levels of social support: family, friends, community, and colleagues. This paper has documented a significant difference in life satisfaction between labor workers and professional groups in Japan. The significance in the scores suggests a lower level of satisfaction with overall life in Japan among the first group. The significant differences also highlight the importance of personal and situational factors and consider the interaction of at least three variables: language fluency, work expectations, and host interactions.

The number of foreigners living in Japan, either on a short or long term basis, has dramatically increased in the past few decades. According to the records of the Immigration Office under the Ministry of Justice, as of the year 2005 the number of legal foreigners in Japan reached over 1.97 million, accounting for 1.55% of the total Japanese population. The number is at its record high in the history of the country's international human exchange. Compared to the previous year, the figure is 3.4% higher, and it is 45% higher than it was 10 years ago.

Of these legally visiting foreigners, 38.8% have permanent visas while 38.2% hold temporary visas. At the same time, the number of illegal or overstaying foreigners is on the rise and yet is left unaccounted for. These individuals, who actually form the backbone of the country's economy, choose to overstay and do the dirty and dangerous jobs in the farms and factories.

The increase in the country's foreign population calls for a system of support that can sustain the emotional and psychological adjustment to the host country. Unfortunately, to date, there has been very little collective information, except for those that appear in local forums, discussions within volunteer groups and organizations, and the like. To say the least, very few academic investigations have been conducted on the patterns of foreigner adjustment in Japan. Having been involved in Intercultural Communication studies, having taught IC as a course, and having numerous chances to interact with foreigners in Japan, the writer has heard stories and witnessed several cases of both successful and unsuccessful adaptation experiences. These have prompted the author to address the issue.

Several attempts have been made to identify factors that influence intercultural adaptation because of its practical and theoretical importance in intercultural research. Intercultural adjustment and adaptation are concerns for many – especially for those who deal with the tasks of living in and coping with life in a new and different culture. There has been an extensive body of work that focuses on theory testing among cross-cultural travelers. A review of previous studies shows that a great deal of research in recent years has aimed towards developing individual-level measures to assess constructs that are theoretically and empirically related to intercultural adjustment. Only those that directly relate to this study will be mentioned here. Investigations on a small and large scale have been conducted. The former include individual studies of Zung (1965) and the depression scale, Beck (1979) and the hopelessness scale, and Ong (2000) and the measures on depressive symptoms and neuroticism. These studies have been validated against several other measures. The latter group of investigations, conducted on a much larger scale, includes Hammer, Bennett's Intercultural Development Inventory (2001), also known as the IDI and Matsumoto's (2003) Intercultural Adjustment Potential Scale, well known as ICAPS-55, among others. Matsumoto's ICAPS is one of the largest existing adjustment scales that examines the individual's strengths and weaknesses prior to departure to maximize intercultural experience overseas. The intercultural development inventory, on the other hand, measures cognitive structures and is more generalizable than other tests of intercultural adaptability or adjustment. The reliability and validity of these measures have been tested across culture groups, using various samples of diverse age range, and have been proven extremely high.

Of special interest to the present study is the relationship between life stress and depression among sojourners, which has been well documented in the past. Furthermore, Wiseman, et al. (1989) reported that depression and life stress of foreign students in the U.S. were found to relate to behavior problems like suicide attempts. Furthermore, Flowkorski and Fogel (1999) indicated that the ethnocentric attitude of host nationals adversely affected the work behavior of business travelers in international companies. Quite a large amount of research has been done to advance the theoretical concept of these constructs.

In Japan, unfortunately, there is a dearth of materials that explores foreigners' experiences in terms of the amount of social support available, and its relation to both stress and depression. Among the very few studies are those of Jou (1993) and Takai (1989). Jou's comparison of the needs of Chinese students and local students in Japan suggests that overseas students perceive a greater need for support than local students. In his investigation on the language experience and psychological condition of foreigners in Japan, Takai reports that increased fluency in Japanese was associated with decreased satisfaction among foreign students, suggesting a higher expectation of bilingual foreigners for friendship and perceived rejection by their Japanese hosts.

Considering the special life circumstances of each group of foreign nationals in Japan, there is a need to develop an index that will reflect the general patterns of life stress and social support for each population when using them to predict adjustment. This study designed a set of indexes that measures life stress and social support of foreigners. The instruments are called Index of Social Support (ISS) and Index of Life Stress (ILS). A preliminary study was conducted using these instruments. This paper will report the results of the findings in the second investigation and compare these findings with those of the preliminary research.

The instruments were designed based on the original indexes developed by Yang and Clum (1995). The original scales were developed to measure patterns of adaptation of foreign students in the United States and have been validated against other measures such as the Life Experiences Survey (LES) and the UCLA Loneliness Scale. The scales used in the present study have been adopted from the original instruments because they were found to measure similar constructs, which will be discussed below.

Methods

Participants

In the first study, the set of instruments (ILS and ISS) was sent to more than fifty foreigners of various nationalities legally residing and working in Japan. The participants were chosen to represent different cultural backgrounds as defined by Ward et al. (2001). A list of countries and the number of participants is attached in Appendix 1. The respondents were recruited to represent various lengths of stay as sojourners, from 2 years to 10 years. This was set as an appropriate time of stay in the host country to know and understand the host culture appropriately (Ward et al., 2001). Forty percent of the participants were female and 60% were male. The participants were working as professionals in various fields like research institutions, training centers, universities and businesses. In addition to mail correspondences, about 20 questionnaire forms were sent out in electronic form. The subjects were encouraged to ask questions via e-mail during the assessment process. The rest of the survey was conducted in small groups of samples in order to closely monitor subjects' completion of the assessment materials and to answer questions effectively whenever it was necessary. Out of the total responses received, 30 could be used for the final computation.

In the second study, the same set of instruments was distributed to a group of labor workers in Japan. This time however, the writer was allowed to conduct the survey on condition that identity is not revealed and absolute anonymity is observed. The tests were conducted candidly after a Japanese language class in groups of four or five. Fearing for their identity, not many were willing to participate. Thus, it was hard to choose participants according to length of stay and country of origin. Nevertheless, effort was done to make sure that the participants represent a wide variety of cultural backgrounds. As for the length of stay, the participants have stayed in Japan for 2 months, at the shortest, and 2 years, at the longest.

Measures

Instrument No. 1: The Index of Life Stress. The ILS attempted to assess the levels of stressful life events experienced by foreigners in Japan. The 20 statement scale asked the individuals to rate each statement from never (0) to often (3) according to how often they "feel the way described in the statement."

The Index of Life Stress (ILS) measures six areas of stress (a) language difficulty, (b) cultural adjustment, (c) perceived racial discrimination, (d) work/career concern, (e) financial concern, and (f) outlook for the future. The main rationale for selecting items that represent

each of these areas is that knowledge of Japanese language is essential for adjustment in the workplace.

Data from previous research such as those of Spiess & Witmann (1999) revealed that language proficiency is a major determinant of cultural adaptation. Language competence has also been undisputedly found to be an important construct predictive of intercultural communication competence (Gudykunst, 1996; Wiseman et al., 1989; Matsumoto (2001). The second item, cultural differences between host country and countries of origin, has been reported to be a source of stress (Ward and Kennedy, 1999). Foremost among these are differences in eating habits and non-verbal forms of communication (Ikeguchi, 2003), entertainment, religion, and lifestyle in general. Difference in one's status in the country of origin and in the host country was found to influence the degree of stress among sojourners. For instance, Yang and Clum (1995) suggested that foreign students in the USA who belong to minority groups experience greater discrimination, and thereby suffer from greater life stress than their counterparts. Similarly, the findings of Ataca (1996) indicated that perceived discrimination by Turkish immigrants in Canada was related to poorer psychological adaptation. The fourth construct, work and career concerns, was included as a relevant and necessary item because most of the participants have a job in Japan. It was assumed by previous research (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001) that work-related problems affecting sojourners' stay in the host country originate from the complications associated with requirements to manage in a culturally appropriate manner, such as relating with superiors, subordinates, and colleagues. Financial difficulty is an important issue that determines foreigners' desire to stay long in Japan. Finally, outlook for the future was included because concerns about returning home and not being able to find a job after working in Japan were predicted to be stressful to sojourners in general (Yang & Clum, 1995).

It was assumed that higher scores would reflect higher levels of life stress. Internal consistency reliability and test-retest reliability with a 1 month interval were obtained. Factor analysis was applied to explore the construct validity. Correlation results with the ISS were used to establish the concurrent validity.

Instrument No. 2: The Index of Social Support: The index of social support (ISS) in this study attempted to assess the degree of social support available to foreigners in Japan. The instrument was developed based on the foreigners' special social contact patterns. It consists of a 20-statement scale that asked the individuals to rate each item from a scale of 0 (never) to 4 (often) according to how often they "feel the way described in the statement." The scale assesses five areas of social support: contact with direct family members and friends from own culture, contact with new friends, and an international group in Japan, contact with one's church, and community activities.

Most of the foreigners working in Japan do not bring along their families. Although long distance contact with these people remains important, contact with new friends and supportive organizations and activities in the new place is believed to be equally essential. This has been widely supported by studies in the past (Kim, 1995). The assessment scale assessed both the quality and quantity of contact with different groups of people: (a) direct family (e.g. spouse and siblings), (b) old friends in the home country, (c) new friends in Japan, (d) church or religion, (e) foreigners' organization (professional and otherwise) available in Japan, and (e) community activities. These are part of the three factors of adjustment which Brislin (1993) described as including (a) successful relationships with people from one's own

culture and other cultures; (b) a feeling of warmth, cordiality, respect, and cooperation with members of other cultures; and (c) the accomplishment of tasks in an effective and efficient manner. They also reflect what Bochner (1999) identified as general adjustment constructs that involve daily activities and interactions and interpersonal relations with members of the workplace. More recently, Ward & Kennedy (1999) have broadly divided adjustment into two categories: psychological and socio-cultural.

Social support has been observed to be a complex phenomenon that includes quality as well as quantity (Brownell & Shumaker, 1984). Thus, like in the original study, to obtain a comprehensive evaluation of social support under each area, respondents were asked to rate the meaning of the support to them, their level of trust and satisfaction towards the support, and the availability of the support when needed. It was assumed that higher mean scores would reflect a high level of social support. Internal consistency reliability and test-retest reliability with a 1-month interval were obtained. Factor analysis was applied to explore the construct validity. Correlations with the ILS were used to establish concurrent validity.

Results

ILS results in the 1st study

The mean score obtained for the Index of Social Support of the first group is 3.9, while the mean score obtained for the Index of Life Stress is 2.9, slightly lower than the ISS. Stability coefficients were obtained for both the ILS and ISS. The test-retest reliability with a 1-month interval was .78 for the ILS (n=30), and .67 for the ISS (n=30). The internal consistency estimate (KR 20) was .68 (n=30) for the ILS, and .71 for the ISS (n=30). The concurrent validity of the two instruments was measured by their correlations: $r(57) = -.49$, $p < .001$. The significant negative correlation between the two measures indicates that social support is an important component in predicting life stress. Although the results indicate a strong relation between the two variables in the study, causal claims on their relationship cannot be made.

Construct validity was assessed via factor analyses. The principle components method and varimax rotation were employed in a series of factor analyses on the ILS. A factor loading of .40 was used as the cutoff criterion to identify factor items. Based on the eigenvalues, variances explained by each factor, and interpretability of each factor, a five-factor solution appeared to be the most meaningful for the ILS. This indicates that factors that constitute this measure are similar to the six areas initially conceptualized as defining this measure. The structure identified in the factor analysis combined some items on work-related goals and financial concern into factor 4. Some items that are work-related were combined into factor 3. The structure identified five factors similar to the constructs originally described. These factors were labeled as: (a) language difficulties, (b) interpersonal stress, (c) stress from cultural adjustment (d) future-related goal, and (e) work-related stress. Internal consistency for each of these factors is .70, .69, .65, and .56 respectively. All of these factors accounted for 49.21 of the variance, and are shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: ILS Results for 1st study (Construct Validity and Factor Analysis)

Constructs under investigation	
1. language difficulties	.70
2. interpersonal stress	.69
3. cultural adjustment stress	.60
4. future-related goals	.65
5. work-related goals	.56

Table 2: ILS Results for 2nd study (Construct Validity and Factor Analysis)

Constructs under investigation	
1. language difficulties	.67
2. interpersonal stress	.49
3. cultural adjustment stress	.56
4. future-related goals	.64
5. work-related goals	.51

ILS results for the 2nd study

The mean score obtained for the Index of Social Support of the second group is 2.8, while the mean score obtained for the Index of Life Stress is 3.5, significantly higher than the support level. Stability coefficients were obtained for both the ILS and ISS, and test-retest reliability was .58 for the ILS (n=30), and .57 for the ISS (n=30). The internal consistency estimate (KR 20) was .53 (n=30) for the ILS, and .43 for the ISS (n=30). The concurrent validity of the two instruments was measured by their correlations: $r(49) = -.49, p < .001$. Like in the first group, the significant negative correlation between the two measures indicates that social support is an important component in predicting life stress.

Construct validity was assessed via factor analyses. The principle components method and varimax rotation were employed in a series of factor analyses on the ILS. A factor loading of .40 was used as the cutoff criterion to identify factor items. A five-factor solution appeared to be the most meaningful for the ILS, and the factors that constitute this measure are similar to the six areas initially conceptualized. The structure identified five factors similar to the constructs originally described. These factors were labeled: (a) language difficulties, (b) interpersonal stress, (c) stress from cultural adjustment, (d) future-related goal, and (e) work-related stress. Internal consistency for each of these factors is .67, .49, .56, .64, and .51, respectively, accounting for 41.27 of the total variance. These are summarized in Table 2 below.

Table 3: ISS Results for 1st study (Construct Validity and Factor Analysis)

Constructs under investigation	
1. contact w/ one's culture	.67
2. contact w/ friends	.77
3. contact w/ members of host culture	.59
4. contact w/ one's religion	.39

Table 4: ISS Results for 2nd study (Construct Validity and Factor Analysis)

Constructs under investigation	
1. contact w/ one's culture	.57
2. contact w/ friends	.47
3. contact w/ members of host culture	.21
4. contact w/ one's religion	.51

ISS results for the 1st study

Data obtained from the ISS were analyzed by applying the principal component method and varimax rotation in a series of factor analyses. A factor loading level of .40 was used as the criterion to identify four items. Based on the eigenvalues, variances explained by each factor, and interpretability of each factor, a four-factor solution appeared to be most meaningful for the ISS. Factor analysis of the Index of Social Support showed that 19 out of 20 items loaded in four factors: (a) general contact with old friends from one's culture (in Japan and at home), (b) contact with new (international) friends in Japan, (c) contact with one's family and the community, and (d) contact with one's religion. Internal consistency estimates (KR 20) for each factor are .67, .77, .59, and .39, respectively. These factors accounted for 51.9% of the variance. The data are summarized in Table 3 below.

ISS results in the 2nd study

The same procedure of the principal component method and varimax rotation was used in a series of factor analyses of the ISS for the second group. A factor loading level of .40 identified four items. A four-factor solution appeared to be most meaningful for the ISS. Factor analysis of the Index of Social Support showed that 18 out of 20 items loaded in four factors: (a) general contact with old friends from one's culture (in Japan and at home), (b) contact with fellow workers and friends in the workplace, (c) contact with one's family and the community, and (d) contact with one's religion. Internal consistency estimates (KR 20) for each factor are: .57, .47, .21, and .51, respectively. These factors accounted for 44.4% of the variance. The data in Table 4 and Table 5 below shows the summary of basic statistical results for ILS and ISS for the two groups of participants.

Table 5: Summary of Basic Statistics

	Group 1 (N=30)		Group 2 (N=30)	
	ILS	ISS	ILS	ISS
Mean Scores	2.9	3.9	3.5	2.8
Test-retest	.78	.67	.51	.44
Internal Consistency (KR20)	.68	.71	.53	.43
ISS: $t=2.35$, $df=60$, $p=.05$ ILS: $t=2.67$, $df=60$, $p=.05$	$r= (.57)=-.49$, $p < .001$		$r=.61 = -.35$, $p,.001$	

Conclusion

The findings indicate that the second group reported higher levels of stress compared to the first group. At the same time, lower mean scores in the ISS in the worker population indicate lower levels of social support compared to their counterpart. The significance in the scores suggests a lower level of satisfaction among the working population with overall life in Japan. At the same time, the significant negative correlation between the two measures indicates social support as an important component in predicting life stress.

This paper documented a significant difference in life satisfaction between the labor population and the professional group. In the past, a variety of demographic factors has been studied in relation to stress and coping: gender, age, income, education, and generational status are common examples. This study reiterates the fact that education and occupation are strong determinants of life satisfaction and coping. For the two groups of samples, non-work problems include the need to acquire social skills required to survive and thrive in the local community and to be accepted by its members. Many of them tend to associate mainly with other expatriates. This has a special significance for the first group because this kind of isolation affects the ability to succeed in the workplace. Although earning power is considerably high for professionals in Japan, isolation is a major concern in adjustment. Simultaneously, members of this group generally hope to seek a secure employment which, to many sojourners, is a big source of anxiety.

The significant differences between the two groups in this study also highlights the importance of personal and situational factors and considers the interaction of at least three variables: language fluency, work expectations, and host interactions. It also acknowledges the difficulty in identifying and confirming the direct influence of single variables on psychological adjustment during cross-cultural transition. The acquisition of culture-specific skills (Scott & Scott, 1991) has been proven to facilitate cross-cultural adaptation and is positively related to psychological well-being. The first group of samples in this study seems to have an advantage over the second group in this regard.

The results of this study have added to an understanding of intercultural adjustment. Specifically, it has proposed that perceived understanding of the host culture appears to be influenced by the presence of social support factors. As Kim (1997) points out, there is a

theoretical linkage between the individual's predispositions and conditions of the host environment as co-influencing successful adjustment of the individual.

There is little doubt that being an illegal alien is not necessarily an enjoyable experience and can, under certain conditions, prove to be very stressful. For the labor-work population, contact with host members is limited exclusively with labor related situations. They prefer to isolate themselves and live in secrecy for fear of being caught and deported. Their working conditions cannot be regarded as regular employment conditions: the need for a proper medical insurance system, wage rate, living conditions, and most of all the psychological pressures they live with everyday are immense. This explains why the group reported strong feelings of alienation, higher levels of perceived discrimination, and overall dissatisfaction with life. They have no hopes of settling in the host culture and live with the thought that they can never secure stable employment.

Finally, I would like to raise an equally important issue that concerns the definition of life satisfaction in relation to cultural adjustment. A wide range of variables and outcome measures has been identified in investigations in the past (Ward, 1999). The results of the present study suggest that successful interpersonal relations with members of the workplace, the effective accomplishment of tasks or labor, and income satisfaction do not guarantee the psychological well-being of workers overseas, whether professional or blue-collar workers. Similarly, the factors of adjustment Bhawuk & Brislin (1992) described as including successful relationships with people from either one's culture or other cultures, and the accomplishment of tasks in an efficient manner seems to be related in varying degrees depending on the nature of one's job overseas. More importantly, psychological satisfaction seems to be related to socio-cultural factors. The results of this study show that for foreign nationals in Japan, cultural adjustment does not necessarily mean life satisfaction, or vice-versa.

Tasks for Future Research

There is an increased need to collect sufficient data on the emotional and psychological well-being of the increasing number of foreigners living in Japan. It has become imperative to define and refine measures that assess different aspects of adjustment according to the nature of stay in the country.

For a future task, a refinement of the measures used in the study is necessary to assist further in the prediction of successful cultural adjustment. For this to be done, assessment scales can be further validated against existing ones, or new measures can be developed. For instance, incremental validity and regression analyses of the two measures can be applied with other scales such as the Life Experience Scale (LES), Self-Rating Depressions Scale (ZDS), Hopelessness Scale (BHS), and the like.

The results of the present study have implications for helping foreign nationals improve their adjustment during their stay in Japan. For instance, difficulties with the language, as well as lack of contact with the host culture, have been shown to be an important source of anxiety. This can be improved by providing pre-departure training and knowledge of the culture of Japan. Would-be travelers to this country need to know the unique aspects of the culture and its modes of communication, interdependent relationships, as well as social norms that dictate the behavior of individuals. In this regard, studies like the one conducted by Miike

(2002), which attempts to lay a foundation of theorizing culture and communication from an Asian perspective will prove useful. The paper points out that there is a need for more research to be done on cultural adjustment in Asian countries. The work of communication scholars on Asian culture will benefit the real-life experience of travelers in Asia, particularly those in Japan. Heightened globalization and internationalization has increased the importance of being competent in intercultural communication. This includes the necessity to negotiate effectively in international business situations, the ability to cope with different educational settings, and the ability to deal with difference even during short-term travel overseas. There is a need to develop valid and reliable instruments to measure the concept of intercultural competence. So far, the existing measures used have been restricted to US-Euro models and reflect the biases of Western thought. Fritz et al. (2002) calls for instruments that can be tested in different cultural contexts. These measures will help people better adjust to rapid world changes and help them live a successful and productive life wherever they may be.

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