Praise for
UNDERSTANDING INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

"This student-centered text engages undergraduates through its presentation and discussion of key concepts by examples, questions, stories, and activities. The authors provide 'food for thought' and the 'proper utensils' for handling the material.... This textbook is fresh because it contains many stories and examples that students will connect with."
—Armeda C. Reitzel, *Humboldt State University*

"The authors write clearly but with a sense of sophistication and depth, so that lower-division students can easily grasp the material—but senior students can be pushed to engage concepts, terms, and theories." —Fernando Delgado, *Arizona State University West*

"I especially like the idea of 'posed questions' as chapter titles. It situates the reader in the context of inquiry. The use of figures, tables, photos, Jeopardy boxes, and intercultural checkpoints adds greatly to the content...." —Arvind Singhal, *Ohio University, Athens*

"One of the outstanding features of this text is the integration of innovative topics that are not included in other intercultural texts.... The student-centered pedagogical approach in this text is the best I've encountered!"
—Candice Thomas-Maddox, *Ohio University, Lancaster*

NDERSTANDING INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION offers a comprehensive look at the undational concepts of intercultural communication. Through its dynamic theme of *flexible inter-ltural communication*, authors Stella Ting-Toomey and Leeva Chung bridge the gap between inter-ltural communication theory and practice. This book is distinctive because of its balance between oss-national intercultural communication issues and U.S. domestic diversity issues. Written in a con-rsational style, the text presents up-to-date, identity-based frameworks and fresh approaches.

integrating current empirical research with lively intercultural examples, the authors ask thought-ovoking questions throughout the text and pose intercultural ethical dilemmas for students to pon-. It offers strong coverage of topics such as the process of ethnic and cultural identity change, cul-re shock and intercultural adjustment, intercultural verbal communication styles, conflict facework teractions, romantic relationships and raising bicultural children, global identity challenges, and cision-making choices in intercultural ethics.

ighlights include: diversity *Jeopardy* boxes, *Double-Take* personal narratives and stories, *Know Thyself* int-assessments, *Quick Poll* reaction polls, *Picture This* intercultural-interethnic poems, and *Snapshots* ustrating cultural diversity and culture shock. In addition, dialogue scenes, global news clips, prac-al intercultural toolkits, and checkpoints reinforce student learning.

e *Instructor's Manual/Testing Progra* g issues in the classroom. In addition, lective discussion questions keep stu ailable as well as an *Interactive Stude*

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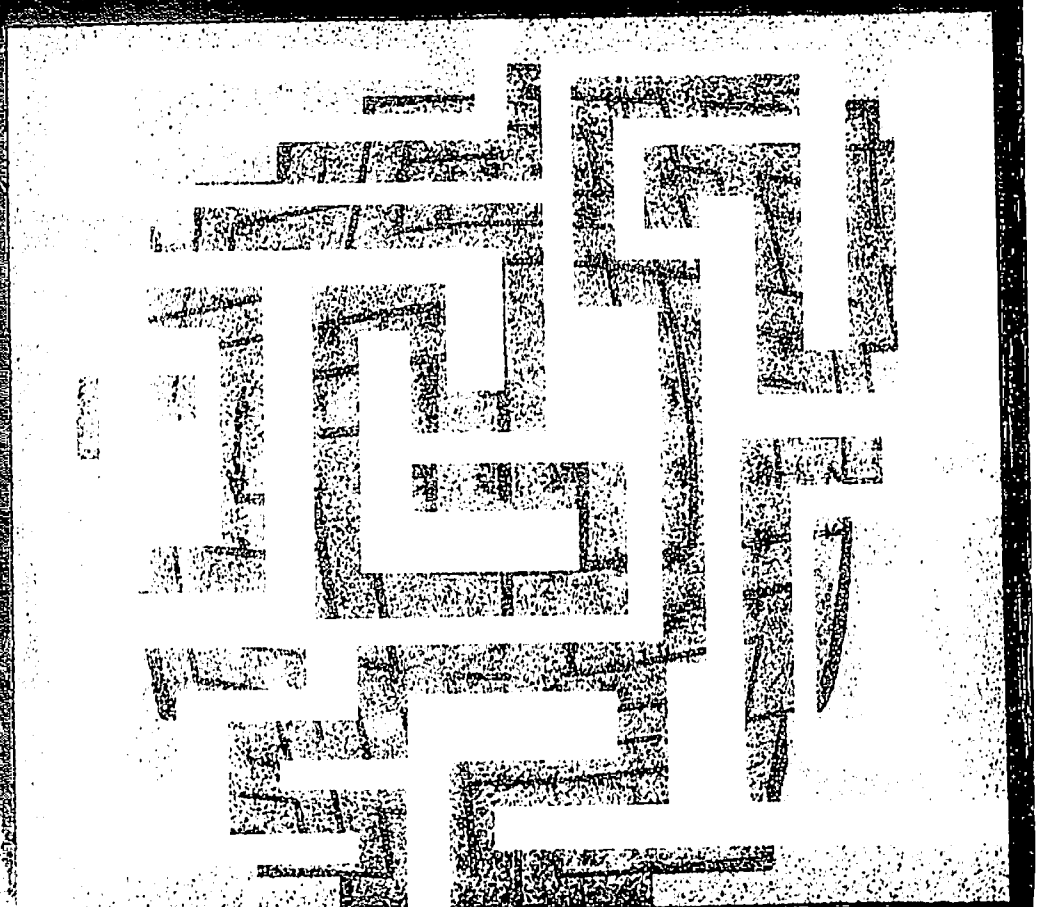
UNDERSTANDING INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION



Stella Ting-Toomey • Leeva C. Chung

Chapter Outline

Analyzing Cultural Values
Identity Meaning Function
Explanatory Function
Boundary Regulation Function
Adaptational Function

Discovering Cultural Values
Identity: Individualism-Collectivism Value Pattern
Power: Small-Large Power Distance Value Pattern
Uncertainty: Weak-Strong
Uncertainty Avoidance Value Pattern
Sex Roles: Feminine-Masculine Value Pattern

Value Orientations: Background Information
Meaning: Doing-Being Activity Value Orientation
Destiny: Controlling-Yielding
People-Nature Value Orientation
Time: Future-Past Temporal Value Orientation
Space: Privacy-Communal Spatial Value Orientation

Independent Versus Interdependent Self-Construal
Horizontal Versus Vertical Self-Construal
Internal Versus External Locus of Control

Nani Parales, a local Filipino American, works for the State Department in Hawaii. This department is made up of a diverse group of workers. Nani has been a supervisor for the past two years, in charge of ten clerks in her division. She sees herself as a caring supervisor. In this last year, Nani has made a point to get together with her employees and their families once a month outside of work—usually a fun lunch or brunch over the weekends. Her employees see her more as a family friend than a supervisor.

However, in the past two months, Nani has experienced increased frustration with several of her employees. Whenever she asks them to work on a project or to meet a deadline, they do not come through. They say "yes," but they do not take her requests seriously. Worse, they have even started to talk behind her back or give her an attitude. Nani now dreads going to work. She is feeling very uncomfortable—where did she go wrong? Maybe she has been too friendly with her employees. Maybe she is just not a competent boss. She also needs to do their year-end performance review reports. She does not want to write anything negative, but she will probably have to do so. All these things go against her values and her own caring self-image. What is your interpretation of her plight? What advice can you give Nani?

dentifying cultural and personal value differences provides us with a map to understand why people behave the way they do in a new cultural setting. It also sheds light on our own behavior and styles of communicating with people from diverse cultural communities. Cultural values form part of the content of our sense of self and answer this question: Who am I in this world? Our sense of self is infused with cultural, ethnic, gender, spiritual, professional, relational, and personal values.

This chapter asks the question, Can we identify some general value patterns of different cultures that will help us to cross cultural boundaries more effectively? The chapter is organized into five sections. We first explore the various functions of cultural value patterns. Second, we discuss the four value dimensions that are critical in influencing people's communication styles. Third, we examine four additional value orientations that affect individuals' cultural boundary-crossing journey. We then discuss dimensions of personality that may combine with cultural values in shaping people's communication styles. Last, we offer practical checkpoints to remind you to keep these diverse cultural value patterns in mind when crossing cultures.

y peering into the window of another culture, intercultural knowledge can make individuals more reflective on their own ingrained cultural beliefs and values. By understanding where major cultural differences exist, learners can figure creative ways to harness the differences and to find common ground to work with individuals from diverse cultural groups.

Systematic cultural value analysis helps us to grasp the alternative paths that other cultures may prefer in their ways of thinking, valuing, and being. This section defines and explores some of the major functions of cultural value patterns.

Values are shared ideas about what is right or wrong, what is fair or unfair, what is important or not important. Although each of us has developed our unique set of values based on our socialization and life experience, there are also larger values at work on a cultural level. Cultural values are relatively stable and enduring—values protect a culture in times of crisis and stressful situations.

Cultural value patterns form the basic criteria through which we evaluate our own behaviors and the behaviors of others. They cue our expectations of how we should act and how others should act during an interaction. They serve as implicit guidelines for our motivations, expectations, perceptions, interpretations, and communicative actions. They set the emotional tone for interpreting the behavior of cultural strangers. Cultural value patterns serve many functions, including the identity meaning function, sense-making explanatory function, boundary regulation function, and adaptational function.

Cultural values provide the frame of reference to answer the most fundamental question of each human being: Who am I in this world? Cultural beliefs and values provide the anchoring points to which we attach meanings and significance to our complex identities. For example, in the larger U.S. culture, middle-class U.S. values often emphasize individual initiative and achievement. A person is considered "competent" or "successful" when he or she takes the personal initiative to realize and maximize his or her full potential. The result? Recognition and rewards (e.g., an enviable career, a six-digit salary, a coveted car, or a dream house) that are tangible and acknowledged by others. A person who can realize his or her dreams, while overcoming all odds, is considered to be a "successful" individual in the context of middle-class U.S. culture.

Valuing individual initiative may stem, in part, from the predominantly Judeo-Christian belief system in the larger U.S. culture. In this belief system, each person is perceived as unique, as having free will, and as responsible for his or her growth and decisions. The concept of being a "successful," "competent," or "worthwhile" person and the meanings attached to such words stem from the fundamental values of a given culture. The identity meanings we acquire within our culture are constructed and sustained through everyday communication.

Within our own group, we experience safety and acceptance. We do not have to constantly justify or explain our actions or values. Our commonly shared values are implicitly understood and celebrated via everyday communication rituals. With people of dissimilar groups, however, we have to be on the alert and may need to explain or defend our behaviors or underlying values with more effort.

When we interact with people from our own cultural group, we can mentally "fill in the blanks" and understand why people behave the way they do. However, when we communicate with people from another cultural group, we need mental energy to try to figure out why they behave the way they behave. We constantly have to perform anxiety-laden guessing games. We may be witnessing people using different public displays of affection or strange phrases; however, we may remain clueless in terms of why they communicate the way they do. Basically, we have not mastered the value-based explanatory system of that culture. We cannot come up with a reasonable guess or interpretative competence as to why people do certain "strange" things in that "strange" culture.

Culture creates a comfort zone in which we experience ingroup inclusion and ingroup/outgroup differences. A shared common fate or a sense of solidarity often exists among members of the same group. For example, within our own cultural group, we speak the same language or dialect, we share similar nonverbal rhythms, and we can decode each other's nonverbal mood with more accuracy. However, with people from a dissimilar membership group, we tend to "stand out," and we experience awkwardness during interaction. The feeling of exclusion or differentiation leads to interaction ambiguity or anxiety (Brewer, 1991).

The boundary regulation function shapes our ingroup and outgroup attitudes in dealing with people who are culturally dissimilar. An *attitude* is a learned tendency that influences our behavior. Contrastive value patterns help us to form evaluative attitudes toward ingroup and outgroup interactions. **Ingroups** are groups with whom we feel emotionally close and with whom we share an interdependent fate, such as family or extended family, our sorority or fraternity, or people from our own cultural or ethnic group. **Outgroups**, on the other hand, are groups with whom we feel no emotional ties, and, at times, we may experience great psychological distance from them and even feel competitive against them—they can be our rival fraternity, our wartime enemy, or simply individuals who belong to another cultural or ethnic group.

Overall, we tend to hold favorable attitudes toward ingroup interactions because of our perceived value and behavioral similarities, and we hold unfavorable attitudes toward outgroup interactions because of our ignorance of their cultural values and norms. Furthermore, value patterns regulate ingroup consensus and set evaluative standards concerning what is *valued* or *devalued* within a culture. They provide a clear reward and punishment system that reinforces certain behaviors and sanctions other unacceptable behaviors over time.

Cultural values or principles facilitate the adaptation processes among the self, the cultural community, and the larger environment (i.e., the ecological habitat). Cultural values evolve due to people's desires and needs, and vice versa. When people adapt their needs and their particular ways of living in response to a changing habitat, culture also changes accordingly. Surface-level cultural artifacts, such as fashion or popular culture, change at a faster pace than deep-level cultural elements, such as traditional beliefs, values, and ethics.

Triandis (1994) made the observation that ecologies in which survival depends on hunting and fishing are different from ecologies in which survival depends on farming. In agricultural societies, for example, cooperation is often required. Farmers need to cooperate in order to work together digging irrigation canals or constructing storage barns. As a result, socialization in such cultural communities emphasizes dependability and cooperation. Thus, culture rewards certain behaviors that are compatible with its ecology and sanctions other behaviors that are mismatched with the ecological niche of the culture.

In sum, cultural values serve the identity meaning, explanatory, boundary regulation, and adaptation functions. Communication, in essence, serves as the major hook that links the various channels (e.g., family socialization, educational institution, religious/spiritual institution) of value transmission systems in a coherent manner. Drawing from the various functions of cultural values as discussed above, we can now turn to explore the core value patterns that shape the intercultural communication process.

Cultural value analysis highlights the potential differences and similarities of value patterns between cultural groups. Despite the difficulties in generalizing about the diverse values in heterogeneous cultures such as India and the United States, it is possible and in fact imperative to engage in such cultural value assessments. Mindful value comparison on a cultural group membership level acts as a critical first step toward better understanding of potential cultural differences and similarities.

This section introduces the cultural value analysis concept and examines four value dimensions: the key value dimension of individualism/collectivism and the other three value dimensions of power distance, uncertainty avoidance, and femininity-masculinity.

Based on the comparative studies of a wide range of cultures throughout the world, specific value patterns in different cultures have been uncovered by researchers in the areas of anthropology, cross-cultural psychology, sociology, international management, linguistics, and intercultural communication. Cultural values form the implicit standards by which we judge appropriate and inappropriate behaviors in a communication episode. They are the contents of self that drive our thoughts, emotions, and everyday decision-making processes. They serve to shape the motivation to explain human behavior.

However, cultural value patterns such as individualism and collectivism exist as general value tendencies on a cultural level of analysis. Cultural-level tendencies, however, do not explain the behaviors of all members in a single culture. Family socialization, individual life experience, popular culture, and immigration or intergroup contact experience will all have differential effects on the value formation processes of an individual in a society. If two cultures (e.g., Vietnam and the United States) differ on a value dimension (e.g., collectivism), it does not necessarily mean that a particular Vietnamese person is bound to be collectivistic and a particular U.S. American, individualistic. It only implies that the average tendencies of the two cultures—on a group membership level—differ in terms of the value characteristics. However, within each culture, wide variations exist on the individual level of analysis. Although we can say that a majority of individuals in the United States subscribe to some form of individualistic values, we should also recognize that some individuals in the United States have strong interdependent tendencies. Likewise, even though we can say that a majority of individuals in Vietnam subscribe to some form of group-based values, we should also pay close attention to the fact that some individuals in Vietnam have strong "I-identity" attributes. The more pluralistic or "loose" the culture, the more we may find diverse individuals subscribing to diverse norms and belief systems in that culture. Before we discuss the four value dimensions at the cultural level of analysis, let's look at Know Thyself 3.1. Take a few minutes to complete it before you continue reading.

Your honest answers to the four situations should provide some insight into your personal values. Your responses basically reflect how

Know Thyself 3.1 Discovering Personal Value Dimensions

Instructions: The following scenarios reflect four dilemmas. Each situation gives two decision-making alternatives. Use your gut-level reaction and check the answer that you consider best reflects your honest decision under the circumstances.

1. You have two hours to prepare for an examination for one class and an oral report that you and several fellow students will present in another class. The exam score is your own; the oral report earns a group grade. Both are worth 25 percent of your grade in each class. In the two hours, you can only do one well. What should you do?
   a. _____ Study hard for the exam—it reflects your individual achievement.
   b. _____ Prepare for the group report—do not let down your team members.
2. You are deeply in love with a romantic partner from a different cultural background. However, your parents do not approve of him or her because they think it's hard enough to make a relationship work even if the person is from the same culture. What should you do?
   a. _____ Tell your parents to respect your dating choice and decision.
   b. _____ Tell your partner to be patient and try to understand your parents' viewpoint.
3. Your next-door neighbors are partying loudly again and it's already 1:00 a.m. You have an important job interview scheduled for the early morning. You really want to have a good night's sleep so that you can wake up refreshed in the morning. What should you do?
   a. _____ Tell your neighbors to stop the partying.
   b. _____ Grin and bear it. You really don't like conflict, and you hope the noise level will die down eventually.
4. Your nephew really enjoys playing with dolls and your niece really enjoys playing with tanks and soldiers. Your sister asks you for advice. Should she be worried about her two kids and their playing habits? What would you say?
   a. _____ Don't worry. There's nothing wrong with boys playing with dolls and girls playing with tanks.
   b. _____ You're right to be concerned. It seems like the kids are confused about their sex-role identity. You should observe them more closely.

Scoring: If you put a check mark on the (a) answers, the answer keys are as follows: *(1a) individualistic, (2a) small power distance, (3a) weak uncertainty avoidance,* and *(4a) "feminine" patterns.*

If you put a check mark on the following (b) answers, your answers are reflective of the following: *(1b) collectivistic, (2b) large power distance, (3b) strong uncertainty avoidance,* and *(4b) "masculine" patterns.*

If you have checked some (a) answers and some (b) answers, your values are reflective of a mixed set of value patterns. Review and label your own answers now.

Interpretation: Please continue to read your text under the "Analyzing Cultural Value Dimensions" section for further value interpretations.

your individual values shape your interpretations of the four situations. Keep your responses in mind as you read the remainder of this section.

In reviewing your answer to situation one about "solo versus group achievement," if you checked (1a), your value pattern tends toward the "I-identity" end of the spectrum. If you checked (1b), your value pattern tends toward the collectivistic or "we-identity" end of the spectrum. Hofstede (1991, 2001) derived four cultural variability dimensions in his large-scale study of a U.S. multinational business corporation. The corporation has subsidiaries in 50 countries and three regions (the Arabic-speaking countries, East Africa, and West Africa). All together, 116,000 managers and employees in this worldwide corporation were surveyed twice. On the basis of the results, Hofstede (1991) delineated four organizational value patterns across a diverse range of cultures.

The first and most important dimension that shapes our sense of self is the individualistic-collectivistic value pattern. The other three cultural variability dimensions are power distance, uncertainty avoidance, and femininity-masculinity. We should note that Hofstede's four cultural value dimensions are related to business organizational values in different cultures. He also argues that ethnic and religious groups, gender, generation, social class, and social structure assert a strong influence on the value patterns within a particular culture. The four value dimensions should be viewed as a first systematic research attempt to compare a wide range of cultures on an aggregate, group level.

Before you continue to read on, since individualism-collectivism is such an important intercultural value theme, please fill out the brief assessment in Know Thyself 3.2 and find out your value tendency preference. Do you subscribe more to individualistic or collectivistic value tendencies? The individualism-collectivism value dimension has received consistent attention from both intercultural researchers and cross-cultural psychologists (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988; Triandis, 1995). Intercultural scholars have provided evidence that the value patterns of individualism and collectivism are pervasive in a wide range of cultures. Individualism and collectivism can explain some of the basic differences and similarities concerning communication behavior between clusters of cultures.

Basically, **individualism** refers to the broad value tendencies of a culture in emphasizing the importance of individual identity over group identity, individual rights over group rights, and individual needs over group needs. Individualism promotes self-efficiency, individual responsibility, and personal autonomy. In contrast, **collectivism** refers to the broad value tendencies of a culture in emphasizing

Know Thyself 3.2 Assessing Your Individualism and Collectivism Value Tendencies

Instructions: The following items describe how people think about themselves and communicate in various situations. Let your first inclination be your guide and circle the number in the scale that best reflects your overall value. The following scale is used for each item:

4 = SA = *Strongly Agree*
3 = MA = *Moderately Agree*
2 = MD = *Moderately Disagree*
1 = SD = *Strongly Disagree*

	SA	MA	MD	SD
1. Act assertively to get what you want.	4	3	2	1
2. Be sensitive to the needs of others.	4	3	2	1
3. Be competitive and move ahead.	4	3	2	1
4. Blend in harmoniously with the group.	4	3	2	1
5. Act on independent thoughts.	4	3	2	1
6. Be respectful of group decisions.	4	3	2	1
7. Value self-reliance and personal freedom.	4	3	2	1
8. Consult family and friends before making decisions.	4	3	2	1
9. Be sensitive to the majority views in a group.	4	3	2	1
10. Voice my personal opinions when everyone else disagrees.	4	3	2	1

Scoring: Add up the scores on all the odd-numbered items and you will find your individualism score. *Individualism* score: _____. Add up the scores on all the even-numbered items and you will find your collectivism score. *Collectivism* score: _____.

Interpretation: Scores on each value dimension can range from 5 to 20; the higher the score, the more individualistic and/or collectivistic you are. If all the scores are similar on both value dimensions, you are a bicultural value person.

Reflection Probes: Take a moment to think of the following questions: Do your values reflect your family of origin's values? How have your values changed over time? What can you do to achieve greater understanding of people from a different value system?

the importance of the "we" identity over the "I" identity, group rights over individual rights, and ingroup needs over individual wants and desires. Collectivism promotes relational interdependence, ingroup harmony, and ingroup collaborative spirit (see Table 3.1).

Individualistic and collectivistic value tendencies are manifested in *everyday family, school,* and *workplace interaction*. Individualism pertains to societies in which ties between individuals are loosely linked

Situations	Individualistic Cultures	Collectivistic Cultures
General:	"I" Identity	"We" Identity
Family:	Nuclear Family	Extended Family
Relationship:	Privacy Regulation	Relational Harmony
School:	Individual Competition	Teamwork
Workplace:	Personal Competence	Ingroup Emphasis
Communication:	Direct Communication Patterns	Indirect Communication Patterns
Personality Equivalence:	Independent Self	Interdependent Self

and everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family. Comparatively, collectivism refers to societies in which ties between individuals in the community are tightly intertwined. Group members view their fate as interdependent with one another. Although they will look after the welfare of ingroup members, they also expect their ingroup members to look after their interests and concerns throughout their lifetimes. If you were collectivistic, what would be your reaction to the popular U.S. television host Dr. Phil? His popularity is due to his straightforward advice, such as "Just do it!" or "Why are you not making your own decisions? You are not your parents!" Will this kind of advice help you with your decisions or confuse you somewhat?

Hofstede's (1991, 2001) research reveals that factors such as national wealth, population growth, and historical roots affect the development of individualistic and collectivistic values. For example, wealthy, urbanized, and industrialized societies are more individualistically oriented, whereas the poorer, rural, and traditional societies are more collectivistically oriented. However, there are some exceptions, especially in East Asia, where Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore appear to retain collectivism in spite of industrialization.

Individualism is a cultural pattern that is found in most northern and western regions of Europe and in North America. More specifically, high individualism has been found in the United States, Australia, Great Britain, Canada, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, and Sweden. *Collectivism* is a cultural pattern common in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Central and South America, and the Pacific islands. Though less than one-third of the world population resides in cultures with high individualistic value tendencies, a little more than two-thirds of the people live in cultures with high collectivistic value tendencies (Triandis, 1995). High collectivistic

value tendencies have been found in Guatemala, Ecuador, Panama, Venezuela, Colombia, Indonesia, Pakistan, Costa Rica, and Peru (Hofstede, 1991).

The *top individualist values* emphasized are freedom, honesty, social recognition, comfort, hedonism, and personal equity. The *top collectivist values* are harmony, face-saving, filial piety (respecting parents' wishes), equality in the distribution of rewards among peers (for the sake of group harmony), and fulfillment of others' needs (Triandis, 1995). For example, let's check out the following story: Larimer (2000) interviewed sports philosopher Dr. Mitsunori Urushibara to discuss the enormous pressure on Japanese athletes to bring home gold medals during the Olympics. According to Dr. Urushibara, a Japanese star swimmer was left off the current Olympic team because she lost in the last Olympics in 1998. According to him, the concept of team is compared to an old-fashioned village, where a mayor lords over the other villagers. As a communal-based relationship develops, the star swimmer should have known what to do for the village. She should bring honor and recognition to the village, not shame or failure. Her every success and failure reflects on the entire town or village. Because of the village mentality, failure is not an option. Failure or losing a game involves shame and insult of the entire family, clan, or village. It causes the entire village to "lose face" on the world stage.

Overall, researchers have found that different layers of individualism (e.g., emphasizing personal need in the United Kingdom or immediate family need in Sweden) and collectivism (e.g., emphasizing work group need in Singapore or caste need in India) exist in different cultures. For each culture, it is important to determine the group with which individuals have the closest identification (e.g., their family, their corporation, their religion). For example, for the Vietnamese, it is the extended family; for the Japanese, the corporation; and for the Irish, the Roman Catholic Church, and so on.

In addition, *gender differences* exist in adherence to individualistic or relational-based values. U.S. males generally have been found to adhere more to individualistic values than to communal-based values. U.S. females generally have been found to subscribe to communally oriented values. However, compared with females in other collectivistic societies, such as Italy and Mexico, U.S. females are still fairly individualistic in their orientation. In their gender identity formation, U.S. males emphasize self-identity separation and competition, whereas U.S. females emphasize other-identity support and relational connection. Gendered groups in many cultures appear to differ in their preferences for individualistic or collectivistic value tendencies.

Our discussion of value patterns appears to be on two opposite poles of a continuum. In reality, many of you probably hold an integrative set of values, such as I-identity *and* we-identity patterns across a diverse range of situations. The key is that the more you are attuned to analyzing your own value patterns and those of culturally different others, the more you increase your cultural value awareness quotient. In addition to the individualism-collectivism dimension, another important value dimension is the dimension of power distance.

In reviewing your answer from Know Thyself 3.1 to situation two about intercultural dating, if you checked (2a), your value pattern tends toward the small power distance pole. If you checked (2b), your value pattern tends toward the large power distance pole. The power distance value dimension refers to the extent to which individuals subscribe to the ideology of equal power distributions and the extent to which members adhere to unequal power distributions in an interaction episode, within an institution or within a society. Small power distance scores are found, for example, in Austria, Israel, Denmark, New Zealand, Ireland, Sweden, and Norway. Large power distance scores are found, for example, in Malaysia, Guatemala, Panama, the Philippines, Mexico, Venezuela, and Arab countries (Hofstede, 1991).

People in **small power distance cultures** tend to value equal power distributions, equal rights and relations, and equitable rewards and punishments on the basis of performance. People in **large power distance cultures** tend to accept unequal power distributions, hierarchical rights, asymmetrical role relations, and rewards and punishments based on age, rank, status, title, and seniority. For small power distance cultures, equality of personal rights represents an ideal to strive toward in a system. For large power distance cultures, respect for power hierarchy in any system is a fundamental way of life (see Table 3.2).

In *small power distance family situations*, children may contradict their parents and speak their mind. They are expected to show self-initiative and learn verbal articulateness and persuasion skills. Parents and children work together to achieve a democratic family decision-making process. In *large power distance family situations*, children are expected to obey their parents. Children are punished if they talk back or contradict their parents. The value of respect between unequal status members in the family is taught at a young age. Parents and grandparents assume the authority roles in the family decision-making process.

In *small power distance work situations*, power is evenly distributed. Subordinates expect to be consulted, and the ideal boss is a resourceful democrat. In *large power distance work situations*, the power of an organization is centralized at the upper-management level. Subordinates expect to be told what to do, and the ideal boss plays the benevolent autocratic role. Although the United States scores on the low side of power distance, it is not extremely low. Hofstede

Situations	Small P.D. Cultures	Large P.D. Cultures
General:	Emphasize Interpersonal Equality	Emphasize Status-Based Difference
Family:	Children May Contradict Parents	Children Should Obey Parents
Relationship:	Younger People Are Smart	Older People Are Wise
School:	Teachers Ask for Feedback	Teachers Lecture
Workplace:	Subordinates Expect Consultation	Subordinates Expect Guidance
Communication:	Informal Communication Patterns	Formal Communication Patterns
Personality Equivalence:	Horizontal Self	Vertical Self

(1991) explains that "U.S. leadership theories tend to be based on subordinates with medium-level dependence needs: not too high, not too low" (p. 42).

Small power distance during interaction can create misunderstanding and confusion. Negotiating power distance often leads to levels of anxiety and frustration. For example, suppose you have an intercultural teacher who wants you to call him by his first name. He is friendly and open to class discussion, and he does not mind sharing personal stories related to different intercultural topics. Perhaps you and the class feel very comfortable. But one day, when you get the result of a class project, you notice your team did not do well at all; your teacher made two full pages of evaluative notes commenting on the strengths and weaknesses of the project. You and your team get very upset with your teacher. Your reaction may be due to the negotiation of different power distance expectations. Believing that your teacher is so "friendly" and "easy to talk to," you'll also likely expect that he will go "easy" on the grading. These are preconceived stereotypes associated with small power distance value patterns. As soon as the teacher plays the large power distance role of an evaluative instructor (and from his perspective he is being a responsible teacher), it may leave you to think that this "friendly, open" teacher is actually quite "mean" and "picky" toward the entire group.

In reviewing your answer from Know Thyself 3.1 to situation three about "neighborhood conflict," if you checked (3a), your value pattern tends toward the weak end of the uncertainty avoidance continuum. If you checked (3b), your value pattern tends toward the strong end of the uncertainty avoidance continuum. Uncertainty avoidance refers to the extent to which members of a culture do not mind conflicts or uncertain situations and the extent to which they try to avoid those uncertain situations. **Weak** (or **low**) **uncertainty avoidance** cultures encourage risk taking and conflict-approaching modes. **Strong** (or **high**) **uncertainty avoidance** cultures prefer clear procedures and conflict-avoidance behaviors. Weak uncertainty avoidance scores, for example, are found in Singapore, Jamaica, Denmark, Sweden, Hong Kong, Ireland, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Strong uncertainty avoidance scores, for example, are found in Greece, Portugal, Guatemala, Uruguay, Belgium, El Salvador, and Japan (see Table 3.3).

Situations	Weak U.A. Cultures	Strong U.A. Cultures
General:	Uncertainty Is Valued	Uncertainty Is a Threat
Family:	Dynamic and Changing	Reinforce Family Rules
Relationship:	High Mobility	Low Mobility
School:	Challenges Are Welcome	Routines Are Welcome
Workplace:	Encourage Risk Taking	Encourage Clear Procedure
Communication:	Conflict Can Be Positive	Conflict Is Negative
Personality Equivalence:	High Tolerance for Ambiguity	Low Tolerance for Ambiguity

While members in weak uncertainty avoidance family situations prefer informal rules to guide their behavior, members in high uncertainty avoidance family situations tend to prefer formal structure and formal rules. Rules and laws are established to counteract uncertainties in social interaction. In *weak uncertainty avoidance family situations*, roles and behavioral expectations are actively negotiated. Children are given more latitude to explore their own values and morals. In *strong uncertainty avoidance family situations*, family roles are clearly established and family rules are expected to be followed closely. In *weak uncertainty avoidance work situations*, there is a greater tolerance of innovative ideas and behavior. Conflict is also viewed as a natural part of organizational productivity. In *strong uncertainty avoidance work situations*, there is a greater resistance to deviant and innovative ideas. Career mobility is high in weak uncertainty avoidance cultures, whereas career stability is a desired end goal in strong uncertainty avoidance cultures.

Hofstede (1991) uses the following statements to represent the basic characteristics of *strong uncertainty avoidance organizations:* (1) most organizations would be better off if conflict could be eliminated; (2) it is important for a manager to have at hand precise answers to most of the questions that subordinates may raise about their work; and (3) when the respective roles of the members of a department become complex, detailed job descriptions are essential. Members of strong uncertainty avoidance organizations tend to score high on these statements; members of weak uncertainty avoidance organizations tend to score low on them.

In reviewing your answer from Know Thyself 3.1 to situation four about toys preference, if you checked (4a), your value pattern tends toward the "feminine" value pole. If you checked (4b), your value pattern tends toward the "masculine" value pole. Distinctive female and male organizational behavior differences are found on the feminine-masculine value dimension. **Femininity** pertains to societies in which social gender roles are fluid and can overlap—that is, whatever a woman can do, a man can do; likewise, both women and men are supposed to be modest, observant, and tender, and they are concerned with the ecological quality of their environment (Hofstede, 1991). **Masculinity** pertains to societies in which social gender roles are clearly complementary and distinct. Namely, men are supposed to be assertive, masculine, tough, and focused on task-based accomplishment and material success, whereas women are supposed to be more modest, feminine, tender, and concerned with the quality of life (Hofstede, 1991).

"Feminine" cultures emphasize flexible sex role behaviors and "masculine" cultures emphasize complementary sex-role domains. Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands, Denmark, Costa Rica, Yugoslavia, and Finland, for example, have high femininity scores. Comparatively, Japan, Austria, Venezuela, Italy, Switzerland, Mexico, and Ireland, for example, have high masculinity scores. The United States ranks 15th on the masculine scale (i.e., closer to the masculine value pattern) out of the 50 countries and three regions studied (Hofstede, 1998).

Historical roots and family socialization processes concerning gender roles shape the development of the feminine-masculine dimension. In "feminine" families, both boys and girls learn to be caring and concerned with both facts and feelings. In "masculine" families, boys learn to be assertive, tough, and ambitious, but girls learn to be nurturing and relational-based. "Feminine" families stress the importance of quality-of-life issues. "Masculine" families are achievement and success oriented. A "feminine" workplace merges male and female roles flexibly. A "masculine" workplace differentiates male and female roles clearly. A "feminine" organization tends to emphasize quality of work life and family balance issues above and beyond business performance, whereas a "masculine" organization tends to emphasize the important role of business performance and gross profits (see Table 3.4). By implication, when one communicates in a "feminine" organizational culture, one should be sensitive to the flexible sex-role norms and roles in that workplace. When one communicates in a "masculine" organizational culture, one should be mindful of the norms and rules of complementary sex-role behaviors in the system. In working for a "feminine" organization, one should be more mindful of the importance of quality of work/life balance issues. In working for a "masculine" culture, one should focus more on business achievements and tangible results-based performance.

Cultural values are deposits of wisdom that are passed from one generation to the next. Simultaneously, they also can serve as cultural blinders to alternative ways of thinking, feeling, motivating, and relating. Even though cultural values serve many useful functions, such as those of identity maintenance, explanatory, and group solidarity functions, they also reinforce various habitual practices and norms of communicating.

Situations	"Feminine" Cultures	"Masculine" Cultures
General:	Flexible Sex Roles	Complementary Sex Roles
Family:	Emphasize Nurturance	Emphasize Achievement
Relationship:	Both Take Initiatives	Males Take Initiatives
School:	Social Adjustment Is Critical	Academic Performance Is Critical
Workplace:	Work in Order to Live	Live in Order to Work
Communication:	Fluid Gender Communication	"Masculine" Toughness and "Feminine" Softness
Personality Equivalence:	Overlapped Gender Roles	Clear Masculine-Feminine Gender Roles

Before proceeding to our discussion about the four additional value orientations, take a few moments to answer the questions in Know Thyself 3.3.

Know Thyself 3:3 Discovering Personal Value Orientations

Instructions: Read each set of statements and check (a), (b), or (c) in each set. The check means the statement sounds very much like your own value preference.

1. _____ a. I feel useless if I am not doing something constructive every day.
   _____ b. I prefer to enjoy life with my full five senses present in each waking moment.
   _____ c. Developing an inner understanding of who I am is more important than any other tangible accomplishment.
2. _____ a. I believe we, as human beings, have a great deal of decision-making power in how we shape and manage our life's destiny.
   _____ b. In my everyday life, I strive to live simply and flow with it, which is closer to the natural world.
   _____ c. I believe that no matter how much we try to plan and control things, a variety of forces operate beyond us and direct our destiny.
3. _____ a. I tend to keep lists of schedules and tasks that I need to accomplish today and tomorrow.
   _____ b. I tend to "go with the flow." Worrying about the past or future is a waste of my time and energy.
   _____ c. I tend to respect older people for their life experience and wisdom.
4. _____ a. I feel very uncomfortable when an acquaintance stands too close to me.
   _____ b. While I don't like people standing too close to me, I can tolerate it and not get too stressed out.
   _____ c. I actually enjoy people standing close to me. I can be quite at ease when conversing with them.

Scoring: Your answers to the above statements should increase your awareness of your personal value orientation preferences.

Scoring Interpretation:

1a = Doing	1b = Being	1c = Being-in-Becoming
2a = Controlling	2b = Harmonizing	2c = Yielding
3a = Future	3b = Present	3c = Past
4a = High Privacy	4b = Medium Privacy	4c = Low Privacy

You may want to circle and label all your answers. You will get an initial review of your personal value orientations.

Interpretation: Please continue to read your text under the "Additional Value Orientation Patterns" section for further interpretations.

On the basis of their research on Navajo Indians, Latino/as, and European Americans in the Southwest, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) proposed a set of universal questions that human beings consciously or unconsciously seek to answer. In addition, the famous cross-cultural anthropologist Edward T. Hall (1966, 1983) also emphasized the study of time and space in conjunction with understanding issues in culture and communication. These intercultural experts observed that human beings in all cultures face this set of common human problems or existential questions. Of the set of proposed questions, the following four questions are the most relevant to our understanding of complementary value patterns: (1) What do people consider as meaningful or worthwhile in their everyday activity? (activity value orientation); (2) What is the relationship between people and nature? (destiny, people-nature relation value orientation); (3) What is the time focus of human life? (temporal value orientation); and (4) How do people structure their everyday spatial arrangements? (spatial value orientation).

The value orientations approach assumes that the above questions are universal ones and that all human beings seek answers to these inquiries. The answers or solutions to these questions are available in all cultures. However, some cultures have a stronger preference for one particular set of answers than for others. The solutions represent the cumulative wisdom or survival mechanisms of a particular culture passed from one generation to the next. The range of potential solutions to these four questions is shown in Figure 3.1.

MEANING	Doing (Action-Oriented)	Being-in-Becoming (Inner Development)	Being (Emotional Vitality)
DESTINY	Controlling Nature (Mastering)	Harmony with Nature (Flow)	Subjugation to Nature (Yielding)
TIME	Future-Oriented (Schedule-Bound)	Present-Oriented (Here-and-Now)	Past-Oriented (Tradition-Bound)
SPACE	Privacy-Centered	Moderate Privacy	Communal-Centered

Source: Adapted from Strodtbeck (1961) and Kohls (1996)

What do people consider as meaningful—doing or being—in this particular cultural community? The activity orientation further asks: Is human activity in the culture focused on the doing, being, or being-in-becoming mode? The **"doing" solution** means achievement-oriented activities. The **"being" solution** means living with emotional vitality. The **"being-in-becoming"** mode means living with an emphasis on spiritual renewal and connection.

Middle-class African Americans, Asian Americans, Latino/a Americans, and European Americans focus on a "doing" or an achievement-oriented solution, but Native Americans tend to focus on the "being-in-becoming" mode (Sue & Sue, 1990). However, the "doing" preference is manifested quite differently among the European American, African American, Chicano/a, Asian American, and Latino/a American groups.

For example, a "doing" solution among African Americans and Chicano/as means to fight against adversity and to combat racism through social achievements and activism for the good of the community. The "doing" mode among Asian and Latino/a immigrants in the United States is typically associated with working hard and making money to fulfill basic obligations toward family and extended family networks. A "doing" mode among European Americans is the focus on tangible accomplishments for personal satisfaction.

Furthermore, traditional Africans and African Americans also display a "being" solution for living. They attach positive meanings to a sense of aliveness, emotional vitality, and openness of feelings. African American culture is infused with "a spirit (a knowledge that there is more to life than sorrow, which will pass) and a renewal in sensuousness, joy, and laughter. This symbol has its roots in African culture and expresses the soul and rhythm of that culture in America" (Hecht, Collier, & Ribeau, 1993, p. 103). Likewise, Latino/a Americans emphasize the "being" vitality solution. Many traditional Latino/as subscribe to the "being" mode of activity, which means enjoying the moment to the fullest. Shared celebrations and recreation with close friends and family members often form a sacred part of a Latino/a's lifestyle.

For many traditional Native American groups, the preferred choice is the "being-in-becoming" mode. Many Native American cultures are oriented toward religious and spiritual preservation. They are concerned with spiritual well-being more than material well-being. Spiritual self-renewal and enrichment are much more important to them than tangible gains and losses. It is also critical to remember that there are 505 federally recognized tribes with 252 different languages. Because each tribe has its own traditions, beliefs, and values, the term "Native American" is a broad-based one.

The destiny value orientation asks this question: Is the relationship between people and the natural (or supernatural) environment one of control, harmony, or subordination? Many middle-class European Americans tend to believe in mastery and control over the natural environment. By *controlling their environment*, they can also increase their productivity and efficiency in accumulating material security and personal comfort. If something goes wrong in a system or organization, they believe they can fix it, change it, or master it. For example, when seven crew members perished in the space shuttle Columbia disaster, individuals who endorse a strong "controlling" solution believed that the disaster could have been prevented if only the mechanical flaw were detected earlier and fixed accordingly.

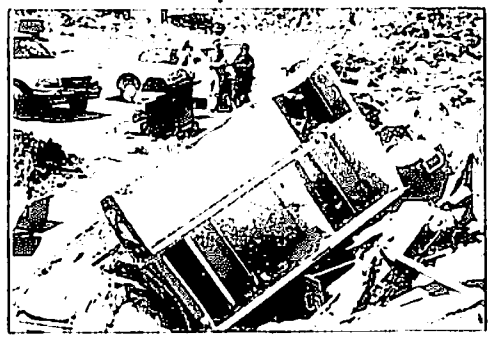
Buddhist cultures, such as those of Bhutan, Laos, Thailand, and Tibet, tend to emphasize strongly the *harmony-with-nature* or *"flowing" value solution*. Their outlook on life tends to emphasize spiritual transformation or enlightenment rather than material gain. Many ethnocultural groups (such as African, Asian, Latino/a, and Native American) in the United States tend to believe in living harmoniously with nature. Many Native American groups, for example, believe that what is human, what is nature, and what is spirit are all extensions of one another. We should learn to live harmoniously with one another because we are all creatures of the same universe.

In contrast, many Polynesian cultures, Middle Eastern cultures, and Indian cultures subscribe to the *subjugation-to-nature* or *"yielding" value solution*. Natural disasters such as earthquakes, volcano eruptions, and floods may have contributed to their belief that nature is a powerful force that is beyond the control of individuals (see Snapshot 3.1). The best way to deal with nature is to pay respect to it and act humbly in the face of cataclysmic external forces. Individuals who endorse a strong "yielding" value solution would tend to believe that the Columbia tragedy was predestined and the fate of the seven crew members was sealed from the beginning. Or, think of fires that burned in Southern California during the Fall of 2003. They destroyed over a million acres of land, and over 3,500 houses were burned down or destroyed. But some families and individuals refused to leave their property despite being in danger. Some of them believed they were in the hand of fate or "Mother Nature." All together, 24 lives were lost in those raging fires ("San Diego Wildfires," 2004).

After experiencing centuries of tragedies, wars, and natural disasters, generations of people who have lived in similar disaster-prone cultural communities tend to be more fatalistic in their cultural beliefs. For them, the destiny of life is to "submit" to the supernatural forces that shape their life cycles. These individuals may try their best to meet

certain life goals and dreams; however, in the back in their minds, they also believe the power of a supernatural force or fate can strike anytime, anywhere. One current example is people of the swamplands in Louisiana. According to Rick Bragg (2002), generations of families have lived on a tiny island in Louisiana, the Isle de Jean Charles. Currently, only 230 individuals remain there because the surrounding water is swallowing this island. It is sinking, and people have watched water rising onto gardens, baseball sandlots, and backyards. Residents, however, have no intention of leaving. They would rather live ankle deep in the muddy waters than abandon a place they have been living in for generations. They would rather yield to Mother Nature and let fate take over than use a more controlling or action-oriented attitude by moving away from their beloved community.

Snapshot 3.1



When tornadoes hit, it is difficult to control "Mother Nature."

Take another example: East Indian culture, which emphasizes the *law of karma*. **Karma** involves fatalism, which has shaped the Indian philosophical view of life over the centuries. In its simplest form, the law of karma states that happiness or sorrow is the predetermined effect of actions committed by the person either in a present life or in one of his or her numerous past lives. Things do not happen because we make them happen. Things happen because they are *destined* to happen. We can only try so much, and then we should "yield" to our fate or karma.

The implication of this value orientation is that although some individuals believe in gaining control over their environment, others believe in the importance of living harmoniously or submissively in relationship to their natural habitat. People who tend to believe in controlling nature would have a stronger sense of the "self-over-nature" approach in dealing with their surroundings. People who tend to subscribe to the "self-with-nature" or "self-under-nature" viewpoint would have a more harmonious or fatalistic approach in dealing with their outer surroundings.

When individuals from different "people-nature" solutions come together, intercultural problems may arise. Individuals from one cultural group are eager to "fix" the environment with huge projects by building dams, levees, and reservoirs, but another cultural group may be deeply offended because the action may provoke the anger of the spirits that inhabit the river being dammed or the terrain being inundated. Flexible adjustment and cultural sensitivity are needed for both cultural parties to reach common ground in their collaborative efforts.

The time-sense orientation asks this question: Is the temporal focus in the culture based on the future, present, or past? The **future-oriented time sense** means planning for desirable short- to medium-term developments and setting out clear objectives to realize them. The **present-oriented time sense** means valuing the here and now, especially the interpersonal relationships that are unfolding currently. The **past-oriented time sense** means honoring historic and ancestral ties plus respecting the wisdom of the elders.

Those who subscribe to the future value solution (e.g., middle-class European Americans) tend to deemphasize the past, move forward boldly to the immediate future, and strongly emphasize the importance of "futurism" (e.g., the glorification of the youth culture and devaluation of aging). Latino/a Americans tend to have a strong affective response to the present experience. Asian immigrants and Native Americans tend to revere the past.

Many Africans and African Americans tend to embrace a combination of past-present value solution. For many Africans and African Americans, people and activities in the present assume a higher priority than an external clock schedule (Asante & Asante, 1990). As Pennington (1990) observed, "Time is conceived [for Africans] only as it is related to events, and it must be experienced in order to make sense or to become real. The mathematical division of time observed by Westerners has little relevance for Africans" (p. 131). In traditional African societies, people tend to emphasize that something is experienced only at the present moment and that the past and the ancestors are indispensable in giving meaning to one's present existence. Likewise, the larger French culture has been classified as reflecting the "past-present" value solutions. For African Americans and the French, the past looms as a large historical canvas with which to understand the present.

In addition, for many Vietnamese American immigrants, their past profoundly influences their present identities. Many first-generation Vietnamese Americans believe in the Buddhist precepts of karma and rebirth. They believe that an individual life cycle is predetermined by good and evil deeds from a previous life. Their hope is to achieve eventual spiritual enlightenment. Oftentimes, ancestors are worshiped for four generations after death.

Many Mexican Americans, in contrast, prefer to experience life and people around them fully in the present. This outlook may be derived

from the influence of a traditional cultural belief in the concept of "limited good." In fact, this is the belief that "there is only so much good in the world and, therefore, only so much good is possible in any one person's life" (Locke, 1992, p. 140). Experiencing the rhythms of life in the present and temporarily forgetting about the day's worries is a learned cultural art. Living life fully and relating to family and friends through meaningful connections make intuitive sense to many traditionally oriented Mexicans or Mexican Americans (Hecht, Ribeau, & Sedano, 1990).

A potential clash can develop between members of business groups with different time orientations, for example, between members who favor a "past-present" focus and members who favor a "future" focus. Business members from the first group want to view everything from the company's history and tradition, but members from the latter group want to bypass the past and plan ahead efficiently for an immediate future. Individuals with a "past-present" focus have a long-term view of time, whereas individuals with a "future" focus have a short-term to medium-term view of time.

Space and time are boundary regulation issues because we, as humans, are territorial animals. Our primary identities are tied closely with our claimed territories. The spatial value orientation question asks: What is the spatial value emphasis in this particular culture—*high spatial privacy, moderate,* or *low*? On a psychological level, this value orientation also addresses the issue of cross-cultural psychological privacy.

When our territories (e.g., extending from our home down to our personal space) are "invaded," our identities perceive threats and experience emotional vulnerability. Protective territory or sacred space satisfies our needs for human security and inclusion. *Proxemic studies* examine the functions and regulation of interpersonal space in different cultures. Claiming a space for oneself means injecting one's sense of identity or personhood into a place. For instance, we often use object markers, such as a book, coat, and backpack, to mark or claim our favorite chair or table in a classroom, coffee shop, movie theater, or library.

What constitutes appropriate personal distance for one cultural group can be perceived as crowding by another group. The average conversational distance or personal space for European Americans is approximately 20 inches—which means relatively high spatial privacy need. For some Latin American and Caribbean cultural groups (e.g., Costa Ricans, Puerto Ricans, Bahamians, and Jamaicans), however, the average personal space is approximately 14 to 15 inches. For the Saudi, the ideal conversational distance between two individuals is approximately 9 to 10 inches—which means relatively low spatial privacy need.

When Arabs overstep the personal spatial boundary of European Americans, they are often considered rude and intrusive. However, Arab negotiators frequently find European Americans to be aloof, cold, and standoffish. Personal space often serves as a hidden dimension of intercultural misunderstanding and discomfort (Hall, 1966). For high spatial privacy people, the need for a well-defined personal space is strong. This personal space marks a protective territory (see more detailed discussions in Chapter 8), which they will defend strongly. Low spatial privacy people may have come from a family or cultural region that is high in population density. Thus, they are used to "crowding" or spatial intrusion in social interaction settings. Although members of all cultures engage in the claiming of space for themselves or for the collective effort, the experience of spaciousness and crowdedness and the perception of space violation vary from one culture to the next. Concepts of territory and identity are intertwined because we usually invest lots of time, emotion, energy, and self-worth in places that we claim as our primary territories.

Spatial regulation is an unconscious nonverbal behavior that reflects larger, underlying cultural values. However, different spatial privacy needs may cause more unintentional culture clashes because of their pervasive influence in our everyday lives. From proxemic conversational distance issues to a powerful means of marking ingroup and outgroup boundaries, these spatial privacy needs all reflect personal to communal territorial claims and defensiveness. In Chapter 8, we will take up some of these fascinating nonverbal concepts. Taken together, we believe that these four additional value orientations—meaning, destiny, time, and space—all shape our outlook on intercultural verbal and nonverbal communication.

Beyond cultural-ethnic group membership values, individuals develop distinctive personal identities due to unique life histories, experiences, and personality traits. We develop our personal identities—our conception as a unique individual or a "unique self"—via our observations of role models around us and our own drives, relational experiences, cultural experiences, and identity construction. To examine individualism-collectivism on an individual level of analysis, Markus and Kitayama (1991) coined the terms *independent construal of self* and *interdependent construal of self*. Before you read on, take a few minutes and fill out the brief survey in Know Thyself 3.4. The survey is designed to find out how you generally think of yourself and your connection with members of groups to which you belong.

Know Thyself 3.4 Assessing Your Independent Versus Interdependent Self-Construal Traits

Instructions: Recall how you generally feel and act in various situations. Let your first inclination be your guide and circle the number in the scale that best reflects your overall impression of yourself. The following scale is used for each item:

4 = YES! = *strongly agree*—IT'S ME!
3 = yes = *moderately agree*—it's kind of like me
2 = no = *moderately disagree*—it's kind of not me
1 = NO! = *strongly disagree*—IT'S NOT ME!

	YES!	yes	no	NO!
1. Feeling emotionally connected with others is an important part of my self-definition.	4	3	2	1
2. I believe I should be judged on my own accomplishments.	4	3	2	1
3. My family and close relatives are important to who I am.	4	3	2	1
4. I value my personal privacy above everyone else's.	4	3	2	1
5. I often consult my close friends for advice before acting.	4	3	2	1
6. I prefer to be self-reliant rather than depend on others.	4	3	2	1
7. My close friendship groups are important to my well-being.	4	3	2	1
8. I often assume full responsibility for my own actions.	4	3	2	1
9. I enjoy depending on others for emotional support.	4	3	2	1
10. My personal identity is very important to me.	4	3	2	1

Scoring: Add up the scores on all the even-numbered items and you will find your independent self-construal score. *Independent Self-Construal* score: _____. Add up the scores on all the odd-numbered items and you will find your interdependent self- construal score. *Interdependent Self-Construal* score: _____.

Interpretation: Scores on each personality dimension can range from 5 to 20; the higher the score, the more independent and/or interdependent you are. If the scores are similar on both personality dimensions, you are a biconstrual personality individual.

Reflection Probes: Take a moment to think of the following questions: Have your self-construals changed throughout the years? What factors shape your independent or interdependent self-construals? Do you like your own independent and/or interdependent self-construals? Why or why not?

Source: Scale adapted from Gudykunst et al. (1996).

The terms *independent self-construal* and *interdependent self-construal* (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 1994) refer to the degree to which people conceive of themselves as separate or connected to others, respectively. The **independent construal of self** involves the view that an individual is a unique entity with an individuated repertoire of feelings, cognitions, and motivations. Individuals with high independent self-construals tend to view themselves as distinct and unique from others and from the context. They use their own abilities and ideas as motivational bases rather than the thoughts and feelings of others. People who have high independent self-construals value personal achievement, self-direction, and competition. When communicating with others, high independents believe in striving for personal goals, being in control of their environment, and expressing their needs assertively. Independent self-construal types tend to predominate in individualistic cultures or ethnic groups (Gudykunst et al., 1996).

The **interdependent construal of self,** on the other hand, involves an emphasis on the importance of fitting in with relevant others and ingroup connectedness (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). People who have high interdependent self-construals strive to fit in with others, act in a proper manner, value conformity, and emphasize relational connections. When communicating with others, individuals with interdependent self-construals aim for relational harmony, avoid direct conflicts, and interact in a diplomatic, tactful manner. Interdependent self-construal types tend to predominate in collectivistic cultures or ethnic groups (Gudykunst et al., 1996).

Independent-self individuals tend to be found in individualistic societies, and interdependent-self individuals tend to be located in collectivistic societies. People of independent self-construal value the ideals, goals, motivations, and identity negotiation process of an "unencumbered self." In comparison, people of interdependent self-construal value the ideals, goals, motivations, and emotions of a "connected self." This connected self binds the person to his family, extended family, reference group, neighborhood, village, or caste group. While the independent self emphasizes the basis of the individual as the fundamental unit of interaction, the interdependent self emphasizes relationship or the ingroup as the basic focus of social interaction.

Horizontal versus Vertical Cultures

Before you continue reading, fill out the Know Thyself 3.5 assessment. The survey assesses your horizontal versus vertical personality tendency. Parallel to the above self-construal idea, we can examine power distance from an individual level of analysis. Individuals and

their behaviors can be conceptualized as moving toward either the "horizontal self" or the "vertical self" end of the spectrum.

Know Thyself 3.5 Assessing Your Horizontal Versus Vertical Personality Traits

Instructions: Recall how you generally feel and act in various situations. Let your first inclination be your guide and circle the number in the scale that best reflects your overall impression of yourself. The following scale is used for each item:

4 = YES! = *strongly agree*—IT'S ME!
3 = yes = *moderately agree*—it's kind of like me
2 = no = *moderately disagree*—it's kind of not me
1 = NO! = *strongly disagree*—IT'S NOT ME!

	YES!	yes	no	NO!
1. I generally obey my parents' rules without question.	4	3	2	1
2. I believe in respecting people's abilities—not their age or rank.	4	3	2	1
3. I believe teachers should be respected.	4	3	2	1
4. I respect people who are competent—not their roles or titles.	4	3	2	1
5. I believe people who are older are usually wiser.	4	3	2	1
6. I believe all people should have equal opportunities to compete for what they want.	4	3	2	1
7. I think older siblings should take care of their younger siblings.	4	3	2	1
8. I believe families should encourage their children to challenge their parents' opinions.	4	3	2	1
9. I value the advice of my parents or older relatives.	4	3	2	1
10. I respect parents who encourage their children to speak up.	4	3	2	1

Scoring: Add up the scores on all the even-numbered items and you will find your horizontal self score. *Horizontal Self* score: _____. Add up the scores on all the odd numbered items and you will find your vertical self score. *Vertical Self* score: _____.

Interpretation: Scores on each personality dimension can range from 5 to 20; the higher the score, the more horizontal and/or vertical you are. If the scores are similar on both personality dimensions, you have both personality traits.

Reflection Probes: Think of your own family system some more. Do your parents encourage you to speak up and express your emotions? Do they enforce family rules flexibly or strictly? Do you like all the family rules? Or do you rebel against them? Discuss your family socialization experience and family rules with a classmate.

Individuals who endorse **horizontal self-construal** prefer informal-symmetrical interactions (i.e., equal treatment) regardless of people's position, status, rank, or age. They prefer to approach an intercultural problem directly and use impartial standards to resolve the problem. In contrast, individuals who emphasize **vertical self-construal** prefer formal-asymmetrical interactions (i.e., differential treatment) with due respect to people's position, titles, life experiences, and age. They apply a "case by case" standard to assess the right or wrong behaviors in accordance with the roles occupied in the hierarchical network.

The different power distance personality types mean that people will seek different kinds of relationships, and when possible, "convert" a relationship to the kind with which they are most comfortable. Thus, a professor from a horizontal-based self-construal may convert a professor-student relationship to a friend-friend relationship, which may well confuse a student from a vertical-based self-construal (Triandis, 1995), who expects a larger power distance in professor-student interaction.

Let's check out whether you prefer to control your destiny, or you yield to your fate. Fill out the brief assessment in Know Thyself 3.6.

Know Thyself 3.6 Assessing Your Internal Versus External Locus of Control

Instructions: Recall how you generally feel and act in various situations. Let your first inclination be your guide and circle the number in the scale that best reflects your overall impression of yourself. The following scale is used for each item:

4 = YES! = *strongly agree*—IT'S ME!
3 = yes = *moderately agree*—it's kind of like me
2 = no = *moderately disagree*—it's kind of not me
1 = NO! = *strongly disagree*—IT'S NOT ME!

	YES!	yes	no	NO!
1. I believe I'm the master of my own destiny.	4	3	2	1
2. I generally yield to my luck or fate in doing things.	4	3	2	1
3. I am driven by my own motivation and effort.	4	3	2	1
4. "Mother Nature" is usually in charge, and wins.	4	3	2	1
5. I am in charge of my own future and planning.	4	3	2	1
6. I believe it is difficult to transcend fate.	4	3	2	1
7. I believe personal willpower can conquer everything.	4	3	2	1

Know Thyself 3.6 Assessing Your Internal versus External Locus of Control (*continued*)

8. I do my best and then let fate take over.	4	3	2	1
9. I believe I have complete control of what will happen tomorrow.	4	3	2	1
10. Life is unpredictable—the best we can do is to flow with our fate.	4	3	2	1

Scoring: Add up the scores on all the odd-numbered items and you will find your internal locus of control score. *Internal Locus of Control* score: _____. Add up the scores on all the even-numbered items and you will find your external locus of control score. *External Locus of Control* score: _____.

Interpretation: Scores on each locus of control can range from 5 to 20; the higher the score, the more internal and/or external you are. If the scores are similar on both personality dimensions, you subscribe to both personality traits.

Reflection Probes: Think of the major decisions in your life (e.g., where to go to college, where to live, buying a car, or whom to date), and reflect on the following questions: Where did you learn your self-determination attitude? Or where did you learn your yielding attitude? How do you think your locus of control attitude influences your everyday decision making? What do you think are some of the strengths and limitations of being a high-internal locus of control person or a high-external locus of control person?

Locus of control reflects the destiny value orientation (control vs. yielding) on the cultural level. In terms of the locus of control personality dimension, there are two personality types: internal and external (Rotter, 1966). Internal locus of control individuals have a strong mastery-over-nature tendency, and external locus of control individuals have a strong yielding-fatalistic tendency.

Individuals with **internal locus of control** tend to emphasize free will, individual motivation, personal effort, and personal responsibility over the success or failure of an assignment. In comparison, individuals with **external locus of control** emphasize external determinism, karma, fate, and external forces shaping a person's life happenings and events. Internal locus of control is parallel to the notion of mastery over nature (i.e., controlling value), and external locus of control is parallel to the notion of subordination to nature (i.e., yielding value). Internal-locus individuals believe in the importance of free will and internal control of one's fate. External-locus individuals believe in trying their best and then letting fate take over.

Some individuals plan their actions in terms of the internal locus of control tendency, and others contemplate their life events along the external locus of control tendency. Perceived control of one's destiny exists in varying degrees in an individual, across situations and across cultures (Rotter, 1966). In terms of gender socialization differences, for

example, males tend to endorse internal locus of control, and females tend to endorse external locus of control in a wide variety of cultures (Smith, Dugan, & Trompenaars, 1996). The translation is that males in many cultures are more motivated by internal drives and a doing/fixing approach, and females tend to be more contextual and being-oriented in their attempt to flow with their external environment.

To engage in competent identity-support work, we have to increase our awareness and accuracy levels in assessing others' group membership and personal identity issues. There are many more identities (e.g., e.net, social class, sexual orientation, age, disability) that people bring into an interaction. However, for the purposes of this interculturally focused book, we shall emphasize cultural and ethnic identity issues and their relationship to communication.

This chapter has reviewed eight value patterns that we (the authors) believe can explain some major differences and similarities that exist between clusters of cultures on a global level. The four value dimension patterns are individualism-collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, and feminine-masculine. The additional four value orientations are meaning, destiny, time, and space value patterns.

We have also identified distinctive personality types that carry their own unique stamps in their communication styles. We will be using these eight cultural value patterns and some of the unique personality styles to discuss and explain a variety of intercultural communication behaviors and relationships in the next few chapters.

To start off, to be a flexible intercultural communicator at the values clarification level, here are some recommended guidelines and skills:

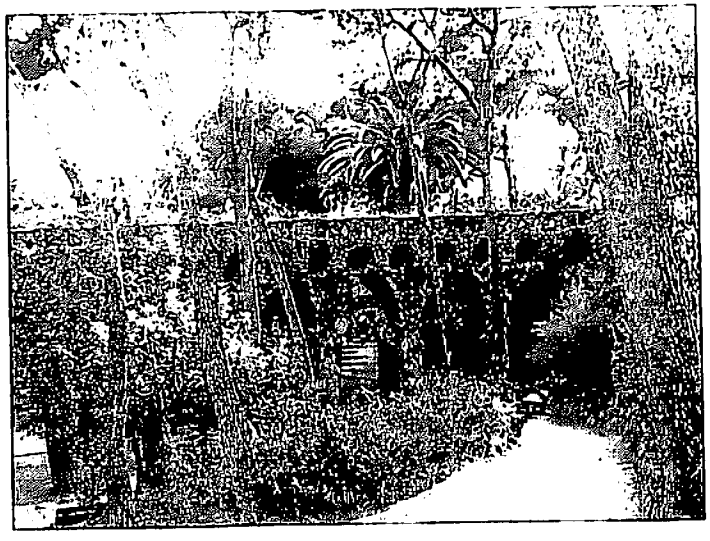
> When entering a new culture, learn to practice the mindful O-D-I-S method. The mindful O-D-I-S method refers to mindful observation, description, interpretations, and suspending ethnocentric evaluations.
>
> Rather than engaging in snapshot, negative evaluations, O-D-I-S analysis is a slowing-down process that involves learning to *observe* attentively—the verbal *and* nonverbal signals that are being exchanged in the communication process. Skipping the mindful observation process when confronted with different patterns of behavior often leads to biased interpretations and ineffective intercultural communication.
>
> After patient mindful observation, we should then try to *describe* mentally and in behaviorally specific terms (e.g., "She

is not maintaining eye contact with me when speaking to me" or "He is standing about six inches from me while we're conversing") what is going on in the intercultural interaction. Description is a clear report of what we have observed, including a minimum of distortion. It also means refraining from adding any evaluative meaning to the observed behavior.

Next, we should generate *multiple interpretations* (e.g., "Maybe from her cultural value framework, eye contact avoidance is a respectful behavior; from my cultural perspective, this is considered a disrespectful sign") to make sense of the behavior we are observing and describing. Interpretation is what we think about what we see and hear. The important thing to keep in mind is that there can be multiple interpretations (e.g., "she is shy," "she is just doing her cultural thing," or "she is being disrespectful") for any description of an observed behavior.

We may decide to respect the differences and *suspend* our ethnocentric evaluation. We may also decide to engage in open-ended evaluation (e.g., "I understand that eye contact avoidance may be a cultural habit of this person, but I still don't like it because I feel uncomfortable in such interaction") by acknowledging our discomfort with unfamiliar behaviors. Evaluations are positive or negative judgments (e.g., "I like the fact that she is keeping part of her cultural norms" or "I don't like it because I've been raised in a culture that values the use of direct eye contact") concerning the interpretation(s) we attribute to the behavior.

Additionally, learn to observe a wide range of people in a wide range of situations in the new cultural setting before making any premature generalizations about the people's behavior in that culture. For example, we may want to observe a wide variety of people (and in a wide range of contexts) from this cultural group to check if eye contact avoidance is a cultural custom or an individual trait.



Chapter Outline

Family Socialization and Interaction Patterns

Gender Socialization and Interaction Patterns

Cultural Identity Conceptualization

Ethnic Identity Conceptualization

Defining Acculturation and Enculturation

Social Identity

Systems-Level Factors

Individual-Level Factors

Interpersonal-Ethnic Media-Level Factors

Ethnic-Cultural Identity Typological Model

Racial-Ethnic Identity Development Model

> What does it mean to be Black? . . . My mom worked long hours and she worked so very hard all her life so that she could send me to a private school. I did in fact have some Black friends but not as many as I would have liked. Does this mean I don't consider myself Black? NO! Not at all. I see myself as Black and I love being Black. But I don't know much of Black history. What I know is just the surface, and what I NEED to know is the core. What makes me sad is, I am considered to be the White girl in my family. It saddens me because they don't know my struggle deep inside. Yes, I wish I were strong in being more "ethnic," but I'm not and that scares me. Am I blind? Do I not have a place in this society?
>
> —Lanitra, *College Student*

> I was quite naive growing up and not knowing all the hardships of my ethnic and cultural background. After going to college, I started immersing myself in learning about my ethnic traditions and history and getting to know myself more. I have now taken courses that deal with Chicanos and Mexican Americans. I have just now begun to accept the balance between the two. I find myself calling myself an Americanized Mexican.
>
> —Rafael, *College Student*

ndividuals acquire and develop their identities through interaction with others in their cultural group. Through interaction with others on a daily basis, we acquire the meanings, values, norms, and styles of communicating. The above two scenarios highlight two very common questions we ask ourselves: Who am I? and Who are you? The struggle to answer both questions is profoundly influenced by our cultural socialization, family socialization, and acculturation and identity change processes. For many, the result is a struggle between an individual's perception of being "different" coupled with the inability to blend with both the mainstream culture and the ethnic heritage group. Although culture plays the larger role in shaping our view of ourselves, it is through multiple channels that we acquire and develop our own ethics, values, norms, and ways of behaving in our everyday lives. For example, through the direct channel of family, values and norms are transmitted and passed on from one generation to the next. Parents teach their children about right and wrong and teach acceptable or unacceptable ways of behaving through the words they use and through their role-modeling actions.

This chapter is organized into five main sections. We first explore the theme of family and gender socialization. We then discuss the content and salience (i.e., degree of importance) of cultural-ethnic identity issues. Third, we address the underlying factors that influence immigrants' acculturation process. We then explain two ethnic identity development models. Finally, we offer recaps and checkpoints for increasing your cultural self-awareness and cultural other-validation skills.

hildren in their early years internalize what to value and devalue, what to appreciate and reject, and what goals are important in their culture through the influence of their family system. Additionally, teenagers and young adults may be influenced, to a certain extent, by

the pervasive messages from the popular culture and the contemporary media scenes. It is through pervasive cultural value patterns—as filtered through family and media systems—that persons define meanings and values of identities, such as ethnicity, gender, and identity types.

The term **identity** is used in this chapter as the reflective self-conception or self-image that we each derive from family, gender, cultural, ethnic, and individual socialization processes. It is acquired via our interaction with others in particular cultural scenes. Identity refers to our reflective views of ourselves and of other perceptions of our self-images—at both the social identity and the personal identity levels. Before you continue reading, fill out the Know Thyself 4.1 survey. The survey assesses how much your social and personal identities influence your everyday communication.

Know Thyself 4.1 Assessing the Importance of Your Social and Personal Identities

Instructions: The following items describe how people think about themselves and communicate in various situations. Let your first inclination be your guide and circle the number in the scale that best reflects your overall value. The following scale is used for each item:

4 = SA = *Strongly Agree*
3 = MA = *Moderately Agree*
2 = MD = *Moderately Disagree*
1 = SD = *Strongly Disagree*

	SA	MA	MD	SD
1. My group memberships (e.g., ethnic or gender) are important when I communicate with others.	4	3	2	1
2. My personality usually comes across loud and clear when I communicate.	4	3	2	1
3. I am aware of my own ethnic background or social roles when I communicate.	4	3	2	1
4. My personality has a stronger influence on my everyday interaction than any social roles.	4	3	2	1
5. I am aware of ethnic or gender role differences when I communicate.	4	3	2	1
6. I tend to focus on the unique characteristics of the individual when I communicate.	4	3	2	1
7. Some aspects of my ethnic or social roles always shape my communication.	4	3	2	1
8. I believe I can make a clear distinction between people's personal identity and social identity.	4	3	2	1

Know Thyself 4.1 Assessing the Importance of your Social and Personal Identities (continued)

9. I prefer to see people as people and not in social role categories.	4	3	2	1
10. My unique self is more important to me than my ethnic or cultural role self.	4	3	2	1

Scoring: Add up the scores on all the odd-numbered items and you will find your social identity score. *Social Identity* score: _____. Add up the scores on all the even- numbered items and you will find your personal identity score. *Personal Identity* score: _____.

Interpretation: Scores on each identity dimension can range from 5 to 20; the higher the score, the more social and/or personal you are. If all the scores are similar on both identity dimensions, you emphasize the importance of both social and personal identities in your everyday communication process.

Reflection Probes: In the first encounter with a stranger, do you usually try to understand the social role identity or personal identity of the stranger? Why? Do you primarily share your social role identity or personal role identity information with a stranger? What factors (e.g., work situations, classroom situations, or attraction) usually prompt you to exchange either more social role data or more personal identity data in your communication process?

Social identities can include cultural or ethnic membership identity, gender identity, sexual orientation identity, social class identity, age identity, disability identity, or professional identity. **Personal identities,** however, can include any unique attributes that we associate with our individuated self in comparison with those of others. In collectivistic group-oriented cultures, for example, people may be more concerned with communal or social-based identity issues. In individualistic cultures, however, people may be more concerned with individuation-based personal identity issues. Regardless of whether we may or may not be conscious of these identities, they influence our everyday behaviors in a generalized and particularized manner.

In this section, we explore some important ideas about family and gender socialization processes. In the next section, we discuss cultural and ethnic identity formation processes.

Family is the fundamental communication system in all cultures. People in every culture are born into a network of family relationships. First and foremost, we acquire some of the beliefs and values of our culture via our primary family system. The rules that we acquire in relating to our parents, grandparents, siblings, and extended families contribute to the initial blueprint of our formation of role, gender, and relational identities.

For example, through our family socialization process, we learn to deal with boundary issues, such as space and time. We also learn to deal with authority issues, such as gender-based decision-making activities (e.g., who did what household chores) and power dynamics (e.g., which parents or siblings held what power status). We also acquire the scripts for emotional expressiveness or restraint, as well as for nonverbal eloquence or stillness within our family system.

Families can be defined in many ways. Among them are traditional family, extended family, blended family, and single family. The **traditional family,** for example, consists of a husband-wife, father-mother pair with a child or children, a father working outside the home, and a homemaker-mother. In the United States, the traditional family is never the standard except for upper- and middle-class white heterosexuals. Historically, most U.S. families have had at least two wage earners. The **extended family,** on the other hand, consists of extended kinship groups, such as grandparents, aunt and uncles, cousins, and nieces and nephews. For example, Native Americans, Hawaiians, and Filipino families often include extended family networks that contain several households. These integrative households include parents, children, aunts, uncles, cousins, and grandparents. The **blended family** refers to the merging of different family systems from previous marriages. The **single family** refers to a household headed by a single parent. In many U.S. households, parents are single, and men and women can be single parents to their children.

We can also think of two possible family types in the family decision-making process: the personal family system and the positional family system. Some of the major characteristics of the **personal family system** include the emphasis on personal, individualized meanings, negotiable roles between parents and child, and the emphasis on interactive discussions within the family (Bernstein, 1971; Haslett, 1989). Democratic families try to emphasize different family members as unique individuals. Democratic parents are consultative in their decision-making process. They hold family meetings to solicit input in major family decision issues. They are explicit in their communication styles, and they encourage experimentation and individual initiative in their children. They try to foster individualistic and small power distance value patterns in the family system. They act more like friends to their children than authority figures (Guerrero Andersen, & Afifi, 2001).

Comparatively, the **positional family system** emphasizes communal meanings, ascribed roles and statuses between parents and child, and family rule conformity. Positional families emphasize the importance of holding the hierarchical power structure in the family exchange process. Individuals have different status-based authority and responsibilities in a positional family system. Authoritarian parents, from a positional family framework, are demanding and directive. They expect their children to obey family rules without question. They do not believe in explaining the reasons behind their disciplinary actions to their children (Guerrero et al., 2001, p. 304). Many positional family systems exist in collectivistic, large power distance cultural regions (see Table 4.1).

Personal Family System	Positional Family System
Individualized Meanings	Communal Meanings
Democratic Decision Making	Authoritarian Decision Making
Negotiable Roles	Conventional Roles
Children Can Question	Children Should Obey
Small Power Distance	Large Power Distance

Some of the collectivistic, large power distance themes in many Latino/a American family structures are *familism, personalism, hierarchy, spiritualism,* and *fatalism* (Ho, 1987). Briefly, **familism** refers to the deep commitment to family ties in the Latino/a family system. An individual's sense of self-worth and security is essentially drawn from the support of his or her family. The family is the strongest glue that holds together all social activities. During good times or crises, the family members' welfare and also the family name and reputation should always come first. **Personalism** refers to the inner qualities of a person that earn respect and social recognition from others. Maintaining self-respect and upholding one's dignity are essential to a Latino/a self-conception and self-presentation. *Hierarchy* refers to generational hierarchy and gender role hierarchy. **Generational hierarchy** means showing respect for older individuals in the family—parents for grandparents, children for parents, and younger siblings for older siblings. **Gender hierarchy** means traditional status role differences between males and females—with the male playing the dominant breadwinning role and the female playing the household nurturing role. The term *hierarchy* also applies to distinctive social class difference and differential treatments between upper-class families and lower-class families. In many societies, social class differences outweigh many other factors in shaping one's communication style and outlook. **Spiritualism** refers to the religious and spiritual convictions of many Latino/a Americans. Last, **fatalism** refers to the "being" attitude of some Latino/a Americans in perceiving their external environment with acceptance and resignation.

As a result of our interaction with our family and peers, we directly and indirectly acquire the various value patterns in our culture.

Although no single family can transmit all the value patterns in a culture, families who share similar cultural and ethnic ties do have some family value patterns in common. Family serves as the primary value socialization channel that creates a lasting imprint in our communicative behavior. It also cues our perceptions and interpretations concerning appropriate gendered-based interpersonal behaviors.

The gender identities we learned as children affect our communication with others. They affect how we define ourselves, how we encode and decode gendered messages, how we develop intimate relationships, and how we relate to one another. Gender identity, in short, refers to the meanings and interpretations we hold concerning our self-images and expected other-images of femaleness and maleness.

For example, females in many cultures are expected to act in a nurturing manner, to be more affective, and to play the primary caregiver role. Males in many cultures are expected to act in a competitive manner, to be more emotionally reserved, and to play the breadwinner role. The orientations toward femaleness and maleness are grounded and learned via our own cultural and ethnic practices. Children learn appropriate gender roles through rewards and punishments they receive from their parents in performing the "proper" or "improper" gender-related behaviors. In the United States, feminine-based tendencies, such as interdependence, cooperation, and verbal relatedness, are often rewarded in girls, whereas masculine-based tendencies, such as independence, competition, and verbal assertiveness, are often promoted in boys.

Gender researchers observe that young girls and boys learn their gender-related behaviors in the home and school and in childhood games. For example, in the United States, girls' games (e.g., playing house, jump rope) tend to involve either pairs or small groups. The girls' games often involve fluid discussion about who is going to play what roles in the "playing house" game, for example, and usually promote relational collaboration. Boys' games (e.g., baseball, basketball), on the other hand, involve fairly large groups and have clear objectives, distinct roles and rules, and clear win-lose outcomes. The process of playing, rather than the win-lose outcome, is predominant in girls' games in the larger U.S. culture (Maltz & Borker, 1982; Tannen, 1994). From such research observations, one researcher (Wood, 1997) concludes that girls' games enable U.S. females to form the expectations that communication is used to create and maintain relationships and respond to others' feelings empathetically rather than for individual competitiveness. In contrast, boys' games prompt U.S. males to form the expectations that communication is used to achieve some clear

outcomes, attract and maintain an audience, and compete with others for the "talk stage."

Moving beyond the U.S. cultural context, to illustrate, in traditional Mexican culture, child-rearing practices also differ significantly in socializing girls and boys. At the onset of adolescence, the difference between girls and boys becomes even more markedly apparent. The female is likely to remain much closer to home and to be "protected and guarded in her contact with others beyond the family. . . . The adolescent male, following the model of his father, is given much more freedom to come and go as he chooses and is encouraged to gain much worldly knowledge and experience outside the home" (Locke, 1992, p. 137). Gender identity and cultural-ethnic identity intersect and form part of an individual's composite self-conception.

Our gender identities are created, in part, via our communication with others. They are also supported and reinforced by the existing cultural structures and practices.

Our family scripts and gender role expectations influence our evaluations of how females or males "should" or "should not" behave in a given situation. In addition, cultural and ethnic identities that we acquired during childhood and adolescent years influence whom we befriend, what holidays to celebrate, what language or dialect we are comfortable with, and what nonverbal styles we are at ease with in communicating with others.

In being aware of our multifaceted self-conception, we can also develop a deeper awareness of the complex, multifaceted identities of culturally different others. We begin our discussion with cultural identity.

All individuals are socialized within a larger cultural membership group. For example, everyone born and/or raised in the United States has some sense of being an "American" (in this book, to avoid ambiguity, we shall use the term "U.S. American"). However, minority group members or biracial members may need to answer the question "Where are you from?" more often than mainstream White Americans. Let's look at Gitanjali's (1994, p. 133) musing in Double Take 4.1.

Alternatively, if you are very comfortable with your own cultural identities, and more important, if you look like everyone else in the mainstream culture, you may not even notice the importance of your cultural membership badge until someone asks you: "What is your nationality?" or "Where do you come from?" in your overseas travels.

Before you continue, fill out the brief assessment in Know Thyself 4.2. This brief survey explores your sense of identification with the larger U.S. culture.

Double Take 4.1

Interview Excerpts:

What is your nationality?

I don't know.

I wish I had a dollar for every time someone asked that question.

What is your nationality?

Maybe it's just an obsession.

Yeah, maybe it's you!

What is your nationality?

My mother's a Zebra and my father's a Martian.

So, what's your nationality? Is it a secret?

Know Thyself 4.2 Assessing the Degree of Importance of Your Cultural Identity and Marginal Identity

Instructions: Recall how you generally feel and act in various situations. Let your first inclination be your guide and circle the number in the scale that best reflects your overall impression of yourself. The following scale is used for each item:

4 = YES! = *strongly agree*—IT'S ME!
3 = yes = *moderately agree*—it's kind of like me
2 = no = *moderately disagree*—it's kind of not me
1 = NO! = *strongly disagree*—IT'S NOT ME!

	YES!	yes	no	NO!
1. It is important for me to identify closely with the larger U.S. culture.	4	3	2	1
2. I do not feel a sense of belonging at all to the larger U.S. culture.	4	3	2	1
3. I usually go by the values of the overall U.S. culture.	4	3	2	1
4. I feel very confused about my membership in the larger U.S. society.	4	3	2	1
5. I feel very comfortable identifying with the larger U.S. society.	4	3	2	1
6. I often feel lost concerning my cultural membership.	4	3	2	1

☞

Know Thyself 4.2 Assessing the Degree of Importance of Your Cultural Identity and Marginal Identity (cont.)

☞

7. The overall U.S. culture is an important reflection of who I am.	4	3	2	1
8. I feel anxious thinking about cultural membership issues.	4	3	2	1
9. I am an "American," period.	4	3	2	1
10. I feel like I live on the borderline of the larger U.S. society.	4	3	2	1

Scoring: Add up the scores on all the odd-numbered items and you will find your U.S. cultural identity score. *U.S. Cultural Identity* score: _____. Add up the scores on all the even-numbered items and you will find your marginal cultural identity score. *Marginal Cultural Identity* score: _____.

Interpretation: Scores on each identity dimension can range from 5 to 20; the higher the score, the more cultural and/or marginal you are. If the scores are similar on both identity dimensions, you have a mixed identity pattern: that means sometimes you feel very "American," and sometimes you feel confused about your cultural identity membership.

Reflection Probes: Take a moment to think of the following questions: What does it mean to be an "American"? Do you think your answers would be very similar or very different from your family members? How so? For the most part, how would you label your cultural or ethnic self? Do you have a strong sense of pride or confusion about your cultural identity? Why? Compare your answers with those of a classmate.

Source: Scale adapted from Ting-Toomey, Yee-Jung, Shapiro, et al. (2000).

We acquire our cultural group memberships through the guidance of primary caretakers and peer associations during our formative years. Furthermore, physical appearance, racial traits, skin color, language usage, self-appraisal, and other-perception factors all enter into the cultural identity construction equation. The meanings and interpretations that we hold for our culture-based identity groups are learned via direct or mediated contacts (e.g., mass media images) with others. **Cultural identity** is defined as the emotional significance that we attach to our sense of belonging or affiliation with the larger culture. To illustrate, we can talk about the larger Brazilian cultural identity or the larger Canadian cultural identity. To understand cultural identity more specifically, we need to discuss two issues: value content and cultural identity salience. **Value content** refers to the standards or expectations that people hold in their mindset in making evaluations. One way to understand the content of cultural identity is to look at the value dimensions that underlie people's behavior. Though there are many value content dimensions on which cultural groups differ, one dimension that has received consistent attention from intercultural

researchers around the world is individualism-collectivism (see Chapter 3). In order to negotiate mindfully with people from diverse cultures, it is critical that we understand the value contents of their cultural identities.

Cultural identity salience refers to the strength of affiliation we have with our larger culture. Strong associations of membership affiliation reflect high cultural identity salience. Weak associations of membership affiliation reflect low cultural identity salience. The more strongly our self-image is influenced by our larger cultural value patterns, the more we are likely to practice the norms and communication scripts of the dominant, mainstream culture. Salience of cultural identity can operate on a conscious or an unconscious level. We should also clarify here that the concept of "national identity" refers to one's legal status in relation to a nation, but the concept of "cultural identity" refers to the sentiments of belonging or connection to one's larger culture. To illustrate, as an immigrant-based society, residents in the United States may mix some of the larger cultural values with those of their ethnic-oriented values and practices. To negotiate cultural and ethnic identities mindfully with diverse cultural-ethnic groups, we need to understand in depth the content and salience of cultural *and* ethnic identity issues.

Let's go back and review the two opening scenarios, which reflect complex problems when looking at ethnic identity. An individual who is associated with a particular ethnic group may not actually behave in accordance with her or his ethnic norms or behaviors, such as Lanitra in the first scenario. In other words, skin color does not automatically guarantee ethnic ingroup membership. In the second scenario, Rafael tried hard to understand the complexity of his ethnic identity. Although many ethnic minority Americans strive hard to be "Americans," they are constantly reminded by the media or in actual interactions that they are not part of the fabric of the larger U.S. society. Before you continue reading, complete the brief scale in Know Thyself 4.3. By checking out your scores, you should have a better understanding of your identification with your ethnic heritage group.

Ethnic identity is "inherently a matter of ancestry, of beliefs about the origins of one's forebears" (Alba, 1990, p. 37). Ethnicity can be based on national origin, race, religion, or language. For many people in the United States, ethnicity is based on the countries from which their ancestors came (e.g., those who can trace their ethnic heritage to an Asian or a Latin American country). Most Native Americans—descendants of people who settled in the Western Hemisphere long before Columbus, sometime between 25,000 and 40,000 years ago—

Know Thyself 4.3 Assessing the Degree of Importance of Your Ethnic Identity and Bicultural Identity

Instructions: Recall how you generally feel and act in various situations. Let your first inclination be your guide and circle the number in the scale that best reflects your impression of yourself. The following scale is used for each item:

4 = YES! = *strongly agree*—IT'S ME!
3 = yes = *moderately agree*—it's kind of like me
2 = no = *moderately disagree*—it's kind of not me
1 = NO! = *strongly disagree*—IT'S NOT ME!

	YES!	yes	no	NO!
1. I have spent time to find out more about my ethnic roots and history.	4	3	2	1
2. I subscribe to both sets of values: my ethnic values and the larger U.S. cultural values.	4	3	2	1
3. My family really emphasizes where our ancestors came from.	4	3	2	1
4. I have close friends from both my ethnic group and the larger U.S. culture.	4	3	2	1
5. My family practices distinctive ethnic traditions and customs.	4	3	2	1
6. The values of my own ethnic group are very compatible with the larger U.S. cultural values.	4	3	2	1
7. I feel a sense of loyalty and pride about my own ethnic group.	4	3	2	1
8. It is important for me to be accepted by both my ethnic group and the overall U.S. culture.	4	3	2	1
9. The ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.	4	3	2	1
10. I feel comfortable identifying with both my ethnic heritage and the overall U.S. culture.	4	3	2	1

Scoring: Add up the scores on all the odd-numbered items and you will find your ethnic identity score. *Ethnic Identity* score: _____. Add up the scores on all the even-numbered items and you will find your bicultural identity score. *Bicultural Identity* score: _____.

Interpretation: Scores on each identity dimension can range from 5 to 20; the higher the score, the more ethnic and/or bicultural you are. If all the scores are similar on both identity dimensions, you have a mixed ethnic/bicultural identity pattern: that means at the same time you identify closely with your ethnic heritage, you also identify closely with the larger U.S. culture.

Reflection Probes: Take a moment to think of the following questions: Are the values of your ethnic group compatible or incompatible with the larger U.S. cultural values? How do you reconcile the differences? Do most of your friends see you as an American or see you as a member of a particular ethnic group? Which way do you like to be perceived? Why? Compare your answers with those of a classmate.

Source: Scale adapted from Ting-Toomey, Yee-Jung, Shapiro, et al. (2000).

can trace their ethnic heritage based on distinctive linguistic or religious practices.

While new forensic technologies (DNA typing) open up opportunities for ethnic ancestry research (e.g., Zuni ancestors came from Japan), many African Americans still may not be able to trace their precise ethnic origins, or traditional ways of living, because of pernicious slavery codes (e.g., a slave could not marry or meet with an ex-slave; it was forbidden for anyone, including Whites, to teach slaves to read or write) and the uprootedness forced on them by slaveholders beginning in the 1600s (Schaefer, 1990). Last, many European Americans may not be able to trace their ethnic origins precisely because of their mixed ancestral heritage. This phenomenon stems from generations of intergroup marriages (say, Irish American and French American marriages, or mixed Irish/French American and Polish American marriages, and the like) starting with their great grandparents or grandparents.

Ethnicity, of course, is based on more than one's country of origin. It involves a subjective sense of belonging to or identification with an ethnic group across time. To understand the significance of someone's ethnicity, we also need to understand the ethnic value content and the ethnic identity salience of that person's ethnic identity in particular. For example, with knowledge of the individualism-collectivism value tendencies of the originating countries, we can infer the *ethnic value content* of specific ethnic groups. Most Asian Americans, Native Americans, and Latino/a Americans, for example, who identify strongly with their traditional ethnic values, tend to be group-oriented. Those European Americans who identify strongly with European values and norms (albeit on an unconscious level) tend to be oriented toward individualism. African Americans might well subscribe to both collectivistic and individualistic values—in blending both ethnic African values and assimilated U.S. values—for purposes of survival and adaptation.

Beyond ethnic value content, we should address the issue of ethnic identity salience. The role of *ethnic identity salience* is linked closely with the intergroup boundary maintenance issue across generations (e.g., third-generation Cuban Americans in the United States). Ethnic identity salience is defined as the subjective allegiance and loyalty to a group—large or small, socially dominant or subordinate—with which one has ancestral links (Edwards, 1994). Ethnic identity can be sustained by shared objective characteristics, such as shared language or religion. It is also a subjective sense of "ingroupness" whereby individuals perceive themselves and each other as belonging to the same ingroup by shared historical and emotional ties. However, for many ethnic minority group members living in the larger U.S. society, a constant struggle exists between the perception of their own ethnic identity issue and the perception of others' questioning of their ethnic heritage or role. Oftentimes, this results in a sense of both ethnic and cultural rootlessness. Let's take a look at Elaine Kim's story (1996, p. 357) in Double Take 4.2. She recounted her visit to Korea, the birthplace of her parents.

Double Take 4.2

Because I spent my early years living as something of a freak within mainstream American society, I decreed that there was no way to be "Asian" and "American" at the same time. I often longed to be held securely within the folds of a community of "my people." Like many other Asians born in the United States, I was changed forever when I visited Korea at the age of twenty—when I saw my relatives for the first time.

Finding myself among so many people similar to me in shape and color made me feel as though I came from somewhere and that I was connected in a normal way to other people instead of being taken as an aberration, a sidekick, or a mascot, whose presence was tolerated [only] when everyone was in a good mood.

But like other U.S.-born Asians, I came to understand that there is no ready-made community, no unquestioned belonging, even in Korea. For as soon as they heard me speak or saw me grin like a fool for no reason, as soon as they saw me launch down the street swinging my arms, as soon as they saw me looking brazenly into people's eyes when they talked, they let me know that I could not possibly be "Korean." . . .

—Elaine Kim, 1996

Thus, ethnic identity has both objective and subjective layers. Ethnicity is, overall, more a subjective phenomenon than an objective classification. Although a political boundary (e.g., delimiting Chechnya—formerly the Chechno-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic—from Russia) can change over generations, the continuation of ethnic boundaries is an enduring, long-standing phenomenon that lasts in the hearts and minds of its members. Ethnicity is basically an inheritance wherein members perceive each other as emotionally bounded by a common set of traditions, worldviews, history, heritage, and descent on a psychological and historical level.

By understanding how we define ourselves and how others define themselves ethnically and culturally, we can communicate with culturally different others with more sensitivity. We can learn to lend appropriate self-conception support in terms of ethnic and cultural identity issues. Uncovering and supporting others' self-conceptions requires mindful identity-support work. Moving beyond general cultural and ethnic identity issues, many majority-minority group identity models have been developed to account for the identity change process of immigrants and minority group members. We first discuss some of the underlying factors that affect immigrants' acculturation experiences

and then explore two models of ethnic-cultural identity developmental processes.

The journey for immigrants, from identity security to insecurity and from familiarity to unfamiliarity, can be a turbulent or exhilarating process. The route itself has many ups and downs and twists and turns. In such a long, demanding journey, an incremental process of identity change is inevitable. This section explains immigrants' acculturation experiences and explores some of the key factors that shape immigrants' outlooks concerning their adopted homeland.

The intercultural **acculturation** process is defined as the degree of identity change that occurs when individuals move from a familiar environment to an unfamiliar one. Intercultural acculturation, however, does not happen overnight. It is a gradual identity transformation process. The larger the difference between the two cultures, the higher the degree of identity vulnerability immigrants will experience in the new culture. Do you know which are the top three countries with the highest percentage of immigrants? Do you know which are the top three countries of origins for U.S. immigrants who arrived in the year 2000? Take a guess, and check out Jeopardy Box 4.1 and Jeopardy Box 4.2.

Country	Estimated net number of immigrants per 1,000 population
1. Singapore	25.8
2. Qatar	17.5
3. Kuwait	14.0
4. San Marino	11.1
4. Afghanistan	10.3
5. Luxembourg	9.1
6. Monaco	7.8
7. Eritrea	7.3
8. Jordan	6.8
9. Andorra	6.7
10. United States	3.3

Note: In countries using latest year for which data is available.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau International Data Base (2000).

Country	Immigrants in 2000
1. Mexico	173,919
2. China	45,652
3. Philippines	42,474
4. India	42,046
5. Vietnam	26,747
6. Nicaragua	24,029
7. El Salvador	22,578
8. Haiti	22,364
9. Cuba	20,831
10. Dominican Republic	17,537

Source: U.S. Census Bureau International Data Base (2000).

The immigrant group comprises those who generally have voluntarily moved across cultural boundaries, but those in the refugee group often have involuntarily done so (for reasons of political, religious, or economic oppression). Unlike tourists and sojourners, immigrants and refugees usually aim for a permanent stay in their adopted country. Although there are some similar adaptation patterns (e.g., initial stress and culture shock) in these diverse groups, very different motivational patterns guide these newcomers' means and goals of adaptation.

The term **acculturation** refers to the incremental identity-related change process of immigrants and refugees in a new environment (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936) from a long-term perspective. The change process of immigrants (hereafter, the term *immigrants* will also include refugees) often involves subtle change to overt more extensive change. Acculturation involves the long-term conditioning process of newcomers in integrating the new values, norms, and symbols of their new culture, and developing new roles and skills to meet its demands. Let's take a look at Double Take 4.3.

Double Take 4.3

I was thinking about those factors we discussed in class about what makes an immigrant's stay successful. Being raised in a family [whose members] are all immigrants from Iran, I feel somewhat closely related to what other immigrants have to experience. My grandparents had to learn to adapt to living in a completely different world from [the place] they still call home. I am not so sure that either set of my grandparents was too successful. They came to America in their early 70s, so they were retired. But my grandparents on my mom's side had to leave a lot of their material belongings behind, because there was a revolution in Iran and they had little time to leave the country. So not only did they have to adjust to living in a new culture, but they [also] had ☞

to adjust to losing most of their material possessions. I think that resilience and flexibility are two huge factors that my maternal grandmother [is] still working on to this day.

Growing up, I never really saw her try to learn about American culture. She felt more comfortable speaking with Persian friends, finding Persian stores, watching or listening to her Persian programs on television and radio. I am not saying that my grandmother has been wrong for doing these things, but I am noticing that she does not really have much interest in making her permanent stay here "successful."

My maternal grandfather, on the other hand, took ESL classes at night at the local high school and learned to make his way around a grocery store, speaking with the cashiers and knowing the exact change to give them. He was definitely more motivated to adjust to this huge change. Support networks have been really crucial to my grandmother's life. My father helped her apply for a green card. Family friends who also came from Iran years earlier gave her a sense of security and comfort. There is an Iranian television station in Los Angeles where she can find out all about the news of America as well as Iran. She watches it all day long. I can hear the TV on sometimes at 3:00 a.m. And she gets so excited telling me the latest news she has heard.

This is a part of my life that really separated me from the rest of my classmates from elementary school until now . . . the feeling of being different and not quite fitting in with the rest of the kids. The question: What does it mean to live a successful immigrant experience in this country? It can mean so many different things to so many different people. The answer also depends on so many factors. I can see that in their unique yet separate ways, my grandparents [are] quite successful in adapting to this new culture. They use different strategies to deal with the changes surrounding them.

—Zahra, *College Student*

Enculturation, on the other hand, often refers to the sustained, primary socialization process of strangers in their original home (or natal) culture wherein they have internalized their primary cultural values. For example, a U.S. immigrant born in Iran would be *enculturated* into an Iranian identity, but slowly *acculturated* into U.S. culture (in some amount) once she or he immigrates. The same immigrant can be a *bicultural* individual if she or he relates strongly to both cultures (see the section on "Ethnic-Cultural Identity Change Process"). Let's take a look at a follow-up story by Laleh in Double Take 4.4, which is about her own ethnic identity struggles.

What do you think of Laleh's story? Have you ever thought about physical appearance and ethnic identity belongingness and exclusion issues? Have you ever felt excluded because you do not look mainstream enough? Beyond physical appearance, of course, many factors influence the immigrants' acculturation experience—from self-identification factors, to systems-level factors (e.g., receptivity of the host culture), to individual-level factors (e.g., individual expectations), and also interpersonal-level factors (e.g., formation of social networks).

Double Take 4.4

I have always been reminded of how different I am. . . . This is how minorities are visible. It is interesting how the definition of an "American" can be so clear-cut to some and totally unclear to others. Anyway, in this American culture, it seems so easy for people to determine who is NOT an American or at least not American enough.

To tell you a story, . . . some time ago I had planned to get a nose job. I knew exactly why I wanted to change my nose: it was a typical Persian big nose. I used to be so self-conscious about my nose that I would walk behind everyone so that they could not see my profile if I were standing side by side with them.

Both my parents are in support of me getting a nose job, but I have always been so hesitant to actually go through with the procedure. I realized if I do so, I would be erasing an ethnic identity that should be kept as a part of me.

—Laleh, *College Student*

Social identity is one key factor to examine when looking at identity with regard to group membership. As discussed earlier, *social identities* consist of cultural or ethnic membership identity, gender identity, sexual orientation identity, social class identity, age identity, disability identity, or professional identity. With regard to ethnic identity, social identity consists of two important elements. The first is knowledge of social group membership. According to Tajfel (1978), self-concept comes from the knowledge we have of our social group membership. The second element is emotional significance. If an individual places a high value on the emotional significance of group membership, the result is a positive self-concept.

Alba (1990) and Waters (1990) studied the link between ethnic identity and group membership. According to Alba (1990), individuals having weak ethnic identities with the group have a greater tendency to marry out of their ethnic group than individuals with strong ethnic identities. The main reason is that individuals with weaker ethnic identities are perceived as less ethnic and share more things in common with the dominant society than individuals who strongly identify with their ethnic group.

Regarding European Americans who live in suburban communities in the United States, Waters (1990) was very interested in their ethnic choices. She pointed out that among European Americans, ethnicity is more symbolic. This symbolic identity "fulfills the need to be from somewhere. An ethnic identity is something that makes you both

special and simultaneously part of a community. It can come to you involuntarily through heredity, and at the same time, it is a personal choice " (p. 150). European Americans can choose to be individuals apart from their ethnic heritage group, or they can choose to claim themselves as "Irish Americans," "German Americans," or "French/Scottish Americans."

Ethnic differences appear to be strongest among those generations closest to the immigrant experience. Ethnic differences weaken, or became less distinct, among those farther down the generational line. As each generation is removed from the original immigrants, erosion of ethnic linkage naturally results. However, for some ethnic groups in the United States, such as African Americans, personal choice is not a factor. Ethnic individuals can be "marked" or "assigned" into categories ascribed by other groups on the basis of physical characteristics. Ethnicity is generally not a voluntary choice for all groups because it can be imposed. Orbe (1998), for example, has developed a theory called the **co-culture theory.** He claims that African Americans, because of their position in the larger U.S. society, develop a complex ethnic-cultural standpoint. He contends that in each society, "a hierarchy exists that privileges certain groups of individuals: In the United States these groups include men, European Americans, heterosexuals, the able-bodied, and [the] middle and upper class" (p. 11). He also goes on to explain the different broad communication strategies that minority group members use to deal with their everyday surroundings: assimilation, accommodation, and separation. **Assimilation** refers to communication strategies that adopt the majority culture's view. **Accommodation** refers to interaction strategies that combine both majority and co-culture views. Last, **separation** refers to communication strategies that emphasize separation, such as intraethnic networking or showcasing the strengths and pride of one's own ethnic group.

In sum, social identity explains individual behavior with regard to group membership. It is really about how different groups perceive their own and others' group membership identity issues. It is also about marking ingroup/outgroup boundaries as well as majority/minority group relations issues.

Systems-level factors are those elements in the host environment that influence newcomers' adaptation to the new culture (Y. Y. Kim, 1988, 2001, 2003). In this section, we shall emphasize the need and responsibility of both the host society and the immigrants to learn from each other—to create an inclusive, pluralistic cultural community.

From the findings of existing adaptation research, the following four observations can be made. First, the host culture's socioeconomic

conditions influence the climate of adaptation (Puentha, Giles, & Young, 1987). When the host culture is economically sound, members appear to be more tolerant and hospitable toward newcomers. When the socioeconomic conditions are poor, strangers become the scapegoats for local economic problems. For example, newcomers are often perceived as competing for scarce resources, such as new jobs and promotion opportunities, and taking away the job opportunities of cultural insiders.

Second, a host culture's attitudinal stance on "cultural assimilation" or "cultural pluralism" produces a spillover effect on institutional policies (as well as on attitudes of the citizenry) toward newcomers' adaptation processes (Kraus, 1991). The main effect of cultural assimilation demands that strangers conform to the host environment (e.g., as urged by the U.S. "English Only" movement). In contrast, the cultural pluralist stance encourages a diversity of values (e.g., as supported by Canadian "multicultural" policies), providing strangers with wider latitude of norms from which to choose in their newfound homeland.

In a society that perpetuates assimilation, ethnic identity formation is strongly influenced by the dominant group's values. In a pluralistic society, ethnic identity formation rests on the choices between maintaining the customs of the heritage culture and inventing a new identity. In an assimilationist society, immigrants are often expected to conform quickly to local cultural practices. In a pluralistic society, immigrants are given more leeway to acquire the fund of knowledge and skills needed in adapting to the new culture. Societies with an assimilationist stance tend to be more intolerant of newcomers' retention of traditions and customs of their own heritage. Societies with a pluralist stance tend to display more tolerant attitudes and acceptance toward immigrants' ethnic traditions and practices.

Third, local institutions (e.g., schools, places of work, social services, and mass media) serve as firsthand contact agencies that facilitate or impede the adaptation process of sojourners and immigrants. Following the prevailing national policies, local institutions can either greatly facilitate strangers' adaptation process (e.g., via language help programs or job training programs) or produce roadblocks to the newcomers' adaptive experience. At public schools, varying degrees of receptivity and helpfulness of teachers toward immigrant children can either help the children to feel "at home" or leave them to "sink or swim." Whether the attitudes of local children in the classrooms are favorable or unfavorable can also produce a pleasant or hostile climate for these immigrant children during their vulnerable adaptive stages. Getting used to a strange language, unfamiliar signs, and different expectations and norms of a new classroom can be overwhelming for recent immigrant children.

Fourth, the host culture's meaning definition concerning the role of "strangers" can profoundly influence sojourners' and immigrants' initial adaptation process. Whether members of the host culture perceive strangers as nonpersons, intruders, aliens, visitors, or guests will influence their attitudes and behaviors toward the strangers. Members of host cultures that view outsiders as intruders are likely to be hostile to them, whereas host nationals who use an adoptive family metaphor for the incorporation of newcomers are likely to display positive sentiments toward them. Thus, some host nationals may offer proactive help, as opposed to reactive resistance, to the adaptation process of newcomers.

While some cultures make greater distinctions between insiders and outsiders, some groups have built-in mechanisms to facilitate the socialization of newcomers. Immigrants are marginalists to a new culture. They often need help and coaching to learn the inner workings of a culture. To the extent that insiders of a new culture treat the newcomers with dignity, inclusion, and respect, they experience identity confirmation and connection. To the extent that newcomers or minority members (including second- or third-generation families) are long treated as borderline persons (e.g., by asking third-generation Sansei Japanese Americans where they came from and when will they return "home"—when their home culture is right here in the United States), they experience identity frustration and dislocation.

The combined systems-level factors can create either a favorable or an unfavorable climate for the newly arrived strangers. Obviously, the more favorable and receptive the cultural climate toward the arrival of strangers, the easier it is for the strangers to adapt to the new culture (Y. Y. Kim, 2003; 2004). The more help the newcomers receive during the initial cultural adaptation stages, the more positive are their perceptions of their new environment.

For immigrants, the permanent residence status evokes a mixture of affective and work-related stressors. Immigrants often also have more family worries and identity dislocation problems than do short-term sojourners. The sense of "no return" (i.e., for immigrants) versus "transitory stay" (i.e., for sojourners) produces different motivational drives for newcomers to acquire the new core rituals, symbols, and scripts suited to their new setting.

Acculturation research indicates that many immigrants have uprooted themselves due to a mixture of "push" factors (e.g., political and economic reasons) and "pull" factors (e.g., the host culture's economic opportunities). Many immigrants were forced to depart from their home countries because of cultural, religious, or political persecution as well as economic strains there. By immigrating, they strive to create better opportunities for themselves and their families. Additionally, the new culture's attractions ("pull" factors) include better chances for personal advancement and better job opportunities, greater educational opportunities for the children, an improved quality of life for the family, a better standard of living, and democratic cultural values (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). In sum, the motivational orientations of people leaving their homelands can greatly affect their expectations and behaviors in the new culture.

Newcomers' cultural knowledge and interaction-based knowledge about the host culture serve as other critical factors in their adaptation process. Cultural knowledge can include information about the following: cultural and ethnic diversity history, geography, political and economic systems, religious and spiritual beliefs, multiple value systems, and situational norms. Interaction-based knowledge can include language, verbal and nonverbal styles, diversity-related communication issues (e.g., regional, ethnic, and gender differences within a culture), and various problem-solving styles.

Fluency in the host culture's language, for example, has been found to have a direct positive impact on sociocultural adaptation, such as developing relationships with members of the host culture (Ward & Kennedy, 1993). In contrast, language incompetence has been associated with increased psychological and psychosomatic symptoms (e.g., sleeplessness, severe headaches) in immigrants to the United States from India (Krishnan & Berry, 1992). Beyond language fluency, interaction-based pragmatic competence, such as knowing "when to say what appropriately, under what situations," is critical in adapting to a new environment.

Additionally, demographic variables, such as age and educational level, have also been found to affect adaptational effectiveness, and younger children have an easier time adapting to the new culture than adults. Individuals with higher educational levels tend to adapt more effectively than do individuals with lower educational levels (Ward, 1996, 2004; Ward et al., 2001). We should note here that most of the cited studies are based on sojourners' and immigrants' experiences in the settings of Australia, Canada, and the United States. Thus, the research conclusions summarized in this chapter are reflective of acculturation norms in individualistic cultures more than in collectivistic cultures.

Interpersonal-level factors can include relational face-to-face network factors (e.g., social network), mediated contact factors (e.g., use of mass media) (Y. Y. Kim, 2001), and interpersonal skills factors.

A supportive social network serves as a buffer zone between a newcomer's threatened identity, on the one hand, and the unfamiliar envi-

ronment, on the other. Overall, studies of immigrants' network patterns have yielded some interesting findings. Ethnic-based social and friendship networks provide critical identity support during the initial stages of immigrants' adaptation process. This observation is based on the idea that if ethnic clusters or niches in the ethnic community are strong and available as a supportive network, then the immigrant may find supportive role models. Established individuals from the same or a similar ethnic background can serve as successful role models. They can also provide identity and affective support because they have gone through a similar set of culture shock experiences. These "established locals" can engage in appropriate and effective identity-validation messages (e.g., "I went through the same confusion and loneliness when I got here") that instill hope and confidence in the newly arrived immigrants or sojourners.

Research indicates that the more a newcomer participates in dominant cultural group activities, the more favorable his or her attitudes toward the host culture. These contact networks are often viewed as the "healing webs" that nurture the adaptive growth and inquiry process of newcomers. Both close ties (e.g., relatives, close friends) and weak ties (e.g., acquaintanceships with neighbors, schoolteachers, grocers) provide important identity and informational support functions. In fact, it has been speculated that oftentimes the latter connections may help newcomers to locate their first jobs or solve their everyday problems (Adelman, 1988; Granovetter, 1973).

Ethnic media (e.g., ethnic publications and broadcasts) also play a critical role in the initial stages of immigrants' adaptation. Due to language barriers, immigrants tend to reach out to ethnic newspapers, magazines, radio, and TV programs when such media resources are available in the local community. Ethnic media tend to ease the loneliness and adaptive stress of the new arrivals. The familiar language and images are identity-affirming and offer newcomers a sense of comfort and identity connection in the unfamiliar environment.

On the other hand, research indicates that the host media (e.g., radio and television) do play a critical educational role in providing a safe environment for newcomers to learn the host language and socialization skills (Y. Y. Kim, 2001). Overall, the mass media's influence on newcomers' adaptation process is broad, but not deep. The influence of personal relationship networks, in comparison, is deep, but not broad. Through the mass media (especially television), immigrants receive a smorgasbord of information concerning a broad range of host national topics, but without much informational depth. In contrast, through personal network contacts, newcomers learn about the host culture from a smaller sample of individuals, revolving around a narrower range of topics, but with more depth and specific personal perspectives.

In any successful intercultural learning process, members of the host culture need to act as the gracious hosts, and newcomers need to act as the willing-to-learn guests. Without collaborative effort, the hosts and the new arrivals may end up with great frustrations, miscommunications, and identity misalignments.

Immigrants and ethnic minority group members, in the context of intergroup relations, tend to be keenly sensitive to the intersecting issues of ethnicity and culture. For ethnic minority members, the perceived imbalanced power dimension within a society often leads them to draw clear boundaries between the dominant "power holder" group and the nondominant "fringe" group (Orbe, 1998). The one model that seems to capture the essence of immigrants' adaptation process is that of Berry and associates' fourfold identity typological model (Berry, Kim, & Boski, 1987).

To understand how ethnic individuals see themselves in relation to both their ethnic group and the society at large, ethnic and cultural identity salience can be viewed as a fourfold model that emphasizes an individual's adaptation options toward ethnic identity *and* larger cultural identity maintenance issues (see Figure 4.1).

		Cultural Identity	
		Strong	Weak
Ethnic Identity	Strong	*Bicultural Identity*	*Ethnic-Oriented Identity*
	Weak	*Assimilated Identity*	*Marginal Identity*

Source: Data from Berry et. al. (1987).

According to Berry (1994, 2004), immigrants who identify strongly with ethnic traditions and values and weakly with the values of the dominant culture subscribe to the traditionally based or *ethnic-oriented identity* option. These individuals emphasize the value of retaining their ethnic culture and avoid interacting with the dominant group. As a result, there is an implication of a higher degree of stress that occurs through contact with the dominant group. Other individuals who identify strongly with ethnic tradition maintenance, and at the same time incorporate values and practices of the larger society, internalize the *bicultural identity* or integrative option. Integrated individuals feel comfortable being a member of both cultural groups.

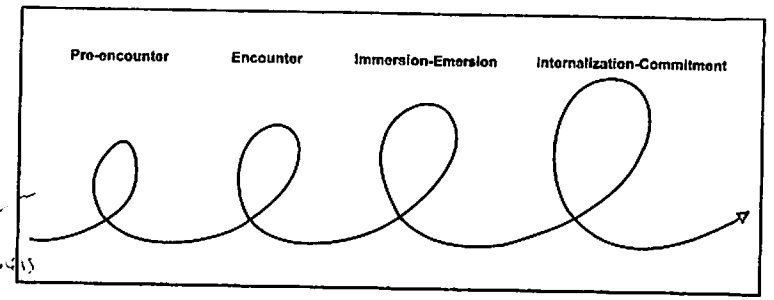
Individuals who identify weakly with their ethnic traditions and values and identify strongly with the values and norms of the larger culture tend to practice the *assimilated identity* option. Finally, individuals who identify weakly with their ethnic traditions and also weakly with the larger cultural worldviews are in the *marginal identity* state. They basically have disconnected ties with both their ethnic group and the larger society and often experience feelings of ambiguity, invisibility, and alienation.

For example, a second-generation Asian American or Latino/a American can commit to one of the following four ethnic-cultural identity salience categories: Asian or Latino/a primarily, American primarily, both, or neither (Chung & Ting-Toomey, 1999; Espiritu, 1992). Systems-level, individual, and interpersonal factors, added together, have a net influence on immigrants' adaptive experience and identity change process.

Alternatively, from the racial-ethnic identity development framework, various models have been proposed to account for racial or ethnic identity formation of African Americans (e.g., Cross, 1978, 1995), Asian Americans (e.g., Sue & Sue, 1999), Latino/a Americans (e.g., Ruiz, 1990), and European Americans (e.g., Rowe, Bennett, & Atkinson, 1994). Racial-ethnic identity development models tend to emphasize the oppressive-adaptive nature of intergroup relations in a pluralistic society.

From this framework, racial-ethnic identity salience concerns the development of racial or ethnic consciousness along a linear, progressive pathway of identity change. For example, Cross (1971, 1991) has developed a five-stage model of African American racial identity development that includes pre-encounter (stage 1), encounter (stage 2), immersion-emersion (stage 3), internalization (stage 4), and internalization-commitment (stage 5). Helms and her associates (e.g., Helms, 1993; Parham & Helms, 1985) have amended and refined this five-stage model (i.e., integrating the concept of *worldview* in each stage)

into four stages: pre-encounter, encounter, immersion-emersion, and internalization-commitment (see Figure 4.2).



The *pre-encounter* stage is the high cultural identity salience phase, wherein ethnic minority group members' self-concepts are influenced by the values and norms of the larger culture. In this stage, individuals are naive, unaware of being ethnic group members. They may define themselves as Canadian, American, or Australian. The *encounter stage* is the marginal identity phase, in which new racial-ethnic realization is awakened in the individuals because of a "racially shattering" event (e.g., encountering racism) and minority group members realize that they cannot be fully accepted as part of the "White world." The *immersion-emersion stage* is the strong racial-ethnic identity salience phase, in which individuals withdraw to the safe confines of their own racial-ethnic groups and become ethnically conscious. Last, the *internalization-commitment stage* is the phase in which individuals develop a secure racial-ethnic identity that is internally defined and at the same time are able to establish genuine interpersonal contacts with members of the dominant group and other multiracial groups. One example we use to highlight the stages is a true story that happened to one of us (see Double Take 4.5).

With the increase in minority groups living in the United States, the question of identification with group membership is an important concern. The range of issues, as we have shared with you, is enormous. One of the common threads is trying to figure out who we are in the context of a culturally pluralistic nation. How can we all learn to get along? How can we reconcile our own identity struggle and search processes? How do all these identity struggles manifest themselves in our everyday stereotyping process and ethnocentric views? How can we utilize the dynamic tensions and the best of different worldviews from diverse cultural groups to construct a meaningful "U.S. American" culture? These are important issues that await us in our development to be ethical intercultural communicators in the twenty-first century.

Double Take 4.5

Although my high school consisted of primarily black and Asian students, I felt more comfortable hanging around with white kids, who made up of 7 percent of the school. I am Chinese American, but at the time, I thought I was white. I befriended a girl named Susan. She was from the South and we became fast friends. In our senior year, Susan and I had to debate each other in our civics class about controversial topics. By the end of the debate, unknown to me, Susan was very angry at my "controversial stance" comments.

I remember sitting down after the last of the three topics. I heard her say, "Well, if you don't like it here and you have a problem with the rules of our country, you need to go back to where you came from!" I looked across at her and started to laugh at our mutual friend named Dana. Dana was black. I said, "Ha ha, Dana, she is talking about you!" She said, "Oh, no way, girl! She ain't talking about me, she's talking about you!" I turned to Susan and asked her if she was talking to me. She said yes, that if I did not like it here I should just pack my suitcase and go back to where I belong.

I was stunned into complete silence. I was born in America. I considered myself to be American. My friends were mostly white. What more did I have to do? But at that particular moment, I realized that I was the "other," foreign and an outsider to this country. I could dye my hair, wear the trendy clothes, speak the language, but I would NEVER be accepted as fully American. I never spoke to Susan again. When I graduated, I went to college and minored in ethnic studies. I took classes that helped me reconcile my conflict and the internal battle of who I am . . . . and what is the history of Chinese and Asian Americans in the United States. I learned Mandarin. I took a semester off and went to China, traveled around to "find myself." I came back and even worked in a Chinese restaurant for two years.

What I learned from all of my experiences is that although I will never be perceived as fully Chinese or American, I am normal. I accept this as my reality. I work on my identity every day, challenging myself to represent and express both voices.

—Leeva, *College Teacher*

To understand the person with whom you are communicating, you need to understand the identity domains that she deems as important. For example, if the person strongly values her cultural membership identities, you need to find ways to validate and be responsive to those cultural identities; or if the person strongly values her personal identity above and beyond a certain cultural membership, you need to uncover ways to affirm her positively desired personal identity. We can discover identity issues that are desirable to the individuals in our everyday intercultural encounters through practicing the following communication skills:

Mindful listening: Mindful listening demands that we pay thoughtful attention to both the verbal and nonverbal messages of the speaker before responding. It means listening attentively with all our senses and checking responsively for the accuracy of our meaning decoding process on multiple levels. We have to learn to listen responsively, or *ting* (the Chinese word for listening means "attending mindfully with our ears, eyes, and a focused heart"), to the sounds, tones, gestures, movements, nonverbal nuances, pauses, silence, and identity meanings in a given intercultural situation. Mindful listening essentially involves a fundamental shift of perspective. It means taking into account not only how things look from my identity perspective but also how they look and feel from the other's identity perspective.

Mindful paraphrasing skills: Paraphrasing skills refer to two characteristics: (1) verbally summarizing the content meaning of the speaker's message in your own words; and (2) nonverbally echoing back your interpretation of the emotional meaning of the speaker's message. The verbal summary, or restatement, should reflect your tentative understanding of the speaker's content meaning, such as "It sounds to me that . . ." and "In other words, you're saying that . . ." You can also try to paraphrase the emotional meaning of the speaker's message by echoing back your understanding of the affective tone that underlies the speaker's message.

Perception-checking skills: Perception-checking statements are designed to help us make sure we are interpreting the speaker's nonverbal and verbal behavior accurately during a culture bump episode. Perception-checking statements usually end up with a clarifying question-type format. It is a double-checking questioning skill that should be used judiciously and in a culture-sensitive manner. It can be used when we are unsure whether we are reading the meaning of the nonverbal or verbal message accurately. Culture-sensitive perception-checking statements involve either indirect or direct perceptual verification questions. For example, an indirect perceptual statement can be "From your puzzled facial expression, maybe I'm not making myself very clear. I apologize for that confusion. When I mentioned that I need the report by early next week, I meant at the latest by Tuesday by 5:00 p.m. Do you have any questions about the deadline? [pause]" Perception checking is part of mindful observation and mindful listening skills. It should be used cautiously, especially in accordance with the particular topic, relationship, timing, and situational context.

Identity validation skills: When a person perceives authentic and positive identity validation, she will tend to view self-images positively. When a person perceives identity rejection, she will tend to view self-images negatively. Positive identity validation is typically expressed through verbal and nonverbal confirming messages. Confirming communication involves recognizing others with important group-based and person-based identities, responding sensitively to other people's mood and affective states, and accepting other people's experiences as real. Disconfirmation, however, is the process through which individuals do not recognize the existence of the others, do not respond sensitively to cultural strangers, and do not accept others' experiences as valid.

Of all the operational skills, identity validation is a major skill to master in flexible intercultural communication practice. By paying attention to the cultural stranger and mindfully listening to what he has to say, we signal our intention of wanting to understand the multilayered identity of the stranger. By conveying our respect and acceptance of group-based and person-based differences, we encourage intercultural trust, inclusion, and connection. Through active verbal and nonverbal confirmation skills, we reaffirm the intrinsic worthiness of the dissimilar other. In learning from people who are culturally different, both hosts and new arrivals can stretch their identity boundaries to integrate new ideas, expand affective horizons, and respect diverse lifestyles and practices.