DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 335 598   CG 023 591

AUTHOR   Grisbacher, John Christopher
TITLE   Effects of Social Interaction with Host and
                Conationals on the Psychological Adjustment of
                Sojourning Students: A Review of the Literature.
PUB DATE   Jun 91
NOTE   57p.; Psy.D. research paper, Biola University.
PUB TYPE   Dissertations/Theses - Undetermined (040)

EDRS PRICE   MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS   College Students; *Cultural Differences; *Foreign
                Students; Higher Education; *Interpersonal
                Relationship; *Student Adjustment

ABSTRACT
                This document presents a review of the literature on
the social interaction of sojourning college students with host
nationals and with conationals (fellow sojourners from the same
culture). Research is reviewed which explores the possibility that
deleterious effects of separation are partially offset by social
interaction with host nationals. A brief overview of the separation
literature is included. The literature relevant to student sojourners
is focused on five areas involving the effects of social interaction
with host nationals sojourner attitudes, alienation, language
acquisition, national origin, and the sojourner interaction with
fellow conationals. The results of the review conclude that: (1)
sojourner attitudes that correlated positively with increased social
interaction and adjustment included world-mindedness, interpersonal
relatedness, respect, favorable attitudes toward the host culture,
assertiveness, self-assurance, and motivation to sojourn for social
or cultural reasons; (2) social contact with host nationals
correlated negatively with alienation; (3) proficiency in the host
language enhanced social interaction between sojourners and host
nationals and was positively correlated with adjustment; (4) cultural
distance was correlated negatively with social interaction and
adjustment, and sojourners coming from countries similar to the host
culture reported better adjustment and greater satisfaction with
their sojourn; and (5) sojourners whose primary social interaction
was with conationals were less well-adjusted in comparison to those
who had greater levels of interaction with host nationals.
Methodological considerations are addressed; implications for
facilitating sojourner adjustment are discussed. (NB)

EFFECTS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION WITH HOST AND CONATIONALS ON THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENT OF SOJOURNING STUDENTS: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A Doctoral Research Paper

Presented to

the Faculty of Rosemead School of Psychology

Biola University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Psychology

by

John Christopher Grisbacher

June 1991

EFFECTS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION WITH HOST AND CONATIONALS

ON THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENT OF SOJOURNING

STUDENTS: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

by

John Christopher Grisbacher

APPROVED:

William J. Hunter, Ph.D. Date _8/7/91_
First Reader

Christopher Dean, Ph.D Date _8/7/91_
Second Reader

APPROVED:

Dean

_8/7/91_
Date

3

Copyright © 1990 by John Christopher Grisbacher

ABSTRACT

EFFECTS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION WITH HOST AND CONATIONALS ON THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENT OF SOJOURNING STUDENTS: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

by

John Christopher Grisbacher

While studying in a foreign country, sojourning students undergo a period of psychological adjustment that can be difficult and painful. They often have to endure the multiple losses of culture, family, familiar surroundings and their primary language, while having to simultaneously adjust to the new host culture and environment. It has been suggested that an important factor in sojourner adjustment is the degree and quality of their social interaction with those in the host culture. Some researchers believe that this interaction serves to facilitate assimilation and acculturation into the new environment as well as to offset previously experienced loss by providing the sojourner with new sources of meaningful attachment. The literature relevant to student sojourners is focused on five areas involving the effects of social interaction with host nationals: (a) sojourner attitudes, (b) alienation, (c) language acquisition, (d) national origin, and (e) the sojourner interaction with fellow nationals. A discussion of the separation literature prefaces the review, together with a brief discourse regarding methodological considerations.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EFFECTS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION WITH HOST AND CONATIONALS ON THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENT OF SOJOURNING STUDENTS: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

With the enhanced opportunities for travel today, there has been increasingly more international contact and interaction. When travelling, there are a great number of difficulties and differences in new cultures to which the sojourner needs to adjust (Brien & David, 1971).

The term sojourner refers to travelers to another culture who do not intend to stay permanently, but rather are visiting in that culture for a relatively short stay, which could be anywhere from a few months to a few years. Businessmen, military personnel, students, professors, missionaries, foreign service officers, technical assistants, Peace Corps volunteers and tourists are among those that fall under the definition of sojourners (Church, 1982). Although all of the sojourners mentioned above face a wide variety of adjustment difficulties related to their travels, this review will focus upon college students who travel to other countries for primarily educational purposes.

Hundreds of thousands of students throughout the world sojourn abroad each year in order to pursue educational interests. In addition to the typical pressures of academic life, these sojourning students must also deal with the stresses of new and often unfamiliar cultures,

compounded by the multiple losses of their culture, family, surroundings, and primary language.

Much of the empirical research in the past has focused on foreign national students who have sojourned in the United States (Brien & David,1971). However, there have been more studies recently dealing with American students abroad, as well as foreign national sojourners studying in other countries of the world (Day & Hajj, 1986) These studies have shown that many international students go through a period of adjustment that is difficult and painful (Alexander, Klein, & Workneh, 1976).

Sojourning students are frequently effected by disorders resulting from being uprooted from one's environment. They often experience symptoms like strong feelings of isolation and alienation, powerlessness, depressive-nostalgic reactions and disorientation (Day & Hajj, 1986). The experience of alienation by sojourning students has been shown to be significantly more than that of national students (Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Owie, 1982). During this period of loneliness and vulnerability, international students often experience a loss of identity (Dillard & Chisolm, 1983), along with feelings of fear, bewilderment, increased dependency needs and desires, as well as hostility (Oberg, 1960).

Even sojourners who were previously healthy in their home environments may decompensate in new and ambiguous situations. These symptoms often disappear as soon as the individual returns to his/her home culture (Guthrie, 1979). From a social learning point of view, this might be understood in terms of the home culture being a learned reinforcement schedule and the new culture being an

extinction of that schedule of reinforcements. This can also be understood from a perspective of the effects of separation and loss, which will be discussed later.

Difficulties in adjustment are obviously serious impediments to a sojourner's educational and personal goals. The premature return of sojourners is usually related to problems in adjustment (Brein & David, 1971). A retarded or incomplete adjustment to the host culture and university environment has been shown to negatively effect academic success (Schram & Lauver, 1988), as well as sojourner satisfaction in a number of other areas (Church, 1982). These adjustment problems cover a wide range of areas, including the sojourner's inter-personal relationship with others, his interaction and performance in the new environment, and his own internal welfare (Brien & David, 1971).

The literature and research concerning sojourner adjustment has focused on different factors and variables of adjustment. The research has found that students sojourning in countries that are similar in culture adjust with greater ease than those in cultures much different than their own (Brislin, 1981; Church, 1982; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Pruitt, 1978). Sojourners who have had other experiences abroad also adjust easier than those who have not been away from home before (Church, 1982; Hull, 1978; Pruitt, 1978), and those that have prior knowledge about the host country will have better adjustment (Pruitt, 1978). Sojourners with better language competency have less difficulties with the new culture than those with less adequate skills (Brislin, 1981; Church, 1982; Pruitt, 1978), especially for those who have a working knowledge of the connotational and latent meanings of

the national language (Glenn, 1972; Porter, 1972). In terms of personal qualities of sojourners, students that are less authoritarian, more flexible and have a higher self-concept will adjust better (Alexander et al., 1976; Brislin, 1981; Church, 1982; Kleinberg & Hull, 1979, Smith, 1955).

This paper focuses on what some researchers view as the "decisive" or "crucial" factor in sojourner adjustment (Garraty & Adams, 1959): that is, the social interaction of sojourners with host nationals. A review of the literature focuses on the relationship between sojourner adjustment and the social interaction of the sojourners with host nationals as well as with conationals (fellow sojourners from the same culture). The purpose of this paper is to examine the student sojourner's experience of the deleterious effects of separation which accompany multiple losses (of culture, family, status and familiar surroundings). Further, research is reviewed which explores the possibility that these effects are partially offset by social interaction with host nationals, as this partial assimilation into the new culture seems to provide the sojourner with a greater sense of belongingness and stability.

It is understood that sojourning students experience many changes and transitions in addition to those which they would normally undergo in their national school. In order to more fully understand the adjustment difficulties that come from transitions, changes and losses, a brief developmental overview of the separation literature follows.

Review of the Literature on Separation

Life changes, whether expected or sudden, inevitably bring about a certain amount of stress. All individuals experience the ubiquitous phenomenon of separations in their lives (Schell & Hall, 1983), beginning with the separation of the fetus from the womb and ending with the individual's separation from life itself (Stein,1984). From infancy throughout childhood, an individual will have to endure many separations in order to function as an autonomous human being (Hansburg, 1972). In each stage of the development of a person's individuation, every separation will become more tolerable if the threat to object loss is minimal (Mahler, 1979).

In adolescence, there is a move toward more emotional and physical separation, which is necessary in order for the individual to develop a cohesive sense of self apart from others. Without normal separation, pathological attachments will cause unhealthy fusions and inhibit individuation (Bowlby, 1980; Hansburg,1972). The adult eventually undergoes changes and separations from the family of origin in order to have his or her own family, which in turn will bring on more transitions and inevitable separations.

The above mentioned separations can be viewed as phase specific, in that they occur at certain stages and are necessary for healthy development. Phase specific separations can be classified as developmental, while other detachments in life have the propensity to cause increased stress because they are generally unpredictable (White, 1983). These are called situational separations, and include migrations, expulsions, relocations, school transitions, as well as serious illnesses, accidents, job changes and disasters. The sojourning

student undergoes such a situational separation, resulting in multiple losses of family, friends, most possessions, culture, status, security and the student's normally routine way of life. Such life changes often cause anxiety, which is of concern to many researchers (Meares, 1986).

Reactions to separations are often predictable, and elicit such distressing feelings as depression, anger, anxiety and emotional detachment (Bowlby,1977). This mirrors what many sojourning students have been observed to experience (Church, 1982). Bowlby (1977) called these reactions separation anxiety, and the duration, significance and impact of the loss determines the level of anxiety felt by the individual. Bowlby (1973) stated that separation anxiety occurs in the absence of an attachment object, irrespective of the individual's psychological health prior to the loss. This could explain why relatively healthy individual sojourners experience adjustment difficulties. Nevertheless, adaptation to the separation depends not only upon the significance of the loss and the setting in which it occurs, but also on the inner resources of the individual.

Humans have an instinctual need for meaningful attachment, and when this is unfulfilled, there is a natural experience of stress. (Bowlby, 1977) Bowlby viewed this separation anxiety as neither neurotic nor age specific. Furthermore, it may occur not only at the loss of concrete things such as people and possessions, but may also be experienced with the loss of more abstract things as well (e.g., status, familiarity, personal identity, integrity).

School transitions in and of themselves have shown to have an effect on the adjustment of students, from pre-school through college.

Difficulties in separation and losses have been linked to school problems and academic performance (Bowlby, 1973; Jewett, 1939). Studies have demonstrated that social interaction with others aids in the adjustment of students to these transitions (Hirsch & Rapkin,1987; Ladd & Price,1987; Schipper, 1977).

In the transition from preschool to kindergarten, a child's interaction with peers predicted school adjustment as well as future social adjustment of the child (Ladd & Price, 1987). The transition from kindergarten to primary school has been shown to be stressful for young children (Soussignan et al., 1987). Hirsch and Rapkin (1987) discussed the correlation between an elementary student's psychological well-being and peer support. Schipper (1977) postulated from his study on missionary children in boarding schools that affiliations with others in the child's peer group enhanced self-concept in post-pubescent students.

Human interaction is a crucial facet of a person's well-being, contributing immensely to his or her growth and development, as well as to continued stability and security. In times of transition and change, such interaction greatly facilitates the individual's adjustment to novel circumstances and unfamiliar environments. As previously discussed, there is a positive relationship between life changes and increased stress, and there is a relationship between meaningful social interaction, attachment and personal adjustment. It would appear then that a crucial contributing factor to the adjustment of sojourning students would be in the formation of relationships between themselves and those already established in the new culture.

It is likely that formation of relationships would serve to offset the painful effects of the many separations that a sojourner has undergone. Friendships with host nationals can enhance the sojourner's feelings of acceptance and provide the meaningful attachments that have been lost as a result of the sojourn. Interaction with those specifically·belonging to the culture could help sojourners assimilate to thaι culture, enhancing their understanding of the culture and giving them a sense of belongingness and attachment. This could have a compensatory effect in reference to their currently experienced losses.

Moreover, the sojourner's interaction with conationals could provide a support system of peers currently experiencing similar losses, as well as a sense of contact and stability regarding the home culture. On the other hand, too much contact with fellow sojourners can have a negative effect on adjustment, in that the student can close himself or herself off to the process of assimilating to the new culture and initiating and maintaining interactions with host nationals. On the basis of these arguments, then, the empirical literature is reviewed with respect to sojourning students, and the relationship between adjustment and social interaction with host and conationals.

Before proceeding, however, it is necessary here to review briefly and critically the methodological issues concerning the nature of the studies which will be discussed, as there are important implications that derive from them in respect to the definitiveness of the results and the generalizability of their conclusions.

Methodological Considerations

The studies discussed in this section are empirical in nature and cover studies that have included as a variable the effects of social interaction on the adjustment of sojourning students. The concept of "sojourner adjustment" is used instead of other broader terms such as "cross-cultural adjustment" or "cultural adaptation," because such terms may imply an assimilation to the host culture which is more permanent in nature (Church, 1982). Due to the nature of this area of research, there are multiple inherent difficulties in the methodology which unfortunately jeopardize the internal and external validity of these studies.

Although some of the studies employed more than one method of inquiry (survey data, observation, interviews), most relied more heavily on survey data (questionnaires and problem checklists). Findings from survey data often are superficial and limited, and there is extremely limited experimental control. For example, in using certain questionnaires, it is unknown whether sojourners from some cultures are more or less likely to endorse certain sensitive items than others (Church, 1982), and there is difficulty in ascertaining whether a respondent has been discrete and honest in answering. Moreover, the quality of social interactions may have varied significantly, though it would be hard to determine the extent of such variations from survey data. There are also varying ways that nationals from different cultures may react to interviews, questionnaires and structured tests, thereby biasing the data (Draguns, 1979; Lonner, 1976).

The data in all of the empirical studies reviewed in this paper were gathered in English. This may influence the conclusions as well,

since there are varying levels of English comprehension among sojourners. It is unknown whether responses would have differed significantly if items were presented in the sojourners' national languages.

Another difficulty with these studies is that most were latitudinal, that is, completed at one point in time during or after the sojourn, although a few made multiple assessments (e.g., Dadfar & Friedlander, 1982; Ibrahim, 1970; Schram & Lauver, 1988; Yuen & Tinsley, 1981). Nonlongitudinal studies fail to adequately account for certain changes which have occurred over time, and a measure taken at only one point may seem to imply a relationship between two variables. A second or third test given at a later date may reveal that certain changes or effects which were observed and attributed to a particular variable are actually better accounted for by another variable.

With few exceptions, almost all of the reviewed studies lacked objective baseline data concerning the adjustment of sojourners previous to their travels abroad, especially that of non-American sojourners. This makes it difficult to ascertain their history of adjustment before their sojourn. It is also uncertain whether certain · changes were due to a process of normal maturation, or to the cross-cultural experience itself. Likewise, control groups were not present in most studies. Although it is understandable that the nature of studying foreign students lends difficulty to obtaining baseline data or using control groups, this lack of control lends to poorer internal validity of the study, making the results more tenuous.

Related to this problem is the uncertainty of what the perspective of "normal" adjustment should be to certain cultural groups. As most of the studies used American sojourners abroad or foreign students sojourning in the United States, there is a tendency to overgeneralize the findings to inherently different groups. Similarly, the term "adjustment," as well as the theoretical concepts of separation and attachment reported in the earlier section of this paper, present a Western perspective which may or may not generalize to non-Western points of view. It is necessary to bear in mind that Western theoretical concepts may not be as relevant in other cultures. Criteria of adjustment may be culture bound, so that the application of host culture's concepts and measures of adjustment to sojourners from another culture is less than ideal. Augmenting this problem is the realization that even among American researchers the conceptualization of the terms "adjustment" and "maladjustment" are operationalized in slightly varying ways (Church, 1982).

As common with this type of research, there were very high rates of attrition in these studies as many respondents failed to complete the surveys. Since almost all the students cooperated on a volunteer basis, and since the data may be representative of the attitudes and experiences of only a relatively small number of international students. This makes the interpretation of the results even more tenuous because a larger portion of the students approached did not respond, leading to the possibility of selection bias.

Lastly, it is understood that the data presented here is correlational in nature. This means that the results of the studies can demonstrate that there are relationships between given variables but

they can not conclusively determine that these correlational relationships are causal.

Review of Empirical Research
Sojourner attitudes and social interaction

In the area of intercultural adjustment and communication, researchers have indicated that social interactions are enhanced or inhibited by the different attitudes which sojourners hold toward the host nationals, as well as themselves. The degree and quality of social interactions between host nationals and sojourners is affected by (a) stereotypes and ethnocentric attitudes, (b) evaluative or judgmental perceptions of differences, as well as (c) fear of rejection from host or conationals (Edgerton, 1965, Garraty & Adams, 1959; Miller et al., 1971; Porter 1972).

It has been found that although social interaction with host nationals is a salient factor in sojourner adjustment, this is not often initially viewed as an important goal of sojourners, primarily because many students do not anticipate social interaction as necessary for their adjustment (Alexander et. al., 1976). In a survey of 250 foreign students in the U.S., only a small percentage ranked interpersonal goals as something important to them, as opposed to 90 percent who reported as a primary goal the obtaining of professional training. Only 5 percent showed concerns of learning about the American culture, and only in the context of professional knowledge did they emphasize interpersonal contacts (Alexander et. al., 1976).

Alexander et al., (1976) concluded from their data that on a large American campus close international contacts are less likely than

not for the sojourning student. Further, those who can bridge the cultural barrier seem to have better skills in communication and are more self confident than students who are less socially outgoing and inhibited. The study also showed that students having strong identifications with their home culture and values were more likely to remain estranged from those in the host culture, and that those less strongly identified with the values and culture of the home country were more likely to have closer international contacts and relationships.

The Alexander et al. (1976) study has implications for educating the sojourning student about the importance of cross-cultural contacts, as well as showing the need to overcome the cultural barriers by the acceptance of the host culture, without rejection of their own cultural values. The study suggested that it is possible that students who are more shy may be at greater risk of having a poorer adjustment because it is not easy for them to make intercultural social contacts, especially in the context of a large American campus.

Sewell and Davidson (1961) also found that students who came to the United States for reasons that were strictly professional were less satisfied with their sojourn than students who came for more social or cultural reasons. In their study of 40 Scandinavian students in the United States these investigators found that students who had positive perceptions of the U.S. before or at the time of their arrival had more favorable attitudes overall during their sojourn and more contact with Americans, as did students who received a greater amount of informal guidance regarding their sojourn. Moreover they

found that the more flexible the students were and the more contact they had with Americans, the more favorably they would rate the U.S.

In a sample of 170 randomly selected foreign medical students in 70 hospitals and 31 different medical schools throughout the United States, Antler (1970) found that attitude differences accounted for varying levels of intercultural interaction and adjustment. Consistent with the findings of Alexander et al., (1976), it was found that sojourners who perceived themselves as more self-assured, active and interpersonally assertive had more contacts with host nationals and reported more satisfaction with their experiences in the United States (Antler, 1970).

Antler also found that students who were primarily motivated in seeking specialized training and were more nationalistic had less interaction with Americans. These students reported less satisfying adjustment to the United States as well as less satisfaction in their educational programs. In contrast, the students that were less nationalistic and reported less motivation for obtaining specialized training only consistently rated higher in terms of their adjustment to the United States, interacted more frequently with nationals, and reported higher satisfaction with their sojourn. Antler hypothesized that this group was oriented to longer or possibly permanent stays in the United States, and thus was more inclined to acculturate.

Smith (1955) investigated the attitudes and adjustment issues of American sojourning students. The subjects consisted of 310 middle and upper middle class college and secondary students between the ages of 16 and 26 years. They were sent to various foreign countries, mostly in Europe, and traveled in groups of ten. They spent half of a

summer getting acquainted with the people and culture, and the other half of their time traveling throughout the country.

The experimenters used the Solomon four group design, and 7 different groups were devised altogether. There were three groups of control subjects: one that stayed in the U.S., one that traveled to Europe and received a posttest only, and one sample group of tourists that received the pretest only. The groups were given a personal inventory of open ended questions that could be coded into units (Smith,1955). The study showed that sojourners with a high degree of world-mindedness before leaving the United States were more likely to have more serious motives in traveling abroad and were more oriented toward interpersonal relations with nationals. They found that the world-minded sojourner was more personally easygoing and carefree, as well as less ethnocentric and more conservative.

Students who established closer personal ties with foreign nationals had the greatest changes in internationally oriented attitudes and behavi . These students were significantly more likely to engage in international activities after the experience. Conversely, students who were very nationalistic and ethnocentric before their sojourn were actually more so after their travels, and they had interacted less with nationals. Students close-minded before traveling were presumed to have had greater adjustment difficulties. Smith concluded that "sending an extreme nationalist and ethnocentric to another culture for the purpose of enlarging his view of the world is quite likely to do more harm than good" (p. 475). He concluded further that the general attitudes of a person traveling to another culture were determined more by attitudes held prior to the sojourn.

In a study of the attitude changes among three different sojourning groups to the United States (Indian, Israeli and European), Becker (1968) stated that attitudes toward the home and host culture were an important function of adjustment to the new culture. He found that the greater the cultural distance, the greater the adjustment difficulties would be in respect to the foreign environment.

Becker's sample was comprised of 77 students at the University of California, Los Angeles, (25 Europeans, 25 Israelis, and 27 Indians). Sojourners in each group in three different phases of their sojourn were given open-ended questions as well as the Semantic Differential test. In the beginning phase of the sojourn it was found that Indians and Israelis had highly favorable attitudes toward their country of origin and were much more critical of the United States than the Europeans in the study. He suggested that the reason for these negative attitudes was due largely to prevailing attitudes in the sojourners' home country toward the United States. For the Indian students this was accompanied by a sense of "national inferiority" which was believed to additionally influence their attitudes and adjustment difficulties.

In contrast, Becker found that Europeans were more critical of their own people and had a higher degree of favorableness toward the U.S., reporting more gratifying experiences and a greater sense of well-being. In a later phase of the sojourn a more critical view of the Indian students' home country coincided with a more favorable view of the United States, which also correlated with a higher degree of

social and physical comfort and a higher degree of willingness to explore the American culture.

One study tested three hypotheses regarding social interaction and favorable attitudes of the sojourn of Arab students (Ibrahim, 1970). The researchers proposed that more favorable attitudes of the sojourners would result from more interaction with host nationals, that there would be a more favorable attitude toward an out-group if those in the in-group perceived that the out-group saw them favorably, and that there would be mutually favorable perceptions of both cultures with more interaction. In a random sample of Arab students in the United States, 414 questionnaires were completed which included three Likert scales measuring (a) interaction, (b) the Arab perception of American attitudes toward them, and (c) Arab attitudes toward Americans. They found that interaction was positively correlated with favorable attitudes toward Americans, but they did not know whether the enhanced interaction caused the students to have more favorable attitudes, or whether Arab students who initially had higher attitudes toward Americans were more likely to interact with them. Nevertheless the evidence gives support to their first hypothesis that interaction with people from different cultures is related to the development of favorable attitudes.

The hypothesis that perceptions of the other culture's attitudes toward one's own culture predicts favorableness toward that culture was supported (Ibrahim, 1970). It was found that if the Arabs perceived that Americans' attitudes toward them were negative, then it was more likely that the Arabs would hold negative attitudes toward Americans. Conversely, Arabs that perceived Americans as

having positive attitudes toward them in turn had favorable attitudes toward Americans. The third hypothesis, that attitudes of each culture toward the other are favorably perceived with more interaction between members of the different nations, was not supported by the data.

Ruben and Kealey (1979) explored the relationship between the acquisition of interpersonal skills and success in sojourner adaptation. They pre-tested 19 sojourners before a two-year trip to Kenya on seven operationalized dimensions of communication (display of respect, interaction posture, orientation to knowledge, empathy, effective role behavior, ability to manage interactions, and tolerance for ambiguity) and then retested one year later (Ruben & Kealey, 1979). Interestingly, they discovered that sojourners who were (a) more relationally-oriented, (b) evidenced higher degrees of empathy, (c) reacted to others more non-judgmentally, and (d) had greater tolerance for ambiguity, experienced greater effectiveness during their sojourn but greater culture shock initially. Although this seemed contrary to what they expected to find, the investigators suggested that perhaps the sojourners who ultimately would be most effective may be expected to be more sensitive to culture shock during the early transition. Regarding overall adjustment after a year in the new country, the best predictor was the display of respect ($p = 0.005$), and then the ability to manage interpersonal interactions. Ruben and Kealey suggested that sojourners that were tolerant, respectful and comfortable with people from their own culture would probably be so with those from other cultures as well. They also proposed that individuals with a high degree of respect for others might have a high

degree of inner security which would help them in a culture that was unfamiliar to their own.

Hofman and Zak (1969), in a comparison study of 90 U.S. and Canadian students sojourning in Israel, hypothesized that a sojourner's active involvement and social interaction with the host culture would result in attitude changes. This was tested at a summer camp where there was much opportunity for interaction between Israelis and Americans. The researchers proposed that higher amounts of contact with host nationals would be related to more favorable attitudes toward that culture and that lesser contact might result in no change of favorableness or even an opposite reaction. Pre-tests administered at the onset of the sojourn and then again three days before the end of the experience showed that those having high levels of international contact moved toward more favorable positions regarding the country and culture, whereas those with low contact actually responded less favorably within three areas, and showed no change on the others. Other variables which might have accounted for attitude changes (sex, age, religious affiliation of self and parents) failed to do so, though they did show some relationship to variables related to contact.

In a study of attitudes of nationals and foreign students toward coeducational social interaction (Blood & Nicholson, 1962), 78 male sojourning students were interviewed to assess their experiences of dating host country American women. They theorized that for foreign students, dating American women is often one of the only recreational opportunities they can have with members of the opposite sex. Blood and Nicholson investigated the dilemma that many international students face regarding interactions with members from the opposite

gender, since there is a smaller number of female international students with whom to interact. The sojourning students reported that the manner of American dating was "extremely different" from their home experiences, and 72% reported problems related to dating American women. The most significant problem reported was difficulties in communication resulting from language understanding and cultural misunderstandings, with feelings of awkwardness being closely related. However, despite a wide range of difficulties mentioned overall, foreign students were largely positive about their experiences, with those more acculturated having less handicaps in dating.

Related to this topic of sojourner dating, in a study of 630 American undergraduates studying abroad, Hull, Lemke, and Houang (1977) found that the sojourners sought interactions and informal dates with persons of opposite gender, but they had anticipated more dating experiences than they actually had during their sojourn. Likewise, the majority of students in this study indicated that they had related closely with at least one member of the host culture but had similarly anticipated more interactions than they actually experienced. The students also stated that the experience of the sojourn had made them more tolerant of others. In terms of attitudes in students which facilitated adjustment and interaction, the results of the study implied that the best predictors for the well adjusted sojourner would be (a) students who had more positive attitudes about the sojourn before going, (b) students who were more eager to go, and (c) students who were more mature and evidenced fewer personal problems.

It is of interest to note that a significant number of students in this study had indicated that one of the main reasons that they had opted to study overseas was for the purpose of relating to people in an intensive way. Perhaps this is why this group reported spending significantly more time with natives of the host culture than members of their own college group. A significant amount of the sojourners, 88%, reported positive feelings concerning their overall experience, and 65% stated that their sojourn abroad had been the best experience in their undergraduate programs (Hull, Lemke, & Houang, 1977).

Social Interaction and Alienation

Many sojourning students have been known to struggle with loneliness and a strong sense of alienation. Alienation has been described as a feeling of meaninglessness, powerlessness and social estrangement (Burbach, 1972). The alienated individual may feel uncertain how to behave because of an inability to adequately interpret what is happening around him or her (meaninglessness). An individual experiencing alienation can feel powerless to achieve goals which he or she may have, and even though the social conditions which the individual is in could make possible the obtaining of these desired outcomes, the person's subjective interpretation of the situation makes him or her feel helpless (powerlessness). As the person experiences social estrangement, the feelings of loneliness increase (Burbach, 1972).

The experience of alienation and loneliness is often maintained and the sojourner is exasperated by the lack of social contact and support. Schram and Lauver (1988) investigated different independent variables which could possibly predict the experience of

alienation in international students. These variables were based on previous studies which had correlated alienation in international students with (a) social contact, (b) age, (c) geographical home region, (d) sex, (e) presence of a spouse, (f) graduate versus undergraduate academic status, (g) urban or suburban versus rural background, and h) length of time the students spend in the university town.

Six hundred university international students and 62 foreign students from the Center for English as a Second Language were randomly selected and mailed questionnaires which gathered information from three general areas: the Social Contact Scale, the University Alienation Scale, and questions regarding respondent demographics. The results showed that among all the above mentioned possible predictors, only three were found to be significantly correlated with alienation: (a) social contact, (b) graduate status, and (c) geographical home region (specifically Europe). Graduate students and students from Europe experienced less alienation and, as they had expected, increased social contact was negatively correlated with alienation.

Schram and Lauver (1988) suggested that the students' adjustment would be greater if they knew the importance of having friends and social contacts with people from the host culture, as well as being provided with ways to do this. The study also implied that a continued supportive relationship with other international students was important as well, as long as they did not make these friendships exclusive, to the detriment of their host culture relationships.

In a study of 18 non-European foreign students in what they termed a high-pressure university setting, Selby and Woods (1966)

reported that a university's upward striving affects the demands upon foreign students. The students are often so preoccupied with academic survival that they lack the opportunity to pursue other interests such as social contacts with American students or other cultural and social activities. They found that in such a setting, the morale of the students rose and fell with the academic seasons, and the energy and attention of the students focused almost completely upon their studies. "Learning the ropes" or aquiring "inside knowledge" of the university setting was seen as being denied the student in a high-pressure school because he or she did not have the opportunity for the type of contact with American students which would allow them such learning.

Selby and Woods (1966) found that the students reported having extremely unsatisfying relationships with American students, stating that they found it very difficult to get close to them. They perceived Americans as being difficult to contact because they were also working very hard and were uninterested in experiences outside of their academic pursuits. As one Egyptian student reported:

I think if I could find an American student who would work with me I could do better. . . [but]. . . there is no chance . . . . They are always in a hurry, everybody has to get to their homes right away. I have no relations with American people. . . . They have no free time, no free time at all. (p. 144)

Although these students presented themselves as having little time for social interests, they perceived that their American counterparts were also as pressured and had not time for them. Their main source of academic guidance came from the faculty at the university, but

they stated that they learned most about the culture from the "host family" with whom they were staying (Selby & Woods, 1966).

These investigators felt that the sojourners' role as students was a more salient variable in their adjustment than their role as foreigners. They stated that "in our view, the non-European foreign student is more computer science specialist than Cambodian, more grade-getter than culture-bearer" (p. 154). Instead of using more typical conceptual constructs related to sojourner adjustment (e.g., culture shock, acculturation), they used informant statements to determine the level of morale, and assumed that this would measure adjustment. Unfortunately, this does not allow for much comparability of the results or provide for a replication of the study. Also, the view of the sojourner as primarily a student and not a culture-bearer fails to take into account the numerous multi-cultural and separation issues which the sojourner encounters and which make his or her concerns more than merely academic.

Considering the research already reviewed, it would make sense that the students at a high-pressure university, which allows little time and availability for social interaction between cultures, would experience more alienation and report extremely unsatisfying relationships with Americans and less satisfaction with their sojourn. There is less possibility for meaningful attachment which is needed to offset the losses experienced from the sojourn.

In comparison to the Selby and Woods (1966) study, Sellitz, Holson, and Cook (1956) found that the type of American college the foreign sojourner attended had a significant effect on his or her potential for interaction. From interviews with 348 foreign students

residing in the United States, the investigators found that sojourning students at smaller colleges had more interaction with their hosts and also had more potential for interaction, whereas sojourners at metropolitan universities had the lowest potential for interaction. They found that the greater the potential for interaction, the more frequent, varied and intimate was the contact. They also found that there was a significant difference between the interaction potential of differing living arrangements, with some providing much more opportunity for participation of sojourners in activities with Americans than others.

It has ` . n shown that closer proximity enhances frequency of interaction (Sellitz et al., 1956), which in turn increases the amount of perceived similarities between sojourners and their hosts (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963). Proximity, frequency of interaction and perceived similarity are all related to sojourner satisfaction. Having more of a sense of similarity between host and foreign nationals would seem to lesson the effect of isolation and feelings of alienation. As already discussed above, increased social contact between host and sojourners in itself lessens the feelings of alienation (Schram & Lauver, 1988).

Language Proficiency and Social Interaction with Host Nationals

Proficiency in the host language has been associated with enhanced social interaction between sojourners and host nationals, as language is a crucial medium of communication. Sojourners with better knowledge and command of the language have better adjustment and easier interactions than those with less adequate skills (Brislin, 1981; Church, 1982; Pruitt, 1978). Sojourners that are more familiar with certain language idiosyncrasies of the national language,

such as connotational and latent meanings, have more successful communication with nationals (Glenn, 1972; Porter, 1972). The knowledge and use of nonverbal language (that is, gestures, eye contact and movement, body posture and appearance) has obvious advantages in cross-cultural adjustment (Hall & Whyte, 1963).

In one study (Deutsch & Won, 1963), 94 foreign technical students from 29 foreign countries training in the United States were given surveys related to their adjustment to their program and to the United States. The study showed that the majority of trainees reported a high degree of social interaction with host nationals and said that they were very satisfied with their training programs and their social experiences in the United States. Many of these students came from countries where English was used in their home schools, such as India and the Philippines. Language facility was positively correlated with enhanced social interaction with Americans, and the greater the language fluency the greater the sojourner satisfaction.

In another empirical study, 296 African students were given questionnaires in order to assess adaptation of African sojourners to the United States (Pruitt, 1978). It was found that students with initial difficulties in language had a poorer adjustment, both with their studies and their social and cultural environment.

In a study referred to earlier of American undergraduate sojourners in Northern Europe, Africa and the United States (Hull et al., 1977), there was an increase of interaction with nationals of the local area as knowledge and apprehension of cultural patterns and idioms increased. This increase in contact was related to an increase of sojourners' satisfaction. Sewell and Davidson (1961) also found that

foreign students who had better English speaking skills reported a more favorable sojourn.

These correlational studies show a strong relationship between language proficiency and adjustment of the sojourner. Language proficiency obviously is an important factor in the sojourner's ability to understand the host culture and communicate and relate in a closer way with host nationals. The English proficiency of foreign students has actually been shown to correlate more with the social aspects of a sojourner's adjustment than with his or her academic performance (Sellitz, Hopson, & Cook, 1956).

National Origin and Social Interaction

The sojourner's propensity for social interaction with host nationals is influenced by background and situational factors, which work hand in hand in influencing sojourner adjustment (Brien & David, 1971). As with language difficulties, vast differences between cultures deleteriously affect intercultural communication and involvement (Brien & David, 1971). There is greater propensity for misunderstanding and miscommunication among cultures that differ significantly. These difficulties in understanding limit social interactions, which in turn can have a negative effect on adjustment.

When a person from one culture is in another culture that is completely different than his/her own, cultural rules and values may become ambiguous, and well intentioned but miscommunicated actions may fail or be perceived as negative by those in the host culture. It becomes inadequate to rely upon one's own cultural reference of normality when operating in a different culture; the

larger the degree of difference between two cultures, the greater the probability for such disharmony (Brien & David, 1971).

Studies have consistently shown that European and other western sojourning students in the U.S. have less adjustment difficulties than those from third world countries (Brislin, 1981; Church, 1982; Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Pruitt, 1978). Likewise, American students have reported greater satisfaction with sojourns in Europe than in the Middle or Near East (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963). Maintaining the position that sojourner adjustment is related to social interaction with host nationals, a plausible explanation is that students from cultures that are very different from the host culture would have greater difficulty in forming close relationships with nationals, and hence would have more adjustment difficulties. Although it has been shown that closer proximity enhances frequency of interaction and increases the amount of perceived similarities between sojourners and their hosts (Sellitz et al., 1956), strong dissimilarities may actually be enhanced when two very different cultures come into contact, producing even greater distance (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963).

The differences which would make interaction between third world students and Americans less easy could be many, including (a) value differences between industrialized vs. non-industrialized nations, (b) modernization, (c) racial differences, (d) cultural differences, and (e) ethnic discrimination, to name a few. It would seem that the greater the differences to be overcome, the more energy is needed to participate in communication cross-culturally. In the case of vast cultural differences, an important variable as language

comprehension would be only one factor that would need to be mastered, as would be the numerous non-verbal cues and customs.

Becker's (1968) study showed differences in sojourners' attitudes toward the United States to be a function of cultural and social distance, with the greater adjustment difficulties correlated with greater cultural distance. Schram and Lauver (1988) found that European students in the U.S. suffered significantly less alienation than did students from Asia, who in turn were less alienated than African students. They found that students from Latin America and the Middle and Near East had slightly lower alienation scores than did African and Asian students. Among Asian students sojourning in the West, students from countries less culturally distant were found to be more accepting of the host countries' institutions and values, and they adjusted easier as well (Galtung, 1965).

Antler's (1970) study of foreign medical students in the U.S., confirmed that personal contacts with host nationals was related to the world region from which the sojourners had come. Antler found that the highest number of interpersonal contacts with American hosts were made by students from Western countries, and students from the Orient had the least amount of contacts.

In one study (Furnham & Bochner, 1982) questionnaires completed by 150 sojourning students from 29 different countries at English Language schools throughout Great Britain assessed cross-cultural interaction, student adjustment and differences in cultural attitudes. The students were divided into three different subgroups based on their geographic region of national origin (northern, southern and eastern Europe, which included South Americans, as the

researchers felt that they were closely related historically). The results of the study confirmed the investigators' hypothesis that a positive relationship exists between social difficulty and culture distance. That is, when the difference between the native community and the host community was greater, the students experienced more difficulties in everyday adjustment. The investigators found that the geographic and regional areas from which the sojourners came were indicative of their adjustment in accordance with the social skills model, which assumes that there is greater difficulty in negotiating common social situations when there is a larger disparity between the sojourner's culture and the host culture.

Understanding of the conventions and rules of the host culture as well as having the ability to manage friendships and understand others was noted as important for successful adjustment. Particularly, initiating and maintaining friendships with host nationals was reported as the most difficult social situation for the sojourners. As the students were somewhat socially isolated in their language school, the researchers noticed a vicious cycle. A dearth of national friends made access into the host culture difficult, which in turn lessened opportunities for social skill learning, which in turn made it more difficult to interact with host nationals. The investigators stated that the foreign students' distance from the host culture was probably a process that went two ways, in that part of the problem is due to the indifference and insensitivity of the host nationals, whereas part of the distance is maintained by the sojourner's lack of effort in the contacts. (Furnham & Bochner, 1982)

Other studies have demonstrated that there are differing attitudes held by host nationals toward sojourning students which facilitate or inhibit their social interactions inter-culturally. In Blood and Nicholson's (1962) study of the dating experiences of male sojourners with American women, they found that the foreign students' negotiation of dating was limited by his ability in acculturation. There were also differential attitudes of "acceptability" which American women held toward these men of various cultures which coincided with their positive and negative experiences.

The American women had rated Europeans as most favorable, then Latin Americans, Near Easterners, Far Easterners and Africans. This coincided with the self-reported frequency of dates by the male sojourners, with the highest percentage of dating by Europeans, then Latin Americans and Near Easterners, and Orientals and Indians having the lowest. The study demonstrated that the decline in rates of dating were a function of both the foreign students' uncomfortableness of dating due to cultural distance, as well as unwillingness on the part of the American women to date these men from such differing cultures (Blood & Nicholson, 1962). This again shows the inter-relationship of cultural distance and social interaction, as well as the two-way cycle involved where those with greater cultural distance have a more difficult time relating to the host national culture. This keeps them more isolated and retards their acculturation, which in turn maintains their distance.

The more religious students participated in less dating, probably due to the fact that American coeds of the same religion (Moslems, Hindus, Buddhists) were not as numerous in the United States (Blood

& Nicholson, 1962). In the area of religion, Westerners will have greater chances to date and socially interact with Americans because they are from areas where Christianity is the common religion. Interestingly, students without any religious affiliation dated the most frequently.

Deutsch and Won (1963) found that social interaction with American nationals had a generally positive effect on sojourning internationals, but that negative interactions reported were mostly due to experiences of racial prejudice. African students in Pruitt's (1978) study also reported negative social experiences due to discrimination and prejudice, as well as other difficulties in adjusting to a different culture.

In another study by Becker (1973) a sample of foreign African sojourners were interviewed regarding their view of relations between black Africans and black Americans. It was discovered that communication between Africans and American whites was seen as easier than that between Africans and black Americans. According to the Africans, cultural differences seemed to be greater between themselves and black Americans than between themselves and white Americans, and this was seen in their friendship and dating patterns with Americans.

Even effective interaction between counselors and foreign students is related to the sojourner's country of origin. One study (Yuen & Tinsley, 1981) of 150 college freshmen reported significant differences in expectancies regarding counseling in the United States which would relate to the efficacy of their treatment. As opposed to American students, the African, Chinese and Iranian students took a

passive role as clients, as they expected American counselors to be directive and nurturing. These differences were due to their cultural and social backgrounds which influence the students' expectancies toward counseling.

A related study of 172 international students from 75 countries in the U.S. showed that Western students had significantly more positive attitudes and expectancies toward counseling than did non-Western students (Dadfar & Friedlander, 1982). They related this to acculturation and prior experiences and exposure to counseling services in the home country of the sojourner. Dadfar and Friedlander (1982) noted that non-Western sojourners had more negative attitudes toward counseling, which contributed to a less favorable treatment outcome for that population.

Sewell and Davidson (1961) found that the higher a sojourning student's socioeconomic status in the student's country of origin the higher the rate of contact the student had with Americans, as well as the higher they rated the favorability of their sojourning experiences. The same study indicated that contact and favorability was also related to the appearance of the sojourner, with those appearing less foreign having greater amounts of contact and adjustment.

In a study involving 318 foreign students, Morris (1956) found that those students who perceived that members of the host county looked down upon their country of origin in terms of status were more likely to react unfavorably toward those in the host culture. This was especially so for those who felt highly connected with or were highly involved with their home country. On the other hand, students who felt that host nationals (Americans) viewed their country in a more

positive light responded more favorably, especially if they had a higher degree of involvement with their country. These findings are consistent with those of Ibrahim's (1970) study discussed earlier.

Sojourner Interaction with Conationals

Sojourning students often interact a great deal with other foreign students, and this seems to be facilitative of their adjustment (Higginbotham, 1979). It has been suggested that the interaction with other international students could offset the experience of alienation for lonely students (Schram & Lauver, 1988). Often, sojourners from various countries share in common the sense of being a foreigner, and they tend to have their closer relationships with fellow foreigners, while seeking out relationships with host nationals for more utilitarian purposes (Furnham & Bochner, 1982). When sojourning students experience the loss of their personal and cultural structure, there can be a strong desire to form a "subculture" of other conationals and other sojourning students. This may be helpful in recapitulating the home setting and providing a sense of security and support for the students, but it can also serve to inhibit deeper intercultural contact with host nationals which in turn can lessen adjustment (Alexander et al., 1976).

Sojourners may surround themselves exclusively with conationals or other international students to avoid interacting with nationals and to seek support and replacement for the loss of their culture. This may seem to a sojourner as the only resort for support, as forming friendships with host nationals may be very difficult (Alexander et al., 1976; Bochner, 1973; Higginbotham, 1979). Also, by avoiding contact with host nationals sojourners may also be avoiding

the difficulties and frustrations which often accompany cross-cultural exchanges. However, avoiding such contact will hinder acculturation and assimilation. Moreover, the more a student is preoccupied with his country of origin, the less satisfactory will be his adjustment (Sewell & Davidson, 1961). Another extreme position would be a sojourner who interacts wholly with host nationals to the exclusion of his own culture primarily in an effort to acculturate to the new environment. This could have the effect of alienating the student from meaningful attachment to those from the same culture who are undergoing similar experiences of adjustment. The rejection of one's own countrymen could presumably bring about a good deal of cognitive dissonance. Sojourners who are isolated from either group (host or conational) would likely have poorer adjustment in the new environment.

In observing American students sojourning in Spain during an encounter group and in the context of academic settings, Golden (1973) stated that students should be prepared "thoroughly and pragmatically" for what they would experience in a foreign country He suggested that the directors of international programs could best help their students emotionally by enabling them to establish more interpersonal relationships. He cautioned however, that "students who seek their emotional support from within the American student group often fail to make an inroad into the foreign culture, thereby losing much of the value of study abroad" (p. 35). In addition he suggested that at the beginning of the sojourn students would naturally seek emotional support from fellow nationals, but they should gradually be

encouraged to become more involved with the people and culture of the host country.

A study of foreign students in America by Alexander et. al. (1976) surfaced feelings of isolation in those who maintained an exclusive or closed relationship with the conational subculture. Many students reported difficulty in forming friendships with Americans, and 14% reported making no friends at all. Another study with Formosan and Korean students in the United States (Alexander et. al., 1976) indicated that most preferred social contacts with conationals, relating casually to Americans, but reserving their personal contacts for conationals. The sojourners who were able to have more intimate relationships with Americans had better communication skills, were higher in self-confidence, and were not as strongly identified with their home culture.

Antler (1970) also found that sojourners who were more assertive and self-confident and less nationalistic had more interactions with their hosts. Sojourners who were more nationalistic and interacted more with conationals and other international students reported less satisfaction with their program and therefore lower levels of adjustment. Conversely, the students who had more contacts with the host nationals (Americans) were more satisfied and better adjusted.

An analysis of variance in Antler's (1970) study demonstrated that the amounts of interaction the sojourners had with their countrymen were of greater significance in the adjustment of the sojourners than the frequency of contacts with host nationals. A relatively lower number of contacts with fellow nationals was related

to higher levels of sojourner satisfaction, and vice versa. The group with a high level of interaction with host nationals and a low level of contact with conationals scored the highest in satisfaction. The group that reported little interaction with Americans and much interaction with conationals scored the lowest in satisfaction.

A study of African students at nine colleges in the United States (Pruitt, 1978), showed that students had more positive attitudes toward American values and their experiences in the U.S. if they had spent more time with Americans as opposed to time with other Africans. Adjustment in this study was determined by the absence of problems in 11 areas, and the degree of happiness reported. Major problems mentioned were homesickness, irritability, depression, racial discrimination, and fatigue. Also mentioned were loneliness and difficulties in communicating with Americans. Only a third of the students spent their leisure time with Americans (White or Black). Students from extended families felt more homesick than those who had grown up in nuclear families. Interestingly, the study indicated that contact with American families was related closely to the maintenance of the African students' church activity, and both of these factors were indicators of assimilation. Pruitt suggested that this might be the way many African students meet and maintain relationships with American families. Overall, the study maintained that there exists a positive correlation between interaction with Americans and assimilation and adjustment to the dominant culture.

Although there was a positive impact of the interaction with Americans on African sojourners' adjustment, Pruitt's (1970) study found that close contact with fellow Africans seemed to have a

negative effect on their adjustment. Pruitt suggested that African sojourners who spent most of their time with fellow Africans had less opportunity to acquire and enhance adaptive responses to the new environment which could facilitate their adjustment. He also offered the possible explanation that students who were experiencing difficulties in adjustment needed to spend more time with fellow conationals because they were more dependent upon them for support.

Another study involving Asian students studying in the West (Galtung, 1965) showed that the more access and contact sojourners have with fellow nationals the more they are oriented toward their home culture, and the less likely they are to acculturate in the host country. Galtung also found that the frequency of contacts with fellow nationals was related to the number of nationals available with whom they could interact, as well as the degree of cultural distance between the host and home cultures. For example, 85% of the Indian students interviewed in the United Kingdom and the United States interacted often with other Indians, whereas only 46% of Iranian students had frequent contact with each other. Although the investigators predicted that the students who interacted more often with fellow nationals were less adjusted to the host culture, they found that the frequency of interaction with conationals was less of a predictor than they had proposed and that difference in national background was a much better predictor of adjustment (Galtung, 1965).

In a study of 134 sojourning students from different countries involving interviews and questionnaires (Miller et al., 1971), American and Asian international students expressed difficulties in

relating to their hosts. Their more intimate and personally satisfying relationships were those with conationals. The study indicated that sojourners who ventured into cross-cultural relationships with host nationals were sometimes regarded negatively by conationals, who perceived that the sojourner was rejecting the values of the home country. This negative attitude toward conationals who mingled with people from the host country was greatly magnified if the cross-cultural relationships were with those of the opposite sex. Miller and associates stated that "the solidarity of the conational minority whenever there is sufficient number to allow the establishment of a clear subculture, is great, and its persistence is to a certain extent, an enforced matter" (p. 131).

In a study of Chinese students in the United States (Kang, 1971), it was found that students who anglicized their names (i.e., changed them to sound more American) were more acculturated into the host society than those who did not change their names. Kang (1971) noted that the name of an individual is symbolically representative of his or her social and ethnic identity, and that changing it would have important implications in terms of his or her cultural loyalties and identity. Nevertheless, in a study of 262 Chinese students at the University of Minnesota, 36% had anglicized their first names.

The study did not show a significant difference in income level or consumption patterns between changers and nonchangers, but those who had changed their names lived in better housing arrangements. Students who changed their names interacted more with Americans, coinhabited more with them, were more familiar with American magazines and had greater adaptation to American cultural

tastes. Those who did not change their names were more involved in their professional careers and were less pulled away from their home community, while those who changed their names demonstrated more "out-group-oriented attitudes and behavior." Kang (1971) concluded that there was a significant shift of social identity in the changing of a sojourner's name.

From these studies it is observed that sojourning students will often seek closer relationships with conationals and other foreign students. This becomes an important source of support and comfort for those who have undergone multiple losses, as well as experiencing the difficulty in adjusting to a new culture. However, adjustment to and satisfaction with the new culture appears to be enhanced with increased meaningful contact with host nationals. Sojourners who surround themselves primarily with other international students to the exclusion of relationships with host nationals appear to have poorer adjustment and are less satisfied with their sojourn.

Implications For Facilitating Sojourner Adjustment

The results of the studies reviewed in this paper offer implications for facilitating adjustment of sojourning students, as well as preventing adjustment problems experienced by them. It seems that awareness of the problems of separation and adjustment which sojourners face would be helpful not only to sojourners preparing for travel but also to host nationals who come into contact with them. Sojourners who are informed of the importance of social interaction on adjustment presumably would have more contact with host nationals than those unaware of the benefits of doing so. Studies discussed in

this paper have shown that many sojourners are not aware of the importance of social interaction on their adjustment and satisfaction.

Pre-testing of the sojourners could be a preventative approach in discovering those whose attitudes are more facilitative of social interaction versus those who hold attitudes which correlate negatively with interaction, adjustment and satisfaction. Students could also be tested for their knowledge and expectations about the customs, social institutions and people of the culture they will visit, and be informed of whatever information is deemed necessary for better adjustment.

Programs which help orient foreign students to the new host country university could also help them understand the importance of making friends and of having social contacts with people from the host culture. In addition, this help could provide avenues and increased opportunities for more interaction. Student peer counselors or other advisors could help these students understand their bewilderment and help them make sense of what is going on around them socially and culturally. Such groups could enable sojourners by facilitating their sense of empowerment to offset the debilitating feelings of helplessness. New arrivals might benefit from an organized support system which could orient them to important communication channels which they may not discover on their own for a long time, or possibly not at all.

A "buddy" system could be established which would facilitate social contact between sojourner and host national. This would enhance a sojourner's understanding of the host culture and those specific aspects of it which are idiosyncratic to the particular region. This buddy system could comprise either a small group, or even

preferably a pairing of an older peer national student with the international student who could show him or her the "ropes." This in turn could be educative for the host national, as he or she would be more intimately exposed to important aspects of another culture. Perhaps those studying the language of a particular foreign country could be paired up with an international student from that country, envisioning a mutually enlightening relationship through exchanging information and helping each other learn about the culture and language of their respective countries.

Churches should be encouraged to take more interest in international students, as their involvement has been shown to be a good medium for foreign students to meet host nationals and gain access into the culture. Sojourning students could be encouraged to maintain their religious activities in the new culture, as it offers continuing support in an area they may have previously relied on in their home culture.

It has been noted that sojourners in smaller colleges have more social interaction with hosts and also have more potential for such interaction, whereas sojourners at large metropolitan universities have the lowest potential for social interaction. Those sojourners going to larger universities should be made aware of this, and the college personnel should make efforts to counterbalance any deficiency with either support groups, programs designed to helping the student acculturate, or buddy systems of some sort. This would be especially important for students at universities with high amounts of academic pressure which leave little room for extra curricular activities.

Implications for Further Research

There is a need for more empirical research in the area of social interaction and student sojourner adjustment. Much of the information available is only anecdotal, or has been obtained by means of self-rating scales and self-reports, results of which may often be subject to bias. Due to the limitations of survey data, use of additional methods would seem advantageous, such as open-ended interviews which could collect more specific or relevant data, as well as case studies, observation, small group experiments, and so forth. The studies that have been done thus far often lack internal validity, as there is a dearth of experimental control and random selection and assignment of subjects. Better experimental controls and selection procedures would make the results less tenuous. Moreover, there is a need for more longitudinal studies which would be able to account for the effects of social interaction over time.

The norms which explain adjustment in many of these studies are those of a Western perspective, which may differ in varying degrees from non-Western cultures. Although there is still much use that can be made of these studies in non-Western cultures, their conclusions and implications may have greater utility for mental health workers and school personnel from Western cultures. Studies conducted in non-Western cultures could broaden our understanding of the adjustment needs of non-Western sojourners as well as broaden our understanding of the processes of cultural adjustment in general. Most of the studies cited in this review of the literature were conducted by American investigators with the possibility of bias regarding assumptions and conclusions of human adjustment which

may not pertain as adequately to non-American populations. There is therefore a need for greater collaboration internationally regarding this type of research, enabling the comparison of certain national groups in various cultures.

Summary and Conclusions

Sojourning students to a greater or lesser degree can face a large number adjustment difficulties during their experiences abroad. They endure the stresses of adaptation to a foreign culture, which often involve learning a new language, as well as the adjustment to different educational systems, social mores, values, relationships, foods and other aspects of culture. In addition, these adjustment difficulties are compounded by the multiple losses international students have experienced as a result of their sojourn. Losses may include those of family, culture, familiar surroundings, primary language and personal status. The adjustments that sojourners undergo are often arduous and painful, and they therefore may struggle with such distressing feelings as depression, nostalgia, disorientation, isolation, powerlessness, loss of identity, fear, bewilderment, increased dependency needs, hostility and alienation. Along with these distressing feelings, poor adjustment to the new culture can affect a sojourner's academic success and lead possibly to premature return to his or her home country.

Previous research has focused on several factors and variables affecting sojourner adjustment. Variables found to positively correlate with greater adjustment and satisfaction are: (a) similarity of culture, (b) previous travel experience, (c) prior knowledge of the

host country, (d) greater competency in their use of the host language, and (e) different sojourner attitudes and qualities, such as flexibility, less authoritarianism and higher self-concept. The present paper has focused on another important factor of sojourner adjustment which is often related to the above variables--that is, social interaction. A review of pertinent research and literature has probed the effects of social interaction with host and conationals on the adjustment of sojourning students. The research was divided into five categories related to social interaction and adjustment: (a) sojourner attitudes, (b) alienation, (c) language acquisition, (d) national origin, and (e) sojourner interaction with conationals.

Sojourner attitudes that have been shown to correlate positively with increased social interaction and adjustment include world-mindedness, interpersonal relatedness, respect, favorable attitudes toward the host culture, assertiveness, self-assurance, and motivation to sojourn for social or cultural reasons. Negatively correlated with social interaction and adjustment were ethnocentric, judgmental, fearful, shy and highly nationalistic attitudes. Also, sojourners who had strictly professional reasons for their sojourn not only interacted less with host nationals but were less satisfied as well with their experience abroad.

Social contact with host nationals was found to be correlated negatively with alienation. Proficiency in the host language enhanced social interaction between sojourners and host nationals, and was also correlated positively with adjustment. Cultural distance was correlated negatively with social interaction and adjustment, and sojourners coming from countries very similar to the host culture

reported better adjustment and greater satisfaction with their sojourn. Finally, sojourners whose primary social interaction was with conationals were less well adjusted in comparison to those who had greater levels of interaction with host nationals. The evidence from the studies cited points to the fact that very close contact with conationals lessens the likelihood of sojourners acquiring those adaptive responses which would otherwise contribute significantly to their acculturation and assimilation.

REFERENCES

Alexander, A. A., Klein, M. H., Workneh, F., Miller, M.H. (1976). Psychotherapy and the foreign student. In P. B. Pedersen, J.G. Draguns, W.J. Lonner, & J. E. Trimmble (Eds.), Counseling across cultures. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Antler, L. (1970). Correlates of home and host country acquaintanceship among foreign medical residents in the United States. Journal of Social Psychology, 80, 49-57.

Becker, T. (1968) Patterns of attitudinal changes among foreign students. American Journal of Sociology, 73, 431-442.

Becker, T. (1973). Black Africans and Black Americans on an American campus: The African view. Sociology and Social Research, 57, 168-181.

Blood, R. O., & Nicholson, S. O. (1962). The experiences of foreign students in dating American women. Marriage and Family Living, 24, 241-248.

Bowlby, J. (1973). Attachment and loss (Vol.2; Separation; Anxiety and anger). New York: Basic Books.

Bowlby, J. (1977). The making and breaking of affectional bonds. British Journal of Psychiatry, 130, 201-210.

Bowlby, J. (1980). Attachment and loss (Vol.3: Loss). New York: Basic Books.

Burbach, H. J. (1972). The development of contextual measure of alienation. Pacific Sociological Review, 15, 225-234.

Brein, M., & David, K. (1971). Intercultural communication and the adjustment of the sojourner. Psychological Bulletin, 76, 215-230.

Brislin, R. (1981). Cross-cultural encounters. New York: Pergamon Press.

Dadfar, S., & Friedlander, M. L. (1982). Differential attitudes of international students toward seeking professional psychological help. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 29, 335-338.

David, K. H. (1976). The use of social learning theory in preventing intercultural adjustment problems. In P. Pedersen, W. J. Lonner, & J. Draguns (Eds.), Counseling across cultures (pp. 123-138). Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Day, R. C., & Hajj, F. M. (1986). Delivering counseling services to international students: The experience of the American University of Beirut. Journal of College Student Personnel, 6, 353-357.

Deutsch, S., & Won, G. (1963). Some factors in the adjustment of foreign nationals in the U.S. Journal of Social Issues, 19, 115-122.

Dillard, J. M., & Chisolm, G. B. (1983). Counseling the international student in a multicultural context. Journal of College Student Personnel, 24, 101-105.

Edgerton, R. B. (1965). Some dimensions of disillusionment in culture contact. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 21, 231-243.

Furnham, A., & Bochner, S. (1982). Social difficulty in a foreign culture: An empirical analysis of culture shock. In S. Bochner (Ed.), Cultures in contact: Studies in cross-cultural interaction (pp. 161-198). Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Galtung, I. E. (1965). The impact of study abroad: A three-by-three nation study of cross-cultural contact. Journal of Peace Research, 2, 258-275.

Garraty, J. A., & Adams, W. (1959). From Main Street to the Left Bank: Students and scholars abroad, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

Glenn, E. S. (1972). Meaning and behavior: Communication and culture. In L. A. Samovar & R. E. Porter (Eds.), Intercultural communication: A reader. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Golden, J. S. (1973). Student adjustment abroad: A psychiatrist's view. International Educational and Cultural Exchange, 8, 28-36.

Gullahorn, J. T., & Gullahorn, J. E., (1963). An extension of the U-curve hypothesis. *Journal of Social Issues, 19,* 33-47.

Guthrie, G. (1979). A cross-cultural odyssey: Some personal reflections. In A. Marsella, R. Tharp, & T. Ciborowski (Eds.), *Perspectives in cross-cultural psychology* (pp. 349-368). New York: Academic Press.

Hall, E. T., & Whyte, W. F. (1963). Intercultural communication: A guide to men of action. *Practical Anthropology, 10,* 216-299.

Hansburg, G. (1972). *Adolescent separation anxiety.* Springfield, IL: Charles C Thomas.

Higginbotham, H. (1979). Culture and mental health services. In A. Marsella, R. Tharp, & T. Ciborowski (Eds.), *Perspectives in cross-cultural psychology* (pp. 307-332). New York: Academic Press.

Hirsch, R. J., & Rapkin, B. D. (1987). The transition to junior high school: A longitudinal study of self-esteem, psychological symptomatology, school life, and social support. *Child Development, 58,* 1235-1243.

Hofman, J. E., & Zak, I. (1969) Interpersonal contact and attitude change in a cross-cultural situation. *Journal of Social Psychology, 78,* 165-171.

Hull, F. W., Lemke, W. H., & Houang, R. T. (1977). *The American undergraduate, off-campus and overseas: A study of the educational validity of such programs.* New York: Council of International Educational Exchange.

Ibrahim, S. E. M. (1970). Interaction, perception, and attitudes of Arab students toward Americans. *Sociology and Social Research, 55,* 29-46.

Jewett, C. L. (1939). *Helping children cope with separation and loss.* Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard Common Press.

Kang, T. S. (1971). Name changes and acculturation: Chinese students on an American campus. *Pacific Sociological Review, 14,* 403-412.

Klineberg, O., & Hull, W. F., IV. (1979). At a foreign university: An international study of adaptation and coping. New York: Praeger.

Ladd, G. W., Price, J. M. (1987). Predicting children's social and school adjustment following the transition from preschool to kindergarten. Child Development, 58, 1168-1189.

Lonner, W. J. (1976). The use of Western-based tests in intercultural counseling. In P. Pedersen, W.J. Lonner & J.G. Draguns (Eds.), Counseling across cultures. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Oberg, K. (1960). Cultural shock: Adjustment to new cultural environr.....ts. Practical Anthropology, 7, 177-182.

Owie, I. (1982). Social alienation among foreign students. College Student Journal, 16, 163-165.

Mahler, M.S. (1979) The selected papers of Margaret. S. Mahler, vol. 2 New York, NY: Jason Aronson.

Meares, R. (1986). On the ownership of thought: An approach to the origins of separation anxiety. Psychiatry, 4S, 80-91.

Miller, M. H., Eng-Kung, M. D., Alexander, A. A., Klein, M. H., Tseng, K.,Workneh, F., & Chu, H. (1971) The cross-cultural student: Lessons in human nature. Bulletin of the Menniger Clinic, 35, 128-131.

Morris, R. T. (1956). National status and attitudes of foreign students. Journal of Social Issues, 12, 20-25.

Porter, R. E. (1972). An overview of intercultural communication. In L. A. Samovar & R. E. Porter (Eds.), Intercultural communication: A reader. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Pruitt, F. (1978) The adaptation of African students to American society. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 2, 90-116.

Ruben, B. D., & Kealey, D. J. (1969). Behavioral assessment of communication competency and the prediction of cross-cultural adaptation. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 3, 15-47.

Schell, R., & Hall, E. (1983). Developmental psychology today, New York: Random House.

Schipper, D.J. (1977). Self-concept differences between early, late and non-boarding missionary children (Doctoral dissertation, Biola University). Dissertation Abstracts International, 38, 1905-B.

Schram, J. L., Lauver, P .J. (1988). Alienation in international students. Journal of College Student Development, 29, 146-150.

Selby, H. A., & Woods, C. M. (1966). Foreign students at a high-pressure university. Sociology of Education, 39, 138-154.

Sellitz, C., Hopson, A. L., & Cook, S. W. (1956). The effects of situational factors on personal interaction between foreign students and Americans. Journal of Social Issues, 12, 33-44.

Sewell, W. H., & Davidson, O. M. (1961). The adjustment of Scandinavian students. Journal of Social Issues, 12, 9-19.

Smith, H.P. (1955). Do intercultural experiences affect attitudes? Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 51, 469-477.

Soussignan, R., Koch, P., & Hubert, M. (1987). Behavioural and cardiovascular changes in children moving from kindergarten to primary school. Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 29, 321-333.

Stein, H. (1984). "Misplaced Persons": The crises of emotional separation in geographical mobility and uprootedness. The Journal of Psychological Anthropology, 5, 269-291.

Yuen, R. K. W., & Tinsley, H. E. A. (1981). International and American students' expectancies about counseling. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 28, 66-69.