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TRAINING SECTION

A NEW CONCEPTUALIZATION OF INTERCULTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND THE GOALS OF TRAINING

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ABSTRACT. In Part I, the process of adjustment to a highly unfamiliar environment is reconceptualized using three psychological constructs: applicability of behavior, clarity of the mental frame of reference, and level of mere adequacy. Using these constructs, a model of the process is postulated that goes beyond the symptom level in an attempt to understand intercultural adjustment from the perspective of cognitive and motivational psychology. In Part II, the model is first manipulated in order to specify the theoretically desirable changes that intercultural training should bring about with respect to each of the three psychological constructs. Then, the practical implications for intercultural training of each separate change are discussed in detail. Particular attention is paid to the goal of reducing the severity and shortening the duration of culture fatigue, which is viewed as the principal objective of training. The importance of continuing training during the early stages of the sojourner's experience in the unfamiliar environment is especially stressed.

Our purpose in this paper is first to reconceptualize what happens to someone who relocates to an unfamiliar environment, and then to apply that new conceptualization in an effort to better understand the goals of intercultural training. One of us is responsible for developing the essential features of a new theory of the adjustment process (Torbiörn, 1982), and has

been thinking also of its relevance to training. The other has been grappling with practical training issues (Grove, 1982) and was impressed by the potential of the new theory of the adjustment process for informing the pedagogy of training; in seeking to apply that theory he has made some modest alterations in the way the models are described and illustrated.

In a thorough review of the literature, Church (1982) states that "concepts and theory remain underdeveloped in the sojourner adjustment literature" and that "the development of theories of sojourner adjustment has probably been inhibited by the frequent emphasis ... on identification of adjustment problems and sojourn outcomes rather than on the dynamics of the process of adjustment." Church also states that "there has been a minimal attempt to apply theoretical concepts already existing in the sociopsychological literature to the dynamics of adjustment" (Church, 1982, pp. 562-563). In this paper, we will attempt to address these concerns by going beyond the symptom level to look for consistent explanations regarding the adjusting person's "inner world" of basic cognitive and emotional processes, and by applying those explanations to the practice of training. The hypothesis presented in this paper offers an explanation of adjustment from a perspective of cognitive and motivational psychology; it has gained empirical support in some crucial aspects (Torbiörn, 1982). However, our objective here is not primarily to offer validation of the hypothesis but rather to illustrate its content and to discuss its implications with respect to current models of cross-cultural training.

THE NEW CONCEPTUALIZATION OF
THE ADJUSTMENT PROCESS

The Person in His or Her Accustomed Environment

A well adjusted and socially adept person operating within the environment in which he or she was enculturated might be described as follows. This person's behavior, that is, habitual patterns of activity, is not only socially acceptable but also interpersonally effective in that it very often yields the outcomes desired in interactions with others similarly enculturated. In other words, the applicability of this person's behavior is high—considerably higher than some merely adequate level of applicability that would enable him to get by with minimal effectiveness. His associates recognize that his behavior is highly acceptable and effective within their common environment. He also recognizes this, a fact significant for our purposes.

Our well adjusted and socially adept person also feels confident that his understanding of the way the world works is accurate, complete, clearly perceived, and positively useful in guiding his behavior. He recognizes (perhaps implicitly) that his habitual pattern of activity is consistent with his mental model of the functioning of society. In other words, the clarity of this
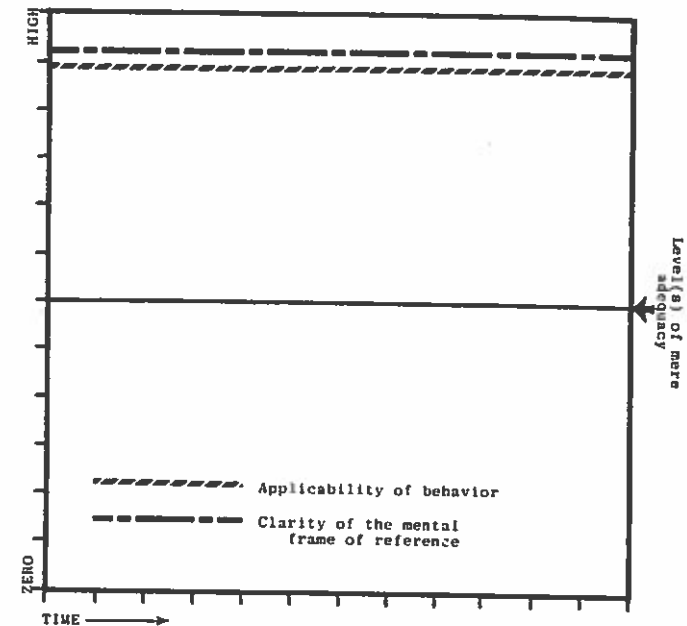
FIGURE 1. The Well Adjusted and Socially Adept Person in His or Her Accustomed Environment.

person's mental frame of reference is high—considerably higher than some merely adequate level of clarity that would enable him to simply get by with minimal confidence in his world view.

Figure 1 illustrates graphically the quality of this person's functioning in his or her accustomed environment. The chart shown in Figure 1 employs the standard format in which the vertical axis (axis of ordinates) indicates quantitative or qualitative measure, and the horizontal axis (axis of abscissas) indicates passage of time. On this chart, the vertical axis starts at zero, which means that someone is utterly dysfunctional, and proceeds upward to a high point that represents the highest attainable extent of applicability and/or clarity. Both applicability of behavior and clarity of the mental frame of reference are depicted in Figure 1 as being steadily high, illustrating the consistently high level of functioning of the person described in the previous two paragraphs. Level(s) of mere adequacy appears as a horizontal line proceeding from the mid-point of the vertical axis; it indicates the minimum extents of applicability and (separately) of clarity that the person must attain in order to experience his situation, or some aspect of it, as barely adequate or minimally satisfactory. To the extent that a person's applicability or clarity rises and remains above that level (the case illustrated in Figure 1), he will experience his situation as being better than merely adequate. To the extent that a person's applicability or clarity falls below that level, he will

experience his situation as being somewhat less than satisfactory, his behavior or actions as less than functional, or perhaps himself as less than appropriately enculturated (or acculturated). We presume that many people, probably most, aspire to function in their daily lives at levels that are somewhat above those that they perceive to be merely adequate. We further presume that many people, perhaps most, are in fact able to function at more or less elevated levels so long as their lives are proceeding smoothly within an environment to which they are accustomed.

Further Consideration of the Psychological Constructs

As noted in the previous section, our new theory of the adjustment process employs three psychological constructs: applicability of behavior, clarity of the mental frame of reference, and level of mere adequacy. Let us now look at the first two of these in more detail. Figure 2 shows the relationships among a person's frame of reference, behavior, and environment. Behavior occupies the central position. On one side, behavior is linked with environment, that is, with the state of things surrounding the person and especially the habitual patterns of activity of other people, particularly those in the person's circle of acquaintances (by which we designate all those with whom he or she interacts at least sporadically). The extent to which a person's own behavior is consistent with his environment in this sense is what we term applicability of behavior. Although applicability may be judged objectively by anyone else who witnesses the behavior of the person, it is important to keep in mind that the person exhibiting the behavior also is observing and
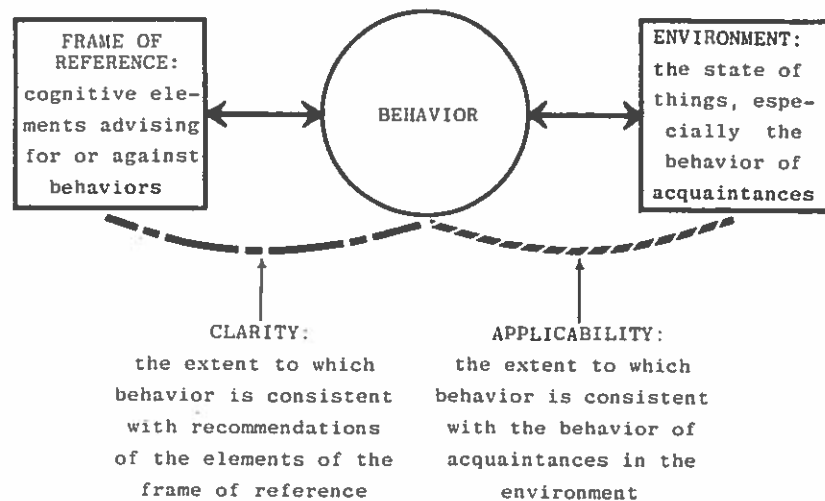

FIGURE 2. The Relationships Among a Person's Frame of Reference, Behavior, and Environment.

judging it for himself or herself; it is his or her own subjective evaluation of applicability that is important for our purposes. On the other side (as shown in Figure 2), behavior also is linked with frame of reference, that is, with all the values, attitudes, opinions, ideas, and knowledge that the person has accumulated as a result of his or her experiences. To put it another way, the frame of reference embraces a number of cognitive elements that, in a given situation, recommend or advise against a certain type of behavior. The advice given by these disparate elements may or may not be unanimous. The extent to which the elements are unanimous in recommending behavior— that is, the extent to which manifest behavior is consistent with the recommendations of the many elements—is what we term clarity. Clarity is not readily judged by anyone else who witnesses the person's behavior (although inferences may be possible); in any case, the person's subjective evaluation of clarity is what is important for our purposes.

Behavior occupies the central position in Figure 2, but it must not be conceived as some sort of barrier between the environment on the one hand, and the frame of reference on the other. The environment is affected by a person's frame of reference because the frame recommends behaviors; these, in turn, directly and immediately affect what is occurring in the environment. More important for our purposes is the fact that the environment affects the frame of reference. As the person notices what is occurring in his environment and the extent to which his behavior is in harmony with that of others, the facts and evaluations thus acquired are fed back into his frame of reference to become part of his total accumulation of values, attitudes, opinions, ideas, knowledge, and so forth. To the extent that these incoming facts and evaluations are different from those already stored there, the frame of reference may be transformed slowly, in whole or in part. We emphasize slowly here because one's frame of reference is composed of values and ideas acquired over the course of one's lifetime to date, not merely of those acquired during the past day, week, or month. On the other hand, we assume that a person's frame of reference is not monolithic but, rather, composed of numerous disparate elements; an incoming fact or evaluation may have an effect on one or two elements, but not on any of the others. To the extent, then, that some elements undergo transformation more than others, the recommendations regarding behavior given by the various elements gradually may become mutually contradictory, thus reducing the person's confidence or (as we have termed it) clarity.

Let us underscore a key point. When considered at any given moment in a person's life, his subjective evaluation of his own applicability is separate and distinct from his subjective evaluation of his own clarity. Over time, however, a person's low evaluation of his applicability gradually will depress his evaluation of his clarity. In common parlance, we would say that if a person notices that his behavior is consistently out of step with that of his acquaintances, his confidence in his understanding of the way the world works will be progressively undermined.

Let us now explore further the concept of level of mere adequacy. This level is an internal standard or benchmark against which the person evaluates, implicitly or explicitly, his or her levels of applicability and (separately) of clarity. We suspect that it is most accurate to speak in terms of a person's using this subjective standard (or set of standards) to evaluate his momentary situation vis-à-vis people or things in his environment. An unsatisfactory situation—one in which someone, something, or some event fails to attain the standard—often may be experienced, at least initially, not as a failure or abnormality of the self but rather as a failure or abnormality of an (external) person or thing. The tendency of a person to view unsatisfactory situations initially as due to inadequacies within himself, or within other people or things, may be dependent on his level of self-confidence or self-esteem, his commitment to objectivity in thinking, and/or to other factors. More important for our immediate purposes is the fact that different people have differing levels of mere adequacy with respect to both applicability and clarity. For instance, person A may not feel that a situation is basically satisfactory unless her behavior is highly congruent with that of others, and with the expectations of others, in her environment. Such a person might be described as a perfectionist. Person B may be much less preoccupied with the maintaining of environmentally congruent behavior at all times. B's level of mere adequacy with respect to applicability is therefore lower than A's. Person C may not feel that a situation is basically satisfactory unless her behavior is uniformly congruent with the recommendations being offered by the many disparate elements within her frame of reference. Such a person might be described as being intolerant of ambiguity. Person D may be much less concerned about maintaining behavior that is fully consistent with her frame of reference. D's level of mere adequacy with respect to clarity is therefore lower than C's. Equally important is the question of the extent to which one person's levels of mere adequacy can vary over time. Our opinion is that these levels can vary only within a restricted range, that is, a range much narrower than those possible in the cases of applicability and clarity. We believe that variation to some extent is possible because, after all, these levels are not arbitrarily imposed by some external authority; rather, they are internally developed by the individual over his or her lifetime to date. (This is not to argue that the standards commonly accepted by others similarly enculturated are not taken into account by the individual in setting personal standards.) On the other hand, we believe that variation is possible only within a restricted range because the levels are, in effect, personality traits. People with relatively low levels of mere adequacy resist the idea of significantly raising their minimum standards because doing so would make their lives unacceptably difficult. People with relatively high levels of mere adequacy resist the idea of significantly lowering their minimum standards because doing so would require them to compromise their ideals. (How does one persuade a perfectionist to be content with performing in a mediocre

fashion?) Whatever the levels adopted by a given person, these are bound up with his or her understanding of what is basically reasonable and normal. But to the extent that a person's conception of what constitutes fundamentally reasonable and normal behavior in a given set of circumstances can be changed, that person's levels of mere adequacy for applicability and/or clarity can be changed.

The Person in an Unaccustomed Environment

The same well adjusted and socially adept person to whom we referred earlier now enters an unaccustomed environment. For purposes of illustration, let us assume that this new environment contrasts very sharply with his or her previous home environment. Let us further assume that the person is continuously in contact with host nationals and does not isolate himself in an expatriate ghetto. Note that a sharply contrasting environment need not necessarily be found on the opposite side of the world. We are attempting to understand psychological mechanisms that appear to operate whenever a person is abruptly transplanted for a fairly long period of time into any sort of new and unknown setting. A similar situation occurs when a person enters an institution that constitutes a "total" environment (such as a prison or the military), or when a person's circumstances are suddenly and radically changed (such as becoming unemployed, handicapped, or widowed).

Figure 3 illustrates our conception of how the three psychological constructs vary over time, beginning at the moment when the person arrives in and confronts the new total environment. We assume in the case of Figure 3 that the newcomer has received no orientation or training of any kind prior to arrival, and that he receives none during his sojourn. Note first of all that level of mere adequacy shows no variation whatsoever; it remains at the same steady level where it appeared in Figure 1 (which illustrated the person in his accustomed environment). Earlier, we postulated that a person's level of mere adequacy with respect to both applicability and clarity is, in effect, a personality trait and therefore resistant to change. It is possible, of course, that the level's steady course could be disturbed by the shock of entering a new total environment. But we believe that most people in such a situation would be far more concerned about maintaining a sense of their own basic reasonableness and normalcy than about altering the fundamental standards against which they judge their reasonableness and normalcy or that of the situations in which they find themselves. Indeed, some might even struggle to preserve those standards intact at all costs; in their view, allowing the standards to "slip" would undermine their self-esteem by presaging their ultimate personal degradation under the influence of the hostile values in the new environment.

Look next at applicability of behavior in Figure 3. At the moment the person arrives in the new environment, his or her habitual pattern of activity
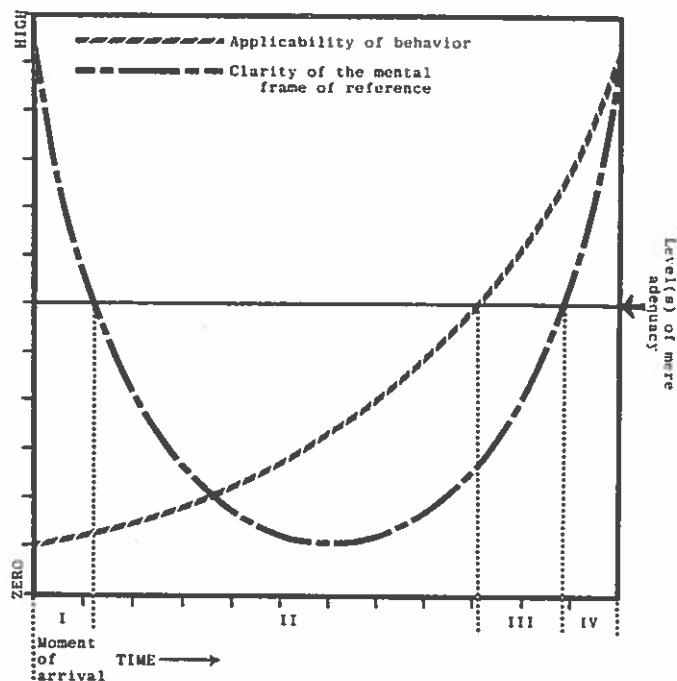
FIGURE 3. The Person In a Highly Unfamiliar Environment Without Benefit of Intercultural Training.

is both socially unacceptable and interpersonally ineffective. To the extent that the person is consciously aware of this deficiency, the line representing applicability in Figure 3 will be below the level of mere adequacy. We assume that most people lose little time in perceiving that their usual behaviors are not in harmony with those of host nationals, and so we have started the applicability line at a very low point. (It does not begin at zero, however, because zero applicability seems to indicate that the person would have insufficient ability to survive socially and perhaps even physically.) The applicability line then rises over time, slowly at first but then more rapidly as more and more time in the new environment is accumulated. The gradually increasing slope of the line over time suggests that the person is able to assimilate new and more subtle patterns of activity at a more and more rapid rate after the basic patterns have been haltingly noticed and laboriously acquired early in the sojourn experience.

Now consider the line for clarity of the mental frame of reference, which has an entirely different appearance. Our newcomer is naïve and untrained, and therefore he arrives in and confronts the new environment with all his implicit and explicit assumptions about how the world works completely intact. His behavior may be unlike that of host nationals, and he may notice

this immediately (as presumed in the case of the applicability line); but at first his confidence in the correctness of his frame of reference is not shaken. From his ethnocentric point of view, it is "they" who are acting strangly or even unnaturally, not "me." As time in the new environment begins to accumulate, however, the extreme disharmony between his behavior and that of host nationals is manifested in every encounter. As these facts and evaluations are fed back into his frame of reference, his confidence in its correctness drops precipitously and before long is below the level that he considers merely adequate. It continues to decline, but bottoms out before reaching zero, as illustrated in Figure 3. (It does not drop to zero because zero clarity seems to indicate that the person would be too confused and uncertain to be able to guide his own behavior to any extent.) The reason why the clarity line first declines sharply, then slows its rate of decline, then levels off and gradually turns upward has to do with the balance (or lack of balance) existing in the frame of reference between the cognitive elements derived from home-culture experience and those derived from host-culture experience. At first, home-culture elements completely dominate the frame of reference. But as experiences in the host culture are accumulated and applicability improves, host-culture elements enter the frame at an increasing rate. In most cases, the home- and host-based elements are mutually contradictory, so that the frame increasingly becomes a repository of cognitive elements that give conflicting advice regarding behavior, thus reducing the person's confidence or (as we have termed it) clarity. Clarity decreases, then, until that point in time when the two sets of contradictory elements attain a rough balance. This is the point of maximum internal confusion about the way the world works, that is, of minimum clarity. But even at this time the person is continuing to accumulate experiences in the host culture and continuing to improve his or her applicability, so that host-culture elements are continuing to enter the frame. As the balance begins to tip in favor of the host-based elements, clarity begins to increase. The increase is slow at first because home-based elements remaining in the frame continue to contradict elements derived from the host culture. Eventually, however, host-based cognitive elements come to more or less dominate the frame of reference, and clarity climbs past the level of mere adequacy.

In Figure 3, both applicability and clarity are illustrated as regaining levels similar to where the person had been able to maintain them in his or her own home environment (Figure 1). Note, however, that Figure 3 and all subsequent figures represent idealized theoretical constructs and have been drawn as simply as possible to facilitate both illustration and understanding. We regard as open the question of whether and at what point in time applicability and clarity can attain the highest possible levels through acculturation (as opposed to enculturation). We suspect that, in most cases, a sojourn of a year or two in a completely unfamiliar environment would not

be sufficient to enable applicability and/or clarity to regain the levels maintained in the home environment. In cases where they eventually attain the highest possible levels, the person very well may have undergone a change of identity, something more profound than passing through a cycle of adjustment, which is what is being described here.

Stages of the Adjustment Cycle

In Figure 3 there appear three lines of demarcation that descend to the horizontal axis from the points where the lines of applicability and clarity intersect the level of mere adequacy. Together with the sides of Figure 3, these lines mark off four sequential stages in time; these stages of the adjustment cycle are labeled I, II, III, and IV. The character of these four stages is as follows:

Stage I: applicability *less* than adequate, clarity *more* than adequate
Stage II: applicability *less* than adequate, clarity *less* than adequate
Stage III: applicability *more* than adequate, clarity *less* than adequate
Stage IV: applicability *more* than adequate, clarity *more* than adequate

Stage I is characterized by the period of euphoria often experienced by people immediately after they enter a completely new culture. The key to understanding Stage I lies in the fact that the newcomer's clarity remains above its level of mere adequacy. So long as one can remain confident about the correctness of one's mental frame of reference, the obviously different behavior patterns of host nationals can be viewed with detachment as "fascinating," "quaint," "exotic," and so forth. Tourists and short-term sojourners very often do not progress beyond Stage I because they know that there will be no sustained expectation on anyone's part for them to adjust to any significant extent. Such people usually have relatively fleeting and superficial contacts with host nationals, with the result that their frames of reference remain very largely intact. Unless the elements in one's frame of reference are shaken up and their reliability seriously challenged, contact with an unfamiliar environment is unlikely to have a lasting effect on one's values, perspectives, and behaviors.

Stage II, during which clarity, as well as applicability, is inadequate, is characterized by culture shock. Culture shock is a type of mental and physiological stress resulting from overstimulation and overuse of the body's coping mechanisms due to a high degree of novelty in the environment (Barna, 1983). Stage II is associated with culture shock because the disturbing effect of low applicability is no longer counteracted by high confidence in one's mental frame of reference. Detachment is not possible, for the newcomer can no longer preserve the notion that he is merely a fascinated observer of the native's exotic behavior. He is thoroughly

involved, and he is deeply confused. He must respond to, and make sense of, the novelty and the nuances in his environment; this necessity is why his coping mechanisms are overtaxed. Of particlar interest in Figure 3 is the fact that Stage II is by far the longest of the four stages; using the arbitrary units of measurement along the horizontal axis, Stage II is shown to be 7.9 out of 12.0 units of time in length. The length of Stage II will be of special interest in Part II of this paper.

Stage III is characterized by progressive recovery from culture shock. For the first time since arriving in the unfamiliar environment, the person is noticing a significant degree of consonance between his behavior and that of host nationals. With applicability having just surfaced through its level of mere adequacy and continuing to improve, and with clarity having bottomed out and started to rise, the person is beginning to feel less and less overwhelmed. Note that clarity continues below its level of mere adequacy, which is why we cannot say that culture shock has ended in Stage III.

Stage IV is characterized by completion of the process of adjustment. The applicability of the person's behavior is quite good, and the clarity of his or her mental frame of reference is just beginning to be better than merely adequate. Applicability and clarity may continue to improve toward optimum levels, but at the point in time when both are above their levels of mere adequacy, the person can be regarded as reasonably well adjusted to the environment that formerly was completely new and different.

THE NEW CONCEPTUALIZATION OF
THE GOALS OF TRAINING

Further Consideration of Stage II of the Adjustment Cycle

It is well known that Stage II of the adjustment cycle is very painful for many sojourners—so painful for so long that some of them never get through it at all. Some adopt an extremely hostile and critical stance vis-à-vis host nationals ("fight"), others retreat to the safety of an expatriate ghetto or even return home prematurely ("flight"), and still others rapidly and uncritically abandon their former identities and attempt to ape host nationals in every possible way ("going native"). These general patterns of coping, as well as the various specific psychological symptoms of newcomers (rationalization, projection, withdrawal, overidentifying, and other defensive mechanisms), should not be viewed as irredeemably bad. Although they involve distortions of reality, they may be functional for the newcomer in that they enable him temporarily to continue to experience clarity instead of overwhelming confusion in his mental frame of reference. These coping mechanisms slow down the entry of cognitive elements from the host culture and bolster the strength of cognitive elements brought from the home culture, thus preventing a precipitous collapse of the frame of reference. (All of this defensive coping

requires tremendous mental effort, which is one reason why culture shock should be understood, in part, as a form of exhaustion.) From a clinical psychological perspective, the various coping mechanisms become a severe mental health problem only when, in terms of both strength and duration, they come to dominate the person's interaction with the environment, or when they completely collapse and leave the person vulnerable to extreme anxiety, psychosomatic disorders, alcoholism, drug abuse, and so forth.

Advocates of intercultural training have been consistent in pointing to the benefits of a gradual process of adaptation in which the intellect gains in awareness and understanding while the emotions are prevented from welling up to the point where the newcomer loses self-control. Gradual adaptation enables the newcomer to maintain his sense of personal identity while judiciously adjusting certain of his assumptions, values, attitudes, opinions, ideas, styles of reasoning, and patterns of behavior to bring them more nearly into line with those prevailing in the new environment. In other words, gradual adaptation occurs when the newcomer negotiates Stage II without being overwhelmed.

In speaking of negotiating Stage II without being overwhelmed, we are not implying that Stage II can or should be eliminated or skipped in any fashion. Given a newcomer in a completely unfamiliar environment, we take it as axiomatic that Stage II cannot be eliminated, not even through the intervention of skilled intercultural trainers. But trainers should not even think of trying to eliminate Stage II because it is the disturbance of the mental frame of reference during that stage that makes intercultural learning possible during Stages III and IV. The gradual but profound change in one's assumptions, values, attitudes, opinions, ideas, and so forth that is necessary to attain Stage IV is possible only to the extent that one's frame of reference has had its tightly integrated and monolithic character disturbed. In other words, adaptation is not possible unless and until the clarity line in Figure 3 has fallen below its level of mere adequacy. Adaptation may be seen as the process of reconstructing one's mental frame of reference in the wake of a period during which one has lost confidence in its previous structure and quality.

Earlier we associated the well-known term "culture shock" with Stage II. Guthrie (1975) proposed the term "culture fatigue," which is useful to re-introduce at this point because it does not include the heavily negative denotations of "shock." In speaking of negotiating Stage II without being overwhelmed, we suggest that it is desirable to avoid culture shock, that is, to avoid an incapacitating breakdown in the neural and endocrinal systems of the body that is know to physiologists as a consequence of overwhelming stress (Barna, 1983; Keller, et al., 1981). Fatigue, on the other hand, is an unavoidable consequence of heavy and continuous (but not overwhelming) demands made on the neural and endocrinal systems in stressful situations such as when one's applicability and clarity are both below their levels of

mere adequacy—but not so far below as to be bordering on zero. Culture fatigue is a necessary prerequisite to effective adjustment because intercultural learning cannot occur to any significant extent in the absence of a partial breakdown of the mental frame of reference that originally was constructed in one's own home culture. Although our terminology may be different, we are not the first to point out this necessity; P.S. Adler noted it in 1975. (See also a recapitulation by Brislin, 1981, pp. 157-158.)

The appropriate context now exists in which we can assert our conviction that the principal goal of intercultural training is to reduce the severity and shorten the duration of the newcomer's passage through Stage II of the adjustment cycle. Notice that this principal goal refers to alterations that are desirable in Stage II, not in Stages I, III, or IV. There may be those who would reason that the principal goal of training is to improve the quality (or, in terms of the chart in Figure 3, the "height") of both applicability and clarity as the newcomer finally attains the end of his or her adjustment cycle in Stage IV. Such a goal has much to recommend it. Our view, however, is that training can do relatively little to raise the levels of applicability or clarity that a sojourner ultimately is able to attain. Intercultural training is not a scheme for helping to reconstruct a person's mental frame of reference in all its breadth and complexity, nor for teaching every nuance and detail of appropriate behaviors in the myriad social settings found in the new culture. It is possible for frames of reference to be reconstructed, and it is possible for different behaviors to be learned, but these tasks must be accomplished by the sojourner through acculturation and assimilation as he or she interacts moment by moment with host nationals over a long period of time. Indeed, there are numerous people around the world who have relocated, tempo-rarily or permanently, in unfamiliar cultures and who have managed, without benefit of intercultural training, to achieve personal satisfaction and social acceptance in those cultures. On the other hand, we know that some of these ultimately successful adapters experienced a long and bitter struggle to pull themselves through Stage II. We know, too, that there are people who never manage to negotiate Stage II, but who settle instead for fight, flight, or going native. The principal value of intercultural training, then, is that it helps to prevent the worst excesses of severity and duration that Stage II potentially holds in store for the naïve newcomer. And it helps newcomers who otherwise might not do so, to be able to negotiate Stage II and move on to Stages III and IV.

Theoretically Desirable Changes in the Adjustment Cycle

In terms of the theory that has been presented so far in this paper, three means potentially are available for reducing the severity and duration of Stage II. These are through manipulation of the three psychological constructs: applicability, clarity, and level of mere adequacy. In the following
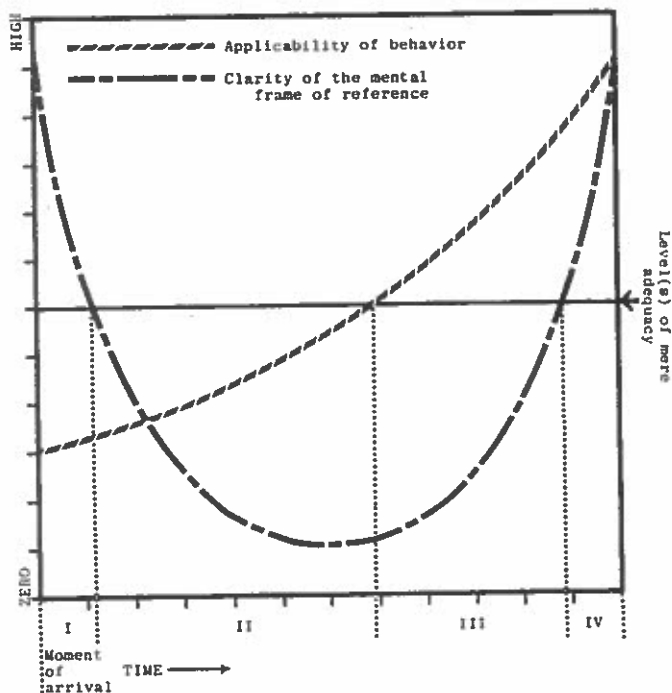
FIGURE 4. The Person In a Highly Unfamiliar Environment With His or Her Applicability Markedly Improved through Intercultural Training.

paragraphs, we will deal with each of these in theoretical terms, leaving for the following section consideration of the practical issues that are necessarily involved.

Figure 4 illustrates what the adjustment cycle might look like if only applicability were manipulated in a desirable fashion by means of inter-cultural training. In relation to Figure 3, notice that the applicability line in Figure 4 is different in two ways.

1. At the moment of arrival, applicability is higher than was the case for the untrained newcomer. It still begins below the level of mere adequacy, of course, for no training program can teach more than a small fraction of the behaviors that are socially acceptable and interpersonally effective in an unfamiliar culture.

2. The slope of the applicability line is steeper during the early stages of the adjustment cycle, illustrating that intercultural training has managed to increase the rate at which the newcomer learns new behaviors through his or her observation of, and participation with, host nationals in their daily lives. Overall, the curvature of the applicability line is less pronounced than it was in Figure 3.
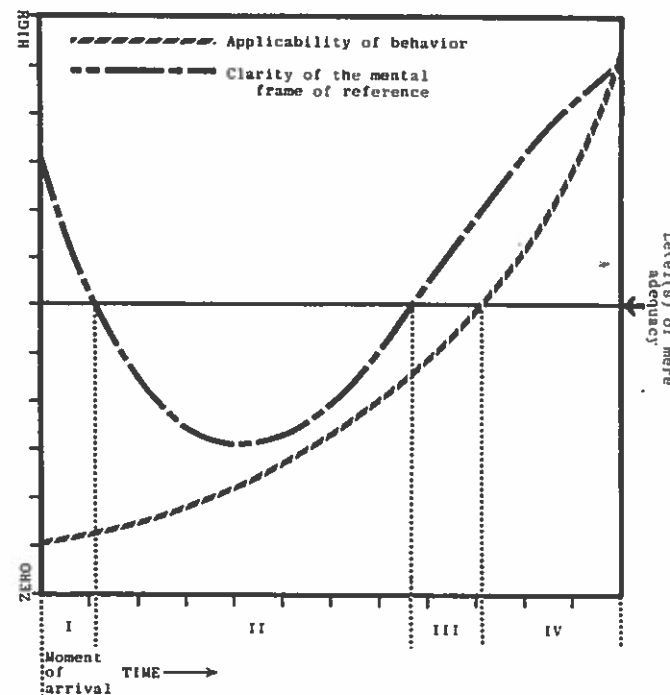
FIGURE 5. The Person In a Highly Unfamiliar Environment With His or Her Clarity Markedly Improved through Intercultural Training.

With respect to Stage II, these two changes in applicability may not have made a change in the severity of culture fatigue (since clarity and level of mere adequacy are unchanged from Figure 3), but the duration of Stage II has been shortened significantly from 7.9 units of time down to 5.8 units.

Figure 5 illustrates what the adjustment cycle might look like if only clarity were manipulated in a desirable fashion. In relation to Figure 3, this clarity line is different in three ways.

1. At the moment of arrival, clarity is lower than was the case for the naïve newcomer. Its reduced height recognizes that intercultural training should be able to reduce the confident ethnocentrism of the monocultural person, that is, should be able to disturb and challenge his or her explicit and implicit assumptions about how human beings relate to one another. On the other hand, clarity still begins well above the level of mere adequacy, for it is highly unlikely that any type of training could begin with a trainee who is mentally secure and reduce him to the point where he did not even feel minimally confident about his world view. (We are ignoring the question of whether brainwashing or similar heavyhanded techniques could break down a person's mental frame of reference; ethical considerations prevent inter-cultural trainers from considering the use of such techniques.)

2. The lowest point reached by clarity is not as close to zero as was the case for the naïve newcomer, although it is still significantly below the level of mere adequacy. The reduced depth of the low point illustrates that intercultural training should be able to prevent culture shock, as discussed in the preceding section.

3. The lowest point reached by clarity occurs earlier in time than was the case in Figure 3, illustrating that intercultural training is likely to accelerate the process whereby the newcomer loses confidence in his or her original frame of reference, restructures it, and regains confidence. Though not illustrated in Figure 5, intercultural training should be improving applicability (as shown in Figure 4) at the same time that it is dealing with clarity; since clarity is dependent upon applicability (as discussed earlier), it is not unreasonable to expect the clarity curve to bottom out sooner in a situation in which applicability is improving relatively rapidly.

With respect to Stage II, these three changes in clarity indicate a reduction in the severity of culture fatigue (since clarity is less depressed in absolute terms as well as less distant from its level of mere adequacy). Furthermore, the duration of Stage II has been shortened from 7.9 units of time down to 6.5 units.
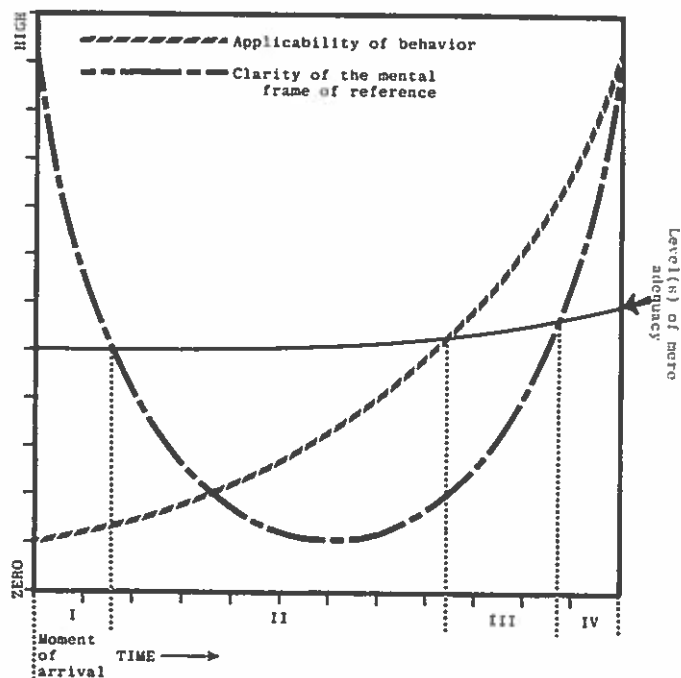

FIGURE 6. The Person in a Highly Unfamiliar Environment With His or Her Level(s) of Mere Adequacy Slightly Lowered through Intercultural Training.

Figure 6 illustrates what the adjustment cycle might look like if only the level of mere adequacy were manipulated in a desirable fashion. (For purposes of discussion, we are treating the level as a unity, but as noted earlier, applicability and clarity have separate levels of mere adequacy.) Whether the level of mere adequacy is amenable to change through training is open to question, of course; earlier we described it as, in effect, a personality trait and therefore resistant to change. For the moment, however, let us assume that training can bring about some small and temporary change in the level. In order to be beneficial to the newcomer, that change would have to be downward from its previous location (as illustrated in Figures 1 and 3). In other words, the person would have to lower temporarily his standards of self-evaluation; for example, he would have to become less of a perfectionist and more tolerant of ambiguity. Figure 6 shows the level of mere adequacy lowered slightly during the early portion of the sojourn, then gradualy returning to its usual level; a change of this type if probably the best that training can hope to accomplish.

With respect to Stage II, this change reduces the severity of culture fatigue (since the distance between the level and the lowest point in the clarity line is decreased). The change also shortens the duration of Stage II from 7.9 units of time down to 6.8 units.

Practical Considerations in Changing the Adjustment Cycle

A good program of intercultural training attempts to bring about the theoretically desirable changes in all three psychological constructs. Certain methods and procedures of training may be able to bring about changes in two, or even all three, constructs simultaneously. But for expository purposes here it seems wise to continue to address each psychological construct—and indeed each theoretically desirable change—as though it were a separate entity. It is not our purpose to recommend a completely integrated training design; a training program can be designed only in relation to specific trainees in a specific context. By focusing here on methods and procedures for addressing each theoretically desirable change, we are offering considerations that may prove useful to those who are designing specific training programs.

With respect to each theoretically desirable change, two basic questions must be raised: How can the change be brought about? When is that intervention best attempted?

"How?" asks one to examine the arsenal of methods and procedures that trainers potentially have at their disposal in order to determine which type of intervention appears most likely to bring about a specific desirable change. We will confine ourselves to thinking about types of intervention in order not to become bogged down in the details of specific training approaches. The six principal types to which we will refer are those outlined by Brislin, Landis, and Brandt (1983):

1. Fact-Oriented Training—In this relatively traditional approach, the trainees are presented with facts about the host country and culture through lectures, panels, videotapes, films, readings, workbooks, case studies, critical incidents, community descriptions, culture capsules, dramatizations, question-answering sessions, and discussions.

2. Attribution Training—Most closely associated with the "culture as-similator" technique (but not limited to it), this approach helps the trainees learn to explain events and behaviors from the point of view of host nationals. The objective is for the trainees to internalize values and standards of the host culture so that their attributions will become increasingly similar ("isomorphic") to those of their hosts.

3. Cultural Awareness Training—With philosophical underpinnings in cultural relativism, this approach introduces trainees to the culture concept and the nature of cultural differences; often the vehicle for accomplishing these ends is study of the trainees' own home culture in anthropological perspective. Specific techniques include value orientation checklists, value ranking charts, self-awareness building, and the contrast-culture technique (best known in the form of the contrast-American technique). Similar objectives may be attained by "culture general" approaches such as communication and nonverbal activities, perceptual exercises, simulation games, and studies of the nature of cross-cultural adjustment.

4. Cognitive-Behavior Modification—This little-used approach applies certain principles of learning to the special problems of cross-cultural adjustment. For instance, trainees are asked to list what kinds of activities they find rewarding (or punishing) in their home environment; then they carry out a guided study of the host culture to determine how they can duplicate (or avoid) those activities there. Trainers may attempt to help the trainees feel positively challenged by those features of the host culture that the trainees fear the most.

5. Experiential Learning—For our purposes, this type of intervention will be limited to activities focused on learning about a specific host culture. (Other activities that are experiential in nature, but that are not host culture-specific, are listed above under "Cultural Awareness Training.") Experiential techniques are those that involve the trainees emotionally and physically as well as intellectually; the trainees learn through actual experience. Role plays, situation exercises, community investigations, field trips, and total immersion are examples of host culture-specific experiential learning.

6. Interactional Learning—This type of training involves structured or unstructured interaction between the trainees on the one hand, and host nationals and/or "old hands" (experienced expatriates) on the other. The objective is for the trainees to feel more and more comfortable with the host nationals, and to learn details about life in the host country from them and/or the old hands.

Besides considering these six principal types of intervention, we also will keep in mind the need of trainees for a balance among three kinds of personal development and learning: greater awareness, more extensive knowledge, and improved or newly learned skills (Pedersen, 1983). We are aware of other critical issues in training design—for example, the importance of consonance between the trainees' preferred learning style and the trainers' teaching style (Grove, 1981; Smart, 1983)—but believe that these concerns are beyond the scope of this paper.

"When?" asks one to consider the timing of any potentially worthwhile training method or procedure. It seems natural to assume that training precedes the sojourners' arrival in the host country, but writers have been saying for years that certain types of training are significantly more effective when carried out after the sojourners' arrival (Chaffee, 1978; Gudykunst & Hammer, 1983; Textor, 1966). Furthermore, this post-arrival training need not necessarily occur immediately upon the sojourners' arrival; some training has maximum impact when intentionally delayed until the sojourners are attempting to cope with Stage II of the adjustment cycle. Another issue related to timing involves the sequencing of different methods and procedures in order to take advantage of the possibility that the learning accomplished in one may be a useful background or even a prerequisite for the learning to be accomplished in another. This issue has received almost no attention in the literature; in the discussion that follows, we will be able to take it into consideration only occasionally.

Two theoretically desirable changes were suggested for applicability of behavior (Figure 4). The first was to raise its initial level, which primarily requires the trainee to develop new skills in order to be able to behave more nearly acceptably in the new culture. Fact-oriented training is a necessary beginning; much can be told and demonstrated about characteristic behaviors of one group that may be misinterpreted by the other group. But because mere knowledge of the inappropriateness of certain behaviors is unlikely to enable one to make sweeping modifications in his or her habitual patterns of activity, fact-oriented training by itself is not sufficient. Cognitive-behavior modification may be useful if it assists the trainee to focus his attention on certain appropriate, agreeable, and well practiced activities that can be adapted to the new environment. Interactional learning also may be useful, but only to the extent that the interactions involve guided learning and practice of applicable behaviors. Most promising is experiential learning, for its emphasis on learning through actual experience carries the greatest potential for perfecting and/or developing needed skills.

With respect to timing, fact-oriented training can be delivered equally well before or after the sojourners arrive in the host country, as can cognitive-behavior modification. The interactional learning approach seems to imply home country (that is, pre-arrival) training, but could be even more effective

after the sojourners have arrived in the new culture and are becoming more fully aware that they need help in recognizing and learning applicable behaviors. Most experiential learning techniques are appropriate for implementation after the sojourners have arrived in the host country because of the need for indigenous physical settings and authentic social contexts. Note that fact-oriented training and experiential techniques can be mutually supportive if they are carefully planned in advance; the factual presentations can elucidate certain details of the practical experiences, and the practical experiences can motivate the trainees to receive the factual presentations more attentively than might otherwise be the case.

The second desirable change suggested for applicability was to increase the rate at which the newcomers learn new behaviors. This is a change that can only be achieved through intervention during the trainees' stay in the host country; furthermore, it seems obvious that the training cannot be confined to the time immediately following arrival, but must occur intermittently at least through Stage II. The four types of training discussed in the previous two paragraphs are well suited to achieve the desired end so long as training does not cease after the newcomers leave the post-arrival orientation site.

Three theoretically desirable changes were suggested for clarity of the mental frame of reference (Figure 5). The first was to lower its initial level, which primarily requires the trainees to be deprived of their confident ethnocentrism. Cultural awareness training is specifically designed for this purpose. To the extent that it focuses on building knowledge and awareness of the home culture, it has the added advantage of better enabling the trainees to explain themselves to host nationals. Attribution training also can help to lower the trainees' initial level of clarity because of its focus on specific discrepancies between the attributions made by trainees and host nationals. Both of these types of training are primarily suitable for implementation prior to the trainees' arrival in the host country. Note especially that attribution training is a host culture-specific approach that is perfectly usable during the weeks and months prior to the trainees' travel to the host country.

The second desirable change suggested for clarity was to raise the lowest level to which it falls during Stage II. No other theoretically desirable change addresses so directly the key objective of preventing culture fatigue from becoming culture shock. Let us further examine, therefore, exactly what seems to be required to keep clarity from sinking too far. Earlier, we described the mental frame of reference as composed of a number of disparate elements whose advice regarding any potential behavior may or may not be unanimous. It is to be expected that during Stage II, one of the newcomer's problems will be that his frame of reference is simultaneously recommending incompatible behaviors; this situation corresponds more or less to what Newcomb (1963) labeled "cognitive inconsistency" and Ball-Rokeach (1973) termed "focused ambiguity." Equally likely during Stage II is

the predicament in which the newcomer is unable to find any guidance for his actions among the elements of his frame of reference because he simply is unprepared to understand or define the social context in which he finds himself; this situation is similar to what Newcomb (1963) termed "cognitive ambiguity" and Ball-Rokeach (1973) called "pervasive ambiguity." We will use Ball-Rokeach's terminology in the discussion that follows.

It is important to admit at the outset that training can do relatively little to prevent the occurrence of focused and pervasive ambiguity. The total social milieu of any host culture is far too rich, complex, and full of subtle nuances to lend itself to analysis and categorization at a level that can be readily transmitted through a comparatively brief training program. Furthermore, the trainees themselves are virtually always unprepared by previous experience or education to grasp and to recall later all that could be said about a completely unfamiliar culture. We are not taking the position here that any attempt to reduce ambiguity is bound to be utterly futile. Rather, we are making a point about timing: Training that ceases before ambiguity sets in is training that misses its golden opportunity to reduce the severity and shorten the duration of the newcomer's passage through Stage II of the adjustment cycle. In other words, the complexity and the idiosyncratic nature of any given sojourner's experience in the host culture are bound to be so great that training primarily aimed at the prevention of focused or pervasive ambiguity is bound to be only marginally successful. (We are not the first to suggest that the benefits of preventative preparatory training may be severely limited; in 1975, Guthrie pursued this point of view in an insightful article.) If the problems of Stage II are going to be substantially lessened, the intervention must occur during Stage II.

What types of intervention may be appropriate? In the case of focused ambiguity, cultural awareness training may be useful to the extent that its underlying philosophy of cultural relativism can help to deaden the moral overtones surrounding the newcomer's dilemma of having to choose between incompatible behaviors. On the other hand, there are certain ethical implications to be considered if trainers advocate cultural relativism too openly. Furthermore, "focused ambiguity" actually is another way of referring to the partial breakdown of the mental frame of reference—a breakdown that we earlier viewed as inevitable as well as indispensable to intercultural learning. Consequently, we believe that the role of trainers should be confined to the provision of individualized support for sojourners whose extreme degree of focused ambiguity is threatening to reduce their clarity to zero.

Intercultural training is far better equipped to deal with pervasive ambiguity. Any type of training that deals specifically with the host culture is potentially a step toward reducing the pervasive ambiguity of one or more trainees. The efficiency and effectiveness of such culture-specific training will be increased to the extent that the trainees actually have experienced the

ambiguity that comes from not understanding or being able to define the social contexts in which they find themselves. In short, the trainees need to know that they don't know. The principal responsibility of the trainers, then, is to be responsive to the specific needs of individual trainees as they proceed with any or all of the types of training that focus on aspects of the host culture. Individualized support for especially distressed trainees is also highly appropriate. In sum, training and support during Stage II needs to focus on the acquisition of knowledge and the development of skills at the same time as it offers emotional solace and encouragement. Training during Stage II needs to be more reactive than proactive.

The third and final desirable change suggested for clarity was to move forward in time the point at which the clarity line dips to its lowest point. To a considerable extent, this change is an expected outcome of all the other changes that have been discussed so far in this section. In terms of the model we have been using (Figures 3 and 5), lowering clarity's initial level and raising its trough seems likely to result in a forward displacement of the trough. In more practical terms, the types of training recommended so far for applicability, as well as clarity, should have the desired effect. Keep in mind that clarity is dependent upon applicability in the long run.

Let us turn finally to the level of mere adequacy (Figure 6). The theoretically desirable change was to lower the level as much as possible and for as long as possible, the implication being that the level always will tend to return to its customary position. Up to this point, the level has been treated as though it were a unity, but now it is necessary to discuss separately its two components; the level for applicability and the level for clarity. Furthermore, a new parameter needs to be introduced at this point: strength.

The levels of mere adequacy are internal standards against which the person evaluates the applicability and clarity of his or her behavior. But there are many types of behavior, many patterns and organizing concepts around which behavior is structured. Some of these are bound to be more important than others from the point of view of the individual. Referring to Figure 2, we can say that the parameter of "strength" indicates the relative importance, subjectively to the individual, or any behavior's being consistent with that of (selected) acquaintances in the environment, and of that behavior's being fully consonant with all the elements in his or her mental frame of reference. For purposes of intercultural training, it is too burdensome to focus exclusively on what is subjectively most important to each individual; practical considerations dictate an alternative focus on the average person (or perhaps the average person of a certain type) from the native culture of the trainees. Making a judgement about relative strengths in this way requires a sophisticated knowledge of the native culture of one's trainees, but intercultural trainers should have, or know how to acquire, such knowledge. Two examples: If one is training U.S. businessmen, one needs to know about their culturally determined expectations regarding individualism. If one is training

Japanese adolescents, knowledge of behaviors relating to *amae* is of central importance. Within their respective cultural contexts, individualism and *amae* are very strongly held organizing concepts of behavior, and training that is attempting to lower the levels of mere adequacy must address them directly and forcefully in addition to anything else it might do.

Lowering the level of mere adequacy for applicability means in practice that each trainee becomes less determined that his or her behavior be consistent with that of others in the new environment. Training to this end should stress the impossibility of behaving in ways that are socially acceptable and interpersonally effective; the expectations of the trainee regarding the quality of his or her own public "performances" should be lowered. Kohls (1979) has suggested that the most important skills for sojourners to develop are "sense of humor," "low goal/task orientation," and "the ability to fail," in that order. With the proviso that "sense of humor" is misleading, we believe that Kohls's advice is appropriate because it is directed precisely at lowering the level of mere adequacy for applicability. What needs to be added is the notion that, for any given group of trainees, expectations regarding certain specific patterns of behavior must be explicitly dealt with because of their relative strength, the objective being to enable the trainees to attach less importance to those patterns.

How to lower the level of mere adequacy for applicability through training is a challenging question. We suspect that the question of "How?" is closely associated with the question of "When?" because of the resiliency of the level of mere adequacy. Whether or not appropriate training occurs prior to the sojourner's arrival in the host country, it certainly should occur during the early stages of the sojourn so that assistance and encouragement can be provided at times when the level needs to be maintained at a relatively low level. Fact-oriented training is the most straightforward approach and ought not to be overlooked; pointing out to trainees the advantages of lowering their self-expectations and increasing their tolerance for failure is a necessary beginning even if it is not sufficient to complete the job. Cultural awareness training, especially self-awareness building and certain simulation games, may be helpful in underscoring for trainees their heavy emotional investment in certain patterns of behavior as well as the advantages for them of calmly accepting inevitable discrepancies between their patterns and those of host nationals. Attribution training may be particularly valuable, for in its most recent manifestation it is teaching people to attribute the behaviors of others less to personal traits and more to situational factors (Brislin, 1981, pp. 91-105; Detweiler, Brislin & McCormack, 1983; Ross, 1977). This message can be applied to oneself as well. The situational factors present in an unfamiliar cultural context are powerful and complex, and to the extent that the newcomer can attribute his or her behavioral inadequacies to these rather than to supposed personal deficiencies, the objective of lowering the level of mere adequacy for applicability will have been realized to a considerable

extent. No doubt the culture assimilator is one technique for accomplishing this objective; there may be others as well.

Lowering the level of mere adequacy for clarity means in practice that each trainee becomes less disturbed by the occurrence of ambiguity in his or her mental frame of reference. To put it in a more recognizable manner, successful training is that which better enables the trainee to tolerate ambiguity—both focused and pervasive ambiguity. Training should define the two types of ambiguity, and stress that they are a normal, indeed an inevitable, concomitant of taking up life in a completely unfamiliar environment; trainees must be taught to expect and to recognize both types of ambiguity during the early stages of their sojourn. Whether the ability to tolerate ambiguity is a trainable skill is open to question. We suspect that to some extent it is a personality trait, but one that can be improved upon through appropriate training. Such training needs to consider the parameter of strength. The frame of reference is composed of many diverse elements that may advise for or against any given behavior; "strength" takes into account that unanimity is more important for some types of behavior than for others, depending on the person's cultural background. For example, maintenance of a correct structure in male-female roles and relationships is more important in some cultures than in others, where roles are more fluid and relationships are more casual. Ambiguity in relations with the opposite sex could be highly disturbing to a newcomer from the former type of cultural background. One way of helping trainees deal with such ambiguity is to explain in detail how female-male roles and relationships are structured in the unfamiliar culture, but, conceptually speaking, this approach does not belong here. (It belongs under the desirable changes for applicability and clarity, per se.) Here the conception is for the trainer to say, in effect, something like this: "You trainees are going to have an exceptionally difficult adjustment concerning male-female relationships in the new culture. Adhering to a certain structure of roles and relationships has been very important to you. You've got to expect that you'll be confused and disturbed by the differences in the new culture, and that in some cases you simply won't know how to act. It's normal to feel this way; it's inevitable for people like yourselves because of the way you learned to behave in your home culture. You must accept that you'll be miserable for a while. Just about everyone from your culture goes through this, and just about everyone who goes through it gets over it sooner or later. The secret is not to allow yourself to get too anxious and distraught about the confusion you'll feel. Accept the confusion as part of the adjustment process and expect that it'll pass in time."

In that little scenario lies, perhaps, a plan for the overall "How" of training that is addressed to the level of mere adequacy for clarity. The trainees should be given explicit information regarding the nature and the normalcy of ambiguity. They should be led to expect that it will occur and that it will be deeply disturbing when it does occur. They should be assured that it is a temporary condition that they can weather if they will only not take their distress too seriously. In short, training should present a "worst case" regarding the decline of clarity so that the trainees will be more likely to evaluate themselves against a standard—their level of mere adequacy for clarity—that has been lowered somewhat from its previous level. And this message should be repeated and reinforced throughout the early stages of the sojourn so that the level of mere adequacy for clarity is continually held down during the period when clarity is at its lowest ebb. In terms of the six categories of training, then, this approach seems to fall under both fact-oriented training and cultural awareness training. With respect to the latter, it could be especially useful during the pre-arrival phase to include simulation games or other exercises that artificially create ambiguous situations so that people can learn to recognize both focused and pervasive ambiguity and can think more clearly about lowering their self-expectations regarding clarity.

It may be that some readers will view the approach just recommended as "scare tactics" and will question the ethics of training that emphasizes how difficult and disturbing an intercultural experience can be. Debate on this issue would be useful. Meanwhile, one of us (Torbiörn) wishes to relate briefly the methods and results of an actual training situation. A Swedish firm was planning to send a number of employees on assignment to Saudi Arabia. Pre-arrival training was conducted, in part, in the manner suggested above; that is, the trainers emphasized the negative sides of expatriate life in Saudi Arabia, saying how "dreadful" everything would be to achieve, sustain, and so forth. Now that the period of assignment is over, the company reports great success in terms of there being very few premature returns and very few complaints from their employees who were trained in this manner. It is fair to add that there were some very good arrangements for this group in Saudi Arabia; these, in conjunction with the method of training, probably account for the fine results experienced by this group of sojourners.

The Importance of Training During the Sojourn

Throughout the previous section we have stressed the point that intercultural training is most effective when it is begun prior to the trainees' departure from their home culture and continued periodically during their sojourn in the host culture, ideally through Stage II of our theoretical model. Figures 7 and 8 will help to reinforce this point; they should be viewed in comparison with Figure 3 as well as with each other.

Figure 7 illustrates a hypothetical newcomer's progress through the four stages of the adjustment cycle after receiving a thorough training program, but only prior to his or her arrival in the new environment. Figure 8 illustrates the sojourner's progress through the stages when the same pre-arrival training is reinforced and supplemented by periodic training during
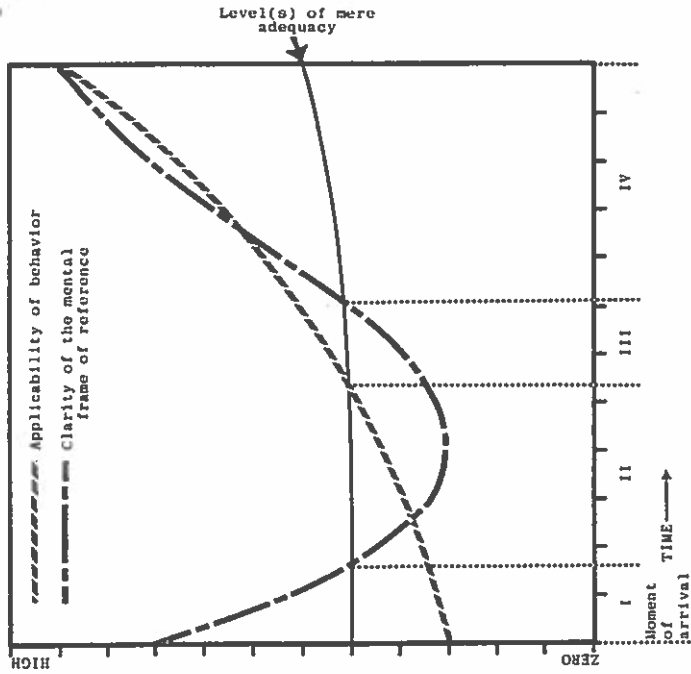
FIGURE 8. The Person in a Highly Unfamiliar Environment With the Benefit of a Comprehensive Intercultural Training Program Both Prior to Arrival and During Stages I and II of the Adjustment Cycle.
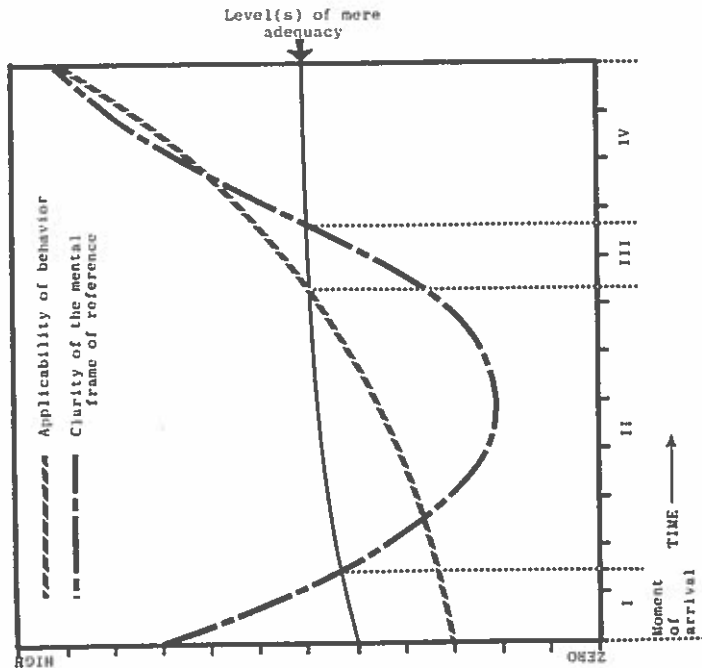
FIGURE 7. The Person in a Highly Unfamiliar Environment With the Benefit of a Comprehensive Intercultural Training Program Prior to Arrival.

the first two stages of the experience. Note that the starting point for the three psychological constructs is the same in Figures 7 and 8, indicating equally valuable training prior to the newcomer's arrival in the host culture. However, when training continues through Stage II, as depicted in Figure 8, the following differences may be expected: (a) The slope of the applicability line is steeper than in Figure 7 during the early stages of the adjustment cycle, indicating that continued training enables the newcomer to learn new behaviors at a more rapid rate; (b) the lowest point reached by the clarity line is both higher above zero and earlier in time than in Figure 7, indicating that continued training enables the newcomer to reduce more successfully the confusion and ambiguity of his mental frame of reference; (c) the level of mere adequacy remains depressed longer than in Figure 7, indicating that continued training encourages and assists the newcomer to judge himself or herself against lowered standards for a longer period of time.

With pre-arrival training only, the duration of Stage II is shortened from 7.9 units of time (Figure 3) down to 5.8 units (Figure 7). With training both before arrival and periodically after arrival in the new culture, the duration of Stage II is shortened from 7.9 units of time (Figure 3) down to only 3.8 units (Figure 8).

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ABSTRACT TRANSLATIONS

RESUME: Dans la Partie I, le procès de l'adaptation à un milieu très peu familier est reconceptualisé utilisant trois structures psychologiques: l'applicabilité de comportement, la clarté mentale à l'egard du système de référence, et le niveau d'expérience que l'on considère comme suffisament acceptable. De ces structures, on postule un modèle du procès qui surpasse le niveau des symtômes dans l'intention de comprendre l'adaptation interculturelle du point de vue de la psychologie cognitive et motivationelle. Dans la Partie II, au début on manipule le modèle afin de préciser les changements, à l'egard des trois structures psychologiques, qui sont théoriquement désirables par suite de la formation interculturelle. Ensuite, on discute en détails les implications pratiques de la formation vis à vis chaque changement distinct. On fait tout particulièrement attention au but de réduire la sévérité at la durée de la fatigue culturelle, un des objectifs principaux de la formation. On souligne surtout l'importance de continuer la formation pendant les premières étapes de la séjour dans un milieu etranger. (author supplied abstract)

Abstracción. En la primera parte, el proceso de ajuste a un ambiente altamente desconocido es reconceptualizado usando tres construcciones psicológicas: aplicabilidad conductual, claridad mental respecto al marco de referencia general, y nivel de mera adecuación. Usando estas tres construcciones se postula un modelo de este proceso, el cual va mas allá del nivel sintomático en un intento por entender el ajuste intercultural desde el punto de vista de la psicología cognitiva y motivacional. En la segunda parte, el modelo es manipulado en primer lugar con el fin de especificar los cambios teóricamente deseables que podrían obtenerse a través del entrenamiento intercultural, respecto de cada una de las tres construcciones psicológicas. Seguidamente, las implicaciones de orden práctico del entrenamiento intercultural para cada cambio son discutidas en detalle. Se presta atención muy especial al objetivo de reducir las severidad y la duración de la fatiga cultural, lo cual es percibido como el objetivo principal del entrenamiento. Se pone un acento especial a la importancia del entrenamiento continuo durante las primeras etapas de la experiencia del viajero enfrentado a ambientes desconocidos.

(author supplied abstract)