Intercultural Training for the Global Workplace: Review, Synthesis, and Theoretical Explorations

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Abstract

A review of the literature on intercultural training shows that this field of research has been theory driven from its early days since the early researchers focused on building theory. Three major reviews of the field of intercultural training in the past seven years have helped present a historical overview of the field as well as a synthesis of its theories and methods. A number of nested models grounded in a comprehensive theoretical framework have emerged, and some effort has been made to synthesize the fields of acculturation and intercultural training breaking new theoretical grounds for the development of various intercultural training strategies. This review builds on the past research and proposes a theoretical framework that can be utilized by business and government or non-government organizations. It synthesizes the learning models that have hitherto been scattered across the literature, which will aid young scholars to better focus their research agenda. It is hoped that the chapter will also guide practitioners to systematically develop intercultural training programs that are informed by theory.

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Globalization has led to increased interconnectedness among nations and we are much more interdependent than we were in the past. This interdependence requires us to work with people from different cultures, and it also requires many of us to live in cultures far away and quite different from our own. Despite the similarities offered by technology and urban centres, differences persist, and the vision of a homogeneous world is quite unlikely and perhaps flawed. The variety of religions and languages present in the world today offers ample evidence that if anything human kind loves diversity. So we need to prepare ourselves to have a meaningful dialogue with people from different cultures to help each other solve our problems and also to learn from each other. Intercultural training as a field of research has become all the more relevant in today's shrinking world.

Just like we are all lay social psychologists, all of us interculturalists, those who have spent some time away from home in a foreign culture, are also lay intercultural trainers – we can teach what we have learned just like any other knowledge or skill. However, since intercultural training has developed a rich literature as an academic discipline, which is grounded in theory, it offers opportunity to researchers and professionals to provide a systematic approach to developing, implementing, and evaluating intercultural training programs. This chapter intends to contribute to the extant literature by providing a theoretical framework for the systematic development of intercultural training programs, which can be used both in professional training and academic courses.

Three major reviews of the field of intercultural training (Bhawuk & Brislin, 2000; Landis & Bhawuk, 2004; Bhawuk, Landis, & Lo, 2006) have helped synthesize and extend the field of intercultural training in the new millennium. Bhawuk and Brislin (2000) provided a historical perspective tracing the evolution of the field, and concluded that the field has always been theory driven (Hall, 1959, 1966; Fiedler, Triandis, & Mitchell, 1971; Triandis, 1975). They noted that in recent times it had become more so with the integration of culture theories (Triandis, Brislin, & Hui, 1988; Cushner & Brislin, 1997; Brislin & Yoshida, 1994; Bhawuk, 1998, 2001; Bhawuk & Brislin, 1992). Landis and Bhawuk (2004) presented a number of nested models leading to a comprehensive theoretical framework, such that through a program of research the framework could be evaluated by testing each of these models. Bhawuk, Landis, and Lo (2006) synthesized the fields of acculturation and intercultural training breaking new theoretical grounds for the development of various intercultural training strategies, and also presented its applicability for training military personnel (Landis & Bhawuk, 2005). This paper notes the major contributions of these reviews, and further builds on them by synthesizing various theoretical ideas to propose an approach to intercultural training that is grounded in theory and can be utilized by business and government or non-government organizations.

Theory Building in Intercultural Training

A review of the field of intercultural training shows that it has been led by stalwarts like Edward Hall, Harry Triandis, Richard Brislin, Dan Landis, and Bill Gudykunst, who helped the field grow with an emphasis on theory building from its earliest days. It is notable that Hall (1959, 1966) presented both a theory of culture and how it could be applied to train people to be effective while working abroad. Triandis along with his colleagues not only invented the culture assimilator (sometimes called the intercultural sensitizer), but presented many theoretical frameworks to provide the foundation of intercultural training as well as to develop and evaluate culture assimilators and other training programs (Triandis, 1972, 1975, 1977, 1994, 1995a, 1995b; Triandis, Brislin & Hui, 1988; Fiedler, Triandis, & Mitchell, 1971). Brislin not only presented the seminal books on intercultural training (Brislin & Pedersen, 1976; Brislin, 1981) helping the crystallization of the field, but also presented the first handbook (Landis & Brislin, 1983), the first cultural

general assimilator (Brislin, Cushner, Cherrie, & Young, 1986; Cushner & Brislin, 1996), and two volumes of exercises in which each exercise was grounded in a theory (Brislin & Yoshida, 1994a, 1994b; Cushner & Brislin, 1997).

Landis founded the *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* in 1977 and continues to edit it. This journal is dedicated to building international understanding through intercultural training, which meets high standards of scientific rigor. Landis also developed many specialized culture assimilators including ones for use in the U.S. military (see Landis & Bhagat, 1996), edited three editions of the *Handbook of Intercultural Training* (Landis & Brislin, 1983; Landis & Bhagat, 1996; Landis, Bennet, & Bennet, 2004), led to the creation of the *International Academy of Intercultural Research* in 1999, and served as its Founding President. Gudykunst contributed by developing theories of intercultural communication and applying them to the field of intercultural training (Gudykunst, 2005). Of course, other researchers and practitioners have also contributed to the field significantly in many other ways, but the contribution of these researchers especially deserves to be noted for their theoretical contribution.

Bhawuk and Brislin (2000) reviewed the literature and traced the historical evolution of the field over the past fifty years. They noted that the culture assimilators were still being used and researched (Albert, 1983), whereas though simulation programs continue to be developed and used for intercultural training, they are not subjected as much to evaluation, and that there were many more tools like the intercultural sensitivity inventory and category width available for the evaluation of intercultural training programs. They noted two measure evaluation reviews, one by Black and Mendenhall (1990) and the other by Deshpande and Viswesvaran (1992), which showed that intercultural training programs do have positive outcomes for the trainees. Black and Mendenhall (1990) reviewed 29 studies that had evaluated the effectiveness of various training programs, and concluded that because of cross-cultural training provided to participants, there was positive feelings about the training they received, improvement in their interpersonal relationships, changes in their perception of host nationals, reduction in culture shock (Oberg, 1960) experienced by them, and improvement in their performance on the job, establishing the general effectiveness of intercultural training programs. These findings were further supported in a meta-analysis of 21 studies in which the effect of cross-cultural training was examined on five variables of interest: self development of trainees, perception of trainees, relationship with host nationals, adjustment during sojourn, and performance on the job (Deshpande & Viswesvaran, 1992). Thus, the effectiveness of intercultural programs has stood various independent evaluations (see also meta-analysis by Morris & Robie, 2001). However, Mendenhall, et al. (2004) presented evidence that tempered the positive findings of the earlier studies.

Triandis (1995a) noted that in general field studies, but not the laboratory studies, have showed positive effect of cross-cultural assimilator training on most of the above mentioned variables. However, in a recent laboratory study comparing three types of culture assimilators with a control group, Bhawuk (1998) found that a theory-based Individualism and Collectivism Assimilator (ICA) had significant effects on a number of criterion measures such as Intercultural Sensitivity Inventory, Category Width measure (Detweiler, 1975, 1978, 1980), attribution making, and satisfaction with training compared to a culture-specific assimilator for Japan, a culture-general assimilator (Brislin et al., 1986), and a control group. It must be noted that few studies have used behavioral measures over and above paper and pencil type dependent variables (Weldon, et al., 1975, and Landis, Brislin, & Hulgus, 1985, are the exceptions), thus raising questions about the impact of culture assimilators on the behaviors of trainees.

Bhawuk and Brislin (2000) noted that behavior modification training was one of the new developments in the field. Behavior modification training is necessary for habitual behaviors that people are not usually aware of, especially behaviors that are acceptable, even desirable, in one's own culture but which may be offensive in another culture. For example, in Latin American cultures, people give an *abrazo* or an embrace to friends which is not an acceptable behavior in the United States; or in Greece when people show

an open palm, called *moutza*, they are showing utmost contempt, and not simply waving or saying hello (Triandis, 1994). A *moutza* needs to be avoided, whereas an *abrazo* needs to be acquired. There are many examples of such behaviors, and the only way to learn them is through behavior modeling, by observing a model do the behavior and then practicing the behavior many times. Despite its theoretical rigor and practical significance, this method has not been used much in cross-cultural training programs because it is expensive, requiring a trainer who constantly works on one behavior at a time.

Harrison (1992) examined the effectiveness of different types of training programs by comparing groups that received culture assimilator training (i.e., Japanese Culture Assimilator), behavioral modeling training, a combined training (i.e., behavioral modeling and culture assimilator), and no training (i.e., control group). He found that people who received the combined training scored significantly higher on a measure of learning than those who were given other types of training or no training. This group performed better on the role-play task compared to the control group only, but not to the other two groups. This study provides further evidence for the impact of assimilators on behavioral tasks.

Bhawuk and Brislin (2000) noted another development that deals with the role of culture theory in cross-cultural training (Bhawuk, 1998; Bhawuk & Triandis, 1996b), and the development of a theory-based culture assimilator, which is based on the four defining attributes and the vertical and horizontal typology of individualism and collectivism (Triandis, 1995b; Bhawuk, 1995, 1996, 2001). Bhawuk and Triandis (1996b) proposed that culture theory could be effectively used in cross-cultural training. Bhawuk (1998) further refined this model by integrating the literature on cognition and stages of learning, and presented a model of stages of intercultural expertise development and suggested that a theory-based assimilator using fewer categories is likely to be more effective because it does not add to the cognitive load experienced during a cross-cultural interaction. He carried out a multimethod evaluation of cross-cultural training tools to test the model (Bhawuk, 1998), and found that, trainees who received the theory-based Individualism and Collectivism Assimilator (ICA), compared to a culture-specific assimilator for Japan, a culture-general assimilator (Brislin et al., 1986), and a control group, were found to be significantly more interculturally sensitive, had larger category width, made better attribution on given difficult critical incidents, and were more satisfied with the training package. The findings of this study show promise for using over-arching theories like individualism and collectivism in cross-cultural training. They concluded that the development of the field of cross-cultural training over the past fifty years showed an encouraging sign of evolution of more theoretically meaningful training methods and tools. It could be expected that more theory-based training methods and material are likely to be developed in the future. In this chapter, a framework is presented for the development of intercultural training programs that includes not only culture theories but also other theoretical ideas thus extending the field.

Landis and Bhawuk (2004) proposed a nested framework of testable models of intercultural training and learning. The first building block of their framework included such variables as intention to learn new cultural behavior, social support, host reinforcement, and spouse and family support to the sojourner. They posited that behavioral rehearsal would be often needed in the intercultural context, because people are learning new behaviors while living in another culture, and acquisition of such behaviors would necessarily follow the social learning theory (Bandura, 1977). The acquisition of these new cultural behaviors would be moderated by social support as well as host reinforcement. If spouse and other family members as well as the expatriate community support the target person to acquire these new behaviors, the person is likely to do a better job of learning these behaviors. Similarly, if the host nationals the sojourner is working with support the acquisition of the new behaviors, and encourages the sojourner, then the learning process is likely to be more effective. And building on the psychological literature, they posited that behavioral intention would be the best predictor of intercultural behaviors. This model could be tested for a number of intercultural behaviors like learning foreign languages, learning gestures and body language, and so forth.

Landis and Bhawuk (2004) presented other models as the antecedents to the above model. For example, intercultural effectiveness is often evaluated based on how well the tasks get done, and so they argued that in most intercultural interactions tasks take central stage, and centrality of goal is likely to have direct impact on behavioral intentions and ultimately intercultural behaviors. Interestingly, the role of task completion in the intercultural context has not been tested in the literature, and thus does provide an opportunity to build and test theory. Another antecedent of intercultural behavioral intention would be affect (Landis & Bhawuk, 2004). Affect could vary along two dimensions. First, people could be different on their predisposition to change emotionally; some are ready to change versus others needing much more convincing or cajoling. Second, some people are more apt to express their emotions than others. Both of these affect related aspects have implications for overseas adjustment, and people need to become self-aware, and then learn to adapt their style to be effective in another culture. For example, in some cultures emotion is not to be expressed publicly, whereas in others it is not honest to hide one's emotion.

Of the two other models that Landis and Bhawuk (2004) presented in their framework, one linked intercultural sensitivity, social categorization, behavioral disposition, and intercultural behaviors, whereas the other posited that intercultural behavior would be a function of perceived differences in subjective culture (Triandis, 1972), the greater the cultural distance, the stronger the affective reaction. They suggested that individuals would seek information only up to a point where more stress becomes a deterrent for information seeking. They proposed that testing each of the models would require many experiments, and each of the studies could be viewed as a crucial experiment (Platt, 1964) needed to build a theory of intercultural behavior. Integrating these five models, a general model of intercultural behavior process with its many antecedents is derived. Thus, they presented models testable through smaller studies, and also in its totality through a program of research. By testing these five models, and linking them together, the larger framework could be tested.

Landis and Bhawuk (2004) noted that intercultural training researchers have been concerned with the development of the best training approach for most of the past fifty years, as much as they have been concerned about the evaluation of the effectiveness of intercultural training programs. They recommended that the discipline needed to boldly start building bridges between associated research disciplines. Following their recommendation, Bhawuk, Landis, and Lo (2006) took the first step toward such a theoretical bridge building, and attempted to synthesize the literature on intercultural training and acculturation. They attempted to integrate Berry's (1990) four-part typology into a theoretical framework developed by Landis and Bhawuk (2004), which seemed to open new avenues toward synthesizing these two disciplines. They also explored how different training tools could be effectively used to train people who are using different acculturating strategies. For example, they noted that it is reasonable to treat those who are using the integration strategy differently from those who are using the marginalization, separation, or assimilation strategies. This approach should also serve to bridge intercultural training and other research disciplines like sojourner adaptation, stress management techniques, and learning theories.

Bhawuk, Landis, and Lo (2006) also noted various applications of individualism and collectivism in intercultural training, and suggested that perhaps acculturation literature should also take advantage of this theory more rigorously, which would further help bridge the two disciplines through a common theoretical foundation. They also attempted to synthesize intercultural sensitivity and acculturation literature by showing commonality between Bhawuk and Brislin's (1992) approach to intercultural sensitivity, and Bennett's (1986) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (See also Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003). In this chapter, some of these ideas are further developed in the context of developing the content of intercultural training programs. To do this a theoretical framework is developed, which is discussed in detail below.

A Theoretical Framework for the Development of Intercultural Training Programs

The theoretical framework presented in Figure 1 helps synthesize various elements of the intercultural training literature, and also proposes future directions for research in intercultural training. At the core of the framework lie the fundamental issues and ways to prepare expatriates for their sojourn. The four elements at the core include (a) Basic Processes of Intercultural Learning, (b) Self-Preservation (or Survival Issues), (c) Cultural-Theoretic Framework, and (d) Socio, Political, and Economic Framework. They represent areas of research, theory, and practice from which the content of intercultural training can be derived. These four elements constitute the foundational knowledge necessary to be effective in international assignments, and being grounded in theory could be viewed as associative rather than declarative knowledge (Anderson, 2000).

We can evaluate the importance of these four elements from two perspectives: from the perspective of the sojourner who is planning to travel abroad and from the perspective of pedagogy or how we can prepare the person best to be effective abroad. Self-preservation is the most important element because one cannot be effective if one's safety and survival is threatened, and the sojourners need to be prepared about how to be safe before any other information and concepts are presented to them. From the perspective of pedagogy one could argue that the trainees may neglect learning the survival skills if they do not understand the basic processes involved in intercultural learning. After all, even the concepts of safety and survival are culturally defined. Motivated by pedagogy, the learning models are discussed first.

The second circle represents general intercultural skills that the expatriates must acquire and use in the behavioral settings pertinent to their industry and organization. The airlines industry works differently from the oil and gas industry not only because the external environment presents differently to each industry but also because each industry develops its own symbols and rituals since they serve different clientele and their products and services are different. These skills are less related to a particular culture, and in that sense could be viewed as culture-general skills (as opposed to cultural-specific). Organizational cultures are nested in the industrial culture but are also shaped by their national cultures, especially in human processes and the management of human resources. It is often assumed that sojourners understand the culture of the organization, and if they are going from headquarter of the organization they may even be viewed as experts on organizational routines and procedures.

Insert Figure 1 about here

The third circle in Figure 1 represents the mission and goals of the organization. This circle represents outcomes at the higher level that the organization desires to achieve in its operations abroad, which put intercultural demands on the expatriates. Clearly, effective accomplishment of organizational objectives will require more complex and adept intercultural skill. The outermost circle represents culture-specific information expatriates need to operate effectively in a particular culture. Once expatriates have obtained the foundational knowledge and awareness (innermost circle) and the culture-general skills (second circle) that supports the overall objectives of the organizations (third circle), then the final step is to learn specific information about the culture in which they will work (outermost circle). By first learning the foundational knowledge and culture-general skills, expatriates will be better able to assimilate cultural-specific training when it occurs, and much of it is likely to occur on the site while living in another culture. It should be noted that traditionally intercultural training programs have been more focused on the outer circle with the objective of orienting people to the target culture. It is plausible that for this reason many intercultural training programs remain at the level of do's and don'ts (Bhawuk, 1990), which neither facilitates acquisition of meta-cognition nor learning-how-to-learn. In what follows, the core of the model is discussed in detail, since this forms the foundation of intercultural training.

I) BASIC PROCESSES OF INTERCULTURAL LEARNING

A Model of Cross-Cultural Expertise Development

Building on the notion that theories have a role in the development of expertise, Bhawuk (1998) proposed a model of intercultural expertise development (see Figure 2). A "lay person" is defined as one who has no knowledge of another culture, an ideal-type for all practical purposes, considering that even the Sherpas in the remote Nepalese mountains or the pygmies in Africa have been exposed to people from other cultures. There is some evidence that people who have spent two or more years in another culture develop cross-cultural sensitivity through their intercultural interactions, even in the absence of any formal training (Bhawuk & Brislin, 1992). It is proposed that people with extended intercultural experience, or those who have gone through a formal intercultural training program (e.g., a culture-specific orientation) that discusses differences between two cultures, will develop some degree of intercultural expertise and are labeled "novices." In other words, "novices" are people with some intercultural skills or expertise, usually for a culture other than their own. These are people who are still in the first stage of learning (e.g., the cognitive or declarative stage, Anderson, 2000). These people are likely to explain a cultural difference in terms of behavioral observations such as "One does not say 'No' directly in Japan," "Nepalese men do not do household chores," and so forth, which often leads to a do's and don'ts list.

Insert Figure 2 about here

"Experts" are novices who have acquired the knowledge of culture theories which are relevant to a large number of behaviors so that they can organize cognitions about cultural differences more meaningfully around a theory (e.g., the way experts use Newton's second law of motion to classify physics problems). These are the people who are at the second stage of learning (e.g., the associative or proceduralization stage, Anderson, 2000). It is proposed that people can arrive at this stage by going through a theory-based intercultural training program.

"Advanced experts" are experts who have not only the knowledge of the theory, but also have had the amount of practice needed to perform the relevant tasks automatically. These are the people who are at the third stage of learning (i.e., the autonomous stage, Anderson, 2000). Since behavior modification training allows people to learn new behaviors by observing models and then practicing the target behaviors, a behavior modeling training following a theory-based training, will enable "experts" to become "advanced experts." Thus, the model of intercultural expertise development posits that intercultural training using culture theory will make a person an expert, whereas training that does not use theory will only result in novices; and to be an advanced expert one needs to go through behavioral training to practice different behaviors so that the behaviors become habitual. Figure 2 is a diagrammatic representation of this model. Also shown in the figure are the linkages between stages of learning and stages of intercultural expertise development.

Levels of Competence

Extending the work of Howell (1982) to cross-cultural communication and training, Bhawuk (1995, 1998) suggested that there are four levels of cross-cultural competence: *unconscious incompetence, conscious incompetence, conscious competence, and unconscious competence*. Unconscious incompetence refers to the situation when one misinterprets others' behavior but is not even aware of it; this is the situation when a sojourner is making incorrect attributions, usually based on his or her own cultural framework. When a person is at this level of competence, things do not work out the way one expects and one is not sure why things are not working. This characterizes the situation when a sojourner is experiencing culture shock or culture fatigue (Oberg, 1960). A person at this level of competence is a "lay person" in the model presented earlier (see Figure 2).

Conscious incompetence refers to the situation when the sojourner has become aware of his or her failure to behave correctly, but is unable to make correct attributions since he or she lacks the right knowledge. The sojourner is learning by trial and error. This level of competence is exemplified by a tennis player who tries to improve his game without coaching or study, by simply playing more. The sojourner who is trying to figure out cultural differences through direct experience, or non-theory based training programs, fits the description of this level of competence and is called a "novice" in the model.

Conscious competence is the third level and the crucial difference between this and the previous level is that the person at this level communicates with *understanding*. The person understands why something works or does not work (i.e., he understands the covert principles and theories behind overt behaviors). A person at this level of competence is called an "expert" in the model.

It is suggested that level two in the competency hierarchy is *mechanical-analytical* in that a behavior that is less effective than another is dropped, whereas level three is *thoughtful-analytical* in that not only is an effective behavior selected but also an explanation of why a behavior is effective or ineffective becomes available (Howell, 1982). In the cross-cultural setting, at this level a sojourner is still not naturally proficient in his or her interactions with the hosts and has to make an effort to behave in the culturally appropriate way. For example, people who do not use "please" or "thank you" in their own culture and are at the third level of competence, have to remind themselves and make a conscious effort to use these words in social interactions in a culture where they are expected to use them.

When a person receives enough practice then a behavior becomes part of one's habit structure and one does not need to make an effort to behave in a culturally appropriate way; one has become so acculturated that one can almost pass as a native. This is the fourth and the highest stage of competence, unconscious competence, and corresponds to the "advanced expert" in the model. At this level, although the person fully understands the reasons for behaving in a certain way in another culture, neither mechanical nor thoughtful analysis is required and a person responds "correctly" automatically (i.e., the response is habitual).

Cognitive Stages of Expertise Development

Anderson (2000) described how people develop expertise. According to him, skill learning occurs in three steps. The first step is a cognitive stage, in which a description of the procedure is learned. In this stage, the names and definitions of concepts and key entities are committed to memory. Therefore, knowledge is "declarative," and people have to make an effort to recall and apply what they have learned. Typically, learners rehearse the facts in first performing the task. For example, an individualist (e.g., an American manager) who is new in a collectivist culture (e.g., Japan) and faces an interpersonal situation in which he or she wants to disagree or reject an offer, idea, or solution, would recall the fact that people in Japan prefer not to be direct and forthright and use many euphemisms for saying "No." The knowledge of this information is declarative and in this situation the manager would rehearse this fact as he or she interacts with the Japanese. A natural feeling at the end of the interaction may be "Boy, that was difficult," "That was not bad," "I hope it is easier the next time," and so forth, depending on one's feeling of success or failure with the interaction. In this stage of learning, the person is aware of the entire process of recalling knowledge and applying it to the situation

The second stage is called the associative stage, in which people convert their declarative knowledge of a domain into a more efficient procedural representation. Starting with the cognitive stage, learners begin to detect many of their mistakes in performing a task or skill, and eliminate some of these mistakes. Further, with practice they remember the elements of the procedure and their sequence. As learners get in the associative stage, they no longer have to rehearse the knowledge before they can apply it, and they follow a procedure that they know leads to a successful result. In the cross-cultural context described above, the American manager would interact with the Japanese worker without a need to recall or rehearse the fact that the Japanese do not say "No" directly. The manager will be able to smoothly get into the discussion, find a

suitable excuse to disagree, and use a proper expression of negation so that the worker does not lose his or her face. Thus, in this stage people learn the steps of performing a task, and while performing it follow each step in the proper sequence. This is referred to as "proceduralization."

It is suggested that sometimes the two forms of knowledge, declarative and procedural, can coexist; for example, a person speaking a foreign language fluently can also remember many rules of grammar. In the context of intercultural interaction, it is likely that both declarative and procedural knowledge will coexist since the sojourner needs to constantly keep the rules of the host culture in mind to contrast it with proper behavior in his or her own culture. Only in the extreme case of a person going "native" (i.e., a person assimilating completely in the host culture) is it likely that there will be a singular presence of procedural knowledge. Complete assimilation is reflected in the sojourner's inability to explain why the hosts (or the person himself or herself) behave in a certain way; and the person is likely to say "That is the way to do it."

The third stage, in which the skill becomes more and more habitual and automatic, develops through practice and is called the "autonomous stage." People know the task so well that they can perform it very quickly without following each and every step. Speed and accuracy are the two characteristics of this stage; people perform the skills quickly and with few or no errors. In the scenario discussed earlier, the American manager in Japan would be able to convey an equivalent of saying "No" very quickly and without making an error to upset the host, when he or she is in this stage of expertise development. A Japanese worker is likely to think of this person as "so much like us," "extremely polite," and so forth. People who are in this stage are sophisticated users of knowledge in a particular domain (a particular culture in the case of intercultural interactions) and use broad principles to categorize and solve the problems of the domain.

It is suggested that there is no major difference between the associative and the autonomous stages, and that the autonomous stage can be considered an extension of the associative stage. In this stage, usually skills improve gradually, and since verbal mediation does not exist learners may be unable to verbalize knowledge completely. In effect, the autonomous stage refers to behaviors that have become habitual through extended practice. This stage is especially relevant to intercultural interactions since sojourners are driven by habits acquired in their own culture, and acquire behaviors suitable for the host culture slowly, stage by stage, from the cognitive to the associative to the autonomous stage. Often these new behaviors are opposite of the behaviors learned in one's own culture. For example, the American manager in the example above has to stop being direct and forthright, something valued in the United States, and start being indirect and vague, something valued in Japan. As mentioned earlier, if the sojourners do not want to go "native" (i.e., become just like the host culture nationals), they would need to be proficient in interactions with the hosts, but at the same time also be able to verbalize knowledge about behaviors in the host culture so that they retain their home culture's identity.

The development of expertise is reflected in how people (experts versus novices) solve problems. When experts and novices are asked to solve physics problems, specifically to find out the velocity of the freely sliding block at the end of an inclined plane, it is found that novices worked backward, step by step, starting by writing the formula to compute the unknown (the velocity), then writing the formula for another unknown in the first formula (acceleration), and so on; and then moving forward, computing each of the unknowns, until the solution is found (Anderson, 2000). On the other hand, experts solved the same problem in the opposite order, by using theories (e.g., Newton's second law of motion) and computing directly what could be computed, and then moving on to finally solve the problem. The backward reasoning method followed by the novices loads the working memory and can result in errors, whereas the forward reasoning method followed by experts is superior in that it is more accurate as it does not load the working memory. To be able to use the forward reasoning method, the user must be conversant with all the possible forward solutions and then be able to decide which one will be relevant to the problem at hand, and this requires a good deal of expertise.

In cross-cultural interactions, the forward reasoning method is likely to be followed by experts, since it is possible to predict human behavior given the setting and other characteristics of the situation. In fact, a central premise of social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) is that people anticipate actions and their consequences (i.e., people can decide how they would behave in a situation based on their past observation and experience). In a cross-cultural situation, for example, knowing that collectivists are sensitive to the needs of their ingroups, to motivate the employees an expert may use the strategy of creating incentives that are useful to their ingroups. More research is needed to understand the differences in the strategies adopted by experts and novices. It makes intuitive sense to think that experts would use theories to guide their interactions in intercultural situation.

Disconfirmed Expectation and the Processes of Learning How-to-Learn

Disconfirmed expectation refers to situations where sojourners expect a certain behavior from the host nationals, but experience a different one. Simply stated, one's expectations are not met or confirmed. Intercultural communication effectiveness can be enhanced if we prepare ourselves not to come to a hurried conclusion about the cause of hosts' behavior when the hosts do not meet our expectations, since such a conclusion can lead to a negative stereotype. A negative stereotype may prejudice future interactions with hosts resulting in interpersonal problems. Disconfirmed expectancies underlie many situations where differences in work ethics, roles, learning styles, use of time and space, and so forth occur.

Frustrations associated with disconfirmed expectation are a part of a basic psychological process that is also found in primemates. For example, in and experiment a monkey is shown spinach in a box a number of times, and is thus socialized to expect spinach in the box. Later when spinach is replaced by another item unknown to the monkey, the monkey is found to show frustration and anger when it opens the box and does not find the spinach, which it expected to see (Overmier, 2006). Thus, it is not surprising that we humans too are frustrated by disconfirmed expectations. Often service quality is compared to what we expect, and thus often a poor quality is nothing but an expression of a disconfirmed expectation. Of course, intercultural interactions are likely to be full of disconfirmed expectations, and if we are not to be shocked out of our wits, which is what culture shock (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001) is, we have to learn to deal with disconfirmed expectations.

It is posited here that disconfirmed expectations offer opportunity for us to learn. In fact, when our expectations are met, we are practicing behaviors that we already know, and such situations lead to mastery of such behaviors to the level of automaticity, leading such behaviors to become habitual. But when we face a disconfirmed expectation, we have a choice of ignoring it as an aberration, similar to a poor service situation, or we can reflect on the situation and see if there is something to be learned. In intercultural settings, often there is a cultural behavior to be learned when we face a disconfirmed expectation. But unlike the motivated self-learner, others find this opportunity frustrating. Thus, to the motivated sojourner or expatriate disconfirmed expectations offer what Vygotsky (1978) called zone of proximal development where meaningful new learning takes place beyond the previous ability level of the learner. Below, disconfirmed expectation is synthesized in the learning how to learn model (Kolb, 1977; Hughes-Weiner, 1986)

Building on Kolb's (1976) learning styles model, Hughes-Weiner (1986) presented a learning-how-to-learn model applicable to the field of intercultural communication and training. The basic idea presented by Hughes-Weiner is that starting with concrete experience, a learner can move to reflective observation, abstract conceptualization, and active experimentation. Here Kolb and Hugh-Weiner’s ideas are further developed synthesizing the concepts of disconfirmed expectation, emic (culture specific knowledge), and etic (culture general or universal knowledge) (See Figure 3). In an intercultural setting, we can stop at a concrete experience in which we do not understand the behavior of the host, and we can make an attribution that the actor is not a nice person (or even worse that he is a jerk or she is mean) or that the host culture is not a good

culture (or even worse that this is a backward culture), and continue to act in the future the same way that we acted in such situations in the past. In other words, we happily move on, even if the hosts are not feeling good. Our behavior would support the notion that we are all ethnocentric (Triandis, 1990), and we would continue to be ethnocentric. This state fits with the intercultural development model (Bennett, 1986), and the person is clearly not only ethnocentric but also uninterested in self growth.

Insert Figure 3 about here

If we do reflective observation, we learn about cultural differences, and often some emic aspect of the host culture emerges. We also learn about our own culture, especially if the other cultural practices are drastically different from our own, which is mediated by cultural distance. Therefore, stopping at reflective observation leads to some personal intercultural growth. However, stopping here may end up into one learning many do's and don'ts about a particular culture. If we go beyond reflective observation, and develop abstract conceptualization, we acquire theoretical insights, which help us organize many experiences coherently into one category, and we can learn many such theoretical ideas. This leads to culture general understanding, and is a clear advancement from the earlier stage. We develop an understanding of etics or universals and understand emics as cultural representations of those etics. This helps us understand our own culture better in that we know why we do what we do. Also, it helps us internalize that our own cultural practices are not universals but emic reflections of some etics. Such internalization would weaken our natural ethnocentric cocoon and help us progress toward cultural relativism. In this phase, learning is supplemented by understanding. However, if we stop at this phase, we may have insights but our behavior may not show our understanding.

Active experimentation completes the cycle in that the learner is now testing theories and ideas learned. One is not only a "nice-talk- interculturalist" but an interculturalist who goes in the field, and tries out his or her learning. It is also plausible that people living in another culture for a long time move from reflective observation to active experimentation, simply bypassing the abstract conceptualization phase (See Figure 3). This is similar to behavioral modification training, except that the person is learning the behavior on the job and does not have much choice but to learn the behavior to be effective while he or she is living abroad. The pressures of adapting to a new environment and culture combined with the desire to be effective can lead one to master various behaviors in a new culture as a sojourner, without much abstract conceptualization. Thus, it is plausible that one can become an effective biculturalist (see Figure 3). However, due to the lack of abstract conceptualization, one may continue to cultivate some bitterness resulting from the frustration from the external pressure requiring one to adapt. Thus, we see that disconfirmed expectation and learning how to learn are meta-skills that intercultural training can impart to be effective in intercultural communication.

Isomorphic Attribution and Fundamental Attribution Error

A major source of misunderstandings in human relationships is that two individuals do not perceive similar causes for a specific behavior. For example, if an employee is late for work he or she may perceive that missing the bus was the cause of lateness, whereas his or her supervisor may perceive laziness as the cause of lateness. Making non-isomorphic attributions (Triandis, 1975) means that the same behavior is seen as having very different meaning. Isomorphic attribution refers to a sojourner making approximately the same judgment about the cause of a behavior as do people in the host culture (Triandis, 1975). When people make isomorphic attributions, they do not impose their own cultural perspective in deciding about the cause of a particular behavior. Instead, they use the perspective of the host culture in analyzing the behavior. It should be noted here that isomorphic attribution can be made at the emic level following a disconfirmed expectation using reflective observation, or at the etic level with a deeper understanding of their emic

representations by developing abstract conceptualization as discussed earlier. In other words, isomorphic attribution made by novices and experts are not the same. Researchers and practitioners should both find this new insight useful, as theory clearly has a role in intercultural expertise development. .

There is some evidence that we all suffer from the fundamental error of attribution. In the attribution process, often we make trait attribution for others behavior if they perform poorly (i.e., the other person is incapable of doing the task, is not smart, etc.), whereas we make contextual attribution for ourselves (i.e., the reason for poor performance is lack of resource, lack or support from the supervisor, poor team building, etc.). This process is reversed in that when others are successful we attribute it to external factors (i.e., they got lucky, they were spoon fed, we supported them all along, etc.) but when we are ourselves successful we attribute it to our trait (i.e., we are smart, we work hard, etc.) (Ross, 1977).

Fundamental error of attribution is further enhanced across cultures, and since we are all ethnocentric (Triandis, 1990), it makes sense to make trait attributions for our successes and blame other external factors for our failures, and to reverse it for others. There are also cultural differences in how people make attribution. For example, collectivists, as they are driven by modesty, tend to attribute external causes for their success more so than do individualists, who are driven by the idea that one should tout one's own horn. Thus, individualists make the fundamental attribution error more frequently than collectivists. Morris and Peng (1994) argued that this is caused by the cultural worldview that people implicitly acquire through socialization, and demonstrated in a multiple experiment study that Chinese are less subject to the fundamental attribution error than Americans, supporting the notion that this process varies across cultures.

Often, collectivists attribute the help of others as the cause of their success, whereas individualists attribute it to their ability. On the other hand, collectivists attribute failure to lack of effort; whereas individualists attribute it to factors external to themselves like task difficulty and so forth. For collectivists, the attribution process varies across ingroup and outgroup members, whereas individualists do not differentiate between ingroups and outgroups in making attributions (Triandis, 1995). This will be discussed further in the later section on individualism and collectivism.

II) SELF-PRESERVATION (KEEPING SECURITY AND SURVIVAL ISSUES IN MIND)

When we live in our own culture, we know how to go about doing various activities, and also know where not to go and when. This is not obvious when we live in another culture. For example, taking a taxi from the airport to the city may be a simple task in one culture, but not so safe in another culture. Most big airports in India provide the service of prepaid taxi to ensure safety of the passengers. I know of a returning young Indian who got robbed by the taxi driver simply because he had ignored the safety procedure and taken a non-registered taxi. Often local people know what activities are to be avoided or what part of the city should be avoided at what time of the day or night. Sojourners need to acquire this information and pay special attention to avoid difficult situations.

Sometimes sojourners get carried away when they have lived in a new culture and feel comfortable. This may sound like being over cautious, but it is better to be over cautious while living abroad. For example, having traveled to the USA many times, and having lived there for two years, early in my sojourn I found myself in a precarious situation waiting for a bus in down town Los Angeles at 1:00 am while returning from the Disney Land with my wife and two little children. It was a scary situation with a police patrol car going around every few minutes and many shady looking people sauntering on the street. I called my cultural informant who was alarmed to learn my situation but was not able to come and fetch us because he lived too far away from there. He calmly gave me directions about how I could go to a safer street where a five star hotel was located. I had unwittingly put myself and my family in a difficult situation, which could have been easily avoided.

To begin with when we are living abroad, we are often so different that we do not quite fit into the social settings. People recognize us as a foreigner, and we become self conscious. Also, when we are in a

completely new setting we have to learn about the place and people, and it is normal to experience cognitive load in such situations as we experience much ambiguity. This is enough to trigger a sense of insecurity, and people often complain about experiencing moderate level of anxiety. It is not unusual to feel that people of the host culture are staring at us. One does gets over it slowly over time, if things go right. But if the assignment is only for a short duration, and one has to be in social settings, then it is important to become aware of one's own discomfort, and to learn to perform one's tasks despite the nagging feeling of insecurity. It should be noted that it is harder for military personnel not to stick out when they are abroad because they are not only a foreigner, but also a person in military uniform, distinct from the locals. And if they are in hostile environment, say US soldiers and civilians in Iraq or Afghanistan, then safety must not be taken for granted, and all precautions must be observed.

When we live in our own culture we also have our emotional support group that is often take for granted because the members of this group are there for us when we need them. When we are in another culture we have no access to this support group, and thus need to develop one. It is difficult to talk about life circumstances that are personal in nature and cause stress. For example, an illness or death in the family, own or family members' marital problems, and so forth take a lot of energy, and when we are away from home thinking about these matters can be quite debilitating.

Most often we are not prepared to deal with our own death or the death of close ones in the family. Talking about these matters is hard, yet accidents do happen, and people die unexpectedly. When we are in our own culture, we deal with them as they arise, and that is what most of us do. However, when we are abroad, we have distance and expenses between us and family, and we may regret not knowing what a dear one had wished for us to do. Before going abroad for a long assignment, it is necessary to talk about these matters with one's family and close friends and relatives, and prepare them to some degree for the unforeseen circumstances. Living instructions about how one should be cremated or dealt with if incapacitated is necessary. Having a will and leaving a power of attorney for somebody to take care of our financial and other personal matters is also helpful. Preparing for these emotional issues provides extra energy because one has fewer things to worry about when living abroad.

It is also important to think about the future, and the implications for oneself and other family members should one decide to marry someone from another culture while living abroad. It is not unusual for people to fall in love and develop a serious relationship with someone while living abroad, and it is good to think about such matters before they arise. Doing so helps with preparedness by reducing the stress arising from personal, emotional, and existential self-preservation. Leki (in press) has discussed the personal safety issues at length in his book, and provides an inventory that people can use to learn about their own safety needs while planning to travel abroad. He also provides practical tips to prepare for personal safety when living abroad.

The safety and survival issues have not received much attention in intercultural research beyond examining the nature of culture shock (Oberg, 1960; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001) and its consequences. Expatriates are expected to learn about safety matters and not much time is spent in counseling them to prepare for the target culture. For example, I personally know of people who took international assignments thinking that their troubled marriage would heal in an exotic place. Unfortunately, the new place adds more stress and invariably makes things worse leading to break up of a marriage. We cannot make progress unless organizations start providing training on this topic. Leki (in press) presents a way to start such training but much research is needed before we can evaluate what works or does not work and why.

III) Socio-Political-Economic Framework

Economic circumstances have profound effects on the work and social life of people, and personal income constrains an individual's choice of activities. Personal wealth also affects a person's perspectives

on many social issues. Individuals from economically advanced countries generally enjoy greater levels of cosmopolitanism and participation in the global economy, whereas those from economically developing countries tend to have a life concerned with more immediate issues of survival. Thus, globalization has different meaning for economically developed and developing countries. Bhawuk (2005) presented a framework to capture the asymmetric economic conditions between nations. By categorizing countries as either developed or developing nations, it is possible to identify the distinct approaches people use to make decisions in these societies. This framework is useful in understanding differences resulting from variations in economic systems between developed and developing countries over and above their cultural dissimilarities. A discussion of such economic differences allows for building synergy across cultural differences, since differences emerging from economic factors are presumed to be workable, and less likely to be the source of value-based conflicts.

Governments base their business policies on the overall economic condition of the country. National policies for stimulating economic development are grounded in the tenets of development economics. As nations progress through the various stages of economic development (Porter, 1990), national strategies, priorities, and values shift to meet the demands of a more affluent population. Policies and beliefs surrounding macroeconomic issues such as *Comparative Advantages*, *Role of Government*, and *Role of Business in Society* change with growing national wealth. Expectations of businesses also evolve as an economy develops, and change often occurs across both business and social categories.

Businesses within a market compete against each other through competitive advantages, but countries compete against each other through comparative advantages. Production capabilities compare differently across borders, as each country has a different mix of talents and costs associated with its production factors of labor, raw materials, and infrastructure. Developing countries tend to specialize in low cost labor, while developed countries tend to specialize in capital-intensive production. International managers must recognize the specific strengths and weaknesses of each country and adjust their decisions appropriately.

Businesses in different countries also share different relationships with their governments. Developing economies often follow more centralized planning, allowing a greater role for governments in shaping business policies. During the initial stages of economic development, guidance from the government has historically led to greater economic growth as seen in the success of Japan and the Asian Dragons (Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, and Hong Kong). Organizations operating in foreign countries must recognize the political imperatives of each nation, and adequately address them in their business strategies. Many times political imperatives may encourage governments to actively intervene to protect local firms against foreign competition. Rigidly adhering to an inappropriate strategy under such conditions would invariably lead a multinational to failure.

As businesses commit more resources to a specific country, they inevitably establish stronger ties to the community. Gaining acceptance from the local community can be considered a benchmark for business success, but the nature of the relationship must constantly be evaluated against the expectations for businesses' role in society. Social and cultural expectations strongly guide expected corporate responsibilities, but economic factors also play a considerable role. Literature on cultural complexity shows that developed countries tend to be more complex than the developing countries and exhibit more individualistic tendencies. Some may argue that developed countries are more democratic and open to progressive social change, but a better statement is that economic development leads to inevitable conflicts between a society's traditional values and introduced beliefs of the international community.

Economic forces also shape the *Intrinsic Motivation* of people. In a comparative study of Chinese and US workers, Chen (1995) found that financial incentives were more important for the Chinese than the US workers. These differences between developed and developing countries are supported in two large

cross-cultural studies. Diener and colleagues found that happiness or subjective well-being is a function of income in the developing countries but not in the developed (Diener, 2000). Similarly, Inglehart (1997) found that developed countries are post materialist in that people expect their national governments to focus on providing more opportunity for individual participation in government decisions and defending freedom of speech. On the other hand, the developing countries were found to be materialist in that people in these countries expected their national government to focus on keeping order within the country and keeping prices at minimum.

Individual's awareness and acceptance of the global community is also influenced by economic circumstances. Workers from nations with minimal exposure to globalization are likely to view convergence of business practices with contempt or suspicion. Expatriates imposing their foreign approaches on local communities may be viewed against the historical backdrop of colonization. The recent activism against globalization is a symptom of this mistrust. Support for the World Trade Organization can often be divided between developing and developed countries. Few governments from developed countries take active stances against globalization, but the majority of government that openly dissent with globalization initiatives are from developing countries.

The economic framework discussed above captures some aspects that are important for sojourners in their adaptation to the host culture, which are not covered by culture theories like individualism and collectivism, and thus offers to be valuable for intercultural training. This framework can be further enriched by adding political and social dimensions so that differences resulting from religion, form of government, and other socio-political institutions and practices can also be captured. Some critical incidents are already available (Bhawuk, Munusamy, & Sakuda, 2007). As discovered in the Contrast American Method (Stewart, 1966), a cross-cultural training method where Americans are asked to compare host cultures to their home culture, training is most effective in situations where cultural differences can be contrasted. Similarly, by using developing and developed countries as prototypes, we can discuss socio-political-economic differences effectively in cross-cultural training programs.

IV) CULTURAL-THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: FOUR DEFINING ATTRIBUTES OF INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM

Etymologically individualism and collectivism allude to individual- and collective-centric worldviews and ways of life. When people act to maximize their personal gains, they are referred to as individualists, whereas when people behave to help the community or society, they are referred to as collectivists. These terms have been used by social scientists in much the same way. However, following the work of Hofstede (1980), Triandis and his collaborators developed a program of research in the 1980s and 1990s that led the terms to become popular psychological constructs used at the individual as well as cultural levels (Triandis, 1995). At the cultural level the terms *individualism* and *collectivism* are used, and cultures are referred to as being individualistic or collectivist. At the individual level the terms *idiocentrism* and *allocentrism* are used to denote individualism and collectivism respectively and are thought of as personality types (Triandis, Leung, Villareal, & Clark, 1985). However, idiocentric people are found in collectivist cultures, and allocentric people are found in individualist cultures. The literature on these constructs has developed further in the last twenty years, and many people have started to refer to these ideas as the theory of individualism and collectivism (Bhawuk, 2001).

The supporters of the theory of individualism and collectivism find clear antecedents and consequences of these constructs, and they also find this culture theory useful in explaining and predicting human behavior in many social contexts (Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990; Wheeler, Reis, & Bond, 1989). Measurement instruments for these constructs have been demonstrated to be reliable and valid in many areas of social research. Hundreds of journal articles have been published using these constructs, and much practical application for cross-cultural psychology, communication, marketing, and international

management have also been found, making these constructs extremely popular (Triandis, 1995). However, some critics find the empirical evidence wanting (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). Others have complained about their catchall nature and how researchers use them as residual concepts to explain cultural differences in many social behaviors (Schwartz, 1994). Criticism aside, the reason this theory is chosen over others is because of its explanatory compatibility with other theories (see Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Bhawuk, 1997), as well as its applicability to intercultural training (Bhawuk, 2001; Triandis, Brislin, & Hui, 1988) and its usefulness in the measurement of intercultural sensitivity (Bhawuk & Brislin, 1992).

The core of individualism and collectivism lies in the concept of self (Markus, & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). It is generally accepted that in individualist cultures people view themselves as having an independent concept of self, whereas in collectivist cultures people view themselves as having an interdependent concept of self. An individualist's concept of self does not include other people, roles, situations, or elements of nature (Beattie, 1980). On the other hand, a collectivist's concept of self includes other members of family, friends, people from the workplace, and even elements of nature. People in Western countries like the United States, Great Britain, Australia, and Germany, have an independent concept of self, and they feel a more pronounced social distance between themselves and others, including the immediate family. People in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and elsewhere have an interdependent concept of self, and social distance between an individual and his or her parents, spouse, siblings, children, friends, neighbors, supervisors, subordinates, and so forth is small.

Concept of self can be viewed as *digital* or *analogue*: digital for individualists and analogue for collectivists (Bhawuk, 2001). When individualists think of themselves and others, they are clear that their self only includes themselves. "This is me, but that is not me. My mother is not a part of me. My child is not a part of me. They are separate from me." There is no overlap between their selves and others. In other words their view of themselves is digital. On the other hand, when collectivists think of people in their family (e.g., parents, spouse, children, siblings, and so forth), they feel these people are a part of their selves. For example, one's thinking may proceed like this: "My father is a part of me, not completely me, but somewhat a part of me. My child is a bigger part of me compared to my father, not completely me, but, yes, a good part of me." The same feeling holds in case of other relatives, friends, and even neighbors (Hsu, 1981). Thus, they have an analogue self. Of course, the biological self is digital for individualists as well as collectivists. It is the socially constructed self that is digital or analogue.

Differences in concepts of self lead to much difference in communication style (Kim, & Sharkey, 1995; Kim, Hunter, Miyahara, Horvath, Bresnahan, & Yoon, 1996). For example, people with independent concept of self are likely to be more direct in their communication than people of interdependent concept of self (Hara & Kim, 2004). People with interdependent concept of self are likely to be more sensitive to the idea of face saving (Ting-Toomey, 1988) than people with independent concept of self. People with independent concept of self are likely to communicate organizational schedules and deadlines more firmly, with a stipulation of punishment if schedule is not followed. People with interdependent concept of self are likely to have more tacit communication about resource sharing than those with independent concept of self. People with interdependent concept of self are likely to prefer face-to-face communication more than those with independent concept of self.

Concept of self also impacts the leadership styles found in different cultures. In collectivist cultures leaders are expected not only to be task focused but also to be nurturing in their relationship with their subordinates. This finds support in indigenous leadership research in countries like India, Japan, Philippines, and Mexico. It is also reflected in such cultural concepts like *simpatia* or being *simpatico* (Triandis, Marin, Lisansky, & Betancourt, 1984), which means being pleasant and interpersonally sensitive in Latin America and among Hispanics and Latinos in the United States. Similarly, in the Philippines the word *pakikisama* (Enriquez, 1979, 1986), which includes managerial characteristics like understanding, concern for employee

welfare, kindness and helpfulness, and a pleasant and courteous disposition toward subordinates, indicates a people focus in leadership. In Japan, *amae* is a characteristic of intimate relationships where people presume that those with whom they have an intimate relationship will indulge them (Doi, 1981; Johnson, 1993). Yamaguchi (2004) calls it indulgent dependence where a child, spouse, junior student, or a subordinate seeks help from a parent, spouse, senior student or supervisor even if he or she actually does not need help. This means that subordinates could expect to be supported by superiors even if their behavior is not perfect. This is not the situation in individualistic cultures, where leaders are not expected to nurture the subordinates beyond maintaining a professional relationship. In fact in these cultures, both superiors and subordinates prefer to keep each other at arm's length (Bhawuk, 2004).

Task focus and people focus have been researched in leadership literature, starting with the early work at Ohio State University and the University of Michigan. The theory of individualism and collectivism helps explain why in collectivist cultures there is a more pronounced focus on people and relationships because of the collectivists' sense of interdependence and their need to keep harmony among people with whom they interact closely. On the other hand, in the individualist cultures there is a clear emphasis on task, even at the expense of relationships (Bhawuk, 2004). Further support for cultural difference in interdependence is found in the acceptance of paternalism in various cultures. For example, 80 percent of the Japanese and about 65 percent of the samples from middle European countries accepted paternalism, whereas only 51 percent of representative American samples did so (Dorfman, Howell, Hibino, Lee, Tate, & Bautista, 1997).

Bhawuk (2001) argued that the depending on how people view themselves, they develop different types of affinity to groups. For example, those with the independent concept of self develop ties with other people to satisfy their self needs, and may not give importance to the need of other people, i.e., everybody takes care of his or her own needs first before thinking about the need of other people. However, those with interdependent concept of self develop ties with other people to satisfy the needs of the self as well as the members of the collective included in the self. This is the second defining attribute of individualism and collectivism, and focuses on the relationship between self and groups of people (Triandis, 1995).

There are many aspects of interaction with groups that deserve our attention. First, as mentioned above, individualists give priority to their self-goals, whereas collectivists give priority to their ingroup goals (Triandis, 1995; Triandis et al., 1985; Triandis, 1989; Earley 1994, 1993). Second, individualists tend to take advantage of groups, and may indulge in social loafing (Earley, 1989), more so than collectivists. However, collectivists are likely to social loaf as much when interacting with outgroup members in a group setting. Third, collectivists make significantly large concessions to ingroup members in a negotiation task than they would to outgroup members, whereas individualists tend not to differentiate between ingroup and outgroup members (Carnevale, 1995; Triandis, 1989; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucas, 1988; Earley, 1993). Fourth, individualists tend to allocate rewards based on the equity principle, where as collectivists use equality for ingroup members, and equity for outgroup members (Leung & Bond, 1982; Bond, Leung, & Wan, 1982; Kim, Park, & Suzuki, 1990).

Early socialization leads people to interact with groups differently. For example, both collectivists (e.g., Japanese) and individualists (e.g., American) students are found to be motivated to learn when they are rewarded for learning (Haruki, Shigehisa, Nedate, & Ogawa, 1984). However, contrary to expectations, the Japanese students, unlike the American students, showed motivation to learn even when the teacher was rewarded. The authors explained this phenomenon by suggesting that the socialization practices for children were different in the U. S. and Japan, and that the Japanese children were socialized to observe and respond to others' feelings early on. A Japanese mother may say "I am happy" or "I am sad" to provide positive or negative reinforcement rather than directly saying "You are right" or "You are wrong," which is usually the case in the United States.

Another reason for making this distinction is the collectivists' perception of a common fate with their family, kin, friends, and coworkers (Triandis, 1989; Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990; Hui & Triandis, 1986). For example, divorce results many times for individualists because people are unwilling to compromise their careers, whereas collectivists often sacrifice career opportunities to take care of their family needs (ingroup goals) and derive satisfaction in doing so (Bhawuk, 2001). The reason for giving priority to the ingroup goals could be the narrowness of the perceived boundary between the individual and the others or smaller social distance between the self and others.

Individualists are likely to be monochronic in their use of time when interacting with other people, whereas collectivists are likely to be polychronic in their use of time when dealing with ingroup members, but monochronic in their use of time with outgroup members. Collectivists are likely be informal while communicating with ingroup members but formal while dealing with outgroup members, whereas individualists are likely to be informal (U. S.) or formal (British and German) when dealing with ingroup or outgroup. Individualists are likely to emphasize the value for the person in trying to inspire people toward organizational goals, whereas collectivists are likely to emphasize the value for the group. Telling people, "You should do this task because it is good for you," is likely to be a motivation strategy for individualists, whereas "You should do it because it is good for the collective (e.g., family, unit, organization, etc.)" is likely to be inspirational to collectivists. Shame is a likely tool for collectivists to discourage people from social loafing, whereas guilt is the likely tool for individualists (Bhawuk, 2004).

The third defining attribute focuses on how the self is viewed vis-à-vis the larger society, or how the self interacts with the society (Bhawuk, 2001). Those with independent concept of self do what they like to do, or what they think is good for them, i.e., they pursue their individual desires, attitudes, values, and beliefs (Triandis, 1995). Since this meets the need of most of the people in a culture where most people have an independent concept of self, the individualistic society values people doing their own things. However, people with interdependent concept of self inherit many relationships and learn to live with these interdependencies. Part of managing the interdependencies is to develop goals that meet the need of more than one's own self. In the process of taking care of the needs of one's ingroup members, a social mechanism evolves in collectivist cultures, which is driven by norms. Thus, for those with interdependent concept of self it is much easier cognitively to resort to methods that have been tried in the past for interacting with people at large. Hence, the difference in following own attitude versus norms of the society becomes a salient difference between individualist and collectivist cultures (Triandis, 1995).

One reason for the collectivists' desire to conform results from their need to pay attention to what their extended family, friends, colleagues, and neighbors have to say about what they do and how they do Hsu (1981). A sense of duty guides them towards social norms both in the workplace and interpersonal relationships. Individualists, on the other hand, are more concerned about their personal attitudes and values. They care much less than collectivists about what their family members have to say, let alone the extended family, friends, or neighbors. Often, in individualist cultures there are fewer norms about social and workplace behaviors, whereas in collectivist cultures there are many clear norms (Triandis, 1995). It should be noted that it is not true that individualist cultures do not have norms, or that collectivist cultures do not have people doing what they like to do. Granted that there are exceptions, in individualistic cultures there are fewer norms and those that exist are not severely imposed, whereas in collectivist cultures not only norms are tightly monitored and imposed but also anti-normative behaviors are often hidden from public eyes (Triandis & Bhawuk, 1997).

In collectivist cultures there are likely to be more norms for interpersonal communication than in individualist cultures. Thus, in collectivist cultures effective communication is likely to include that which follows social prescription, i.e., how is something said is critical, whereas in individualist cultures effective communication is likely to be communication that produces a desired outcome, i.e., what is said is critical.

In collectivist cultures the non-verbal behaviors are likely to be critical because such behaviors contextualize communication, whereas in individualist cultures non-verbal behaviors are less significant since context is, by comparison, less important. In collectivist cultures, e. g. in Japan, phenomena like *tatemae* (expected public behaviors, which could be opposite of how a person feels or would like to act) and *honne* (true or private feelings that is often kept to oneself) are likely to exist because knowing and maintaining norm is important (See Doi, 1986, pp 35-48, for a discussion of these concepts), whereas in individualistic cultures such differences are unnecessary because people are attitude, value, and belief driven.

Lastly, there are critical difference between individualism and collectivism in how interpersonal relationships are maintained as well as the nature of social exchange between self and others. In individualist cultures social exchange is based on the principle of equal exchange, and people form new relationships to meet their changing needs based on cost benefit analysis. Thus, individualists are rational in their social exchange. In collectivist cultures people have an interdependent concept of self and they inherit many relationships. Therefore, people in collectivist cultures view their relationships as long term in nature and are unlikely to break even a poor (i.e., not cost effective) relationship. Thus, collectivists value relationships for their own sake and nurture them with unequal social exchanges over a long period of time.

Individualists tend to use exchange relationships, while collectivists tend to use communal relationships. In an exchange relationship, people give something (a gift or a service) to another person with the expectation that the other person will return a gift or service of equal value in the near future (Clark & Mills, 1979). The characteristics of this type of relationship are “equal value” and “short time frame.” People keep a mental record of exchange of benefits and try to maintain a balanced account, in an accounting sense. In a communal relationship people do not keep an account of the exchanges taking place between them (Clark & Mills, 1979); one person may give a gift of much higher value than the other person, and the two people may still maintain their relationship. In other words it is the relationship that is valued and not the exchanges that go on between people when they are in a communal relationship.

In collectivist cultures usually there are a series of exchanges between two people in which what is given never quite matches what is received. Thus, the exchange goes on for a long time unless the series is broken by some unavoidable situation. In this type of relationship people feel an equality of affect (i.e., when one feels up, the other also feels up; and when one feels down, the other also feels down). In contrast, in individualist cultures people exchange goods and services when they have common interests, and only if the benefits justify the costs. Individualists move on to new relationships when a relationship does not meet their needs.

We are likely to find variation across cultures in what is exchanged, and also across rural and urban settings. For example, in rural settings the exchange is likely to involve goods (vegetables, fruits, food items, etc.) and services (helping in field or yard, helping with children, etc.). It was found that in a Mexican peasant village usually there was a series of exchanges between two people in which what was given never quite matched what was received (Foster, 1967). Thus, the exchange went on for a long-time unless the series was broken by some unavoidable situation. It also seems that there may be class difference in the exchange between people. For example, in many collectivist cultures, unlike the lower classes, among the middle class and the affluent people there are not many financial transactions (borrowing money or sharing financial resources) among the extended family members, but they provide emotional support to each other through social gatherings.

Again this defining attribute of individualism and collectivism explains many differences in communication patterns across cultures. For example, interpersonal communication is marked by exchange of resources for collectivists, but not for individualists. Collectivists do not need to constantly communicate to maintain relationships, whereas individualists do. Individualists need to communicate and stoppage of communication marks the end of a relationship, whereas collectivists can stop communication without

breaking a relationship, and can actually pick up a relationship even after a gap of many years. Communication is peripheral to the relationship for collectivists, whereas for individualists it is central to the relationship.

The rational versus relational differentiation in social exchange also has important implications for leadership. According to Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) theory (Graen, & Scandura, 1987; Graen, & Uhl-Bien, 1991; Graen, & Wakabayashi, 1994), managers are able to influence their subordinates to produce beyond formal organizational expectations by developing "mature leader relationships," which are characterized by extracontractual behavior, mutual trust, respect, liking, superordinate goals, in-kind type of reciprocity, indefinite time span of reciprocity, and high leader-member exchange. However, those managers who do not develop mature leader relationships focus on cash and carry type of reciprocity, immediate time span of reciprocity, and low leader-member exchange. They often indulge in formal, contractual, mostly unidirectional downward influence processes. The exchange relationship obtains the desired behaviors from subordinates by exacting behavioral compliance through external control, while the communal relationship promotes an internalization of values and goals by the subordinate, and desired behaviors from subordinates are obtained through the subordinates' self-control. It is evident that mature leader relationships are developed over a long term and resemble the communal relationship, whereas "immature" leader relationships reflect a short-term perspective of managers and focus on exchange relationships. Since people are socialized to value long-term relationships in collectivist cultures, the High LMX style of leadership is preferred in these cultures. In individualist cultures, though many managers do develop High LMX styles, in the long run people prefer to maximize their individual gains, and so a Low LMX style of leadership is more prevalent (Bhawuk, 2004).

Many cultural differences in leadership styles have been found in studies on Japanese and American managers in multinational organizations in the United States and Japan. For example, the American managers were found to have an underdeveloped sense of obligation to their co-workers and company. Therefore, the absenteeism rate among American managers was comparable to that of the workers (Graen, & Wakabayashi, 1994). This lack of commitment is attributed to the individualists' exchange relationship perspective of the job, and the preference for a Low LMX style of leadership. According to the Japanese philosophy, the managers and workers invest in their mutual relationships and build mutual obligations over a number of years, usually a lifetime, of work contact. This mutual obligation completely rules out the possibility of insubordination. In effect, if workers are resisting a manager's decision, the manager may have committed a mistake and is better off discussing the problem with the workers rather than imposing disciplinary sanctions (Graen, & Wakabayashi, 1994). Again, the difference results from the preference for a High LMX leadership style in Japan.

Thus, we can see that the theoretical framework of individualism and collectivism offers a parsimonious framework to discuss many basic cultural differences that can be found across many pairs of cultures that are individualistic or collectivist. Triandis, Brislin, and Hui (1988) presented a list of advice for individualists going to collectivist cultures, and vice versa, which has been proven to be useful. Bhawuk (2001) presented four sets of behaviors capturing the four defining attributes of individualism and collectivism, which have been shown to be effective for intercultural training (Bhawuk, 1998). Therefore, there is much value in using this framework in intercultural training programs.

Discussion

The field of intercultural training has evolved significantly in the last fifty years, and despite its theoretically rigorous foundations, there has not been a clear direction about how intercultural training programs should be developed. This could be attributed to the natural course of development of the field in which various individuals have contributed from narrow theoretical perspectives. This was reflected in the early discussion of whether intercultural training should follow the university model of classroom lectures or use the experiential training method (Harrison and Hopkins, 1967). Another discussion in the literature has been about the culture specific versus culture general approaches to training (Bhawuk, 1990). Clearly, there is much need for a

theoretical framework for the development of intercultural training programs that synthesizes various theoretical perspectives and addresses many of the issues raised in the literature. This chapter is a small step in that direction.

This chapter synthesizes many of the theoretical concepts discussed in the intercultural training literature to present a framework that can be used to develop intercultural training programs. It is argued here that for people to develop intercultural competence they need to understand the process of skill acquisition, and learn how to learn so that they can continue to learn beyond a formal training program while living abroad. The concepts of disconfirmed expectation and isomorphic attribution are two basic concepts that are important to understand and can help in the process of skill acquisition. A clear understanding of the cognitive process of skill acquisition similarly provides the much needed cognitive framework for skill acquisition. The theoretical framework of individualism and collectivism helps organize the intercultural expertise at the abstract level much like what cognitive psychologists refer to as a Theoretical Organizing Package or TOP.

The economic framework presented in the chapter at the core helps to go beyond cultural theories that are psychological or sociological in nature. This is presented as a first step, and clearly there is a need for developing frameworks that would capture other socio-political perspectives. Such additions in the future would make the framework more comprehensive, and aid people in their intercultural skill acquisition. An idea implicit in the framework is that intercultural skill is multidimensional, and thus there is a need to approach its acquisition by following a multimethod approach. This has been an idea hitherto neglected in the literature.

The addition of the need for Self Preservation at the core of intercultural training programs is another contribution of the chapter, which has been hitherto neglected in intercultural training literature. Researchers and practitioners alike in their zeal of preparing people to be effective in their sojourn often neglect the basic issues of survival, or assume that the sojourners would take care of such issues themselves. This is a mistake, and all training programs must stress the need for self-preservation, which is not only unique to us individually, but also has some cultural underpinnings depending on who the sojourners are and where they are going to live. For example, there are likely gender differences that need to be addressed, as women have to deal with many more issues when moving from one culture to another than men have to do, and this issue needs to be further researched. Clearly, there are many aspects of survival that we all need to worry about and without taking care of these issues we simply cannot be effective in our work or social interactions. This has become particularly an important issue in view of the increased terrorist activities that the world has see in the last few years, but I would like to note that this has always been a critical factor, and one that has not been given much attention in the literature.

The outer circles of the model deal with organizational, industry, and culture specific level issues, and were noted to make the model complete. Unfortunately they could not be developed fully, and are important future research topics. Intercultural training literature has been theoretically grounded in the individual differences perspective, and there is a need to develop multilevel models including organizational and industrial levels of analyses. It could be argued that people working in the information technology industry are going to need to adapt to different circumstances than people working in the oil exploration industry, the environment protection area, the financial industry, or the healthcare industry. Similarly, people working for a large multinational like IBM or Bank of America or NGOs like the UNICEF or The World Bank would need to adapt to different contexts and histories. Thus, preparing people associated with different industries and organizations going to different cultures necessarily would require a multilevel training program that would build on the core that was developed in some detail in this chapter. This model can also be used to organize college courses in intercultural training or communication, so that students are able to organize their personal intercultural skill development in a systematic way.

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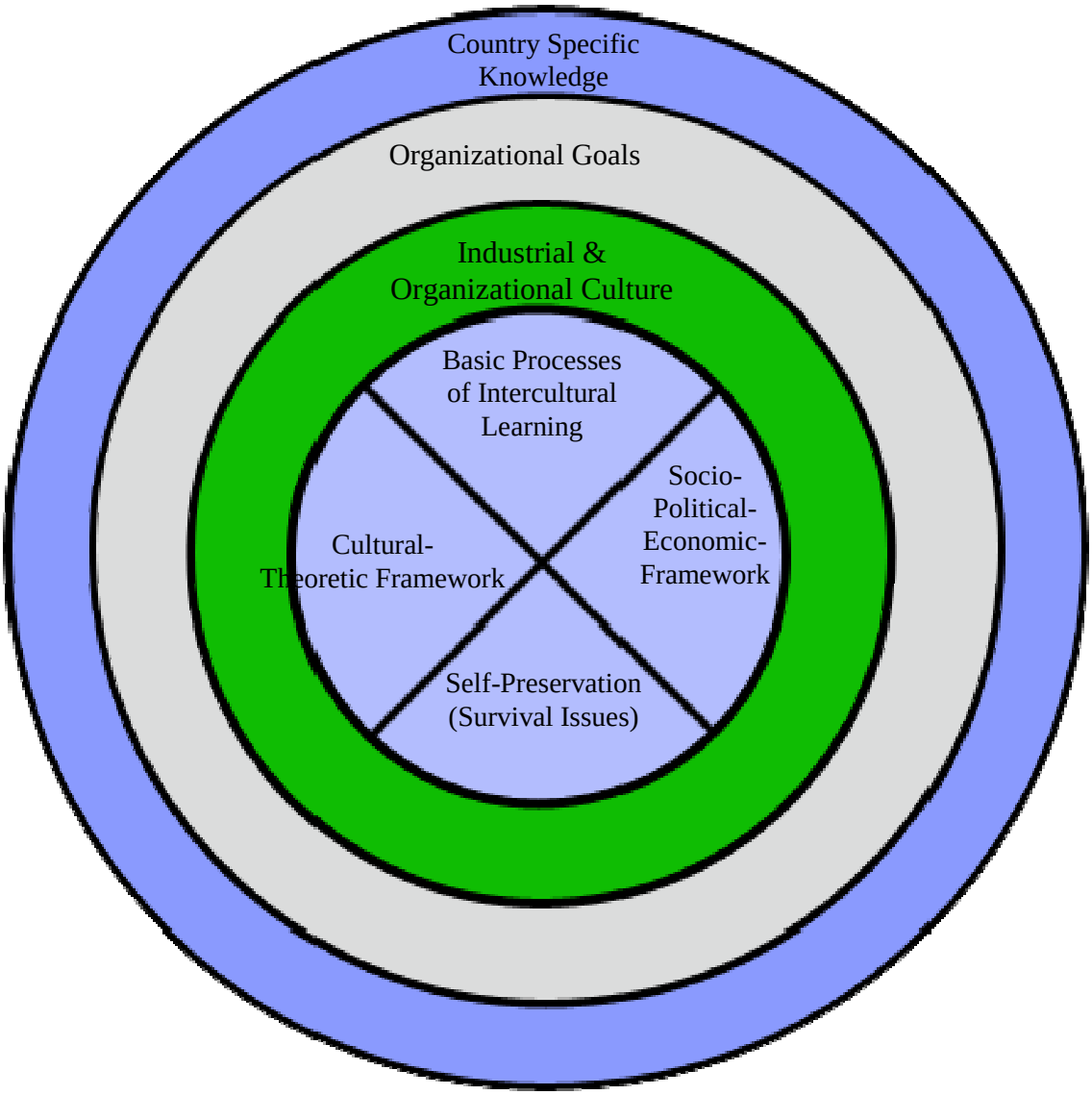


Figure 1: Developing Intercultural Training Programs: A Theoretical Framework

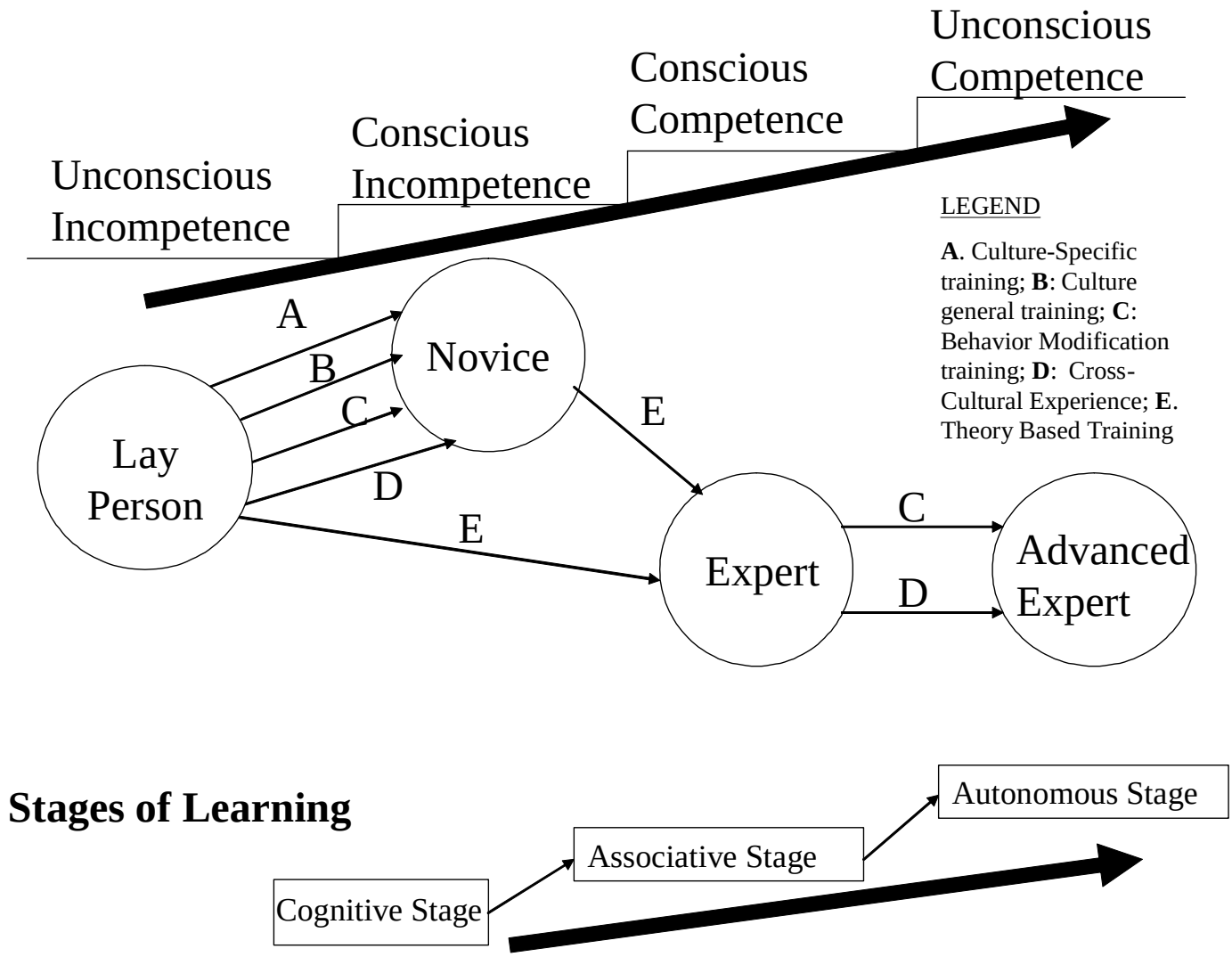
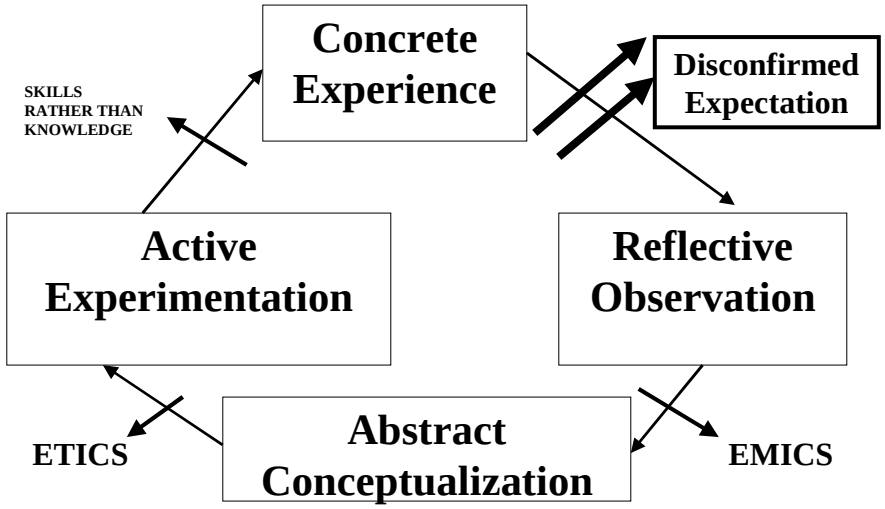


Figure 2: A Model of Cross-Cultural Expertise Development (Adapted from Bhawuk, 1998)



Learning How To Learn Cycle & Disconfirmed Expectation

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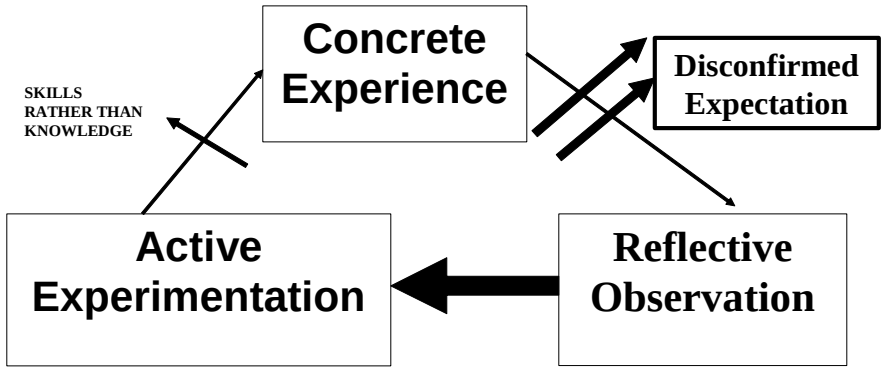

Path 2: Becoming an Expert Bi-Culturalist

Figure 3: Disconfirmed Expectation and Learning How to Learn